

RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

**India, China and Northern Frontiers**

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## FOREWORD

This is a collection of some of my speeches and writings on the subject of India's northern frontiers and on Kashmir, Urvasiam, Nepal and Tibet particularly. None of these date earlier than 1949. Earlier writings have not been included because the collection would have become cumbersome. That is not to say that they are any the less important. Some of them might in fact have showed up the usual errors of thought to which I, along with millions of others, was perhaps subject.

I do not know whether I had ever looked upon the Himalayas as India's sentry. I have declaimed that song with great eclact and so must have, to some extent, imbibed its spirit in my early youth. But I definitely remember to have become suspect of the Himalayas around 1948, when on the other side China turned communist and therefore by my definitions both vigorous and barbaric. These suspicions in fact may have been aroused in me earlier, around 1938 or 39, when I started studying India's history a little closely.

Much of the government's folly in respect to foreign policy and defence is due to traditionally stupid understanding of history, among which is the notion that the Himalayas stand guard over India. Who was responsible for this stupid understanding in the first instance, native folly or imperialist distortions?

Errors of foreign policy and defence derive as much from faulty understanding of deep and enduring forces, which are the study of history, as from mistaken assessment of the present, that which exists contemporaneously. I have been concerned



with both aspects. That sometimes creates difficulties for my reader or hearer. But that is the only way to deal with life's awkward problems.

For a variety of reasons, the current mind of India is almost devoid of the value in respect of social, collective problems, those of the earth. For too long has this mind dealt with the abstract, the wholly ultimate, and lived with the concrete, the despicable immediate. Coexistence of the two has been effected at the cost of sanity.

The Himalayas have also been the repository of the holy ultimate. I have gone in search of that too, in my own somewhat earthly way, when I tried to trace Ganga to her source. But what I said then was wrapped up so much with our own local mythology and colour, that its translation would have jarred.

The war on the despicable immediate must not slacken. If the holy ultimate can suffuse us, while we engage in this war, well and good, otherwise, it too must go. I hope that this collection would be of some assistance to such as wish in a new integration the ultimate and the immediate, but above all, to build straight and strong the country's foreign policy and defence.

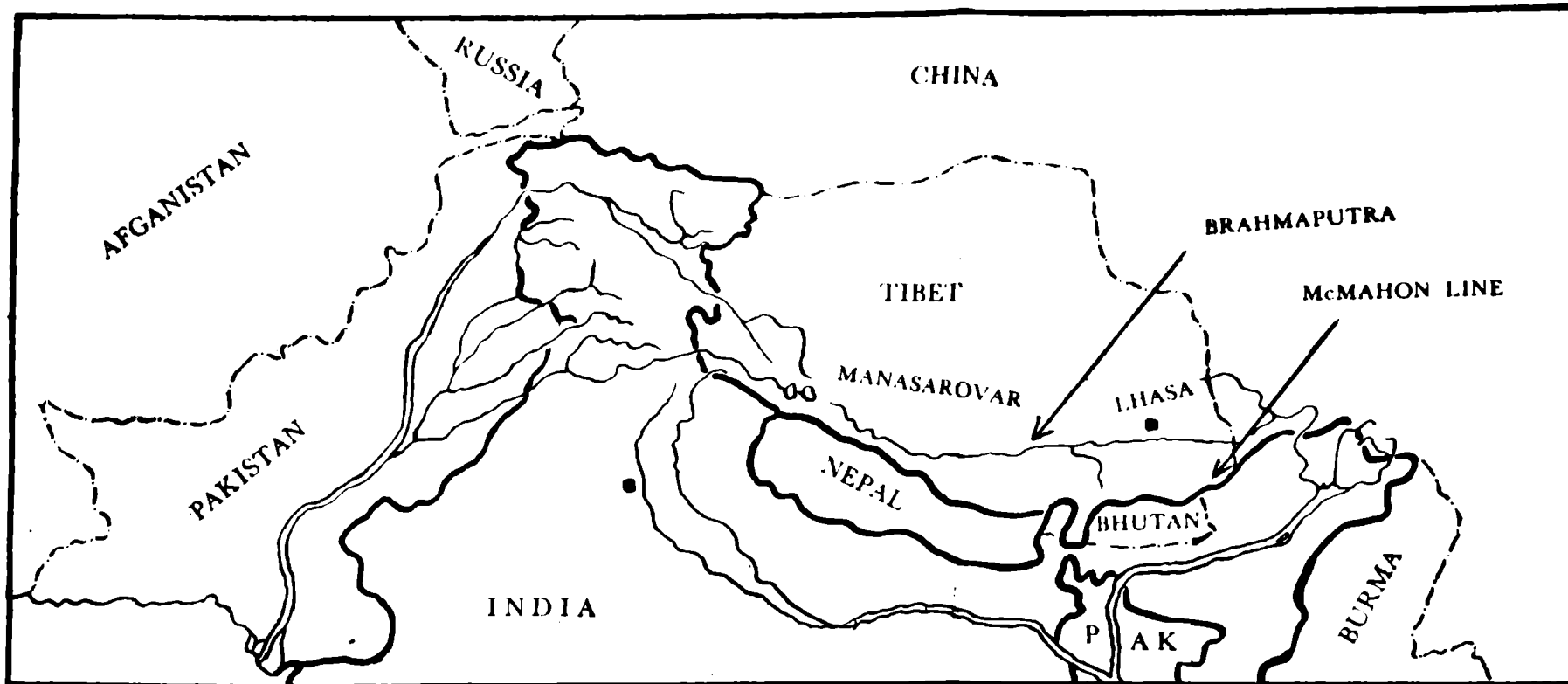
*Hyderabad, October 4, 1963.*

RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

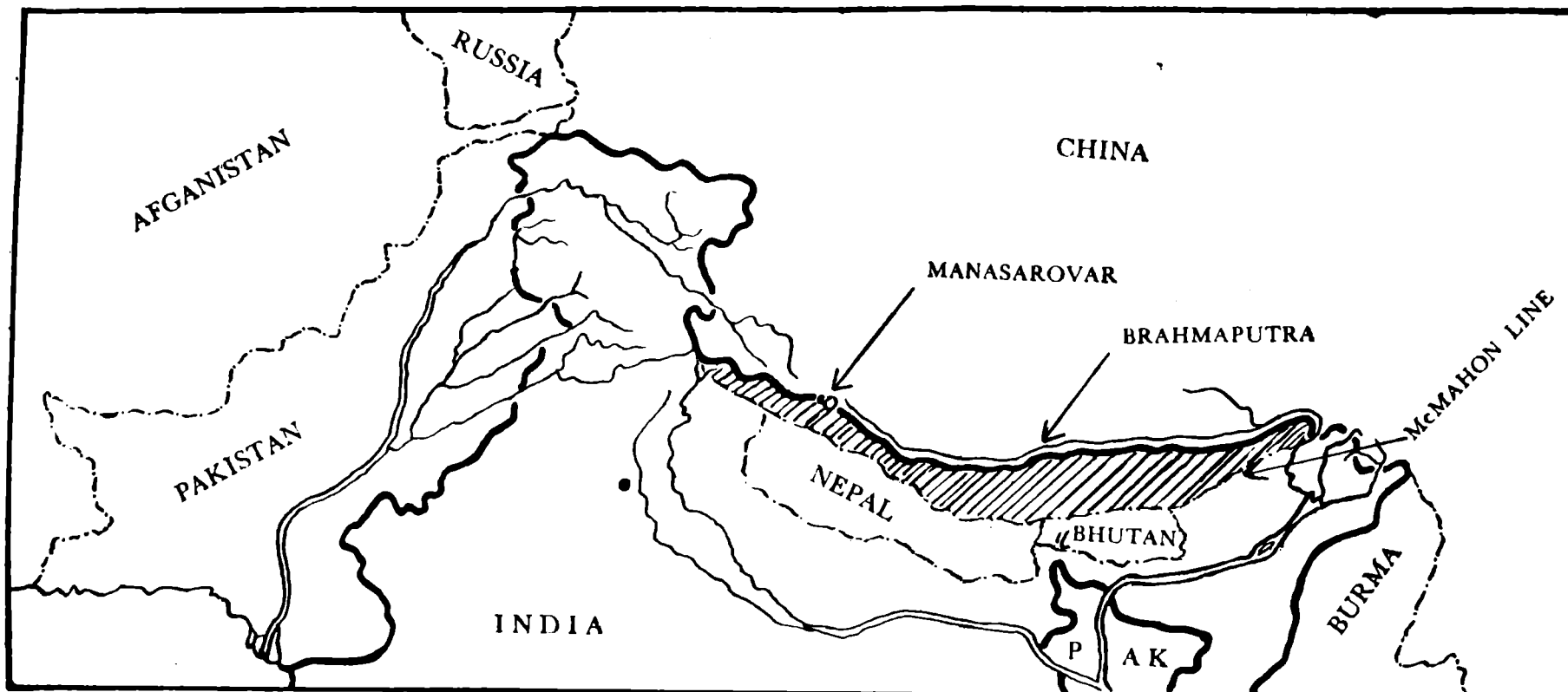


**HIMALAYA**

# INDIA'S FRONTIER LINE



The McMahon line may serve as the frontier between India and free Tibet.



Kailash, Manasarovar and east flowing Brahmaputra can alone serve as the frontier between India and China.

# THREAT TO OUR NORTHERN BORDERS

I draw attention to the increasing Communist threat from across our northern borders.

I shall not dwell here on Kashmir war or on the happenings in the Pakhtoonistan area of Pakistan or the organization of new armies by Marshal Timoshenko in the East. Far more important are the developments in Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet, and the Indian people know nothing about them. The Chinese Communists have infiltrated into Tibet in large numbers and have brought many monasteries under their ideological influence. Further, arms are being dumped secretly into this beautiful land. The Communists have also turned their attention to Nepal and Communist activity is on increase in that country.

After the withdrawal of the British power from India it was natural that the incompetent governments of Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet should be subjected to strong internal and external pressures. If democracy is ultimately murdered in these northern and eastern lands, the India government and the United States will have to bear the full responsibility. As far as the Socialist Party is concerned, it will always stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of India and Asia in defending democracy and freedom.

—1949, January 14; Lucknow; Press statement.



# A HIMALAYAN POLICY

The fairest and the most frigid hills of mankind are warming up. On both sides of the mighty Himalayas, around 80 million people are astir and their old stability is gone. Warring ideas and armies are competing for their souls and, should they lose their freedom or fall under the influence of other peoples, they as well as the world will lose, and the Himalayas will cease to be the traditional sentry of India.

From Afghanistan to Burma over Tibet and Nepal spread these peoples who are tempting missionaries of the idea and the sword. Beyond are the Russians and the Chinese and somewhat uncertain peoples like those in Sinkiang. All these are bearers of the Soviet idea and sword, at least for the present. What yet remains to decide, therefore, is the fate of Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal and Burma.

A peculiar feature of these territories and peoples may be noted. Corresponding to each one of them is a territory and a people closely related to them on the Indian side of the Himalayan frontier, thus, the tribal areas at both ends and the Pathans of the west and the Tibeto-Burmans of the east and, in between, Indians of Nepalese ancestry as well as Tibetan such as those in Sikkim and Bhutan. A responsive relationship between these allied groups on both sides of the Himalaya exists. This provides an instrument of state policy to whoever can get hold of one group or the other.

Neither the snows nor the unscalable heights of the Himalayas can now do sentry duty for India. Contentment to the

body and anchor to the mind of these 80 million peoples alone can provide security to India. Old concepts of foreign and defence policies must change. The strategic is now also the moral, the national is the all-world, and the interests of India, the world and the Himalayan peoples coincide. India, her people as well as her government, must evolve a Himalayan policy, which is both strategic and moral.

China's invasion of Tibet which can only be likened to baby-murder has brought out into the open, trends and clashes already visible to the more discerning. There is no such thing as an Asian mind. There is perhaps an Asian necessity. But three types of mind are trying to give expression to it and have given birth to three mutually incompatible Asias, status-quo Asia, Communist Asia and Socialist Asia. Status-quo Asia has collided with Communist Asia in Tibet, but neither can express the needs of Asia or the Tibetan people.

A corrupt and cowardly bureaucracy has clashed with a reactionary communism intent on slaughter and rule and, to most Asians including Tibetans, there is not much to choose between the two. In the war between the Tibetan government representing status-quo Asia and the Chinese army representing Communist Asia, the Tibetan people find no place nor, in fact, any Asian people who desire the new civilization of active equality and tranquil activity. It is clearly enough a defeat of socialist Asia that it could not quicken the people of Tibet into a socialist consciousness. That the India government, despite warning, spoke of Tibetan sovereignty in imperialist terms or forgot Tibet's relations with India, which have been closer than with China, is a miserable episode.

Is it at all possible now to bring the people of Tibet into the picture? The answer is partly provided by the revolution in Nepal that took place close on the heels of the invasion of Tibet. At a time when the world's mind was overwhelmed by the Atlantic and Soviet armies and cynicism had so deepened that the line between liberation and conquest was hard to draw, the people

of Nepal stood such a dramatic witness for people's force and the Third Camp. For 4 years the people of Nepal had prepared for this revolt, and this preparation has its lessons for Tibet as well. The Nepali Congress thrived for a long time on the labour of Indians of Nepali ancestry. Indians of Tibetan ancestry can similarly strive on behalf of a free and socialist Tibet.

Die-hard Indians and the Atlantic camp have been none too pleased by the Nepali revolt. They profess that unstable conditions in Nepal are an invitation to the Soviet camp to step in. Everybody knows that the contrary is true. With status-quo tyranny ruling, the Soviets would walk through Nepal like a knife through butter. Alone a democratic and socialist Nepal, however unstable, is a guarantee against invasion and foreign rule. It is true that a democratic Nepal shall no longer be a recruiting ground for Atlantic Gurkhas, and that has perhaps frightened the Atlantic camp. It is also true that a democratic Nepal must increasingly travel in the direction of socialism and redivision of land and that has perhaps frightened India's landlords.

India's ruling party has been of uncertain mind. Unhelpful in the preparation and even abusive of the Socialists who helped build up the Nepali Congress, the ruling party of India has adopted a policy of non-intervention towards the Nepali revolt. Non-intervention means support to status-quo and tyranny. In any event, the Nepal policies of the government and people of India must differ. Whenever the India government adopts rightly or wrongly a policy of non-intervention towards the issue of freedom in the Himalayas, the people of India must with greater determination help their neighbour achieve or maintain democracy. That is both strategic and moral.

Four years' experience with Goa and Nepal has proved that any further effort at democracy in neighbouring lands had better be frankly named as a Socialist effort. What's there in a name may be all right for poetry, but, in the Indian context of the clash between the Congress and the Socialist parties, much depends on the name. No matter that the Goa and Nepal Con-

gresses have been assisted by Socialists rather than Congressmen of India, their names mislead and produce certain reactions and are likely to obstruct radical reforms. Nevertheless, Delhi is a great attraction and temptation, and the ruling party of India can always and without exertion pull to itself a section at least of the democratic forces in neighbouring lands and play mischief. The prospect of help from the India government makes these democratic forces lose initiative and weaken in self-confidence and the spirit of sacrifice, and they take to lobbying rather than work on the spot. One hopes fervently that the Nepali revolt spreads into all hills and plains and enters every hamlet so as to pull down the usurpers' authority and form committees of people's power and that all elements of the Nepali Congress will work on the spot. A revolution as far-reaching in world-significance as that of India will then have taken place in Nepal. It will give the people of Nepal bodily contentment and mental anchorage, justly redivided land and power distributed into villages and, thus, dramatically project the Third Camp into world affairs.

Indians of Tibetan ancestry have a significant role to play, if only they become aware of it. They have already done so in some measure. Sikkim was saved for India, against the Maharaja and almost against the India government, by persons like Tashi Shering and Socialist C. D. Rai. Delhi however has no use for men like Tashi Shering and has deputed civilians to rule Sikkim and supervise affairs in that area and Tibet. Raja Dorje lives more in Darjeeling than in Bhutan and is better known for his horse-racing than for his prime ministership of Bhutan and such men appear to suit the India government's policies very well. Bhutan, however, has begun experiencing unrest. Incidentally, both in Sikkim and Bhutan, Indians of Nepali ancestry constitute the majority, but a feudal attitude continues to associate these two areas with their Tibetan princes. In any event, democracy must prevail in Sikkim and Bhutan and Darjeeling before Indians of Tibetan ancestry can become carriers of democracy for Tibet.

Such Indians as Durga Singh on the western approaches to Tibet like Almora, and Tashi Shering on the eastern approaches



like Kalimpong and Gangtok can make the Tibetan people aware of the need to redivide land and to reform administration and yet to stay free and follow the policy of the Third Camp. Inside Tibet, the vast masses of the people and the monks including the Sunda Sum (Three Pillars or the three great monasteries of Lhasa) will respond to such a policy of socialism at home and the Third Camp abroad.

What urgency attaches to this Indo-Tibetan problem can also be gauged from the uncertainty that prevails on our Assam frontier. The Ballipara tract is not known over a width of more than a hundred miles, and how many persons have visited that eerie place called Sadavasanta (eternal spring) within sixty miles of Tejpur. The Daffas, Abors and Nagas are potentially agents of the Third Camp as much as of the Atlantic or the Soviet, and what shall they be. The people of India may be astonished to learn that the Naga heroine, Rani Guilallo, of whom Congressmen had once sung romantic praise, was forgotten and stayed interned for two years of freedom until I drew the Assam governor's attention to it. India government has no policies.

Nearly two years ago, certain policies with regard to the tribal areas in Assam were outlined and they may be here repeated. A large part of the income from Hindu religious endowments may be diverted to mission work in these areas, in the sense of education and social reform; the Gauhati University may open departments for the major languages and literatures of this area; a food army may begin work on these enormous uncultivated lands; and excursions of pleasure and adventure may be arranged from all over the country to the Ballipara and Sadiya tracts.

Frontiers are always so exciting, for their smell of romance as much as of battle. What a strange experience is it to travel through a hundred miles of Naga hills and then to reach the last outpost of Indianism in Imphal, where India's vitality has striven for a deeper impress than in the earlier abodes. The smell of battle must fade forever but that of romance will do

good to both the plains and the tribes-people. Furthermore, these greatest hills of mankind have given birth to a mind that is sometimes given to magic and then to mysticism, to much that is spook and yet sometimes in the nature of a deep quest. While the magic and the spook must go, the simplicity and sympathy of the humble quest should transfigure all endeavour.

Indians of Afghan ancestry in the tribal areas and the Frontier province are naturally depressed at the partition of India, the Faqir of Ipi has formed a provisional government and eight million people under the Frontier Gandhi and the Faqir are striving for a Pathan State. Afghanistan is taking a keen and direct interest. Even if the India government may find it embarrassing to proclaim a policy towards these Pathan stirrings the people of India and, in particular, the Socialist Party must associate themselves with the Pathan demand for freedom and democracy. In order to buttress themselves against the destructive impact of the Atlantic or the Soviet system, the people of Afghanistan will also do well to adopt a policy of socialism at home and the Third Camp abroad.

The Atlantic camp seeks its allies in status-quo Asia and the Soviet camp in Communist Asia and either is unable to understand socialist and freedom-loving Asia. India government's policies are to some extent responsible for this misunderstanding. All excitement and no fulfilment is as irritating to both camps as alternative servicing of either. A genuine policy of the Third Camp with regard to the Himalayan region can offer no positive service either to the Atlantic or the Soviet camp but it can guarantee the negative advantage that this territory shall not be used against either.

The Third Camp must grasp the limits of intervention as well as indifference. It cannot of course intervene imperialistically in the internal affairs of a country, nor can it send invading armies under the shameful name of liberation armies in the fashion of China. At the same time it dare not stand the sight when democracy and freedom are slaughtered in any one of its

constituent territories and, short of armed intervention, it must do everything possible to assist the growth of democracy and socialism in all its areas. Should, for instance, the people of India adopt a policy of indifference or even non-intervention to the events in the Himalayan ranges, a vacuum will rise and it must be filled up either by the Atlantic or the Soviet camp. To insulate the Himalayas against either camps and nurture the growth of the democratic and social forces is a great challenge to the Indian people in the three-fold interests of the world, the people concerned and India.

India government's home policies as much as its foreign policies are naturally a bar to the growth of the Third Camp. When India has re-divided land on an egalitarian basis and ended bureaucratic administration in favour of decentralized power, economic as well as political, she will by that single act give to that Himalayas, anchor to the mind and hope to the body. The Himalayas will harden once again into the traditional sentries of not only Indian freedom but also of world peace.

The Socialist Party has striven in the past three years to act in terms of such an Himalayan policy. It has not been worried by the ill-informed abuse that such matters of foreign policy belonging to the government and not to the people or any of its political parties. When India's patrimony is squandered by the men in-charge of Delhi the people of the country and their political parties must act with even greater force. The people of India and members of the Socialist Party and in particular those who reside on both sides of the Himalayan ranges must become conscious instruments of a Himalayan policy basing itself on socialism at home and Third Camp abroad. Socialist and freedom loving Asia must defeat the equally dangerous reactions of status-quo and Communist Asia and thus provide a genuine expression of Asian necessity and the Asian mind.

—1950, *November*.



# NOTES ON HIMALAYAN PEOPLE\*

## NEPAL

*Area* : 56,000 square miles, bordering on one side on India, on the other on Tibet.

*Population* : Ten millions.

*Terrain* : Himalayan mountainous.

*People* : Newaris, Gurkhas and plainsmen. While Gurkhas serve in the army rest are engaged in handicrafts and agriculture; tens of thousands migrate to India to save themselves from penury and starvation; they usually join the Indian army or the British Eastern Command or take up low paid job of watchman in Indian cities.

*History* : In the last century, during the consolidation of British power in India by the East India Company, Nepal tried to preserve her independence; but in the Nepal war of 1814-16, British army in collusion with some nobles of the Nepal Court marched into Nepal; the valiant defence by the Nepalese was praised even by a British historian as "a feat of arms worthy of the best days of chivalry;" even after the treaty of 1816, King Rajendra Vikram, in alliance with the Sikhs and the Marathas, planned to throw the British out of India; the British Political Resident becoming aware of it intrigued with one Jung Bahadur, a noble, to capture power; on 25th October, 1846, followed the Kot massacre in which hundreds of Nepal officials were done away with; Jung Bahadur became the first Rana prime minister

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\* These were prepared in the Socialist Party office in the year 1950 and published along with the preceding article. Since then some changes have taken place which are matters of recent history—*Editor*.

with dictatorial powers; he helped the Britishers in return to suppress the great Indian rebellion of 1857; since then Nepali Gurkha troops were always used by the British against the nationalists in Burma, Indonesia, Viet-Nam and Greece; before 15th August, 1947, when India became free, Nepal maintained embassies in London and New Delhi; there was diplomatic exchange on ministerial level between Nepal and U.S.A. recently; in April 1947, a personal envoy from the U.S. President visited Nepal and the first memorandum of a political and commerce agreement between Nepal and U.S. was signed; from this time Nepal gave up the monopoly of her friendship with Britain.

*Government* : All administrative powers are in the hands of a ruling family called "Ranas," they are hereditary prime ministers and commanders of the army; the King has been made a veritable puppet; the present King Tribhuvan, unable to bear the domination of the Rana clique, escaped to the Indian Embassy in Kathmandu in November 1950 and through its good offices flew to Delhi; the Rana prime minister declared immediately that the King had abdicated and set up a three-year-old grandchild of the King as the new ruler; the government of India while refusing to recognise the new King was equally indifferent to the people's struggle in Nepal; on the other hand they entered into negotiations with the Rana clique about democratising the administration in Nepal; the negotiations are going on but nothing tangible is likely to result.

*Education* : There are only seven high English schools in the whole of Nepal and one college teaching up to B.A. degree course.

*Communications* : There are only 45 miles of narrow gauge railways and 36 miles of metalled road in Nepal.

*People's Organizations and Struggles* : Individual efforts to overthrow the Rana family dictatorship were made in the past but always met with failure; in 1934 the Nepal Praja Parishad (Nepal People's Conference) was formed; but the work soon stopped as two of its prominent workers were hanged, two others

shot dead and others imprisoned by the authorities for sentences varying from life to 18 years; Nepal National Congress was then inaugurated in Calcutta by the Indian Socialist leader Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, with the object of attainment of people's democratic rule in Nepal; in 1947, out of the labour strike in Biratnagar in Nepal, where three women strikers were shot dead by the Nepal police, the Nepal National Congress launched a satyagraha movement throughout the state (civil disobedience movement); Nepal prime minister promised reforms and the Indian minister Pandit Nehru also advised the Nepali Congress to withdraw the satyagraha; the satyagraha was withdrawn but out of more than 100 persons imprisoned during the movement several persons are still behind the bars of primitive Nepal prisons; in January 1948, the Nepal government again promised constitutional reforms to the people but have not yet implemented any; on the other hand, Padma Shumsher, the prime minister, who promised them was forced to resign by other members of the Rana family, including the present prime minister Mohan Shumsher; in late 1948 Nepal Praja Panchayat (Nepal People's Committee) was started by some moderate young men to work within the constitution announced by the government; though the constitution preserved all the rights and privileges of the Ranas intact; but the leaders of this new moderate organization were also arrested and when the people started a satyagraha movement on their own without any leader more than 500 prisoners were arrested; since then agitation and popular peaceful struggles are going on from time to time, always meeting violent repression from the Rana administration; recently when King Tribhuvan escaped to the Indian Embassy in Kathmandu and from there came away to India, the combined Nepal People's organizations gave a call for people's democratic rule in Nepal, with the King as the constitutional head; armed volunteers of the Nepali People's Congress captured several towns but had to give them up against the Rana government's armed forces; the people notwithstanding the terror of the Rana regime are solidly behind the Nepali Congress in its struggle with the Rana dictatorship.

## TIBET

*Area and Population :* The Himalayan state of Tibet, with an area of about 475,000 sq. miles and a population of about 3,000,000 has maintained for centuries past a traditional insularity to world affairs. In the last week of October, it all of a sudden jumped into world headlines, when the Peiking radio announced: "People's Army units... have been ordered to advance into Tibet to free the three million Tibetans from imperialist aggression and to consolidate national defences of the western borders of China."

*Culture :* Tibet has been no part of China in the racial or linguistic sense. The Mahayana form of Buddhism with Lamaism is a pure indigenous growth. Culturally it owes more to India than to any other country. The unworldly, inoffensive and weakly-defended Tibetans have however always invited the greedy eyes of their neighbours.

*History :* While China has been consistently claiming suzerainty over Tibet since the year 1720, early this century Russia and Britain were interested in thwarting each other's influence in Tibet. After the 1904 expedition to Tibet, Britain established the right of a trade mission in the treaty which was concluded with Lhasa. Since then trade and commerce has grown between India and Tibet. Chinese influence over Tibet has ranged from military control to recognition of virtual independence of Tibet, when she was content merely to have a Chinese "amban" in Lhasa. The last Chinese military occupation of 1911 was followed by their expulsion and an agreement ensued between China, Tibet and Britain recognising Tibetan autonomy. The new democratic China, after 1911, did not however ratify this agreement but it was because of differences over boundary lines and not on the principle of Tibetan autonomy.

*Recent developments :* Last January Peiking claimed Tibet as a part of the territory of the Chinese People's Republic and asked Lhasa to send a delegation to Peiking for negotiations. It was unfortunate that the government of India went out of its

way at that time to make it clear that it had no desire to intervene militarily. In reply to government of India's request to use "moderation" in dealing with Tibet, Peiking however replied that the negotiations would be carried to a peaceful settlement. A seven-men delegation from Lhasa arrived in India last April. The leader of the delegation said on arrival: "We want to be left alone to pursue our own life." During the summer, the Tibetan delegation and the Chinese Communists sounded each other, with India acting as an intermediary. On the 23rd October it was finally announced from New Delhi that the Tibetan delegation was leaving India for the long-awaited conference at Peiking. On the 24th October came the announcement of Chinese forces marching into Tibet for liberation of the Tibetans from imperialist oppression.

On November 6, in the British House of Commons, Mr. Ernest Davies, Parliamentary Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, described the legal position about Tibet as under: "On the transfer of power to India in 1947, all existing treaty rights and obligations of His Majesty's government in the U.K. with regard to Tibet were assumed by the government of India. . . . When we informed the Tibetan government of this change, we expressed our intention of continuing to take a friendly interest in Tibetan autonomy. . . . We have over a long period recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet but only on the understanding that Tibet is regarded autonomous. For many years, this Chinese suzerainty has been no more than formal and indeed since 1911 Tibet has enjoyed de facto independence."

Learning from their ambassador at Peiking about the movement of Chinese troops into Tibet, the government of India have had an exchange of notes with the Chinese government on the subject. The government of India expressed their "surprise and regret" and emphasised "certain rights which have grown out of usage and agreements" between India and Tibet as a natural consequence of being neighbours with close cultural and commercial relations. The Chinese government however seems to have scant regard for India's feelings on the subject, notwith-



standing all that India has done to seat Communist China in the Security Council of the United Nations.

Tibet has formally appealed to the United Nations against what it terms "a clear case of aggression. The government of El Salvador, a U.N. member, has asked the U.N. General Assembly to place on its agenda an item "Invasion of Tibet by Foreign Forces."

## KASHMIR

The beautiful Himalayan valley of Kashmir was one of the 565 Indian Princely states, before the British withdrew from India on the 15th August 1947.

*People* : 78 per cent of the population of the state are Muslims; remaining 22 per cent being Hindus and Sikhs; there are three main divisions of the Kashmir state—(1) Kashmir, (2) Jammu and (3) the frontier districts of Gilgit and Ladakh; in the eastern parts of these two frontier districts bordering on Tibet, there are about 50,000 Buddhists; half of the boundaries of Kashmir adjoin Pakistan.

*Government* : The Maharaja or the ruler of the state exercised complete authority in the internal administration; the British supervised over it through their political resident at Srinagar; an elected legislature with minor powers was created in 1934.

*People's Organizations and struggles* : There were several political parties and groups in the state before August 1947—the National Conference, the Muslim Conference, Kashmir Pandit Conference, Socialist Group, Kisan Mazdoor Conference and the Kashmir Rajya Hindu Sabha; out of these, the National Conference, a non-communal organization, was broad based and commanded wide public support in the state; it several times launched movements for the people's democratic rights.

*Recent developments* : On the withdrawal of the British and the division of India into India and Pakistan in August 1947,

Kashmir like other Indian princely states, faced the question of accession either to India or to Pakistan or to remain independent of both of them, which it had a legal right to do; though the population of the state is largely Muslim, opinion on the question was sharply divided; strangely there were several Muslims who favoured the state's accession to India while on the other hand there were several Hindus who favoured its accession to Pakistan; quite a number of people preferred to remain independent, both to India and Pakistan, in view of the bitter tension which developed between these two dominions after the partition; the Maharaja and his prime minister also held this latter view; but the militant Muslim League of Pakistan was determined to see that Kashmir acceded to Pakistan; through the Muslim Conference in Kashmir, they set up an agitation for accession of Kashmir to Pakistan; in Punch district of Kashmir, adjoining Pakistan, an open rebellion broke out in which thousands of Muslim war veterans took part; the Pakistan press vehemently criticised the Maharaja and claimed Kashmir as a part of Pakistan; the pressure by Pakistan drove the Maharaja in the opposite direction; he changed his prime ministers, one after another and began to encourage the National Conference leaders, many of whom stood for accession to India; Pakistan on the other hand, encouraged the tribesmen from the regions bordering the North West Frontier province of Pakistan to gather on the adjoining Kashmir border ready to pour into the state "to protect their Muslim brethren;" the Muslim Conference created disturbances at several places in the state in favour of accession to Pakistan; on the 20th October 1947, a large number of wild tribesmen invaded Kashmir from the neighbouring N.W.F. province of Pakistan; the armed tribesmen rapidly advanced to Srinagar, the capital city, burning, looting and inflicting widespread atrocities on the people, Hindus and Muslims alike; on the 26th October, Kashmir provisionally acceded to India and sought Indian protection; next day Indian troops landed at the difficult airfield at Srinagar; there is no doubt that both Muslims and Hindus in Srinagar welcomed them, many foreign eye-witnesses having confirmed this fact; a new government with Sheikh Abdullah,

the National Conference leader, as its head was set up; Pandit Nehru, the prime minister of India and Sheikh Abdullah, both announced that a plebiscite would be held within six months to ascertain the wishes of the people of Kashmir, meanwhile bitter fighting continued and it soon became evident that Pakistan's regular army was fighting in Kashmir along with the tribesmen against the Indian troops; India referred the dispute to the United Nations; Pakistan at first lied both to India and the United Nations about the operation of her army in Kashmir; subsequently when the U.N.O. Commission arrived, Pakistan admitted it; then a cease-fire was agreed in 1948. Indian troops held the Kashmir valley, Jammu, Ladakh, and a few other areas, while Pakistan troops held the northern and western areas; the efforts in the U.N. to arrive at a settlement of the dispute have not so far been successful; India and Pakistan have completely disagreed about establishment of conditions precedent to the holding of a plebiscite; in his report, the U.N. mediator, Sir Owen Dixon held that the use of Muslim tribesmen for invasion of Kashmir and the subsequent employment of Pakistani regular army was a breach of international law. "I have formed the opinion," Sir Owen further remarks, "that if there is any chance of settling the dispute over Kashmir by agreement between India and Pakistan, it now lies in partition, and in some means of allocating the valley rather than in an overall plebiscite."

## SIKKIM

Sikkim is another part of India bordering on Tibet. All the important routes from India to Tibet pass through Sikkim.

*People* : Of the 150,000 population of Sikkim, 75 per cent consist of Pahariyas or Nepalese who originally migrated from Nepal; mostly Hindus, they are hardworking people; 12 per cent of the population are Bhuteas who are mostly Buddhists; the Lepchas, who are the original inhabitants of Sikkim make up the other 13 per cent; they are also Buddhists but are mostly very backward; in an extensive Himalayan forest region, these Sikkimese live in timber and mud houses.

*Government* : Sikkim was before 1947, one of the Indian princely states, under the suzerainty of the British; the king or the ruler, who is of Sino-Tibetan stock and a Buddhist, exercised complete powers in internal matters; till 1947, the administration was a simple medieval one; large areas were leased out by the government, and the lessees exercised complete powers over their estates—judicial, revenue and forest rights; they usually paid to the state half of what they collected from the peasants; the peasantry was oppressed but they had no court of appeal except the estate-holder.

*Political organizations* : The main political organization in Sikkim is the Sikkim State Congress. There are also groups like the Sikkim National Party and the Sikkim Praja Sammelan. The Sikkim State Congress, founded only recently in December 1947, stands for accession of the state to India, abolition of the feudal lessee system and people's democratic government with the ruler as the constitutional head; the membership of the Congress include Paharias, Bhuteas and also Lepchas; the Sikkim National Party which is also of very recent growth, has mostly Bhuteas and Lepchas, i.e. the Buddhists as its members; favoured by the Buddhist ruler, the National Party stands for an independent Sikkim with defence, foreign affairs, and communications only under the control of the government of India; the Praja Sammelan wants the Buddhist ruler to go, and the state to merge completely with India.

*Popular struggles and recent developments* : Since 1947, the peasantry was agitated over the iniquities of the lessee system; they embarked upon a no-tax campaign; the Sikkim State Congress supported this peasants' struggle against the landlords; several Congress members were arrested; two months later the Congress launched a satyagraha movement (civil disobedience) demanding self-government for the people; in May 1949 the ruler assured them of popular reforms, and soon a five member ministry with the State Congress president Tashi Tsering as its head was formed; no real power was however delegated to the ministers, two of whom were the ruler's official nominees; after a few violent out-

bursts of the popular campaign, the ruler appealed to the government of India, who sent one of their officers to be the dewan or prime minister of the state; the Chinese press was very critical of the action of the government of India as China since long claims suzerainty over Sikkim too; the new dewan dissolved the ministry and appointed an advisory council of ten members—three from the Congress, two from the National Party, one from the Sammelan, one representing trade and commerce and three others; the dewan proceeded with certain agrarian reforms, i.e. curtailment of the powers of the estate-holders, permanency of tenure, etc., but the popular representatives on the advisory council soon found that neither they had any powers nor were they even consulted before important administrative measures were undertaken; the three Congress representatives therefore had no other alternative but to resign from the advisory council; the dewan now is trying to circumvent the popular organizations by having regional Panchayats (committees) elected and forming an elected advisory council from among the Panchayats; the Congress is meeting next month in its annual session to decide what steps it should take to have government responsible to popular opinion.

## BHUTAN

*Population* : Bhutan, the easternmost Himalayan state with a population of 400,000, is a very backward state; its 18,000 sq. miles have no motorable roads and the only way to reach its capital town of Poonakha is a three to six days' mule-ride from Gangtok, the capital town of Sikkim; in fact there is more traffic between Tibet and India than there is between Bhutan and India; the people are all Bhuteas of the Tibetan stock; a large percentage of people are Nepalis who have migrated and settled there; there is also a very small percentage of Assamese in the eastern districts; the Bhuteas are all Buddhists, they speak a Tibetan dialect and use the Tibetan script.

*Government* : There are no political parties in Bhutan; the Maharaja who acknowledges the suzerainty of the government of India, exercises power through tribal 'Kazis' and 'Tehsiladrs,'

some of whom are absolutely autocratic; permits are necessary for entry into Bhutan but the same are not easily granted by the Bhutan government; proper historical records of the state are not extant owing to the extensive damage caused by the great fire of 1832 and the earthquake of 1869. Recently, there has been some unrest among the people of Bhutan.

## PAKHTOONISTAN

On the north and north-western frontier of Pakistan from Gilgit to Baluchistan, are the tribal areas, through which runs the Durand Line; there are large numbers of people of a common stock, language and culture inhabiting both the sides of the Line; for instance there are 100,000 Toori Shias, 50,000 Mangals and about 30,000 Parachamkanis under Pakistan's Kurrum Agency Civil Armed Forces; then there are 100,000 Afridis in the Khyber Agency area; they are the most advanced among the tribesmen; the Shinwaris number about 10,000 and the Malajuris and Shilmarris about 3,000 each; in the Tirah territory there are the three states of Chitral, Swat and Amb; Chitral and Amb are quite backward states; Chitral, the capital city has only one primary school; but Swat with a population of 4,46,041, is more advanced; all the three states have acceded to Pakistan; the eight million people in these areas in Baluchistan and in several districts of the N.W.F. Provinces of Pakistan, broadly come under the nomenclature of "Pakhtoons;" the Pakhtoons in the tribal areas never acknowledged the suzerainty of the British who dealt with them alternately by bombs and pensions; being of an extremely independent temperament they want neither the suzerainty of Pakistan over them; the Pakhtoon independence movement has therefore been launched with the object of an independent Pakhtoonistan; they maintain that they differ completely in racial affinities and culture from the Punjab and Sindhi Muslims of Pakistan; the Fakir of Ipi and Moola Noor Dal are the leaders of the Pakhtoon movement; Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his brother Dr. Khansaheb, erst-while Indian national leaders and close associates of Mahatma Gandhi, are since a long time behind prison bars in Pakistan; the

Pakhtoons consider Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, "the Frontier Gandhi," to be their uncrowned king.

Pakistan, it is said, is spending more than 120 million rupees each year in these tribal areas to pacify and suppress the tribesmen; the Pakhtoon independence movement has met with severe reprisals by the Pakistan authorities; the movement however is growing; Afghanistan, the neighbouring state, looks upon it with favour.

## BURMA

After the first Burma War of 1826, Burma was gradually annexed by the British. In 1923, Burma was made a governor's province under the government of India Act of 1919. On the 1st April 1937 Burma was separated from India and linked up directly to London. On the 8th March 1942 the Japanese occupied Rangoon. British administration was resumed on the 16th October 1945. A conference was held in London in January 1947 where an agreement was reached "as to the methods by which the people of Burma may achieve their independence either within or without the Commonwealth." The Union of Burma came into existence as an independent republic on the 4th January 1948.

The area of Burma is 261,610 square miles, out of which Burma proper, inclusive of Chin Hills and Kachin Hill tracts covers 192,158 square miles and the Shah of Karenni states cover 62,335 square miles. The total population in 1941 was 16,823,798, including 9,000,000 Burmans, 1,200,000 Karens, 1,000,000 Shans, 300,000 Chins and 150,000 Kachins. There are small non-indigenous minorities of 887,000 Indians, 150,000 Chinese, 120,000 Indo-Burmans and 8,000 Europeans. The Burmans belong to the Tibeto-Burman group and 843 out of every 1,000 are Buddhists. Burma is predominantly an agricultural country with over 12 million acres under the plough and with over 65 per cent of its population actively engaged in agriculture and other ancillary pursuits. 60 per cent of land under cultivation grows rice. Burma's economy largely depends upon rice exports.

Since her independence Burma has faced serious internal trouble both from the Right and the Left. There was a gun attack on the Aung San cabinet which killed premier Aung San with several of his colleagues. Aung San was the creator and leader of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, an organization comprising of several parties and groups. Immediately thereafter the Karens, an important national minority, demanded autonomy and rose in a rebellion. The Communists, taking advantage of the civil war, sided with the Karens. After protracted military operations, the government forces have now been able to contain the rebels into a few isolated rebel pockets. Communist acts of sabotage still occur.

The Burma Socialist Party is an active vigorous organization. They form an important part of the coalition government of Burma.

—1950, *November*.



# HIMALAYAN INDIA :

## Some non-party and non-controversial suggestions.

I should like to make some proposals, entirely non controversial and non-partisan, which all political parties, publicists, in particular the radio and press, would do well to adopt.

1. The division of the people of India into Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian should be irrevocably ended. There are no such divisions at present nor have been in the past 3,000 years and some times I imagine the European scholars have invented these lies to disintegrate India. The Chinese are making use of this lie in order to wean away the emotional loyalties of more than one and half crores of people of the Himalayan India by telling them that they are both brothers of the Mongolian race. From my personal experience of peoples right upto Thailand, as also my knowledge of history, I can categorically assert that India and her immediate neighbours like Tibet, Thailand and Cambodia are certainly not Mongolian in the Chinese sense and they are all definitely more akin to India than China in their mind as well as race.

2. The frontiers between India and a sovereign Tibet may and should have been the McMohan Line and that between China and India should be the Kailas, Manasarovar and East-flowing Brahmaputra and in fact 30 to 40 miles further north, where the land shows a steep fall. I had so far depended on cultural, mythological and geographical evidence for this policy.

But I am now producing administrative evidence in so far as the village of Mansar is concerned. The village gave land revenue to India definitely until the Chinese occupation and the vital statistics of that village formed part of Indian census. It appears a ruler of Ladakh gave away these lands with the exception of the Mansar village, which he retained as a token of Indian sovereignty, to a ruler of Tibet and in all probability this gift deed was invalid and even assuming this was valid the government of China can under no law become beneficiaries to this gift made to the government of Tibet.

3. Tibet and India are related in matters of script, language and general ways of living and thought. I might almost say that Tibet is about 80 per cent India and 20 per cent China and even in regard to the racial build-up the Tibetans are certainly as much related to India as to China. What should decide frontiers between any two countries is the will of the people, the contours of the land, general culture, geography and history and economic considerations. The Chinese should be told to learn from their master Lenin that he tore up old imperialist treaties for the sake of a new and free world. Even if the treaties are to be a basis let treaties of the Mansar type or of the Mahabharat age be brought on the conference table. India should of course always make it clear that if China chose to make Tibet sovereign they will not lay claim to Kailas or similar areas.

4. Such names as Mount Everest or NEFA must be immediately abandoned and in their place the name of Sargamatha or Sagarmatha which have been prevalent throughout the ages as native names of the Everest and Urvasiam for NEFA must be put to immediate use. Furthermore, the administration of Urvasiam should be taken away from the External Affairs Ministry, and, if the Delhi government is averse to transfer it to the Home Ministry, a separate ministry of the Himalayan Affairs under the direct care of the prime minister, be formed.

5. An integrated economic and population planning for Himalayan India must be put into operation and resources of all

India in money as well as in men must be utilized in order particularly to make this whole area lush with orchards.

6. Responsible government must be introduced in Bhutan, Sikkim and Urvasiam, and the peoples of these lands must be enabled to send representatives to the Indian parliament.

However low India might have currently fallen, it would be wise to tell her own people and the neighbours that this greatest continent of human race called Asia in English, Asien in German or Ascien in French, derives its name not from a Chinese or any other word but from the Indian word Usha or Ushas, the land of the morning sun, or the Eastern land. Our ancestors at one time were great enough to give the areas now peopled by the Chinese and others their name.

I must confess to an utter incompetence because I have been making some of these suggestions for several years but to no effect. I should like to make an appeal to the prime minister of India who is the only effective leader of opinion in the country to give a serious thought to these absolutely non-party and non-controversial suggestions.

—1960, *May; Press statement.*

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# MANSAR

## I

Right up to recent years the village of Mansar, situated to the north of Manasarovar lake, gave land revenue to India and its population and other settlement statistics formed part of the Indian census.

This information had been furnished to me by Sardar Ram Singh, who was at one time officer of the Leh-Ladakh administration.

The whole area from Ladakh to Kailash and Manasarovar was once gifted away by some Ladakhi ruler to Tibet. This is an invalid gift and in any case the Chinese government can never become its beneficiary.

---1960, *May 9.*

## II

I thank the India government for asserting India's sovereign rights over Mansar, a village in the Kailash Manasarovar region of Tibet, some 70 miles north of the present border. While I did not expect nor wanted any contemporary appreciation for my national or international interventions, I want the Indian people to be grateful to Sardar Ram Singh of Almora from whom I had first learnt of this village, and also that its land revenue and census operations were a part of India's. I want the people

to be very vigilant, for the India government had earlier abandoned its sovereign rights over Mansar. This acceptance by the India government of my position with regard to Mansar also made clear that China has usurped a total of nearly one lakh sq. miles of Indian territory; fifteen thousand sq. miles three or four years ago in Ladakh and elsewhere, and over 80 thousand sq. miles of Kailash-Manasarovar region 11 years ago. Language, script, religion, contours of land, and way of life had abundantly proved that India and Tibet were far closer to each other than either was to China, and now this administrative and political position of Mansar proved clearly that Kailash and Manasarovar region once belonged to India and had been gifted by an Indian ruler to a Tibetan monk and the gift was certainly not transferable or valid in respect of China. I vigorously reassert that the McMahon Line could only be valid frontier between India and sovereign Tibet, and that the frontier between India and China must lie 70 to 100 miles further north.

—1960, *November 11; Dhanbad; speech summary.*

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# INDIAN AND CHINESE TENTS

The Chinese can take the whole of the Himalayas inside of a day and a half if they so wish. In Badrinath, and in Mana which is the last village on the Indian frontier, I counted less than 15 tents of armed police, while I was told the Chinese had 172 in Taglakot and over 40 tents in all towns like Gyanima Mandi. The Chinese have also built a motor road around Kailash and Manasarovar.

Furthermore, the mind of the people in the frontier areas of Tehri Garhwal and Almora is as soft and spongy as I had occasion to notice at the Assam frontier and elsewhere. I believe that they are easy victims to the myth of a Mongolian race as apart from an Aryan or a Dravidian race. And, the Chinese are losing no time in making use of this myth. When I look at these Himalayan people, I am convinced that there never have been any Aryan, Mongolian, or Dravidian races. These are empty imaginings of European and Christian scholars. The time is come to do something about this, and the least that can be done is a separate ministry of Himalayan affairs at the centre. It should take up at once the job of converting the virgin terraces of the Himalayas into thousands of miles of orchards and, of course, start with a fresh policy.

My discovery of the Mansar village in Tibet caused a number of stupid assertions in Parliament about documents and the like. But the real issue is something wholly different. Mr. Nehru has claimed that his documents are probably the same as mine. But he might be interested to know that I have no docu-

ments whatever. The point is not of documents but the question why Mansar, 60 or 70 miles north of the MacMahon Line, belonged to India. We not only took its land revenue, but its population was counted in ours in all censuses before 1948. The India government made the mistake of assuming Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, although it made much play about the difference in sovereignty and suzerainty, and since 1948, this mistake is continuing. Tibet is less Chinese than Indian, although, Tibet is really Tibetan with strong Indian affiliations. If the Indian government cannot adopt this positive policy of considering Tibet a special neighbour, it can at least give up its mistake of the last 13 years of considering Tibet the Tibetan region of China.

Up to May 1960, when I talked about it, Mr. Nehru made no mention of it, either because he did not know of it or because he wished to suppress the fact.

—1961, *June 13; Hyderabad; Press interview.*

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# HIMALAYAS, THE EMPTY SYMBOL AND SEVEN REVOLUTIONS

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां विशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः  
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधि बगहा स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः

These are the first two lines of Kalidasa's Kumarasambhava in which the poet calls Himalaya the king of mountains and soul of direction, and describes it as seated between East and West oceans, as though measuring the world. I challenge the Chinese to produce a poem half as beautiful in their own language. If they did, I at least would concede our claim to the Himalayas and in the alternative, they should abandon theirs.

The popularity of the Indian prime minister had increased with the European peoples during past eight years when he was last in Europe. This was a matter for sorrow, for while the prime minister's shine was waning off in India, its glitter abroad is increasing. The prime minister was becoming a symbol of peace to Europe and the European peoples were not bothering to find out if the symbol was as empty and as ineffective as Garry Davis proved to be. Large bodies of men throughout the ages condemned weapons as bad and it was only now after continual increase in the arsenal that weapons are also being considered as useless, at least by thinking people. The hope for peace lay precisely in this new belief that weapons and the war system are futile. The vacuum created by the abolition of weapons will be filled up by the seven revolutions of justice and equality for instance economic, sex, colour, that are raising simultaneously throughout the world and are special gifts of the twentieth century to humanity.

—1961, *November 23; Sohilla.*





# THE HIMALAYA BACHAO SAMMELAN

“The Delhi Himalaya Bachao Conference (Save Himalaya Conference) is scheduled for fifteenth and sixteenth December. It is a no-party venture. Individuals attending the conference will comprise various shades of opinion. Some of them belong to different political organizations as some others are unattached. The first day's sessions will be held at NDMC hall between 10 A.M. and 8 P.M. when delegates will discuss resolutions, and the second day's session will be a public rally at Gandhi grounds starting at 3 in the afternoon.

Whoever signs the Save Himalaya pledge will be entitled to be a delegate. The pledge reads: A section of Himalaya has been part of political India and the rest independent in whose freedom India has been interested. History is witness that a part of Himalaya has belonged to India and another free and Hindustan's brother. I pledge that no matter what the India government does, I shall continually strive so that India gets back the boundary of 15th August 1947, and Tibet and rest of Himalaya their freedom. To fulfil this pledge I enrol as a member of the Himalaya Bachao Sammelan and pay the fee of four annas.

Even if there is no object surrender of Indian territory to Chinese imperialists, a possibility which cannot be entirely ruled out, India is heading towards prospects of various degrees of gloom. We may have to face battles again without adequate preparation of mind. One of two kinds of stalemate is also pos-

sible, documented or undocumented stalemate. In all these events we will be at a disadvantage compared to the Chinese.

India may yet turn the scales, provided she makes up her mind. Is she ready to defend her territories or is she not? Is she willing to help secure the freedom of other Himalayan states like Tibet or is she not? There is a regrettable mixture of resolves on both these issues. We firmly believe that India's reverses in battle have been due not so much to military reasons as to political reasons. India sat mously in her bunkers, fighting half-heartedly and hoping for a settlement any minute. Chinese armies raced into India and we wondered whether this or that step will not lead to world war or attacking Chinese concentrations on the rebellious Tibetan plateau were politically desirable. It is ridiculous to cite the example of British reverses in Malaya or Burma or America or in the Phillipines. We were fighting on our native soil while these others fighting on foreign territory. The problem is more than anything else one of will, the will primarily to defend our freedom and our territory, no matter what the price and the will secondarily to secure the independence of other Himalayan states.

To harden these two wills is the primary purpose of the conference, first of the people, and then perhaps as a sequel of the government. At the moment there is a cease-fire. The first danger exists that this undocumented cease-fire may easily slide into a partly documented armistice, with advantage to the Chinese, and the India government making vain declaration how a treaty to come would rectify injustices. A second danger exists that this documented or undocumented armistice would lead, may be after some months or even years, to a blasphemous treaty of surrender, which may then be required to become the basis of peace appeals. The Indian people will do well to think of all these four stages of cease-fire, armistice, treaty, and peace, and to realise that any weakening of will at any of them is bound to enter into the later stages.

A misfortune of such conferences is that they result in no subsequent and continued action. It is intended that the conference should result in an organization of the same name. Whether the organization would continue alone or members signing its pledge or additionally affiliate such parties and associations as accept its aim, would be for the conference to decide."

—*Sri Rajnarayan's statement, dated December 11, 1962; Delhi.*

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**KASHMIR**



# KASHMIR

The state of Kashmir has acquired a unique significance in view of Pakistan's aggression. On the battle fields of Kashmir is being decided not only the fate of Kashmir but in a very large way the destiny of India as a nation. If Pakistan succeeds, it will have succeeded a long way in its two nation theory, but if Kashmir continues to be a part of the Indian nation as it has been in the past, the Indian nation will be able to progress towards democracy and a prosperous culture. The Socialist Party sends its warm greetings to the brave people of Kashmir and their leaders Sheikh Abdullah and Maulana Mohammed Sayeed for standing up so manfully against Pakistan, and the satanic two nation theory and also to the gallant soldiers and airmen of the Indian army for holding aloft the banner of secular democracy. It welcomes the recent resolution of the Kashmir National Conference as an expression of the will of the people to be an integral part of the Indian union.

In recent weeks an attempt has been made by certain misguided or interested sections of the Indian people to wrench the battle of Kashmir out of the great context in which it is being fought. Much is being made of the expenses of these battles and the partition of Kashmir is being advocated. The pernicious partition of Kashmir between the Indian union and Pakistan was so long advocated by the communists in Kashmir and the conservatives of Britain, but it has now found strong advocates among a small section of the Indian press. These evil attempts to sap the will of the people of India must stop. The

great issue of democracy and nationhood involved in the battle of Kashmir must not be judged by the petty considerations of money or obscured by make-shift compromises. The Socialist Party condemns all such efforts at betrayal of the common people of Kashmir and of the gallant Indian army and, while congratulating the government of India on resisting the aggression of Pakistan and the two nation theory, it warns them that a half-hearted pursuit of the endeavour in Kashmir or a surrender will be repudiated by the Indian people. The government of India must no longer be remiss in counter acting Pakistan's propaganda in Kashmir.

The continuance of Kashmir as an integral part of India imposes heavy responsibilities on the Indian people. The magnificent challenge which the people of Kashmir have so bravely presented to Pakistan must awaken response in every Indian's heart and whatever traces of the two nation theory are still present within the Indian union must be wiped out. The concept of equal citizenship for all the religions of the Indian union, Hindu or Muslim or other, must continue to remain a cherished possession of the Indian mind as joyous as it is sacred. In accordance with this concept and with the democratic policy in regard to the princes, the despotic dynasty in Kashmir must go. This dynasty has long obscured the issues in Kashmir and it still continues to do so in some measure. It is a denial of full democratic and responsible status to the people of Kashmir; it is a weapon in the hands of India's enemies and Pakistan's friends. If the Indian people wish to tie Kashmir to themselves with unbreakable bonds of affection and loyalty, they must press on the government of India to remove the Kashmir dynasty, and also instruct the states ministry not to interfere with the schemes of social uplift such as the abolition of jagirdars and landlords.

—1948; *from the report of the sub-committee appointed by the national executive of the Socialist Party to consider the problems of the states.*



# AN INTERVIEW ON KASHMIR

From the freezing cold of Gulmarg to the heat of Delhi and Nagpur, all in the course of a day, is an experience, and shows how vast our country is. It is perhaps this vastness that has given India her tolerance and understanding during the brighter periods of her history. To cut away from this vastness is like a stab in the heart, and in any event reduces the possibility of tolerance.

Secondly, the lie has gone round the world that Kashmir is the only outstanding issue between India and Pakistan and it must now be nailed on the head. There are any number of other issues like Pakhtoonistan, the East Bengal separatism and questions relating to minorities as well as economic arrangements, each one of which can cause trouble. Even if the Kashmir issue could be settled to the satisfaction of Pakistan, these other issues may yet disrupt her and she will lay the blame on India. No enduring and mutually satisfactory settlement of the Kashmir question is possible unless Pakistan sees her way to reconstruct herself.

Thirdly, should Kashmir be handed over to Pakistan on the ground of religion, that will not only amount to sacrificing innocent people but also drive deeper the poison of religious fanaticism into the body of Asia. One of the main perils that confronts Asia is precisely this fanaticism and religious separatism and to appease Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir would necessarily result in making India and all Asia a still greater prey to forces of fanaticism and disruption.



I am sorry for the people of Pakistan that they have been so badly indoctrinated into a longing for Kashmir. I can easily imagine what difficulties such a longing can create for the government of Pakistan. But the solution to all such dark longings is not appeasement but a thinking out afresh the foundations on which to order ones life.

Fourthly, the United Nations observers in Kashmir are not playing the game. I heard the story of a major-general attached to the U.N. staff who told the Bengal minister, Dr. R. Ahmad, that the grand processions and meetings of the Kashmir National Conference were only 'surface shows.' The major-general probably thought that he could confide in a Muslim, forgetting that there are Muslims and Muslims. This only shows how the poison has entered even into such a body of men as the U.N. observers. The staff of an organization, apparently striving for peace and justice, should be better trained. But perhaps that is not possible, for the United Nations Organization has become a clearing house of international intrigues and a stage for the manoeuvrings of the 'great powers.' No issue is today judged except against a back-ground of alliances and, possible military assistance. The Atlantic camp probably count on Pakistan as a safe ally against the Soviet camp. This naturally prejudices the Atlantic camp in favour of Pakistan; but the disastrous consequences of such an attitude to the framing of a universal law based on justice can be easily imagined.

Fifthly, when I have said this about the United Nations my attitude should not be mixed up with that of India's foreign minister. He is prone to hysteria and treats every issue whether it is that of postal delivery on Sundays or of Kashmir, on a highly personal level. No principles, whether of world unity or India's national interests, have guided him.

If he can accuse the United Kingdom, and the United States of aiding and abetting Pakistan, so can he be equally legitimately accused of alternately aiding and abetting the Atlantic and Soviet camps. The twists and turns of his exceedingly

futile foreign policy have made India's position extremely suspect and no nation can trust her even as a neutral.

I can well understand the desire of other nations to re-insure themselves against uncertain moves by India. If the foreign minister of India could only rid himself of his vainglorious desire to play a supreme role on the world's stage without any ideological or material strength inside the country to back him, he would probably not throw his weight about futilely, and would stay strictly neutral between the Atlantic and the Soviet camps and thus arouse some kind of confidence.

Sixthly, the United Nations consists not only of the Big Four or Big Five but of 56 other nations. Not all these nations are anti-Indian or guided by base motives. That none of them has shown any genuine understanding of India in relation to Pakistan proves conclusively the despicable failure of India's foreign policy. Only a bad dancer blames the floor for his faults.

Like the parvenue, the India government has been consistently shabby in its treatment of these smaller nations. India's foreign minister has never once declared himself against the international caste system that divides the world into five Brahmin and 56 Pariah nations. If he would only do that and base his foreign policy on the destruction of this international caste system and on the equality of nations, he would rouse a pure and healthy ferment for world equality and peace which would necessarily contribute to a better understanding of the Indio-Pakistan problem. In any maturer democracy, India's foreign minister would have been dismissed a long time back.

Seventhly, there has been a great deal of hurtful delay in solving problems, varying from the institution of the ruling family of Kashmir and the arranging of elections, to the formulation of an economic policy for Kashmir. I hope there would be no further delay in abolishing the rulership, electing a parliament and initiating a sound economic policy.

Eighthly, the government of Kashmir can not afford to imitate the rest of India in such directions as seeking of power

and money and favouritism and nepotism. I understand that a great deal of heart-burning is caused among the people of Kashmir by such acts. Matriculates with a pull are selected for service in preference to graduates who have no such pull; and in any event the present rulers of Kashmir have to keep their conduct austere and pure so that Pakistan may not obtain a handle.

Ninthly, I hope larger numbers of our people will go out to Kashmir and seek their holiday there and thus help to steady the economy of Kashmir. I must however warn these tourists to remember always that Kashmir is perhaps the final battle ground of the two nation theory, where it will either be buried for ever or live a resurrected life. If they give themselves over to defeatism or to unkind treatment of their Kashmiri brethren, these tourists will have done more harm than good.

Tenthly, I should have thought that delegations of organizations of youths in Europe and elsewhere would have come out to Kashmir and report on the problem of Indo-Pakistan relationship. The youth may be expected to take a long range view of human affairs unsullied by baser motives. Except for the lack of money the Socialist Party of India would have attempted to organize such youth delegations. Likewise a delegation of Kashmiri youths should be encouraged to visit other countries.

Eleventhly, I should also like to mention such fine names as Maulana Sayeed (general secretary of the National Conference), Janab Mohammad Shafi and Jiyalal Tamiri, in addition to Sheikh Abdulla, whose deeds of unexcelled physical and moral bravery should be better known in the rest of India.

A curious coalition between the disruptionists of the R.S.S. variety and the Communist variety has been in existence for some time past in Jammu, which led at one time to the threatened resignation of Maulana Sayeed. I hope that the National Conference will know how not to allow such elements.

I should like to express in the end my confident hope that Kashmir, which is a part of India, shall stay a part of India, in

the interests of a free and equal world, in the interests of a re-surgent Asia purged of disruptive fanaticism and in the final instance because the people of Kashmir as an integral part of the people of India, wish it.

—1951, *June*.

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# DANGEROUS STRATEGY

With much pain and a little despair, I and many others are observing the recentmost effort to divert people's attention from pressing political and social issues to the communal front. Continual propaganda is being let loose to make it appear that the Congress party is battling heroically and alone against the communal menace and that even the Praja Socialist Party is assisting it to grow. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Shyama-prasad Mukherjee may both be acting from honourable motives but, in the consequences of their action, they are alike dividing the Hindus from the Muslims and trying to keep the two communities behind impenetrable iron curtains. The election strategy of the Congress party caught the Muslims of India between the two pincers of fear, that Hindu communalism was engulfing them, and of trust, that Mr. Nehru and his party were their sole saviours. In constituency after constituency, Muslims held the balancing vote and they cast it as a community for the Congress candidate. I will ever admire Mr. Nehru's unexcelled craftsmanship which enabled his party to win outright when it might have otherwise won only lamely, but I had hoped that he would desist from further practice of it for the sake of his nation. The nation will die if Muslims continue to exist as a political community and if they do not split up as the Hindus have split up into opposing political parties. Both Mr. Nehru and Mr. Mukherjee are acting, each in his own way, to divide Hindus from Muslims and to rule, one as the prime minister and the other as the outstanding oppositionist. Furthermore, Mr. Nehru and his men are pursuing a more pernicious communalism on the basis

of caste. Only a week ago, an all-India Ahir conference was held under the patronage of leading Congressmen and to the constituency, where a U.P. cabinet minister has been unseated, separate teams of Rajputs and Muslims have already gone out on behalf of the Congress party to woo the vote of their respective communities. This practice of wooing the caste vote is so flagrant that even the president of the republic demeaned himself and the nation by publicly bathing the feet of two hundred Brahmins. Let there be some honesty in public life. The people must decide no more to respond to Mr. Nehru's injured innocence, until he changes his line on the Muslim as well as the caste front. This utter cynicism of the thief accusing the householder and getting away with it has already poisoned the wells of our spiritual life.

Much has been made of the Praja Socialist Party's association with the Jan Sangh in the observance of the East Bengal day. It is forgotten that this observance helped to keep the East Bengal issue away from communal passion and that even Dr. Mukherjee was persuaded to abandon his hitherto favourite theme of exchange of population. Even so, such a joint participation outside Bengal has actually turned out to be unfortunate, if for no other reason than that the Praja Socialist Party does not possess the resources to clear up the fog of misrepresentation spread by the Congress party.

The Praja Parishad agitation in Jammu, although started for apparently national ends, is undesirable in its consequences and no Praja Socialist has been associated with it. But under cover of legitimate criticism of an undesirable agitation, let there be no effort to conceal the errors of the Kashmir policy. Immediately after Kashmir's accession to India, the prince should have been made to go, a central cabinet minister should have been made resident in Kashmir to further the legal accession into a political reality, and schemes of land redistribution should not have been delayed. For those who were inclined to condemn these actions as unpractical, I will record Mahatma Gandhi's opinion given to me on the eve of my departure for

Srinagar immediately after Pakistan's aggression. "Some fear that the abdication of the Kashmir prince will lead to the rebellion of all of India's princes. That will be good, even if it happens. If we win, we will have a cleaner slate to write on and if they win, we will resume our clean fight," said Mahatma Gandhi. All that is now past and some may hold that it is no use crying over spilt milk, but the milk is still being spilt. Little effort is being made to remove the glaring inefficiencies of the Kashmir administration and, while we would urge the Parishad to stop its agitation, we would also want the Kashmir administration to bear public scrutiny. Finally, I would want the youth of India to cut through this hideous fog of communalism, both direct and inverted, and let the people breathe the air of honest political debate.

—1953, *January*.

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# FUTURE OF KASHMIR

The sinister forebodings concerning Kashmir uttered by the prime minister of India at the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee are so rapidly coming true that the people must take sharp note. *The New York Times* correspondent has forecast the constitution of the Kashmir valley into an independent sovereign state and the prime minister of Kashmir has begun to think loudly of a Kashmir that will cancel its accession to India. India may with the best of luck retain Jammu and Ladakh and prevent the absorption of the Kashmir valley into Pakistan.

Americans in the guise of U.N. officers are all over the place in the valley and Russians have since long had their numerous agents in the Kashmir movement. These two white nations poised for mortal combat elsewhere are reported to have agreed with Sheikh Abdullah on the need to constitute the valley at least into an independent state. With the lessening of tension in Korea and India and Pakistan, external pressure will be put on them to scale down from their heights, and it needs no prophetic insight to foretell which of the two will be asked to descend lower.

The prime minister of India has made the exceedingly clever attempt to shift responsibility on the one hand and to cover his doings with the silvery mantle of peace on the other. For five long years he has been in complete charge of the situation and, however he may now try to blame Hindu or Muslim



communalism, the prime responsibility for Kashmir developments is his. Too long have the people of India fallen victim to the traditional trick of all vague but clever politicians to escape responsibility. That must not happen any more. A first essential of democracy is identifiable responsibility with the resolve that it shall not be evaded in relation to Kashmir.

The prime minister has additionally made it appear that the Indian army went to Kashmir on invitation, that its period of stay cannot be prolonged against the people's will and that, therefore, anybody outside Kashmir wanting its accession to India is not a man of peace. The prime minister seems to reduce great affairs of the state to the homely level of dinner invitations. The armed forces of India, than which only two others in the world are more powerful and that because of their equipment, are certainly not designed to shed their blood on such whimsical invitations.

Even if it is assumed that the Kashmiri mind has changed since the invitation was first issued and that the prime minister of India cannot be held responsible for such fickleness, the acid test is whether everything possible was done in the last five years to fortify the Kashmiri temper. An honest person must admit that everything possible was not done and that no policy to develop legal accession into psychological and political accession was devised. The government of India should at least have made a cabinet minister reside in Kashmir. It should have removed the anomaly through which a citizen of Kashmir is automatically a citizen of India but not vice-versa.

Let no one think that I am trying to cry over spilt milk or to seek the culprit. I am troubled about the future and that future relates not so much to Kashmir or the Indo-Pakistan relationship as the Hindu-Muslim relationship. In the ultimate instance, India belongs to Pakistan as much as Pakistan belongs to India and it is a tragic failure of Indo-Pakistan statesmanship that foreign powers will perhaps be able to intrigue in an independent

Kashmir valley. Very much more tragic may be the impact of the Kashmir failure on Hindu-Muslim relationship.

The two prime ministers of India and Kashmir have for five long years proclaimed the Kashmir episode a part of the grand design to weld Hindus and Muslims into a single nation, to achieve in this part of Asia a state blind to religious separations. The effort in Kashmir has been wasted and the grand design is threatened. I wish to alert the people of India against a natural but dangerous reaction. Failure in Kashmir should never incline them to accept failure in creating a nation of which Hindus and Muslims are identical parts but to make them seek and remove the cause of their defeat.

A main cause has been the cult of one-man leadership. In India as well as in Kashmir, this cult has led to helpless reliance on the varying moods of a single person and these can never rear the wisdom that steers the ship of state through storms. The people of India are sufficiently warned. They may pile their anger on the guilty men, should bad developments take place in Kashmir, but never desist from the grand design to weld Hindus and Muslims into a nation.

—1953, *July*.

# LETTERS FROM KASHMIR

I have received several letters about Kashmir which, when edited but without change, read as follows:

## Anti-India:

“The trouble really arose about the implementation of the unimplemented clauses of the Delhi agreement. The majority was in favour of implementing the same, whereas Sheikh Abdullah, Beg, Sofi Mohammed Akbar, Mubarak Shah, Dy. finance minister, and Abdul Ghani, Gooni, Doda, favoured limited accession. In fact, the latter are said to have hinted the abrogation of the unfavourable clauses of the agreement. Faced with the majority's determined opposition, Sheik Abdullah started talking even against limited accession. He also described Pakistan in soft words. Besides, he emphasised the third alternative, i.e., independent Kashmir. However, the working committee persuaded him to sign the resolution favouring implementation of the Delhi agreement. But soon he hastened to avenge his insult. He addressed several public and workers' meetings in which he tried to undo the working committee's resolution. He said that no decision about the future of the Jammu and Kashmir state, arrived at behind closed doors, could be imposed on the people of Kashmir. It was for the Kashmiris to decide their future and not for their leaders. In these very meetings he confessed his party's corruption, nepotism, favouritism and other weakness. He plainly told people that his colleagues have used power for personal benefit. But in the same breath he told the same audience that he himself had dedicated his life for the

service of his people and that he had not benefitted his relatives. It was easy to perceive that his attempt was (and still is) to isolate and defame his colleagues and to present himself as the only saviour of the people."

"But Pakistanis have now replaced the Reds. But they do not talk in favour of Pakistan in his presence. They tell people outside that Sheikh Abdullah is for Pakistan, so that people are encouraged to favour Pakistan openly. In fact, these elements only three days ago organised a public meeting in which thousands of people participated and raised the slogan: "Pakistan Zindabad." Not only that, they organised several processions that very night and threatened the minorities, the pro-Bakshi National Conference workers and even Indian Army personnel. Visitors were also scared away. Several army officers and M.P.'s were hooted. Had not the Indian army's presence in the city deterred the demonstrators, 1947 would have been repeated. The situation here took such an alarming turn, that many visitors returned to India and the minorities became panicky. The situation even now is tense. Relations between Hindus and Muslims are strained. Almost every Muslim has become a Pakistani and almost every Hindu is a Sanghi. Dr. Mukherjee's death has deteriorated the situation further. Hindus are accusing Sheikh Abdullah of having killed Dr. Mukherjee, and the Muslims seem to resent it. A condolence meeting organised by the local Sanghis was not liked by the Muslims. Particularly, the slogan "Shahid-e-Kashmir ki Jai" was resented by the Muslims. It is not their fault. Sheikh Abdullah considers everybody in India, except Mr. Nehru to be a communalist. This is the effect the Praja Parishad agitation has produced in him. Stevenson is also reported to have played up this bogey of communalism. Joint propaganda against Sheikh Abdullah by the Reds and Bakshi's followers seems to be influencing only some of the Muslim workers of the National Conference. Sheikh Abdullah's religious appeal seems to have wiped out every other influence in Kashmir. The misfortune is that Sheikh Abdullah avoids to contradict that he is for Pakistan. Also, he is disregarding all

his previous declarations that Kashmir has irrevocably thrown her lot with India. He does not also now accuse the Anglo-American powers for Kashmir's troubles."

"Sheikh Abdullah has delivered two more dangerous speeches, one on 3-7-53 and another on 10-7-53. Both these speeches were delivered in workers meetings at Mujahid Manzil. But the reports of these speeches released by the press were almost entirely different. In his earlier speech, Sheikh Sahib said, Dr. Mukherjee's death has shown big Congress leaders and many other Communists and Socialists in the true colours. A little scratching has revealed them to be Hindu communalists. Unfortunately Hindus in India consider themselves to be born nationalists. In their opinion communalism, or any other wickedness, is found only in Muslims. But we cannot now be deceived. On this issue, everybody's mask in India, of nationalism, has fallen. They have threatened and demanded that military actions should be taken against the Kashmiri Muslims. But let them know that a Muslim knows how to play with death. 30 lakh Kashmiri Muslims will die and then let the Indian army rule over their bodies.... Whether the Praja Parishad now withdraws its movement or not is immaterial, for it has already done its intended harm. India's intention towards us have been exposed. We had acceded to India in three subjects. But even with regard to these doubts have been raised in our minds. We shall have to reconsider them. But it is not our fault. They have broken this relationship and not we."

"On the 10th July, he delivered a more dangerous speech. He said: You have been wanting my lead about accession. But I am myself not clear about it. In fact, I do not know what my future will be within a few days. I am seriously thinking of resigning as prime minister so that I can come out into the opposition to defend Muslim rights.... Let them (India) have the prime minister who can steer this boat in these storm-tossed seas. On the one hand they ask me to lead the state, whereas on the other, they accuse me of disloyalty to nationalists—and to India. Mean attacks are being made on me. Sometimes I am called a

communist, sometimes a Pakistani. At one time they call me the Sultan of Kashmir, and another time, I am accused of being an American agent. How long can I tolerate all this. How many tests of loyalty shall I undergo? They want to test me; those whose own record is full of dark deeds. Let them test me, but I will also not spare them. I will also test them on the anvil. . . . It is true that the communalists in India and Kashmir launched or supported the recent Praja Parishad agitation. But even others did not oppose this movement. I have not come across any individual, or party, who did not directly or indirectly support the Praja Parishad. At the most the opposition amounted to this that the Praja Parishad should not have launched the movement at this juncture i.e., till India should have been able to throttle Kashmir unawares. . . . The Praja Parishad has withdrawn its movement. But it is of no use. Its stand still continues. It has not withdrawn the slogan of complete integration. No doubt every peace loving person will welcome the end of violent activities. But it has made the Kashmiri Muslims aware of India's real intentions. India has thrown her net around us and we are in fear of being enslaved as in old days. . . . We had acceded to India in three subjects and retained autonomy in the rest. That was the basis of our relations with India. This was enough to protect Hindu interests. At the same time, the Muslims had the assurance that they would not be outnumbered and enslaved. But this relationship has now been disturbed. We have not disturbed it. It is their fault. The Hindus do not trust us inspite of the fact that we have handed over defence to India. How do you expect the Kashmiri Muslims to trust India which is overwhelmingly dominated by Hindus. I appeal to all to understand my position. When I rose against Pakistan to save non-Muslims, I was hailed as a hero, even though Pakistan accused me of treachery to Islam. I am still their enemy No. 1. But when I wanted to defend Muslim interests, I was accused of treachery to India. I am now being called a Pakistani. But let them know that I will fight for Muslim interests up to the end. I will not allow posterity to curse me for having sold Muslims to India. I do not want to get them enslaved. . . . I have

considered all these things, and have come to the conclusion that our relationship with India has been harmful to Muslims. This is my final opinion. (He repeated it several times. At this time Maulana Sayeed raised his cap and leaned to the wall, and was visibly stunned). Our Hindu friends, instead of understanding our position, have been spreading wrong rumours. I appeal to them to understand our position. If they cannot trust us in spite of India's protection, how can we trust them... If you (Muslims) continue to remain united behind me, I will cheerfully face the gallows for you. But if you are divided, I will retire silently. And attempts are being made to divide us. You should be careful..."

Pro-independence:

"Some of us feel here that Sheikh Abdullah's emphasis on independence is inspired by Stevenson, who met him at least three times. Besides, the Political Attache of the American ambassador met him several times. Since then, he began to drop hints against India."

"It is believed here that Sheikh Abdullah has been persuaded to agree to the Kashmir valley remaining "Independent" under U.N. supervision or trusteeship, so that Kashmir would get generous U.S. aid. So, Sheikh Abdullah has extricated himself from the red ring."

"I agree with Dr. Mukherjee that internal and external troubles will continue till the political future of the state remains unsettled. It is, therefore, our unanimous demand that the two prime ministers should come to a final settlement in their forthcoming meeting. But it should be an honourable settlement for India, Pakistan, and Kashmir. Both India and Pakistan have been claiming that the will of the state people would be binding on them. But both are secretly trying to hold it back. Both have been manipulating to avoid a plebiscite. Let them know that Kashmir is not a booty to be divided according to their wishes... What is this Delhi agreement? It is all trash. Our future must be settled once for all..."

"Today the Martyrs' Day was celebrated here. Sheikh Abdullah addressed an enthusiastic gathering this evening. But he showed visible signs of fumbling in his speech. It was clear that he made efforts for an all out attack on India. But he could not do it. It was not a determined speech. However, he said: 'Our martyrs did not sacrifice their lives for India and Pakistan. The purpose for which they shed their blood was independence, and not whether we should be tied to the apron-strings of India or Pakistan. We must never forget this objective. . . . These twenty two years we had to face opposition. But we marched ahead. . . . In nineteen forty seven I told you that we had to attain independence before everything else. But we were compelled (he did not clearly mention Pakistan) to accede to India, irrespective of whether we liked it or not. This accession was only for three subjects, but that too on the condition that it would be later ratified by the people. India never allowed this accession to be permanent. After sometime India said that certain other things logically flowed from the instrument of accession. We went to Delhi and signed what is known as the Delhi agreement because we did not want to quarrel with India. As soon as we started implementing it by abolishing monarchy, Jammu Hindus launched a violent movement to get the state merged completely into India. Other communal organizations too started agitations in support of this demand. But all other parties and leaders supported Parishad's demands. . . . So India turned back on her agreements with us. But, in return they accuse Kashmiri Muslims of disloyalty to India. But it is not our fault. . . . India asked us to convene the constituent assembly. But it is India which is obstructing it. . . . I am being accused of favouring Pakistan or independence. But I want to tell them plainly that nothing will deter me from declaring support for either of the two when I consider either of them good for the people. After all, why should we be compelled to join either Pakistan or India? Why should not the people be free to have good relations with both India and Pakistan? I do not require money; I do not require any army. (The first secretary of the American Embassy was present on the dias, and he was getting a report about this



speech from Sheikh Abdullah's son-in-law. He was also taking pictures. Another bearded American, who met Sheikh Abdullah several times, was also taking pictures). The time has come when the people should be asked to vote. But both India and Pakistan have been trying to put hurdles in the way of a plebiscite. . . . They said that I am changed. But let them know that the Kashmiri Muslims have the will to be free, and no power on the earth can enslave us."

#### Pro-Pakistan:

"Another aspect of his speeches has been the balancing of India and Pakistan vis-a-vis Kashmir. For instance, he has been saying that both Pakistan and India have advantages and disadvantages for Kashmir. Whether Kashmir should accede to India or to Pakistan had not been decided by him. He opposed Pakistan in the past because she had attacked Kashmir which was torn by internal conflicts. But since the advent of Mohammed Ali's regime Pakistan was improving. At the same time, Mr. Mohammed Ali had declared that Pakistan's constitution would be secular. On the other hand, India claimed to be secular. But he had yet to see it in practice there. He saved Hindus in 1947 (suggesting thereby that he invited the Indian army only to save Hindus, and not for saving himself), but that did not mean that he would sacrifice Muslims. If defending Muslim interest made him a Pakistani he was a double Pakistani."

"Naturally, Sheikh Abdullah's hints have been interpreted as meaning that he was inclining towards Pakistan. This has had a dramatic effect on the Muslim masses in general. They have forgotten all their grievances against Sheikh Abdullah, and have openly started favouring Pakistan. They accuse Bakshi for all these ills. Besides, they say that all those who oppose Sheikh Abdullah are out to sell Kashmir to India. Poor people, they do not know that somebody else is out to sell them to America. After all, Stevenson did not visit Kashmir without any purpose."

"One or two persons continue to be arrested every Friday in support of Pakistan. Referring to Mohiuddin Kara's, so called

agitation in favour of Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah said: Do they not trust me? I have told them that the state's future will be settled as desired by the people. This brought loud cheers from the audience. When he spoke in favour of Pakistan or independence, the audience cheered him. But when at one time he acknowledged the help rendered by the people of India in our struggle for freedom nobody cheered."

General including Pro-India:

"Besides, in the working committee meeting Sheikh Abdullah is reported to have said that no Muslim had been employed in the Indian Army Ordnance Depot in Kashmir. Muslims were also avoided in the Indian Post Office. These instances were mentioned by Sheikh Abdullah against the Delhi agreement. Beg is in Sheikh Abdullah's good books and seems to be pressing for Pakistan."

"I think India should abandon the idea of plebiscite for good. Either Kashmir should be handed over to Pakistan or Kashmir's accession to India should be treated as final. My suggestion is that the present cease-fire line should be made the final border line between India and Pakistan."

"Bakshi, Sayeed, Sadiq and others except those mentioned above, are supporters of India. Kara and some others were arrested the other day. Sheikh Abdullah favoured their arrests because the situation was apt to go out of control. But Sheikh Abdullah said that he did not oppose peaceful propaganda in favour of Pakistan or India. Sheikh Abdullah addressed another workers meeting at Mujahid Manzil yesterday. He referred to Dr. Mukherjee's death, and said that threats from Indian quarters that Dr. Mukherjee's death would be avenged by completely integrating Kashmir with India would have the opposite effect. I am not deterred by those threats. Jinnah could not conquer us by force. So let communalists in India know that threats of army action cannot subjugate us. We acceded to India in three subjects and retained sovereignty in others. But the communalist slogan of complete integration has undone even that

accession (*is ilhak ko bhi ab unhonne tod diya hai*). We shall have to decide afresh about these matters. People are free to propagate for Pakistan or India. But to agitate for Pakistan now will be harmful to our interests. Addressing the minority, he warned them to gain the goodwill of the majority and not to depend on the Indian army. "The Indian army cannot save you," he told them. When a worker asked him to declare his attitude to the latest slogans of "Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad" and "Pakistan Zindabad" raised by Pakistanis, Sheikh Abdullah avoided to answer it directly. But he said that he had not decided anything yet. He would give his opinion at the proper time."

"Another point to note is that Sheikh Abdullah has again adopted the policy of maintaining silence on independence. Also, for the first time, during the recent weeks, he told workers that he was nobody if the National Conference did not survive the present onslaught."

"All this indicates that Sheikh Abdullah is probably not irrevocably lost. He does not seem to be determined in anything. In the end he announced the lifting of restrictions on the import of foodgrains into the city of Srinagar. This was done simply to win over people's support."

"As to Dr. Mukherjee's death, my enquiries have not revealed any criminal negligence on the part of the government. During the earlier stage of his illness, the Jail Doctor, Pt. Amar Nath Rama was treating. When he was brought to the nursing home in a car, he went upstairs himself and not on a stretcher. It may be that better doctors and better medical equipment might have saved him. But it appears that nothing was done deliberately to kill him."

While grasping the significance of these letters, we should be happy to note that the prime minister of India has not yet surrendered to the prime minister of Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. There is time yet, at least until the month of September, when the two prime ministers of India and Pakistan meet again, for Indian opinion to mobilise itself along right lines. No good

can be served by India's publicists adopting a hush-hush policy towards Kashmir. The people of India have the right to know the full facts regarding Kashmir, a right of which they have so far been deprived by the government as well as the news agencies.

Foreign interference is without a doubt taking place in Kashmir. American policy seems to be to get Kashmir annexed to Pakistan and, as a second choice, to secure its independence. America has apparently succeeded in persuading both Mr. Mohammed Ali and Sheikh Abdullah to forget funds inherited from Mr. Jinnah. Pakistani policy regarding Kashmir is on all fours with American policy, annexation if possible, independence if necessary. With the reservation that Sheikh Abdullah is still of two minds in relation to India on account of internal pressure and his own past, he would prefer to be independent than to be annexed to Pakistan. American interest in Kashmir and Pakistan flows out of her global interest, to secure all areas of the world firmly to the anti-Soviet alliance. The people of India must now step in with all the force that they can muster. Through meetings and demonstrations, they must leave no doubt in the American mind of the disastrous consequences to Indo-American relations that will result from huckstering in Kashmir. While American might think they have stemmed communism by annexing Kashmir to themselves or to Pakistan, they will have most definitely lost India's friendship.

Communism as usual is playing a subtler game. Communists have propagated the policy of independent Kashmir over the last five years and, now that it has been appropriated by the Americans, they have come out against it. But no Indian need forget that they are in the first instance responsible for the mess. Even now, they seem to be playing an exceedingly subtle game. Mr. Kara and Mr. Sadiq are the two well known fellow-travellers in Kashmir and one has declared himself for Pakistan and the other for India. It may of course be possible that this split-up of communist forces has not been done in cold blood and through arrangement, but they may rightly hope to receive its benefits all the same. What then should be the atti-

tude of the Indian people towards Mr. Sadiq and his men? It would be idiotic to reject their support, for it is a valuable support in the cause of the one-nation ideal and of keeping trust, but it would not be proper to forget the source of the support.

The people of India must resolve and make redoubled efforts to remove blemishes in their practice of the one nation ideal. There is force in the Sheikh's contention, if true, regarding non-employment of Muslims in the ordnance depot and the post-office. It is of course a vicious circle, of mistrust begetting mistrust. But the circle has to be broken somewhere, if we are sincere about our grand design to weld Hindus and Muslims into a single nation and if we genuinely believe that a strong and healthful India can come out of Indian nationalism alone, and not out of Hindu nationalism. Back of all these erroneous policies of Muslim non-employment in government services is the fear that Muslims could not be trusted in a quarrel with Pakistan. Such a fear is wholly baseless, for a modern state knows only too well how to deal with minority saboteurs in the event of a war; it just rubs them out. And, in any event, trust begets trust. Once having decided to travel the one nation road, such half-heartedness and hesitancy would lose us both the worlds, the liberal world as well as the fanatical world.

The movement for full integration of Kashmir with India has given rise to many misgivings. Sectional support given to it in India has been misunderstood by the Kashmiri Muslims. India should be content with the Delhi agreement which provides for limited accession and a few additional clauses. Not until we evolve elasticity of outlook on constitutional provisions, as applicable to various types of territories, is there hope of a strong Republic of India that does its duty in an Asia increasingly united in some kind of federal bonds. In fact, the Delhi agreement provides for a Kashmir which, to the outside world, is part of India. No section of the Indian people must in future give countenance to ill-conceived movements that achieve the opposite of what they intend. The India government is indeed to blame for its mishandling of the Praja Parishad agitation and

the entire Kashmir issue. After having declared for over five years that Kashmir was a part of the secular adventure, and having shed the blood of our armed forces, the India government became unable to state clearly that Kashmir was a part of India and would continue to remain so. So much dilly-dallying led to the death in prison of Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, a parliamentarian of world class. This death was a grievous episode in the general bungling of the Kashmir issue done by the India government on the one hand and the communalists on the other. The blame for all this lies on the India government and not so much on the Kashmir government. The people of India should learn to discriminate. This discrimination is not yet present in good measure. Should, for instance, something go wrong in Kashmir, the instinctive reaction of most people would be to blame it on Sheikh Abdullah and the untrustworthiness of Muslims generally. This is a dangerous reaction and does not speak of healthy instincts. A healthful people would blame any mishaps in Kashmir not on the grand adventure to make of Hindus and Muslims a single nation but on the stupid hand-to-mouth policies of and their half-hearted execution by the India government. The Indian people must recover such health and seek the guilty men where they are.

That the India government has lived from hand to mouth in relation to Kashmir as to any other issue is now without a doubt. Right on the invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan, it was told to remove the Maharaja and to appoint a regency council consisting among others of a cabinet minister from India resident in Kashmir. It delayed, it took long number of years to remove the Hindu Maharaja, thus giving rise to the suspicion in the Muslim mind that its policies were motivated at least as much by religion as by politics. It has not to this day made a cabinet minister resident in Kashmir, thus losing a great opportunity to translate the legal accession of the state into a political accession of the people. If these two acts had been carried out five years ago, the situation in Kashmir would today be vastly different.

While the people of India must remove drawbacks in their secular character, Kashmiri Muslims must for ever abandon the policy of sitting on the fence of facing both ways. Everybody knows that the people of Kashmir possess the ultimate decision and nobody can quarrel with Sheikh Abdullah for saying so; the quarrel arises when the Sheikh claims for himself the right to change and to indecision and to give an advice to his people different from what he has given them over five years. Sheikh Abdullah and his men are committed. They must honour their word of honour. Much more is at stake than merely the future of Kashmir. It is the stake of the single nation ideal and to the ordinary Hindu, what is at stake, rightly or wrongly, is the word of the Muslim and whether to repose trust in it. But Sheikh Abdullah has become a psychological problem. Whether honest irritation or clever politics guide his present conduct is an idle line of enquiry. Communal encumbrance on the part of a section of Hindus may indeed have irritated him. But the answer to that should not be the violation of pledges but a frank conversation with the caste bulk of Hindus and a demand from them to remove their failings in secular conduct. In the ultimate instance, however, the disease lies in the cult of one man leadership. Sheikh Abdullah is no worse than Pandit Nehru. When varying moods of an individual become the rudder of state policy, doom is threatened. Through constant build-up, the individual acquires such a heroic status with the people that to check him or correct him even when he is wrong becomes difficult. The Muslims of Kashmir as much as the people of India must learn to destroy this cult of one-man leadership and to replace it by the democratic leadership of committees in which the lowest committees have as full a right to express themselves as the top committee.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Maulana Mohammed Sayeed and others like them are India's friends, but that is not their chief qualification. They are the spear head of the single-nation ideal in Kashmir. They must assert themselves more fully than they have done in the past. They will be able to get

support from young Hindus of Kashmir, of whom Jialal Tamiri is an outstanding example. Now is the time to put on full steam and to attempt to rouse the Kashmiri Muslim to a crusading zeal for the one-nation ideal.

Through a sustained campaign of meetings and other demonstrations, the Indian people must speedily evolve a Kashmir policy, which declares (1) to Americans, hands off Kashmir, (2) to communalist Hindus, nothing beyond the Delhi agreement, (3) to the India government, surrender on Kashmir at its peril and equal treatment to Muslims, (4) to Kashmiri Muslims, honour the one-nation pledge and establish committee leadership, (5) to themselves, achieve the one-nation ideal with all their might and abandon the cult of one man leadership.

—1953, *November*.

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# COMPOSITION OF CABINET

News regarding composition of Kashmir cabinet are disturbing. I have already welcomed the valuable support of Kashmir communists in the cause of secularism. But it would be dangerous to forget that the original sin of advocating independent Kashmir lies with them and they kept on sinning for a whole five years. Furthermore, they may change their present policy at any time under one international shift or another. None should mind the inclusion of a single communist in the Kashmir cabinet in order that their support in the secularist cause may effectively continue. However, the Kashmir premier will now have to appoint three more cabinet ministers of a positively nationalist and non-communist orientation in order to secure a comfortable non-communist majority. There is no dearth of men like the unflinching Maulana Sayeed, the general secretary of the National Conference and Jialal Tamiri.

Any other policy would bring disaster in its wake and I appeal to Bakshi Gulam Mohammed and the Constituent Assembly not to gift the key of the Kashmir cabinet to the communists. The time is now come to stake all on a positively nationalist, economically progressive and an altogether trenchantly secular policy for Kashmir. The Kashmir National Conference may yet have to go through more fire and men of steel and unshifting purpose can alone do so. We of the rest of India pledge to join the crusade for a state that is blind to religious separations, but the central and prime mover of such a crusade is now obviously the people of Kashmir.

—1953, *November*.

# MAULANA MASOODI'S DISMISSAL

Circumstances attending the removal of Maulana Masoodi from the office of the Kashmir National Conference are so unusually depressing that I have no taste left to be angry or to apportion guilt and that I should only like to state facts with utmost restraint and to seek redress.

The General Council of the National Conference was scheduled to meet on the 22nd October but it actually met a day earlier and without previous notice. Maulana Masoodi was on his way to Srinagar and could still have attended the General Council but he was detained on the way by the Kashmir police from eight o'clock in the morning to four o'clock in the evening of the twenty-first October, precisely during the hours when the meeting transacted its business and ended. The man removed from the office of the general secretary was thus forcibly prevented from attending his Council and, particularly in view of subsequent reports that the disciplinary action was unanimous, the gloom of the event thickens. I learn further that of the reported attendance of ninety members not more than fifty were actually members and of the five persons who spoke in favour of the disciplinary action two had no right to speak. Furthermore, the resolution passed at the meeting was of an entirely different order from the resolution actually circulated.

I shudder to think of what would happen if India gets used to such methods whose beginning has just been made in Kashmir. Some persons may be inclined to justify resort to such methods

on the plea of national expediency. While that is always erroneous belief, it is more so in the existing condition of Kashmir when the Friday prayers at Hazratbal almost always end up in the use of force by masses of policemen. This is not the way either to win Kashmir to India or to weld Hindus and Muslims into a single nation. While I express our solidarity with our people in Kashmir in their present distress, I would also draw the attention of the India government to the solemn declaration made by the prime minister on tenth August, nineteen-fifty-three that he would soon seek to reunite comrades who had fallen out. I would let my constructive suggestions wait for a while but I would like to remind the press and the people that suppression of such vital news always ends disastrously. On behalf of the entire people of India whose future is imperilled by such methods, we only seek redress.

—1953, *November*.

# THE PROPOSED U. S.—PAKISTAN PACT

India as much as Pakistan is treading dangerous grounds in relation to foreign policy. Some popular elements in Pakistan are fortunately protesting against their government's policies and the Pakistan government may run into troubled waters if it persists in its present course. In India, however, an attempt is being made to achieve a national consolidation against the proposed U.S.-Pakistan Pact and to spread a hysteria which will cover up the guilt of the India government. The people of India must resist being driven into such a frame of mind. Poverty-stricken Asia trembles as never before on the precipice of war and the people of India as well as Pakistan must recognise their heavy responsibility.

The proposed U.S.-Pakistan Pact, whether it has already, or may soon become an accomplished fact, has bared the desires and guiding motives of the governments of America and Pakistan. To America, what matters is the global war between democracy and communism and whoever is on their side and accepts their interpretation of this war is welcome to them as a honourable and trusted ally. Who this ally is and what else he does is of little consequence to America.

To Pakistan, what seems decisive is the desire for military superiority over India, probably, also because of its frustrated efforts to reach a settlement on Kashmir. Pakistan is presu-

mably willing to risk all objects to this single-minded pursuit of armed superiority over India. With such attitudes of the U.S. and Pakistan governments, the peoples of Asia including the people of Pakistan should have nothing to do, for they would otherwise reduce themselves into coloured mercenaries of white powers.

The guilt of the India government is no less pronounced. For six long years, the India government has spoken with two voices, one of integral union of Kashmir into India and the other of plebiscite, a split mind which has not only appeared hypocritical to the outside world but has also seriously impaired the health of the people of India including Kashmir. It was this split mind that produced Sheikh Abdullah's plan for an independent Kashmir—a plan which was publicly blessed by Russia in 1952 and seems later to have earned American approval. The India government must bear the full discredit of inviting international intrigues in relation to Kashmir. I have always praised Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed for the daring and courage he displayed at a critical hour and the time is now come to seek to combine his qualities with the popularity of Sheikh Abdullah and his associates.

The bungling in relation to Kashmir is well matched by the ruling party's policy on minorities. The seed of Muslim separatism was sown afresh by the Congress Party through its campaign to secure the block-support of Muslims and it has now yielded the bitter harvest of the Aligarh Muslim Convention. If Aligarh was vicious, the guilt must be directly traced to those who set themselves up as the only saviours of Muslims in order to entrench their rule. Since the death of Mahatma Gandhi no effort has been made to weld Hindus and Muslims into a single nation and the ruling party is directly to blame.

In the background of these two grievous errors regarding the conjoined Kashmir and Hindu-Muslim problems, the fevered attempt to achieve a combination of Russia, China and

India in the name of peace is the latest temptation. The three countries undoubtedly form nearly half of the world's population but the Indian people must also become aware of the resources that such a combination could command. Against the annual sixty million tons of steel that such an alliance could command, the U.S. alone would be able to put the annual one hundred and ten million tons of steel. For the Asian people to align themselves with either of the warring camps is a guilt under all circumstances including those of national self-interest, but the alignment which is now proposed for India would be guilt without profit.

The people of India must denounce the proposed plebiscite in Kashmir for its continuing mischief. They must demand that the two governments of India and Pakistan achieve a Kashmir settlement. Asian statesmanship, particularly that in these two countries, should be able to devise agreed solutions regarding the status and structure of Kashmir. The existing governments of India and Pakistan are, however, no longer competent to achieve such a settlement. The peoples of India and Pakistan will some day have to face up to the truth, that the two governments have brought them to the precipice of war.

—1953, *December*.

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# RESOLUTION ON KASHMIR

“Mishandling and foreign interference of more than one variety have conspired to make the naturally difficult situation in Kashmir well-nigh insoluble. Yet a fair and wise solution is imperative not only in the interest of the two countries, but of peace and goodwill among nations.

A lasting solution of any human conflict must be based on just principles and the long view. India and Pakistan, whatever their present differences, have to live together, and they cannot but live in friendship. Present conflict is sure to destroy them both.

The Praja Socialist Party stands for the freedom of all peoples and their right to decide their own future. The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party fully concedes this right to the people of Kashmir. However, in the present bedevilled situation it is doubtful whether the ends in view, namely Indo-Pakistan amity and the solution of the Kashmir problem would be achieved through plebiscite.

The National Executive strongly feels that it would be very much worthwhile for both the governments to sit together determined to find a satisfactory solution. Representatives of the two governments, no doubt, have met in the past, but they did so under the shadow of third parties and relying on finding a

solution with their shadow and seek a solution without the interposition of any outside agencies.

The National Executive urges the peoples of both India and Pakistan to exert pressure on their governments to adopt this manful and right course."

—1954; 15-17 *January; P.S.P.'s National Executive resolution.*

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**URVASIAM**



# SITUATION IN NAGA HILLS

“The national committee views with grave concern the present situation in the Naga areas of Assam and North-east Frontier Agency. This situation is the culmination of the developments that have been allowed to take place during the last eight years through lack of a positive government policy, administrative mis-handling and failure to make any direct approach to the common Nagas. The hopes raised in the minds of the Nagas by the government through private assurances as well as formal agreements, which were subsequently dishonoured, also contributed a good deal towards strengthening the Naga movement. The lately adopted government tactics of trying to create disruption within the Naga movement through bribes and the like has only helped in causing eruptions in the situation. The various misdeeds of the government, extension of unpopular laws like the Forest Act which deprives the local population of their inherent right to their lands and forests, and government’s treatment towards and suspicion of any hillman in the neighbouring hill areas have given rise to a further and more serious danger of the Naga movement spreading into those areas.

“This committee strongly disapproves the reported acts of violence committed by a section of the Nagas. But the organized violence of the state in the form of shootings, inhuman tortures and even kidnapping and raping employed in the name of suppressing the sporadic violence of a section of the people has assu-

med really serious proportions and must be condemned unequivocally. This committee calls upon the government as well as the Nagas to put an immediate stop to this mad game of violence and destruction.

“The Socialist Party is of the opinion that the Naga demand for independence is ill conceived and to the detriment of the Nagas themselves. This committee appeals to the Nagas to give up their demand for independence and to make common cause, as citizens of India, with other submerged and exploited sections of Indians in their peaceful struggle against injustice and for the fulfilment of their legitimate political, economic and cultural aspirations. An elected district government with powers over police and collection of taxes and with guaranteed cultural safeguards should satisfy the Nagas, and the Socialist Party is pledged to support such a demand.

“While the Nagas should be bold enough to come forward for a peaceful settlement of their problem, the government should announce their positive policy in this matter without delay. Such an announcement has to be followed immediately by a meeting of the government representatives and the Naga spokesmen to work out a detailed plan of settlement. Meanwhile, responsible leaders should visit the interior of Naga areas, meet the common people directly and try to build up mutual confidence and understanding between the Nagas and the rest of the Indians.”

—1956, *March 2-4; Socialist Party's National Committee*



# URVASIAM : PROHIBITED AREA

*Telegram to the Governor of Assam, dated 12th November, 1958*

“Rammanohar Lohia wishes to visit Tirap Frontier Division between 18th and 22nd November. Kindly issue necessary permission. Inform care Deba Prasad Baruah, Socialist Party, Jorhat.”

—*Kiron Bezbarua.*

*Message from the Governor of Assam to Rammanohar Lohia.*

“Reference your telegram requesting permission for going to Tirap Frontier. Governor would like to meet you and talk to you on the subject if you would kindly come to Shillong.”

—*Governor of Assam.*

The above message is received over phone from Superintendent of Police, Dibrugarh just now (5-45 p.m.) today and, as directed, the same is sent to Sri Lohia for favour of information.

16-11-58

—*A. S. I., Naharkatia P. S.*

*Reply to the Governor*

“Dr. Rammanohar Lohia has received the message. He wants the Governor to be informed of his Assam programme which ends at Dibrugarh on 19th of this month. It would be

impossible for him to make a journey to and back from Shillong. In any event, he does not understand why the Governor should require a meeting prior to the visit, for if the Governor is interested in his experiences of the visit, the Governor might meet him after the visit."

—*Golap Borbora.*

### *Golap Borbora's Letter*

"While at Gauhati Dr. Lohia telegraphically informed the Governor of Assam about his intention to visit the Tirap Frontier Division of NEFA. On 16-11-1958 evening a message from the Governor containing his wish to meet Dr. Lohia at Shillong was delivered to Dr. Lohia. The message did not contain anything about allowing Dr. Lohia to visit NEFA. The Governor was informed that it was not possible for him to go all the way to Shillong to meet the Governor and then to come back before visiting NEFA. He might of course inform the Governor about the experiences of his visit after his return from NEFA. As no reply was forthcoming till 19-11-1958, the last day of his programme in Assam, Dr. Lohia in his speech at the public meeting at Dibrugarh the same evening, criticised the government attitude in debarring a citizen of free India from entering into a part of her territory. He said that never in his life did he submit to such restrictive measures. He declared that this time he was not going to violate this unjust law; the next day he would go to Tirap Frontier Division as far as possible and would come back when obstructed. But he shall come to Assam again within a year and shall violate such unjust restrictions.

On 20-11-1958, Dr. Lohia and myself along with the secretary of the Dibrugarh district branch of the Party and two other comrades from Dibrugarh and Margherita went to Margherita, about 58 miles from Dibrugarh, and then towards the Tirap Frontier Division. We intended to go up to Panchu Pass at the Indo-Burma border, 56 miles from Margherita, but were stopped at the first check-post at Jairampur at 26

miles by the sentries on duty and the remaining 30 miles of Indian territory remained a closed chapter for us.

All throughout our journey from Dibrugarh to Jairampur and back to Tinsukia (94 plus 64 miles) we were followed by top police and intelligence officers from the district headquarters at Dibrugarh. Wherever our car stopped on the way, the two cars belonging to them also stopped at a stone's throw. The central government intelligence chief also followed in another car. While returning from Jairampur in the evening we met the deputy commissioner of the district with his car at Margherita and he also followed us up to Digboi. The loss incurred by the government in this wild-goose-chase will be approximately Rs. 2,500. Dr. Lohia met Naga, Abor, Chingphow, Nepali and indigenous Assamese villagers newly settled in the Tirap-Jairampur area (now called transferred area), who told him their tales of woe. Most of them are suffering from disease due to want of pure drinking water, cannot afford to purchase bullocks for ploughing their land and their harvest is often damaged by wild elephants before it is reaped. There is only one primary school in the locality run by public effort, which has not yet been taken over by the government. Rice was selling in this area during the last three months of 'scarcity' at Rs. 45 per maund though the same at Rs. 30 per maund was considered too high at Tinsukia and Dibrugarh at that time.

Dr. Lohia declared in a statement issued at Gauhati later on 23-11-1958 that he shall again come to Assam on 19-11-1959 and shall violate the unjust restrictions to enter NEFA, for which he has coined a new name, "URVASIAM," (an abbreviation of Uttar Purba Simanta Anchal) on 23-11-1959.

Dr. Lohia's attempt to go to "Urvasiam" and his bold decision to violate the existing restrictions on entering the same exactly a year hence, has roused great sympathy for him and the Socialist Party throughout Assam."





# BARBAROUS POLICIES IN URVASIAM

“Among many examples of the violation by the government of India of law and the constitution, is its policy completely separating the administration of the Urvasiam area (North-East Frontier Agency) from the rest of the country. This area of around 50 thousand square miles on the eastern frontier of the country is a prohibited area for the people of the rest of the Indian Union, where no Indian citizen can enter without obtaining a special permit from the Governor of Assam. How is this done when the constitution applies to the whole country, is legally inexplicable and is clearly conspiracy of the local administration and the government of India against the people of India. In the name of protecting the culture of the Advivasis, the advisor to the Governor of Assam for Urvasiam affairs has been indulging in highly condemnable acts. The Governor’s advisor has pursued a policy of segregating the residents of this area from the rest of the Indian people and of treating them as protected animals. Such policies are not only shameful and condemnable, but also barbarous.

There have been examples of government officials coming from the plains marrying tribal women, but other plainsmen are prevented from marrying in the tribes. A school teacher, a plains man was arrested thrice for wanting to marry an Abhor girl, with her consent. Such distinctions between official and ordinary plainsmen in the name of protecting tribal culture is not only discriminatory but also illegal.

Till October last year, pictures even of gods like Siva and Durga, and of leaders like Gandhiji and even Mr. Nehru, were not allowed to be displayed and the order was relaxed only after a fight.

The national committee expresses its regret and indignation that Rammanohar Lohia was prevented by the authorities from entering Urvasiam on 23rd November 1958. The committee demands that the government of India should immediately stop such insult to law. All the citizens of India should have the right to freely enter and live in the Urvasiam area as in the rest of the country. The Committee welcomes the decision of Rammanohar Lohia to enter Urvasiam without asking the permission of the Governor and thus establish the right of every citizen to move about and live in any part of the country.”

—1959, July 16-19; *Socialist Party's National Committee resolution.*

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# RIGHT TO UNRESTRICTED TRAVEL FLOUTED BY INDIA GOVERNMENT

Miss Margo Skinner who is a reputed author as well as a socialist of long standing joined the staff of 'Mankind,' a monthly journal, eight months ago, but for one reason or another the India government has been refusing her a stay-visa in this country. We have now received a communication from the Home Ministry which does not advance any reasons but states that they considered the problem from every angle while refusing her the stay-visa. This is not only an insult to the 'Mankind' who extended her a certificate of employment but more an insult to Mahatma Gandhi who had laid down the right to unrestricted travel and work as a fundamental human right. The India government, I hope, has not yet fully considered this question, for, its act flouts the International Labour Organization conventions concerning non-discrimination in work, and at the same time discriminates against one set of opinion, in this case socialism, and in favour of whatever is the ruling creed, Congressism or Nehruism or what else they may call it. I hope the India government will yet change its decision. 'Mankind' had decided to bring over some one from the Soviet camp, as far as possible of an independent outlook, to join its staff as a second step. I have advised Miss Margo Skinner to come over to India on a tourist visa and, if she is prepared to risk the consequences, to assert the fundamental human right of unrestricted travel, work and opinion.

The second news-item relates to my own right to unrestricted travel within my own country. I was obstructed last year on 22nd November from entering Urvasiam whom vulgar people call NEFA. This was a double fault on the part of the government of India, for not only is this permit system for a territory around 40,000 square miles in area contrary to the constitution but also because, I had asked the government for a permit. Then, I acted out of character and submitted to the government. While doing that I announced that I would enter Urvasiam on the 23rd of November, 1959.

I have no palaces nor gardens of my own or of an old bureaucracy or feudalism placed at my disposal, and so the major pleasure that I get out of life is through seeing my country in all its beautiful forms. I understand that Rukmini came from what is now the Mismi area of Urvasiam. Why the India government is so stupid may partly be explained by the fact that an ex-padre with very peculiar notions, Mr. Verrier Elwin, is its advisor on Assam tribal affairs. This ex-padre in conjunction with the prime minister has evolved a national park theory for the Assam tribal people, which more or less treats them like the Gir lions and isolates them even more from the outside world. A school teacher of the plains was arrested three times for wanting to marry an Abor girl and he could do so the fourth time because the girl was determined. Until October last year pictures of Shiva and Durga, Gandhiji and even of Mr. Nehru were not allowed on the walls of shop keepers for this ex-padre thought that that might either irritate or corrupt the Urvasiam people. Everybody knows that I would buy no lands in Urvasiam nor would I exploit the people there nor is there any chance of my contacting the Chinese or the Burmese or the Russians for any anti-Indian activities. If the government was solicitous about my physical safety I would ask it to mind its own business and not to interfere with other people's lives in such a stupid way.

—1959, July 22; *Hyderabad; Press interview.*



# THE NAGA PROBLEM

“The National Committee of the Socialist Party wishes to draw the attention of the Indian people to the Athiubo incident. Sri Athiubo, a Socialist member of the Territorial Council of Manipur, persuaded nearly 150 armed Nagas to surrender, but contrary to the promise of the administration, these Nagas were not amnestied. This incident has made the task of pacification impossible. It has also shed gruesome light on the temper and ways of the India government. Instead of treating the Naga problem as mainly psychological and political and of applying generous remedies of statecraft to it, the administration has behaved with contemptible arrogance and show as well as exercise of force. While undoubtedly aware that the demand of a separate homeland and withdrawal from India has made a pacific solution extremely difficult, the national committee must go on record that arrogance on the part of the administration and anger on the part of the Nagas have fouled the Naga problem, and therein perhaps lies a a solution. In a spirit of humility and without claim of ability to succeed, the national committee of the Socialist Party would like to offer its good offices. It may be recalled that the first ever Naga who sat in Lok Sabha of free India’s first parliament was the Socialist Reishang Keishang.\*”

—1959, *October 23-26; Socialist Party’s National Committee resolution.*

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\* Sri Reishang Keishang has now joined the Congress Party.—*Editor.*



# URVASIAM: SOME EXPERIENCES

I do not intend to defy any bans or restriction nor to practise satyagraha, but I propose simply to attempt to enter Urvasiam, which is part of our country. On 22nd November last year, I had declared that I would do so after a year, and I must keep my word, even if no other reason impelled me. My request of last year for a permit must still be with the government, which has now had a year to consider the question. There need be no fuss and all that the government has to do is to let me go into a part of my own country. Should the government act otherwise, it would violate the constitution. The right to free movement is subject alone to reasonable restrictions as are in the interests of the general public and the scheduled tribes. No restriction can be deemed reasonable if it does not specify the circumstances under which it comes into operation or the group of persons to whom it is to apply, and its scope is unlimited, undefined and purely arbitrary. The restriction must be considered unreasonable also because it is in respect of a territory comprising around 35,000 sq. miles, for Urvasiam is larger than West Bengal, apart from the fact that the danger to the interest of the scheduled tribes and the general public must be proved to be immediate and present. The India-China dispute has on the contrary given proof and urgency to the view that both these interests are imperilled by these unreasonable restrictions. The hill tribes kept in isolation and without contact with the rest of India except through government servants and contractors become ripe

fruit for foreign plucking. It was precisely such isolation which finished up Tibet, and which might yet finish up Bhutan and Urvasiam. To deny to these hill tribes and the rest of India the right to hear and talk to each other in the north-eastern hills is not only to abridge fundamental rights but also to imperil the unity and security of the country. Furthermore, the Indian citizen possesses the inalienable right to renew himself and keep his country united by visiting all places of history, lore, mythology and natural beauty. My primary interest last year was tourism, the desire to see the land of our ancestress Rukmini, the land of the Mismis, and how the pretty Mismi coats are exchanged with Abor rice. That interest is still uppermost. I do not see why I should be blocked in the desire. It is not sufficiently appreciated that the Chinese are seeking to make a powerful appeal to almost the entire northern frontier of India and are calling the Indian frontiersmen their brothers on the fraudulent plea of flat noses, slanting eyes and yellow complexions. Films, documentaries, posters and all kinds of other publications are indeed called for, which would reveal the truth that all the peoples right upto Thailand are related far more to India than to China in their language, script, ways of thought, religion and even their physiognomy and racial make-up. This is, however, a job not for the government alone and the citizens of India must be allowed to do their bit.

I may also be permitted to share some of my experiences with my countrymen, particularly after I have been travelling through Bengal and the northern frontier:

1. The Chinese have ventured into their present exploit because of their increasing strength and India's comparative stagnation. Their increasing economic and military strength is due to a bad reason, namely, totalitarian tyranny, but also a good reason, which makes the Chinese aim at maximum possible identification between the rulers and the people, the leaders and the mass in respect of dress, speech and expenditure. An almost complete estrangement between the ruling class and the people in respect of dress,

language and expenditure has been effected in India. If India does not remove her inequalities peacefully within the next decade, China will make a successful pretence of doing so and impose another barbarous tyranny on the country.

2. China has not aimed at Longju or Barahauti, not even at Kalimpong or Bhutan, but is eagerly planning for the day when she can come in as a liberating army for her insurgent brothers and sisters at Gauhati, Calcutta or Delhi. The present dispute will resolve itself, but something terribly frightening will take place within the next ten years, unless we have meanwhile radically changed policies. Let no one make the mistake that India's Communists have lost favour with the people except partially with the lower middle class, in fact, they have gained themselves self-confidence and also in popular beliefs in a prospective Communist government. It is not for nothing that Communist Parties of such states, whose borders lie close to China, have tended to adopt a pro-Chinese, internationalist and insurrectionary policy.

3. A government must often take the short view for the sake of immediate and effective political action but if a people imitates its government and forsakes the long view, its politics must necessarily become barren in course of time and dangerously weakening. The people of India made the mistake ten years ago of accepting their government's silly distinction between suzerainty and sovereignty over Tibet. Once again they are making a mistake of MacMahon Line. The latest White Paper of the India government is actually a refutation of this line, but the people have been so tied to their government that they have not yet drawn the proper conclusion. The MacMahon Line is proper frontier between India and sovereign Tibet. The proper frontier geographically, historically, culturally and by tradition between India and China is the east flowing Brahmaputra together with Manasarovar, Kailash and their continuation.

4. I have seen manifold instances of Chinese infiltration into the northern areas, and something must be done about it, whenever, there is proof. But I should also like to point out the



fact that though the Chinese of Kalimpong are no more than 2,000, the number of marriages that they have contracted with the hill women of India is around a score. Hinduism with its castes and taboos is singularly incapable in its present form of securing the country. These castes and taboos must be destroyed with speed and system, if we are to stay free and meet the Chinese challenge.

5. India fell successively to foreign conquest, not because of disunity of her leaders but because of the disinterestedness of her people. This lack of interest continues, for the Chinese invasion has not really caused much anxiety or indignation to the mass of the people. A programme of identification between the ruling classes and the masses will alone remove this disinterestedness of the people.

6. If India does not modernize her frontiersmen and hill tribes, China will soon enough do so in a barbarous way. I do not have to explain that my concept of modernization does not mean imitation of European or any other ways; it only means the adoption of the ways most intelligent in any given circumstances. Therefore, the question of destroying the soul or the separate genius of the hill people does not at all arise. I am more than willing to concede that the hillsmen and plainsmen should not be asked to compete equally and that, therefore, the right of plainsmen to property and to pursuit of occupations in the hills must be abridged. While I advocate such individual abridgement of rights, I must emphasise that the economic, material, and moral development of these hills is a responsibility of the entire Indian people. The resources of all the country, in capital as well as in man-power, must be placed at the disposal of these hills. So thinly peopled as to be 10 to 20 persons per sq. mile in certain areas and so terribly isolated, these hills in their present condition cannot meet the Communist challenge. It must be worthwhile to explore the possibility of a Himalayan state from Ladakh to Urvaiam, or perhaps two such states with the option to Nepal to come in, if it so chooses, a state with full responsible government but a state in whose development, economic

planning and all types of armed strength, the whole country has necessarily a say.

—1959, *November 22; Dibrugarh.*

## II

“Tinsukia, Nov. 23.—The one-man mission of Dr. Lohia to exercise the right of unrestricted travel in NEFA, “a part of my country,” ended up in his arrest as he attempted to get into the prohibited area at Deomali, a small check-post on the bank of the Namsang about 38 miles from Tinsukia at 12-30 to-day.

Two armed sentries were guarding the checkpost as Dr. Lohia accompanied by his followers arrived at Deomali from Jey-pore, nine miles away where he had halted for the night. Soon after he alighted from his car. Dr. Lohia was met by a third armed constable who inquired of his purpose and told him that he could not enter into the NEFA territory without the permission of the authorities. When Dr. Lohia told the man that he wanted to exercise his right of free travel the man withdrew and went back to a waiting vehicle. Dr. Lohia also got behind the check-post without further obstruction and made for the base superintendent's office which was within sight across the river.

(A base superintendent on NEFA's Tirap Frontier Division is located at Deomali while the headquarters of the division itself is at Khonososa).

The authorities were obviously expecting Dr. Lohia to violate the law for Assam policemen followed his car from Jey-pore up to the check-post and two magistrates had arrived there even earlier.

On arrival at the base superintendent's office Dr. Lohia was placed under arrest under section 3 of the Bengal and Eastern Frontier Regulation (Regulation five of 1873).

Within half-an hour he was escorted back to the checkpost by two NEFA officials and others and handed over to one of the waiting magistrates. From the checkpost he was taken back to Dibrugarh where he is being detained pending his trial.

The incident evoked some interest among the local people for inspite of the long distance and bad road conditions quite a few (more than one hundred people) of them walked up to the checkpost to see him breaking the law.

Addressing a meeting en route to Deomali at Nagaghat he told the audience (about one thousand people) that his main purpose was to establish the right and to keep a pledge he had given a year ago....

A P.T.I. report says that Dr. Lohia was later released at Dibrugarh (at the Jail compound)."

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, November 24, 59.*

### III

The Urvasiam administration is not telling the truth when it says that I wished to go to the Lohit Division, while I actually walked into the Tirap Division. The administration privately and the people publicly were told of both of my plans and, in fact, the administration were to contact me at Jeypore on way to Tirap Frontier Division. Once again I want to make it clear, as I have done to the administration, that if I go to Lohit Division I shall not accept any restriction on my activities and movements and shall be accompanied by my friends. I must say that the India government is not waking up and its officers and soldiers instead of stemming the advance of the Chinese army are showing their capabilities against a helpless disarmed person of no importance. Unless the government completely revises its policy of isolating Urvasiam, such an isolated Urvasiam will

also go the way of Tibet. I have come to know that the Chinese came as far as Kranli about 80 miles inside the border in 1953-54; medallions with Mao te-tung's engravings have been distributed among the hillmen.

I am a bit relieved that I am out of Jail but also sad and indignant that a citizen of India should be tossed about like a football in his own country.

—1959, *November 24; Dibrugarh, Interview to P.T.I.*

#### IV

“Lohia arrested with Tholok Gogoi on November 27, at 3 p. m. while entering the Lohit Frontier Division—Was released at Dibrugarh after ten hours' travel by jeep and three hours' sailing in an open boat in the cold night of the hills.”

—*Telegram from Dibrugarh.*

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# ENTERING URVASIAM AN EPILOGUE

I believe that the prime minister has opened himself up to a privilege motion, for he has misled the Lok Sabha on two points. First, he said that the government has no objection to my Urvasiam visit while in actual fact I was twice prevented by force from entering that area. Secondly, he said that most places in Urvasiam, excepting a few, were open to visitors, while the Urvasiam administration has said and acted so that most places excepting a few were not open to visitors. I might also mention that during my second attempt I was arrested about 15 paces away from the checkpost on the road which leads to Parasuram Kund, a place which the government has said I could have visited. The government should act on a person's action and not on his intentions. Furthermore, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, like most people, has irrelevantly brought in the security of the state as a reason for government's action. The Constitution makes mention of the interests of the general public and the interests of the scheduled tribes while permitting reasonable restriction on freedom of movement and does not at all talk of security in this connection. In actual fact, most of India's border with China in Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, which include such places as Badrinath, is open to millions of visitors every year and no one ever heard of the state's security or defence forces being endangered as a consequence. When a frontier area is freely open to visitors from all over the country, that helps rather than hinders defence, for the drawbacks of the

government and the condition of the people can be favourably adjusted through such popular inspection. I am definitely of the opinion that the scheduled tribes of Urvasiam are victims of great poverty and greater ignorance arising out of the government's policy of isolation, and free movement into Urvasiam could somewhat alter this condition. Urvasiam is about 300 miles long and a little more than 100 miles in width. Thirty miles of its width are Terai or plains like Jalpaiguri. In the hilly 60 or 70 miles, the density of population could not be more than 5 to 10 persons per sq. mile, which is disastrous for defence and for economic improvement. While I do not think that individual ownership of land and the like should be permitted to men from the plains, a systematic plan drawing upon India's capital resources to the maximum extent and also her manpower should be worked out in this area. I have no doubt that it can be developed into miles and miles of orchards somewhat like the tea gardens of the Assam plains.

Answer to the questions:

I was of two minds as to whether I should make a third attempt, but I have now decided that the people of Assam and in particular the Socialist Party should take up where I have left the agitation. I hope that the attempt to enter into Urvasiam would continue—and what was so far confined to me individually would become a general move.

It is most astonishing and scandalous that Urvasiam should be under the external affairs ministry, for Mr. Mao-Tse-Tung or Mr. Chou-En-Lai can easily turn round and say that is not India but territory foreign to it!

I do not know why a brother of the chief of Manchang received me together with other government officers, when they took me prisoner. When I asked him why he was preventing my entry into his domains, he told me that I was welcome but that the political officers and the India government were responsible. Actually many villagers of Manchang trace their ancestry

to Naga Narottam and they have many bonds on this side of the border which are being deliberately and mischievously sundered. Furthermore, the entire Mismi area is the habitat of Rukmini's folklore and I would be exceedingly surprised if the Mismi's have any but most friendly feelings towards us. Many persons who have lived in that area told me that I could stay in Mismi villages as guest, provided the government let me in.

I went chasing after the home lands of Rukmini but the government has so cruelly denied me the pleasure of meeting her Krishna, both male and female.

—1959, *December 2; Gauhati; Press interview.*

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# A FEW LETTERS

Tejpur, 18th March, '63.

## I

The Urvasiam battles are a mystery. Was it clowns on parade or maidens in uniform, I cannot tell. Here are some facts to bring out, in whatever way you can.

1. Bomdilla, the administrative headquarters of Kameng was completely evacuated in the early hours of 18th November. No fighting took place. Some gunfire was heard in the previous evening, but I found no one who could swear to having seen Chinese soldiers. Everybody talks of a general order, but nobody tells what authority decided on the evacuation and why.

2. Dirrang, the divisional headquarters, was evacuated about the same time. Some desultory fighting, not worth mentioning, is indicated, but there is not evidence for it. Tanks could have been put out of order by a panicked army.

3. I do not think there was much at Sela either, but I would not be sure of it. It was a clear case of an army that evaded fighting.

4. Everybody talks of a general order. Somewhat like this. When the fall of a Place is imminent, evacuate and practice some kind of scorched earth. Who issued this order? What does the word 'imminent' mean? Who is to decide the meaning?



There is much passing of the buck. Will the corps commandant decide in every particular case? Or, did he issue general instructions that, on the sighting of Chinese soldiers any where in the vicinity or hearing of gunfire, imminent fall must be assumed? All these questions must be cleared up.

5. This complete collapse of the military command must be traced to (a) the quality of the officer class (b) the character of government policy. Honourable exceptions apart the officer class has proved yellow or soft. There is some talk of a comode jeep for every officer, down to platoon officer. Cost Rs. Seven hundred from base to front. Other luxuries in imitation of British and American officers. Furthermore, middle-class, rather upper middle class officers, have flooded the armed forces for a glittering career in the hope and belief that there would be no fighting. I suggest: (1) Seventy five percent of all officers to be promoted from the ranks up, the other twenty five percent from among the trainees of the military colleges (2) luxurious living on the front to be cut to a minimum.

6. The character of government leadership is best revealed in the prime minister's attitudes. August, September, 62—no talks, that is, no material talks with China, unless all occupied territory including Ladakh were evacuated; 12th October—instructions to the military revealed to the press to throw the Chinese out; 19th November—weeping and crying; 21st November—ill concealed jubliation at the cease fire, advocating 8th September proposals or even less. It is a gutless leadership, war-talking and surrender making at the first reverse. The military cammand must have been infected with this policy, moving in both directions.

7. An enclosure

#### A PRESSMAN'S UNPUBLISHED REPORT

Tezpur, March 18, '63.

“Rammanohar Lohia, the Socialist Leader, returned from Bomdila and Dirrang last night after touring some parts of

Kameng division of NEFA (which he calls Urvasiam) during the last three days along with state Socialist leaders Mr. Kiron Bezbarua, Mr. Golap Borbora and Prof. Ajit Sharma, without having to undergo another arrest and release somewhere in Assam. Incidentally, he is the first leader of an opposition party in the country to tour NEFA on a tour sponsored by himself.

Lohia was escorted by NEFA officials from Tezpur on government transport along with his party, without having to cross the inner line with a permit. On being told of his desire to see NEFA the government readily made necessary arrangements.

But Lohia was not happy at what he saw and learnt in NEFA even so long after the Chinese aggression and occupation of virtually the whole of Kameng division for more than two months.

Speaking to pressmen last night Lohia declared: "We were definitely not outnumbered nor out-weaponed. I counted five derelict tanks while travelling from Kamengbari (Foothills) to Dirrang. There must have been many more. The Chinese indeed had automatic guns, but our soldiers had better rifles and were trained to shoot to aim. All estimates put the Chinese forces at Sela, Dirrang and Bomdilla between ten and thirty thousand and our forces could not have been very much less, certainly not less than twenty thousand. In addition, we were fighting on home soil. We were out-policed, out-officered and out-moraled. The government was actuated with two contrary sets of desires to shoot and yet not to shoot. There are moments when I suspect that this war, such as it was, was fought in collusion with the Chinese.

"The officer class with stray exceptions has proved to be thoroughly devoid of value, perhaps because of government vacillations but also because of its own desire to live another day. The supreme aim of the officer class seems to have been to flee. Government leaders and military officers skittled before the Chinese like mice before the cat. I am afraid that the Chinese was right

when he told, the visiting India team that accepted war prisoners and ammunitions, 'your soldiers were better trained and you had better weapons, but your army panicked.' Another taunt which the Chinese hurled at the Indian team was, 'take back these American weapons. But your soldiers did not know their use. You may need them for your defence.'

"What exactly the Chinese meant," said Dr. Lohia "by defence, and against whom, remained unexplained."

Mr. Senge Sering, the Gaonbudha (village headman) who is the principal spokesman of Dirrang village also was introduced to Dr. Lohia. It so happened that when Dr. Lohia had reached his home Sering was brewing his traditional maize beer, in which dropped a live rat from the ceiling. Sering picked it up and threw it down from his first floor tenement to the road below. As he was a devout Buddhist Monpa, Dr. Lohia cried out it would die. Sering is stated to have said it would not. But the rat fell into the hands of the village urchins. It eventually died.

Witnessing this Dr. Lohia told Sering why he and his men did not throw the Chinese out like he did the rat. To this, however, the Gaonbudha said that he and his men had no arms. If they had firearms they could surely have used it against the Chinese, Sering declared. To this, Lohia said that as long as they did not throw out the "rat" of the India government, they could not perhaps throw the Chinese out. This freedom of speech somewhat perplexed the headman.

Dr. Lohia added that the officials of NEFA told him that the inhabitants of Kameng had known about the Chinese atrocities in Tibet and therefore they could not be influenced by the hordes. Lohia said, this was not enough."

## II

Dibrugarh, 20th March, 1963.

Here are some additional bits of information.

1. The Tezpur airport, which is under the control of the airforce, was not functioning on twentieth November midnight.

Civilian pilots made their landings without direction from controls. Panic seems to have overtaken also the airforce. It may be recalled that the Chinese were a hundred miles away from Tezpur and had declared ceasefire or were about to.

2. From eighteenth to twentieth, massive troop reinforcements were flown in at Mohanbari, Dibrugarh. The military command was too bewildered to make any effective use of them. Some say Walong had fallen before the eighteenth, that is why the bewilderment. That is a funny way of waging battles. As a sidelight, a people's group of Dibrugarh sank a tube well at Mohanbari on eighteenth midnight, for troops did not have enough drinking water. That much for the organization of administration and military.

3. I have heard it said that British battles were won on the playgrounds of Eton and Harrow. That may or may not be true, but Indian battles have been lost in the rooms of Hyderabad and Massorie staff colleges or Khadakvasala and Dehradun military colleges. The Hyderabad staff college spends, largely public money, over Rs. 3,000/- on each student. The student, who is an administrator of some sort, learns how to be smart and to spend money with ease. That seems to be the prevailing doctrine for all administrative and military colleges. In this way, the officer turns into glittering tinsel, smart and well-behaved, and able to deceive most people until tried, and a mass of nerves at the first reverse and, of course, having to depend on corruption all the time for his smartness.

4. A case of corruption I report, because I know its details. One of our men, Kafil Ahmd Kafi, has been arrested in this connection and under the defence rules. An aerodrome is being constructed at Darbhanga. Rates being paid by government to a public corporation headed by a defeated M. P. and, if I remember aright, some kind of a former central minister, Rs. 110/- for every one thousand maunds of earth dug. The corporation in its turn pays Rs. seventyfive to two or three big contractors, who in their turn pay Rs. fifty to numerous small

contractors, and the last unit, the labour, gets between Rs. fifteen and forty-nine. This is the usual story everywhere. The Tusker, now named the Border Road Task Force, was probably worse. It was only the flaunted luxury of their officers which attracted people's curiosity initially and I do not know what kind of a government investigation now. The M.E.S. (Engineers) or whatever they are called, a direct military organization, was also infected. The whole thing was a stinking rot, directly traceable to the man who presides over it, because of his philosophy of cosmopolitanism and standards of living imitative of the Americans and West Europeans and now also the Russians.

### III

Dibrugarh, 23rd March, '63.

Please read an earlier item correctly. I forgot to add the period over which the Hyderabad staff college spends Rs. 3,000/- on each student; the expense is monthly. The student spends another Rs. 500/- to a thousand. He is not likely for a long time to earn, honestly that is, more than Rs. 1,500/- to Rs. 2,000/- a month, as collector or departmental secretary or the like.

I am recording here some information, which would go to show that the prime minister has committed breach of privilege. I have verified this information as best as I could. The prime minister has given false information to the House. Some of it was long time back. But I understand a member can raise it any time when he gets contrary information, of course, at the earliest opportunity after he receives it.

1. The district magistrate of Tezpur was not on leave, when he fled the city. The prime minister misled the House on this. Actually, he was on duty. Shillong, that is, the capital decided that the job was too big for him and sent over another officer to take charge from him. This officer reached Tezpur after midnight of 18th November and could with difficulty locate the district magistrate in the early hours of the 19th. The district magistrate was therefore relieved of charge and, as far as my information goes, made into additional district magistrate. Whether as assistant district magistrate or as relieved

officer, he went to the airport to see his wife and children off. As the airplane was flying to Barrackpore instead of Dum Dum, as he had thought, he decided on the spot to accompany his family and see them safely housed in Calcutta and intended to fly back immediately. It is possible, but improbable, that he had taken superior permission, more likely oral than written, to leave the city. A great deal of shielding is going on. The initial and big blame, of course, lies either with the defence minister, who was at that time Mr. J. Nehru, because of that notorious circular of evacuation or with the corps commandant, General Kaul. The truth must be brought out. Persistent demand must be made for the prosecution of the district magistrate and the court-martialling of the C. C. Of course, the prime minister must also be placed in the dock for giving false information.

2. Longju is not an uninhabited territory of two or three square miles, as the prime minister told Parliament. It is inhabited. The valley itself is over ten square miles and, with the adjoining cliffs and other spaces, which we have had to vacate, the area should easily go into hundreds of square miles. The population runs into several hundreds. The people who live there are a branch of the Adis and Mismis, as, in fact, most of what is Tibet immediately on our frontier is the result of constant nibbling of our frontier. I have received additional information, but I could not check it very closely, that the Longju area consists of certain other villages called Paari, Pat and Laling. I understand that the most beautiful spots in Urvasiam are the Longju valley indisputably, and also the Machuka and Tooting valleys, all part, if I am not misinformed, or continuation of the Dibong valley. Any state that scatters the patrimony of its territories is vile.

Copy:—to (1) Sri Ranga, (2) Sri Murhari, (3) Sri Mani (4) Sri Yadav.

# CERTAIN UNCONTROVERSIAL SUGGESTIONS

Matters of big policy I would continue to discuss but I would at present want to make certain minor and uncontroversial suggestions.

1. Let a village or city ward in the rest of India decide by resolution to establish fraternal relations with a village in Urvasiam. This should result in mutual visits and rendering of other assistance and presents. As the village or ward deciding to establish fraternal relations may belong to one or another of India's political complexions, the people of Urvasiam will then enter into a multi-hued relationship with their brothers in India instead of the present contract on the drab level of government.

2. Administration in Urvasiam must be kept small and austere. I concede that there are two possible approaches, one, to impress the tribal with the power and pomp of the administration, and the other, to identify with him as far as possible. We should, in my view, adopt the approach of identification in this society without castes and classes.

3. The mind of Urvasiam must be opened to the play of ideas. To those tribals and their leaders who heard me say that I was a servant of India but an enemy of the Congress government, the concept was perplexing, at least initially. But that is the only way. After all, one reason why we must withstand China is to safeguard the reasonable rights of privacy and the individual against the usurpations of the state and organization.

This world reason of privacy is just as important as the nationalist reason of Indianism, about both of which the inhabitants of Urvasiam know almost nothing. Free speech and thought are our main weapon against China but unluckily India is not making use of them in Urvasiam.

4. While large-scale planning for fruit growing over an Himalayan area a thousand miles long and thirty to forty miles wide is a matter of big policy, I suggest that small schemes of agricultural and industrial expansion be undertaken at once. Jhoom cultivation must be stopped as soon as possible, not necessarily by law, but by other really big inducements.

5. A vigorous programme of social reform must be put through. For instance, the piercing and enlargement of both nostrils of Apatani women, otherwise as handsome as any other, must stop. So must habits of dress and bath and the like change. There can be nothing so interventionist as the present non-interventionist policy of government because, forcibly and by law, it keeps Urvasiam into a dirty and stagnant pool, even dirtier and more stagnant than the rest of India.

6. I regret that I could not visit frontier places like Walong, Tawang and Tootingor Tasking. There must be some way by which agents or friends of government and heretics like me are placed on equal footing, at least a comparatively equal one, in regard to use of helicopters and the like.

7. Stupid classifications of Aryan and Mongolian, even Mongoloid, must cease. They bear no relation to actual reality. I can today testify by direct evidence, what I knew earlier by reasoning, that Urvasiam is a physical and cultural part of India.

8. The idea of evacuation must be condemned as anti-national, for India will not for a long time yet know the difference between evacuation and flight. In any case, there is no reason why civilian administrative personnel must be evacuated from anywhere, even if the place has fallen to the enemy. The



only elements whose evacuation is somewhat justifiable are (1) Women and children as wish to evacuate (2) Organizers of peoples resistance and guerillas in addition of course to the armed forces who may under certain exceptional circumstances retreat in order to regroup and fight.

—1963, *March 28; Gauhati.*

N. B :—The above statement although released to news agencies at that time, no daily newspaper made use of it. It is reissued in the hope that some may make use of it.

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**NEPAL**



# INDIA AND NEPAL

"This conference expresses its solidarity with the people of Nepal and the Nepal National Congress in their struggle for representative government, civil liberties and for social well-being. Not only as a part of Asia, but more so as a neighbour whose history, economy, hill and river systems and traditional memories are interwoven with those of India, Nepal must necessarily rouse the deepest attention of the Indian people and India that of the people of Nepal.

This conference notes with sorrow and indignation the continuance of a rule in Nepal which is oligarchic and hierarchical, does not allow the people to assemble and organise, controls their thought, makes the running of primary schools or holding of mass prayers a criminal offence, does nothing to improve their agriculture, industry, education and health or to lift the heavy burdens of rent and taxes and stop forcible procurement of farm produce at cheap prices.

This conference sends its greetings to Sri Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala, President, Nepal National Congress, Sri Dharam Narayan Pradhan, Sri Tanak Prasad Upadhyaya, Tilakraj Sahi and Mahendranarayan Nidhi and over six hundred brave sons of Nepal who are languishing in different prisons of that country and are under fetters or other types of barbarous treatment.

This conference expresses its admiration of the courage shown by the men and women of Nepal in combating a tyranny

of long standing. While urging upon the government of Nepal to revise its policies, the Socialist Party assures the Nepal National Congress of its support and is confident that the people of India will make it clear to the government of India as well as to the government of Nepal that the freedom and prosperity of the two countries is indivisible."

—1949, *March 6-10; Patna; Socialist Party's annual conference resolution.*

# LET US NOT FORGET NEPAL

While Tibet is already aflame, let us not forget Nepal. Over a year ago, I had drawn attention to the softening of our northern frontier. Between the corruption and tyranny of the present government of Nepal and the chaos of the Soviet camp, there luckily stands the wall of the Nepal Congress. But this wall must now become a bastion and the Rana rule must go. The Nepali freedom-fighters are aware of the urgency of their work but they are being arrested and whipped. We have it on the authority of Bisweswar Koirala that women-prisoners, including Mrs. Sushila Chalise, have been stripped and flogged and the worst is feared for that brave fighter, Ganeshman Singh. Further delay is dangerous and the people of India must lend their active support to the Nepali struggle for democracy, and I warn the Atlantic camp that any encouragement to Rana rule in Nepal will be as infamous and mischievous an act as any other.

—1950, *November*.

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# DEMOCRACY VERSUS TYRANNY

“The National Executive of the Socialist Party sends its warm greetings to its brethren in Nepal who are so bravely asserting the claims of democracy against a tyranny unmatched in the world. At a time when the world’s mind is overwhelmed by the Atlantic and Soviet armies and cynicism has so deepened that the line between liberation and conquest is hard to draw, Nepal has stood such a powerful witness for popular force and the Third Camp and has demonstrated what a people can do for achieving their freedom against heavy odds.

Deriving its power from the King of Nepal and never supported or sanctioned by the people in an election, the Rana regime, under which prime ministers as well as generals are hereditary, has lost all constitutional validity. To continue to recognise the usurpers of Kathmandu does credit neither to the government of India nor to the Socialist government of Britain, for such a recognition assists the usurpers in holding the 10 million people of Nepal under thralldom and in countering their bid for democratic rule with steel and blood. In the belief that a democratic travelling in the direction of socialism is alone a guarantee against invasion and foreign rule and that, with Rana’s tyranny ruling, the Soviet camp as much as the Atlantic would walk through Nepal, the National Executive urges the India and the British governments to withdraw recognition from the Kathmandu usurpers and to open conversations with the leaders of the Nepal Congress.

The National Executive fervently hopes that the Nepali Congress will take the revolution into every hamlet so as to pull down the usurper's authority and form committees of people's power and it will abolish all vestiges of feudalism and serfdom, will commence to redivide land and will establish people's government in the country so as to distribute power economic as well as political into the villages. In this task they will have the aid of the Socialist Party of India and the people of India generally."

—1950, *November 22; Socialist Party's National Executive resolution.*

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# THE TASK BEFORE NEPAL CONGRESS

The struggle between the democrats and the usurpers of Nepal has entered a decisive phase when a bold leap might well carry the Nepal revolution into the inner core of world history, while a hasty settlement would repeat the usual run of Asian revolts in compromises and frustrations.

The Nepal democrats have grown stronger with each succeeding day. The spectacular capture of Birganj by the Nepal Congress and its subsequent loss have obscured the real happenings in Nepal. The revolt is spreading steadily into the hills, from where the gallant Gurkhas are recruited, and both plain and hill now echo to the lusty cry of freedom. Whenever democrats are compelled to retreat, they only move out to another post and so the torch of revolt is carried to newer areas.

The India government should not attempt to abort this ever-widening and unbeatable revolt of the Nepali people against their usurpers. The Ranas of Kathmandu are a weak tyranny, for they are not only usurpers but are also unable to exercise effective governmental or military power. Unsupported by India, their end is beyond doubt.

Some people in India and also in Nepal had imagined as if the battle for Nepali democracy were to be waged by the government and army of India. That impression is largely gone, although some would still like to cast the Indian army in the role

of a liberator. Such persons are impotent, when they are not imperialists or communists. For four years, the people of India or at least a section of them, have helped the people of Nepal with their toil and are now doing so even with their blood. Let there be no mistake, however, that the people of Nepal themselves are the primary agents to rejoice and to suffer in the struggle for Nepali democracy.

One aspect of India government's policies is, however, causing intervention in favour of the Kathmandu usurpers. The Ranas have all the arms and ammunition they need but they do not possess loyal soldiers; the democrats have all the loyal soldiers they need but they do not possess the arms and the ammunition. As the only rightful and, in places, the effective authority in Nepal, they must be able to buy arms in or to carry them through India. To deprive them of this right is contrary to law and virtue.

But the struggle in Nepal is more political than armed, just as it is more a matter of arms than of diplomacy.

The Nepal Congress must not hesitate any more, however ill-organized or militarily pressed it might be, to take those political leaps to which it is committed.

Every village under the authority of Nepal Congress must elect its panchayat on the basis of adult franchise. To the panchayat must pass not only powers of administration short of those necessary for the unity and security of the country, but the bureaucracy must also be made subordinate to it.

A group of five or ten villages meeting in exercise of their adult franchise or in their panchayats should elect one delegate to the provisional and revolutionary parliament of Nepal. Such a parliament can be called into being within a fortnight. Let this parliament be the focus and the rallying point of Nepal's aspirations, the mother of a provisional government and its directing principles.

The proclamation to redivide land is not enough. A start must be made at once. The revolutionary parliament may fix upon a maximum of land ownership. All lands above such a maximum may be classified into certain categories just as landless labourers and the poorer farmers may also be divided into appropriate categories. The work of redividing land must begin at once on such an instalment plan of categories.

I beseech soldiers and politicians to be overwhelmed by their military responsibilities or to be paralysed by the lack of proper communications. Let them make one supreme effort to put through this three-point policy of decentralised administration, revolutionary parliament and land redivision by instalment. After all, these are their own decisions. This three point policy will give them the unity of command, drive and co-ordination they so ardently desire. Faltering and delaying tactics, at this stage will turn them into the jests of history.

In the deafening clash between the Atlantic and the Soviet camps, the whisper of the Nepali struggle may yet acquire a clear and audible tone.

Democracy in the sense of representative and decentralised government should be wedded to revolutionary action in the sphere of economic equality, something not hitherto attempted in the annals of mankind.

This must produce echoes of sympathy throughout the world. It is true that, under Catholic or Communist auspices, the Nepali revolution, such as it is, would already have become the great talk of the world. We request democrats and socialists all the world over to hold meetings and to rejoice in the Nepali struggle for democracy; and, those of the U.S., Britain and France to urge upon their governments to withdraw recognition from the Kathmandu usurpers.

Stability is not to be achieved by methods of stagnation. That Asian mind which refuses to move or experiment as a result of contemplating communism is vicious. While I warn the

people of Nepal against the Communist double-crossing that is already emerging in the Nepali struggle, I urge the democrats of Nepal to redouble their efforts. Any unsettling that takes place as result of democratic vitalising must necessarily stabilise Nepal against invasion or infiltration.

—1951, *January*.

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# CLEVERNESS OR COURAGE IN NEPAL ?

Politicians of Nepal should not try to be clever. They should remember that small countries like Nepal have been able to safeguard their freedom not with Czechoslovakian cunning but with Yugoslavian courage. Prime minister Koirala and other Nepalese leaders say that Nepal has been under the influence of China and India equally. It is not true. Many Nepalese went to the jail in India's struggle for freedom and many Indian suffered for Nepal in the same manner. Why did it not happen in regard to China? It is obvious that in matters of language, script, culture, religion, physical feature etc. Nepal is akin to India. Such statements will not deter the Chinese from their plans and whenever there is a chance they will certainly try to thrust a communist government over Nepal. Perhaps such statements may prepare the Nepalese for closer relations with China. I hope Nepalese leaders will not talk in this vein hereafter.

I appeal to the opposition leaders, Sri Upadhyaya and Dr. K. I. Singh not to use the Indo-China border question to gain some political advantage over the Koirala government. They must remember that the Communist leader Sri Adhikari is in China. Momentary advantages should not blind them to the fact that under the Chinese they will have to go the way of Sri Koirala. There must certainly be a number of other problems on which the Nepalese opposition can base its fight.'

For the last many years I had not spoken about Nepal because Nepalese leaders of both the opposition and the govern-

ment had worked with me at the time of the Nepalese rebellion against the Ranas while other Indian leaders had either kept aloof or opposed the movement. Yet the ideals for which we had all fought have been forgotten, the ideals of people's government and equality. India also is following an impotent and seemingly clever policy. In both the cases the reasons are the same. In Nepal as in India a few English educated upper caste people are ruling the country. Instead of the rule of the 90% common people—Roy, Gurang, Dewan, Chhatri, Limbu etc.—it is a government of the 10% upper caste Nepalese. Until and unless the poor people of Nepal take over the country, defence of Nepal will be difficult.

--1959, *December 18; Press interview.*

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**TIBET**





# CHINESE INVASION OF TIBET

China has invaded Tibet, which can only mean that the giant has moved to rub out the life of a child. Tibet's present rulers may or may not be reactionary and tyrannical but of her independence from foreign control there can be no doubt. If internal conditions of a country, which do not directly affect the stability of another, can be a justification for invasion, it is China today which has moved into Tibet but on that logic America may someday move into Russia and Russia into India, and there is no knowing where this sort of thinking may stop.

I had refused to take sides in the war between North and South Korea, precisely because this was directly a war between the Atlantic and the Soviet camps. But Tibet belongs to neither camp. To call the invasion of Tibet an effort to liberate three million Tibetans is to make language lose all meaning and stop all human communication and understanding. Freedom and slavery, bravery and cowardice, loyalty and treason, truth and lie, will become synonyms.

Our friendship and esteem for the people of China will never dim, but we must state our conviction that the present government of China will not be able to wash out the infamy of this invasion and baby murder.

Defeated in Korea, the Soviet camp may have attempted to bolster up its prestige through conquest of Tibet and that empha-

sises the need for China to free herself from the foreign policy of the Soviet camp.

China's claim that she wishes to secure her western frontiers in Tibet is thoroughly mischievous. Every nation will then try to secure its frontiers all over the world. Furthermore, Tibet's ties are stronger with India than with China, ties of language and trade and culture, not to speak of the strategic affinities between India and Tibet, particularly western Tibet. The present government of China has offended not only against international morality but also against India's interests by mobbing into Tibet.

If the government of China takes its stand on some wholly inoperative but technical and doubtful issue of sovereignty, let the will of the people of Tibet be ascertained in a plebiscite.

The India government will do well to advise the China government to withdraw its army and, in view of the genuine friendship between the two, to offer its services in the arranging of such a plebiscite.

—1950, *October*.

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# AN ACT AGAINST ASIA AND THE WORLD

“The National Executive of the Socialist Party defines the invasion of Tibet by China as an act against Asia and the world, the Tibetan people and India. As the independence of Tibet from foreign control has not at all been in doubt and as Tibet belongs neither in name nor in reality to the Atlantic or the Soviet camp, the invasion is all the more reprehensible. To attempt to justify the invasion of 8 lakh square miles of territory on basis of sovereign rights which are as doubtful and untenable as they are imperialist, is an irony of which no modern government should have been thought capable.

The people of Tibet alone may decide in a free vote or plebiscite their form of government or of alliances with the outside world and the India government should press upon the Chinese government to achieve a settlement with Tibet along these terms. The Socialist Party must however warn all Asian peoples against the danger so demonstrably exhibited by Tibet, where status-quo and reactionary elements have clashed with an expanding communism intent on slaughter and rule and have been worsened in the battle. Without in any way attempting to interfere with the religious freedom, the Socialist Party urges the people of Tibet to adopt a policy of socialism at home and the Third camp abroad. Such a policy will give contentment and strength to the

people of Tibet and will make all encroachments by either the Atlantic or the Soviet camp impossible.

India and Tibet have lived in a relationship compared with which the relationship between Tibet and China is certainly not closer. The future of Tibet therefore concerns the Indian people directly. The Socialist Party urges the people of India to assist the Tibetan people in maintaining their independence and evolving a policy of socialism and the Third camp."

—1950, November 22; Nagpur; Socialist Party's National Committee resolution.

# CHINA'S SECOND ASSAULT ON TIBET

When the 'Baby Murder' in Tibet took place nine years ago most of the people who today are raising a hue and cry over the the second instalment of Chinese assault on the Tibetan people were, as far as I remember, silent. Something ought to have been done then, something ought to have been said. Which, however, does not mean that nothing should be said now. But while saying it people should not forget their weaknesses; as they say, when the peacock dances it should do well to be aware of its legs. A fundamental lack in foreign policy opinions is that they are formed not on the anvil of the question of justice or injustice, but around such passing considerations as national interests, party interests or personal interests. Nine years ago the India government, and to some extent the Indian people, had such friendly relations with the China government that no party or leader in India dared to speak boldly on the Tibetan issue. The situation has now altered. The surfacial relations between the two governments are perhaps intact, but underneath a tension has been smouldering for the last one or one-and-a-half years. That is the reason why people who were found tongue-tied in those old conditions are now shouting themselves hoarse in defence of the Tibetan people.

The state of public opinion on foreign policy matters is everywhere marred thus with superficiality, more so, in India, where the native government and the British Ruler possess the monopoly of deciding as to which issues should agitate people's

mind, by giving excessive publicity to relevant news and information. The sooner the people of India try to observe deeper than such superficial layers, the better for the country.

The foreign policy of India is called neutral, and, in a sense, it is so because it is not slave to either of the power blocs but does alternate service to both. During the past one or one-and-a-half years the India government's policy has tended more towards the camp of capitalist democracy and America just as in the four or five preceding years the shift was in favour of the Soviet bloc. The alignment, however, is never definitive but the balance of the two scales is tilted a bit one way or the other. It is in this context that the Tibetan issue is being treated. A country's foreign policy should be objective, rational, concrete, and, as far as possible, idealistic. Today it is subjective and emotional. What doubt can there be now that had India's prime or foreign minister been a man of Bengali ancestry, the core of the conflict with Pakistan would have been formed out of the problem of refugees from East Bengal; had he been a man of Tamil ancestry, the problems of Indians in Sri Lanka would undoubtedly have become the biggest single issue of India's foreign policy; now that he is a man of Kashmir ancestry the Indo-Pakistan conflict has sharpened around the issue of Kashmir which has, consequently, become the biggest single problem of our foreign policy!

Every Indian has a special affection for Tibet. On the one hand, there are such reasons as Manasarovar. The Indian heart overflows with a calm but curious joy at the mention of the name of Manasarovar. On the other hand, the childlike and innocent people of Tibet have an irresistible appeal to us. There is not the least doubt that Tibet and especially its western part has greater cultural, religious and geographical affinities with India than with China. Many people may not be knowing that the Tibetan alphabet is a variation of the Indian alphabet, and the Tibetan outlook is a curious blend of knowledge and innocence. A Tibetan Buddhist nun at Sarnath once said: "Man everywhere is bad, but a little less so in India and a little more

so in Tibet, which is why someone or other of the Buddhist preachers and doctrines had to go to Tibet.

There can be no second thoughts as to whether the Dalai Lama should be accorded shelter in India. If the government has any, it would be guilty of another baby murder. A self-respecting nation must provide protective asylum for political sufferers from foreign countries.

We have no partiality towards the Dalai Lama or the other Lama. Nobody should have any. Those who today show preference for one to the other have cold-war ties with either America or Russia. The thought of Tibet and its Lamas does arouse in the mind a natural romance but such sentiments should only strengthen our demand for the religious independence of Lamas and not their political authority.

The political authority of the Lamas must be brought to an end. It is said that the Chinese are doing that. But the China government is doing it at the point of bayonet, and thus it may turn out to be worse than the Lama rule itself. The efforts of sane people should be directed towards awakening the Tibetan masses so that their attitude towards the Lamas may change and the rule of the Lamas may be liquidated.

The Chinese assault on Tibet is a brutal act. But its evil inheres in communism as much as in capitalism. The Russian aggression on Hungary, the Chinese aggression on Tibet, the Anglo-French attack on Egypt—all these are outbursts of the same evil. The two blood-thirsty giants—communism and capitalism—are sitting across man's breast and man is a fool to be trying to prefer one to the other. The events of the world get distorted when they are seen either through the Atlantic or the Soviet spectacles. The so-called neutral spectacles of India also obstruct clear vision. We always wish for a rapprochement between America and Russia, that Eisenhower and Khrushchev should embrace each other and behave like brothers, which in fact they are. Both America and Russia are great—great in



wealth and great in arms—and all other countries are dependent on them for something or other. That gives rise to the tribe of jackals and foxes in international politics. All nations of the world behave either as jackals or as foxes towards these two colossi. Some jackals are tied to one or the other of the two lions. But there are also foxes who change their masters according to convenience. The India government and people have acquired the traits of the latter.

A misunderstanding, in connection with India's foreign policy, has been persisting and that is about Mr. Krishna Menon, who has for a very long time been looked upon as pro-Communist and pro-Russian. However, throughout he has remained loyal to the British. The British foreign and military offices have a wide network of agents all the world over, who are given absolute freedom in all other matters except that they should help preserve the influence of the British empire. Sometimes this work is done not through the foreign office but through the left parties of Britain. It looks at times as if not only Mr. Menon but people greater than him are also tethered to this elastic British policy.

Another point may be noted about the Chinese aggression. China has already achieved steel production of one crore tons. After four or five years India will reach the target of 60 lakh tons, by which time China will be producing one crore and 70 lakh tons. We do not attach the highest importance to material prosperity; but how does the world look upon it? All the sins of Russia, even its sin in Hungary, could be washed away by the invention of sputnik. Great thinkers and great philosophers of the world bowed their heads before the technological power of the Soviet government. People worship power, however merciless. The India government and the Praja Socialists do it as much as people elsewhere. Then, the increasing steel output of China will also have its inevitable effect. So long as the India government and people do not bring about radical changes in the socio-economic conditions, they won't be able to take out the Chinese dragon's teeth. Everything depends on

American-Soviet relations. If they are not coming closer the tension with regard to Tibet will grow. The innocent, childlike countenance of the Tibetans will incite the capitalist world and enrage the Communists. Nothing more will happen. If war was not waged over white Hungary, it won't certainly be waged over coloured Tibet !

—1959, *April*.

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# TIBETAN REFUGEES

“This meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party wants that the Tibetan refugees should be welcome and they should be treated as Indian citizens, but considering the safety of the country’s frontiers, this committee warns the government that the refugees should not be rehabilitated in the Himalayan or wet regions.”

—1961, July 12-15; *Hyderabad; Socialist Party’s National Committee resolution.*

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# TALKS WITH DALAI LAMA

“Resolved that the India government should hold full and, if necessary secret talks with the Dalai Lama and other representatives of the Tibetan people on the basis of Tibetan commitment to revolutionary reconstruction of Tibet’s society and economy and Indian commitment to Tibet’s independence. India’s official acceptance of Tibet’s declaration of independence may await a more suitable moment, but the aim of national policy particularly on the people’s level should be that.

In the opinion of the conference, India’s foreign policy should become creative, which, in relation to China, would mean India’s abstention on China’s admission into the U.N. as long as her aggression lasts and, subsequently, two memberships, one for China and the other for Formosa.”

—1962, *October 5-7; Hyderabad; Samajvadi Yuvajana Sabha fourth National Conference resolution.*



# WHO CHAMPIONED TIBET'S FREEDOM?

“To put the record straight, we must tell Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan that far from being the first man to raise the Tibetan issue, he took part in the open conspiracy to murder Tibet’s freedom. When in 1949 the Communists had tried to heckle Rammanohar Lohia in his London press conference he had stuck to the position that he did not share India government’s opinion nor its school-boy distinctions between sovereignty and suzerainty and adhered to Tibet’s freedom. The “Daily Worker,” the only Communist newspaper in England, came out later with Mr. Narayan’s statement that like the prime minister he did distinguish between sovereignty and suzerainty and accepted China’s suzerainty over Tibet. We can only guess at the telephonic or telegraphic exchanges that took place between the High Commissioner (who was none other than Mr. Krishna Menon) and Delhi, before Mr. Narayan who was then the general secretary of the old Socialist Party, issued his statement contradicting Lohia’s. Rammanohar Lohia was the first man on this as on other issues of freedom and peace and he has often been made unhappy by the shifty behaviour of his old colleagues and other politicians. While we welcome Mr. Narayan’s later adherence to Tibet’s freedom, we must ask him to take a lesson from his past in his own interest and the country’s, and adopt more consistent stands in future.”

—1962, *December 12; Sri Robi Rai’s Press statement.*



**POLICY**



# U. N. VOTE ON CHINA—THE AGGRESSOR

India's abstention in the U.N. vote on supply of war materials to China was an hour of victory for all votaries of world unity and peace, and in particular for the Socialist Party of India. The India government deserves the world's appreciation for thus reinforcing a constructive policy of building the new world.

For four long years India had followed a policy of vacillation and alternate service to the Soviet and Atlantic camps. It has opened the Indian people to Soviet as well as Atlantic infiltration, sapped their resources of the mind and inclined them to surrender in a moment of crisis. This policy was often enough mistaken for one of independence and neutrality and consequently brought into great disrepute all those who have been wanting to build up a constructive force independent of the two great power camps. We hope that this vote reflects the India government's desire to cast away the role of a weak mediator and a harmful meddler and to take to the honest toil of a genuine builder in however small a way. From Indonesia to Egypt stretches a belt of peoples which can be gathered together in a network of ideological, economic and military security and which has its far outposts in countries like Sweden also. By going beyond capitalism and communism which are both doctrines of centralization and violence and leadership of one government over all the world and by advocating the principles of equality within a people as well as among all the peoples and of decentralized



reconstruction, the Socialist Party has tried to provide ideological security to this belt. Had the Party been the government of India, it might have gone a long way towards acquiring economic as well as military security.

India's prime minister is a thoroughbred, who, when Mahatma Gandhi rode him, produced fine results, but ever since he has been riderless, has been bringing the country to the brink of ruin. An eleventh hour security may yet be achieved, if the Indian people choose to ride him well and compel the India government to endure in the course of abstention, and of pursuing the positive aims of securing the neutral belt and of achieving equality and prosperity for all the world. The hour of victory was however somewhat saddened by the breach of Yugoslavia from the world front of abstentionists to which she has claimed such firm and principled adherence. We would urge upon Marshal Tito and his brave people to return to the abstentionist fold, notwithstanding that considerations of national security may have become overwhelming.

While the India government's policy of abstention has brought fresh hope and cheer for all mankind, the prime minister's answers to questions of Japanese and German rearmament have again reflected an unintegrated mind. It is ridiculous for a prime minister of a state which has an army and wishes to retain it and even enlarge it to wax morally eloquent over clauses in Japanese constitution that forbid an army. Japan will rearm anyway inspite of these moral vapourings, and the complete rout of Japanese parties that stood by these clauses of the constitution in recentmost municipal elections of Japan proves it. Germany will travel in a like direction. There is disarmament either for all the world or for none. So long has India been used to her internal caste system that she has found no difficulty in acknowledging and accepting the international caste system that reduces the world into five brahmin nations and sixty or so pariah nations. India can serve the world only by outright rejection of the Big Four or Big Five theory of secret agreements of Potsdam,

Yalta or elsewhere, of distinctions between victors and vanquished nations. In consonance with her policy of abstention in the disputes of an old world, India should boldly assist the claims of a new world, that recognises no imperialist, capitalist or communist privileges.

—1951, *May 24; Delhi.*

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# CONCERNING OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS RED CHINA

The Indian people are being subjected to a concerted propaganda that China is not a communist country and that private property exists in most spheres. A member of the goodwill mission which visited China recently and Mr. Pannikar, Indian ambassador to that country, are at least agreed on this. Many others have begun to or will begin increasingly to play this note.

The immediate player will be a dupe or conscious thinker, but the purpose of this tune seems to be either to win China some kind of goodwill throughout the world or to prevent the crystallizing of a determined socialist opinion of Asia.

Most Asian governments, the Indian government in particular, are policyless and vague. They are radical in speech and conservative in action, and are, therefore, particularly fond of ideas that blur and confuse. They would naturally feel happy if they could enlarge their camp by the inclusion of China. Furthermore, a socialist opinion is crystallising in Asia. I understand the prime minister of India has very actively intervened to fix up a visit of Dr. Sjahrir, the Socialist leader of Indonesia to China. Dr. Sjahrir is far too shrewd a person to allow the Indian prime minister to obstruct a Socialist combination in Asia. I hope Dr. Sjahrir will visit China and enrich socialist Asia with his intimate experience of that country.

The people of Asia must soon enough recognise the difference between the two types of association, that on government level and the other on popular level. They must also learn not to suppress the truth or to smudge its outline in order to purchase a shaky friendship.

All Asian governments must try to maintain correct diplomatic and, wherever possible, friendly relations with the Peking government. But this should under no circumstances involve distortion or even silence which in some ways is worse.

Although a member of the goodwill mission handed a certificate of good conduct to the Russian experts in China, he has made the breath-taking revelation that there are over 80,000 of them in that country. That would mean a numerical strength of Russians in China over one half of the British in India under foreign rule. The Russians may be behaving exceedingly well in China but there can be no manner of doubt that their grip over the country is firm. Except as the result of an open clash, the dissociation from Russian foreign policy does not seem possible. Mao-Tse-tung the Chinese leader is becoming increasingly inaccessible to his people according to a member of the mission.

There is another aspect of the Chinese situation which will be perilous for Asians to neglect or rationalise. Over a million persons have been executed in China since the advent of communists. They have been described as counter-revolutionaries, black-marketeers and saboteurs. That may or may not be true.

Assuming all those executed are wicked elements, a million executions are enough to condemn outright a system that has to resort to that. Nothing good can come out of them. I understand that communist magistrates have taken special delight in executing their own counter revolutionary parents. A certain class of reformers may feel exalted that love for the people may so over-ride filial bonds, but I consider it an unparelled coarsening of humanity.

That China has redivided land must not blind Asians to the perilous aspects of its foreign policy or its government by terrorism. Furthermore, a redivision of land in China is as much a paper transaction as the 5% limitation on profits under Hitler. Crop procurement, price fixing, conscription of peasant youth into war service and political and judicial powers stem from Peking. As long as village councils do not share in these functions and powers, and as long as justice does not become independent of the executive and of mob out-cry, redivision of land as carried out in China is meaningless and has no relation whatever to what the Socialists demand and struggle for.

Whether private property exists or does not in China should not be turned into an issue of emotional and deceptive appraisal. Such vague controversies are helpful alone to the capitalists or the communists, because with them, ideas are not expressions of truth but agencies of fleeting self-interest. To socialist Asia, in any case, the issue no longer rests between public and private property. Firmly believing that social ownership over industry alone can reconstruct Asia's economy, socialist Asia has now to achieve appropriate forms of centralised and decentralised public property.

It must clearly understand that the policy of abstention towards disputes between the Atlantic and Soviet camps does not at all involve silence or refusal to judge. Just as there is no refusal to judge the French or British massacre in Africa or the conformist attempt of the U.S. to mould the whole world, China opportunists, who are used to changing ideas for their personal or narrow national interests, refuse to judge off times, because they do not wish to embarrass a likely benefactor.

The India government is at present a broker of China and will, after the outbreak of famine in India or war in the world, become a mercenary of America. It must, therefore, observe silence on many issues or double-talk or double-act. That Mr. Nehru has some friends in both camps is easily understandable. Opportunists do not lack in a certain number of people who woo

them and court them but they are thoroughly incapable of creating a new nation or building a new world.

Socialist Asia must definitely reject the equally evil doctrines of conformism and co-existence. Conformism implies a deadening rigidity of thought and the concept of co-existence carries with it a vague and woolly and gutless mind. Socialist Asia must refuse to conform either with the Atlantic or the Soviet system, and it must also refuse to practise co-existence with them or between them on the basis of silence or of suppression of truth.

There must be co-existence with systems to approximate to one another only on the basis of free enquiry and open debate. In refining and elaborating the outlines of its own thought socialist Asia must, on the one hand, erect its own positive structure of ideas and action and, on the other, not to refuse to point out the errors and evil practices in capitalism and communism. A socialist who practices the principles of co-existence with approximation in the sphere of foreign policy will ever strive to remove the errors and evils of the Atlantic and Soviet systems so that they may approximate to one another until we have a world of peace.

The great overseas communities of China residing in Malaya, Indonesia and elsewhere and of course the Hong-Kong Chinese can give birth to the democratic and socialist idea among themselves on the basis of an equal rejection of President Mao-Tse-tung and Generalissimo Chiang-kai-Shek. This will powerfully influence the Chinese mind on the mainland and also in Formosa. Approximation may come out of it.

A major difficulty in the assessment of China is the hope that Mao may go the way of Tito. I would very much welcome if Mao went the way of Tito, if China started freeing herself from internal centralization and external tutelage of Russia. But no amount of cajoling or refusing to judge ever makes a Yugoslavia. An intimate national or world experience alone

makes a Yugoslavia, and foreigners can hasten or deepen such an experience by declaring their judgements without malice and out of deep sympathy. Even Russia and China will some day understand that their best friends in India are the Socialists who refuse to be their brokers to-day and shall ever refuse to be Atlantic mercenaries. I would also like to tell the U.S. that their best friends in Asia are the Socialists on the same plea.

The Chinese are ancient and great and I have no where seen a finer texture of skin or sensed a greater suppleness of mind. Between the people of India and China the ties of traditional friendship must stay and their governments however we may judge them, strive to observe correct relations.

—1951, *December*.

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# CHOU NEHRU MEET

I am happy at the meeting of the prime ministers of India and China. These two are undoubtedly representative of over 1/3 of humanity, whether 800 million or a thousand million is a matter of little consequence. But it would be necessary to know their strength. When China's prime minister said that the two prime ministers represented 960 millions, he was, indeed, telling truth but only a half truth, for he should have stated how much steel or wheat the two countries produced. Representative of 960 millions indeed but producers of less than 3 million tons of steel.

I do not wish to minimise the importance of the meeting but I want to put it in its proper setting. The peoples of India and China and all other coloured peoples must realise how far they are behind in comparison to white peoples. Behind the coloured people of China stand the white people of Russia with 35 million tons of steel. And behind the coloured people of India stand the white people of England with its 20 million tons of steel, behind whom stands again the white people of America with its 110 million tons of steel.

I do not want a blind imitation of European or American civilization. I accuse the present governments of India and China of wanting to produce Europe in their respective countries. That is impossible and it is also undesirable.



The present crisis of human civilization, which is also the cause of crisis in foreign policy, can be over-come only if the coloured peoples of the world develop a new system of thought and action and also a new way to expand their agriculture and industry.

The importance of this meeting would correspond to the extent to which it would help China gain its independence from Soviet commonwealth, and India its independence from British commonwealth. To the extent which China and India acquire freedom of movement in foreign policy and, therefore, increasing non-alignment from Soviet and British commonwealths, to that extent Mr. Nehru and Mr Chou will earn the gratitude of the whole coloured people.

I warn against the easy acceptance of the theory of co-existence. No matter how much Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou may shout, two systems cannot co-exist peacefully except between certain intervals of peace. Throughout human history different systems have gone to wars. There is only one way to make two systems exist peacefully and that is through the achievement of a third system with power enough to force co-existence with the other two. To the achievement of the third system and increase of its power, the two governments of India and China have so far done nothing. I hope that they would, in future, work towards such a policy.

—1954, *July; Balia.*

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# INDIA, CHINA, TIBET, CONGRESSISM AND COMMUNISM

The conflict between India and China must be viewed from the four angles of India's northern frontier in the Himalayas, comparative total strength of both the nations and their speed of growth, India's foreign policy and Tibet.

Let us take the northern border first, which includes Ladakh, Bhutan, Urvashi and Nepal. In spite of repeated warnings since 1950 the government of India has done nothing to harden this area. These people and the regions have been deliberately kept soft, as a standing invitation for foreign aggression. It is an essential part of our defence to strengthen and harden these people. Hardening does not mean merely arming them with weapons, but strengthening their morale, their way of thinking and their living conditions. But what the conditions of these people are in actuality the prime minister told us recently after his visit to Bhutan and expressed his happiness and joy at what he saw. There were no roads, no schools, no newspapers and no industries in Bhutan! It seemed as if the words belonged to a man who had grown old and worn out in the vices of the world and sought asylum in a place which was free from modern complexities. Would a prime minister be ever happy to declare that his country's frontier people have no communication, no education, no enlightenment and living standards worth the name? How else does a country invite aggression from another?

About Urvasiam, the first thing that should strike our mind is that for twelve years our government has not found a name for a big region of the country and calls it NEFA, which is an abbreviation from the English "North Eastern Frontier Agency." And this is not a small area of a few miles, as such casual naming may suggest; its area is around 35,000 sq. miles. The Indian equivalent would be "Uttara Purva Simanta Anchal," which is not a phrase of any one language of India but is Telugu, Hindi, Bengali, Assamese etc. at the same time. Such a comprehensive nomenclature, and what a beautiful name you can have by joining the first letters of the first, third and fourth words and the second syllable of the second word, Urvasiam, as if to signify the home of Urvasi, the mythical nymph. We don't come across Rambhas, Menakas and Tilottamas in our day-to-day lives and it would be a really joyous invention to call an area by a famous beauty of our myths.

And until very recently it was an offence in this Urvasiam to keep pictures of Gandhi, or any other leader, or of any gods and goddesses. It is unbelievable for those who are not informed about such things that for twelve years in a part of independent India it was a crime to have Gandhiji's pictures. How could this happen? This area is under the direct administration of the centre and the latter has appointed Mr. Verrier Elwin, an ex-padre, as advisor to the government on tribal affairs. I won't say much about it beyond that the government could not find anyone more suitable than a foreigner as its advisor on matters relating to the frontiers of India. Now the prime minister and Mr. Elwin have together arrived at a principle of protecting the existing culture, manners and modes of living of these adivasis of Urvasiam—the Mismis, Daflas, Ahoms and so many others—by completely separating them from the rest of the people of India. At Gir in Gujarat, similarly, some 400 to 500 square miles have been protected for the lions. Nobody can shoot animals there but one can go, if one wishes to, and see things there. But the tribal humanity is treated still differently from the Gir lions. They are put in a cage, unobserved and untou-

ched by the outside world, so that their colourful dresses, their bow and arrow, their dances and songs may continue unaffected. How ignorant and how dangerous! An area of more than 30,000 sq. miles is kept in cold storage, insulated from any further development, with its people eternally condemned to the primitive stages of life!

So that is how the government of India has treated Bhutan and Urvasiam, the two important chunks of India's northern frontier. About Sikkim I shall say this much that although it is under India's protection, its people have not yet been given the right to elect their representatives to the Indian parliament, whereas the ruling group, which consists of a few people of the Raja's caste, has the privilege of nominating representatives to the Lok Sabha numbering more than what is warranted by the population. A few persons from Sikkim had met me sometime back with a proposal to start a popular struggle there. I am, however, not left with much courage any more sponsoring such struggles. In this context I may relate what happened in Nepal ten years back.

These four divisions of our northern frontier, viz. Ladakh, Bhutan, Sikkim and Urvasiam, have been kept soft and vulnerable as a direct result of the government's policies. But Nepal, the fifth link, is not so vulnerable now as it was ten years ago, because a popular struggle had been launched there successfully and some sort of a democratic government has been already brought into existence. At that time, when a popular struggle in Nepal was launched, all such people who are considered to be responsible leaders of the country, were against it, and held out the warning that Indians helping in this struggle would be responsible for spoiling the neighbourly relations between India and Nepal. Among them were all Congressmen, and Mr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the present chief minister of West Bengal, went to the extent of making a public statement against the agitation. The present premier of Nepal, Mr. Visheshwar Prasad Koirala, had met me after my arrest in Goa. Many others, in the form of delegation of young men and students, also had come to tell

me that while I was trying to liberate Goa, I did not care how things went on in the state on our northern border. However, I advised Mr. Koirala to seek the help of Congress leaders since it was a big problem and my Party was after all not so big. He informed that he had already been disappointed in those quarters and that is why he came to the Socialist Party. My next advice was that since he was in Bihar he should go and meet Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, who also belonged to Bihar. After a few days he again came back to tell me that nobody was prepared to take up the cause and I should somehow come forward to help in the struggle against the Rana rule.

So I agreed and took up their cause and organized as much help as was possible on my part. While the struggle was on, a tirade of ridicule and disapproval was let loose against us from the Indian press and public platforms, accusing us of harming the India-Nepal relationship. Not that these people and Congressmen did not wish to strengthen the border, but viewpoints differed. These people were of the view that the northern border could be well protected if India remained in friendly terms with whatever government there was in Nepal, while according to the other view Nepal would have remained vulnerable if the Rana rule continued and so the proper thing was to awaken the masses and establish a people's rule in place of the old style feudalism.

The struggle went on for about four years and these two views stood in relief all this time. Ultimately Ranashahi was brought down and the Nepali Congress, for that was the organization through which the agitation had been carried on, is now ruling that country. Now where are the prime minister and others? On which side are they? Some people believe that I can start a thing, advance it up to a point, but fail in the end. I shall not indulge in its verification. The truth is deeper than that. A poor man seeks the help of a poor man, but when attains his own riches he finds it suitable to leave the old companion and goes over to the rich, trying meticulously all the time to avoid unpleasant memories of the past humble comradeship.

And this becomes necessary to a certain extent. Direct relations between those who sit in the throne of Kathmandu and those sitting in Delhi are inevitable. Whether it was in respect of Nepal or independence or world peace, people like me should have the satisfaction of doing their own duty. It is not to be worried about if such things do not afterwards further our own interests. In any case one work was done. The people of Nepal have succeeded, however partially, in establishing their control over Nepal and it is not so easy now for a foreign aggressor to tempt the people in Nepal as in the case of Bhutan, Sikkim, Urvaiam or Ladakh.

As for Ladakh, it seems that Chinese incursions into this territory have been a systematic and planned thing for the last was that the Himalayas were too big and impenetrable to need place. What was the India government doing when all these things were happening? The prime minister was cunning enough to admit the lesser guilt and thereby cover up the greater one. He told the parliament that it was a mistake not to have informed the parliament and the people about it. People thought the prime minister was honest enough to confess a guilt and forgot the greater evil. The greater evil was that the government had done nothing about it; it had taken no action to strengthen the northern border of India.

For the last ten to twelve years the Himalayan borders were kept weak, and I should say, knowingly. A great misconception was that the Himalayas were too big and impentable to need protection and, a second, that friendship between India and China was too old to take an evil turn. There was a tendency to deprecate any attempt to awaken this apparently dormant border. But the border was not asleep. It was wide awake. It was awake even in history. People came and went through it. Nine years ago a Himalayan policy had been formulated, at non-governmental levels, with a view to strengthening the people of the borders mentally, politically and economically. Some work, too, had been started in this direction, for, apart from the armed aspect of defending borders, there is also the other im-

portant aspect, to keep the people of the borders alive and kicking, which should never be lost sight of. In spite of all these warnings the government did not open its eyes.

The government has indulged in mean excuses, such as calling the occupied land hilly and barren. No Indian ought to have uttered such words about his own country. It is like calling the fingers of one's mother useless projections or her nose a bolt. Generally such things are not said. But it reveals how weak and unthinking the government's outlook on the border problem has been.

Now let us look at the problem from the angle of the comparative internal strength of the two countries, India and China. I am not an apologist for China, nor do I approve of its communism. But I cannot close my eyes to facts. I recognise the facts of Chinese growth without the least liking for China's communism. China is today producing steel to the tune of one crore tons annually whereas India's output is 25 lakh tons. Coal output in China is 35 crore tons as against 5 to 6 crores of India. In agriculture, India's 5 to 6 crore tons is over-matched by China's 20 crore tons. The population of China is only one and a half times more than that of India, but probably less.

Some differences in production would have been inevitable, had India taken to pure Gandhism and China pure Marxism. India could have increased her steel production by 6 or 7 lakh tons annually through the mobilization of the lakhs of indigenous blacksmiths who are spread all over India. But India was so much drunk with the imitation of Russia and America that it could not see anything beyond establishing a few big plants like Durgapur, Rourekela and Bhilai. China, on the other hand, set upon increasing steel output by using also the thousands of villages backyard furnaces.

Modernization has two aspects: modernization of production and that of consumption. Even in case of production there should arise the question as to what sort of machinery should be

adopted in developing a poor and underdeveloped economy, in what special ways should science be applied to industry. This problem will arise when a good government comes to rule in India. But here I shall concern myself with the modernization of consumption, which has been suppressed in China. Whereas, India goes on wasting the much needed money of a poor country on modernising consumption. We have to build up factories and we need capital, but how can we have it for production purposes when so much is spent on luxuries? Nearly a half or more of the money set by for plan expenditure in India is used for modernising consumption—in the construction of luxurious mansions, luxurious airports, luxurious trains and so on. The expenses of our big men are really astounding. There is a great and striking difference between the standard of living of our administrators and that of Mao Tse-Tung, Chou en-Lai or Ho Chi Minh. The last mentioned is perhaps the best example in this respect. He is so plainly dressed like an ordinary man of Indo-china that it would be difficult to take him for anybody else if one meets him on the road without any previous acquaintance with his face. In China it is the same and I think in Russia, too, during the first 30 or forty years of revolution, there was not much difference between the people's dress and the rulers' dress. India is different. The ruling class fastidiously maintains a different apparel. Whether it is the western tie with coat or the ancient *churidar*, there is that resort to a visible difference which would immediately brand a man as belonging to the ruling groups. In the last twelve years of freedom there has been a deliberate effort in establishing this label of distinction.

There is still another important factor which separates the people from the rulers in India. The rulers of China, Indochina, and Russia of the revolution period did not think that the public use of a foreign language was necessary for the country's progress. They did not think that their languages were too poor to cope with modern needs.

A chief reason why China's pace of development was greater than India's was this narrowing down of the differences between



the rulers and the ruled in their language, dress and ways of living, whereas in India the estrangement has been ever on the increase.

Take science for another instance and what do we find? India went on building imposing architectures for housing the laboratories, and there must be by now 15 or 20 such buildings dedicated to science, so that a visitor from outside gets the impression that India is making great leaps forward in science. In China, or Europe, considering the earlier stages of scientific development, the first thing has been to discover the scientist, to find him out and nourish his work. In India the building comes first, then equipment and, last of all, the student. In China, or for that matter in a true process of development, the order is just reversed. Everything in India has been made to stand on its head for the last twelve years.

Passing on to the third angle of foreign policy, I am reminded of an apt and pithy headline I came across in a recent issue of the weekly *Chaukhambha*: "The Bhakra and the Panchasheel have been washed away simultaneously." The internal temple, for that is how Bhakra is regarded in relation to the internal policies of the government, and the external temple, Panchasheel, have been swept off together. All the evils and weaknesses are being exposed in a synthetic, symbolic manner. What is Panchasheel uptill now but a hollow phrase, whose utterance gives some sentimental satisfaction to the people and the government? And whenever a foreign dignitary came and mouthed these phrases once or twice in his statements the people and the government used to think that their policy had been successful and accepted by the world!

Nothing concrete has been achieved in the last ten or twelve years in the field of foreign policy. Ofcourse, the Indonesia affair is a different matter and we may be able to find one or two such other examples. That is all. Otherwise the history of mere words, attractive words. And the people were caught in the net of words. Now the situation is changing and the

people are able to grasp the situation. Whether it is the Goa problem or Kashmir or the question of northern borders, the policy has turned into a fiasco everywhere. Ordinarily people realise the gravity of a problem only when it hits them with all its force. They should have read the writing on the wall—they should have known that a government which cannot utilise the internal strength of the country for economic growth, which is responsible for weak and harmful industrial policies, can never formulate a strong and positive foreign policy. The India government says with pride that its foreign policy is independent of both the Atlantic and Soviet camps. But like a cunning grocer the India government has indulged in playing tricks with the scales to deceive the customer. It is another matter that those who have been watching this performance have been so foolish as not to find out this trickery. From 1952 to 57 the foreign policy of the India government was pro-Russian and now it seems to be leaning towards the Atlantic camp. If, as it professes, the India government had considered every problem on its merits, and supported, let us say, Russia on the Kenya problem and America on the Hungarian problem then, ofcourse, it would have been understandable. But the truth is that it has been leaning towards the American and Russian camps for three or four years alternatively. It seems that the camp which gives more gets greater support. It is also possible that when the internal agents of a particular camp become stronger or weaker, policy changes in external affairs are made accordingly. Perhaps the government now believes that the agents of the Russian camp, the communists, have been domesticated and cannot create much trouble for the time being.

The Lebanon affair is a case in point. When the American forces landed in the Lebanon it seemed as if the third world war might break out. Though there were various hitches, the situation was pretty serious. At that time there were talks of a summit conference and the Russian government suggested that India might be invited to this conference. The Indian government's mouth watered at this suggestion and the prime minister

said that they would certainly not shirk their responsibility but they would not go to the conference if only one side invited them; both the camps should extend the invitation. How absurd! How can the India government, even if it wants to, take part in the summit meet, if only one side invites it? It is obvious from this incident that the chief aim of the Indian foreign policy is to provide some important position to the rulers or the ruler of India. Somehow they must acquire a name, fame and a place in history. Now that the expected invitation from the other side hasn't come, it is possible that they have been hurt and have learnt a lesson that such low trickery is not sufficient for getting recognition from both sides.

Something about the summit conference, because it may materialise, now that Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Krushchev leaders of the two most powerful nations, have already met. I shall be glad if some accord between Russia and America results from such a conference. For the cunning and beggarly politicians of the whole world will find themselves unemployed; they will be forced to stand on their own legs. This is necessary for the physical and spiritual well-being of the world.

When Tibet was first invaded about 10 years back by the Chinese army, what exactly were the opposition parties and the government doing? Both the government and the opposition parties have been sources of confusion with regard to foreign policy. Today some gentlemen are being very sympathetic to the Tibetan cause and the Dalai Lama. It seems as if neither Bhoodan, nor Gramdan but Tibet-dan is the most important question of Indian politics today. When the Chinese monster grabbed Tibet ten years ago no one said a word about it; but now when the monster wants to devour its prey there is a lot of breast-beating. Both the government and the people of India by their inaction and passivity did a great harm to Tibet, the world and our own country. At that time also a few people like me had said that a monster was killing a baby. And some people had remarked that I wanted to create bad blood between

India and China. Indian foreign policy specialises in sweet words such as *Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai*, *Hindi-Rusi bhai-bhai* and we may have occasion to hear *Hindi-Amriki bhai-bhai*. And if the British queen Elizabeth comes to India then our sugar-coating industry will reach its high water-mark. Indians and Englishmen have always been brothers and if the brotherly climate is not enough, a sisterly climate may also be created! This kind of false sentimentalism has been the curse of Indian foreign policy.

Not only the India government which has never considered any problem seriously and sincerely but the educated people of India have also failed in their duty. They dubbed men like me who dare to speak the truth as hot-headed and rash, and those who always hide the truth were showered with praise. Now everyone knows in what harm all this has resulted. Tibet should be free as it has always been. I would like to tell those who swear by history that at one time Tibet had ruled China. Then why don't they make China a part of Tibet? These people talk of treaties and documents but forget the abiding factors of history.

Talking of treaties, I agree with the Chinese that the MacMahon line is imperialistic. The name itself proves it. Of course, my interpretation is different from theirs. The correct name of the highest peak in the world is Sarga Matha. I have not invented this name. The people of Nepal call Mt. Everest by this name. So the old name, the original and the real name has been supplanted by a name given by foreigners, and the educated people of our country follow it. Yet it would be foolish to say that as the name is Mt. Everest there is therefore no such peak. The reality is that we, the brown, black and yellow people, were enslaved and the English or European names became common. MacMahon line is an imperialistic name but the land across it is not imperialistic. Though I would accept it as a correct demarcation between India and Tibet, it has to be changed when Tibet becomes part of China.

Tibet should be free. And if the question of closer relations is raised, western Tibet including Manasarovar is closer to India

than to China from all points of view. From historical and cultural points of view Tibet is definitely closer to India than China. Their script, language, religion, way of life, all these go to prove that there has been a larger measure of Indian influence on Tibet than the Chinese influence. Perhaps, even when it is true, one should not talk of 'influence,' it would be better to say 'exchange of ideas' between two countries than talk of the influence of one over the other. The word 'influence' in this context assumes an imperialistic tone, it creates misunderstanding and mars friendly relations. Here I would like to point out that just as in the case of Nepalese struggle against the Ranas, so also with regard to the Tibetan problem, political leaders and political parties of India have taken a wavering stand. I recognise the religious authority of Lamaism apart from my personal like or dislike. Some may want that like all organised religions Lamaism should also go. That is for the Tibetan people to decide. But the political and economic powers of Lamaism must go. The Lamas possessed large tracts of land in Tibet as also political authority. Sympathy for Tibet does not necessarily mean sympathy for the Dalai Lama and sympathy to the Dalai Lama does not mean that we should accept everything that he says. No doubt the Dalai Lama today has become a symbol of Tibet's struggle for freedom, its sufferings and endurance. It must be clearly understood that a positive foreign policy can be built only when our friends and neighbours are made strong. It is quite obvious that 40 lakh Tibetans rotting under the political authority and economic privileges of the Lamas can never become a strong nation. Had there been agitations against the Lamas 15 to 20 years back, something good could have been achieved.

Considering the Indo-Chinese conflict from all angles one is startled to find that India's borders are extremely weak. Even its heart Delhi and its surrounding areas are weak. And the government asks us what should be done. It is a very strange manner of putting things. First it follows a weak and harmful policy and when the hammer falls on the head the people are

asked to supply the solution. When America started giving military help to Pakistan the people were instigated to organize demonstrations against America. Now the people are being instigated and encouraged to demonstrate against the Chinese to join armed forces etc. A man like me, a common citizen, can only ask this government to take back the territory the Chinese have captured by whatever means it thinks fit—through her Panchasheel diplomacy, with Mr. Krushchev's help or by any other method. The India government knows the strength of the Chinese forces as also its own strength or weakness as the case may be. My only demand is that our areas should be taken back and that very soon and the India government should take whatever steps are necessary in this direction, with determination and strength. Some people demand that military action should be taken. The India government, which does not want to do anything, says that it is not a civilized approach to a problem. And so in this way a false controversy is started. We are not concerned with all that—we demand that our areas should be taken back.

I am not one of those who talk about shedding their last drop of blood. I sometimes wonder at these gentlemen that though they have been talking in this manner for the last two or three months they still seem to be hale and hearty, though by now all their blood should have been completely drained away. Even Gandhians, old and new, are talking in this vein. They have started flourishing their unsheathed swords in the air. I don't like armed forces, in India or elsewhere. It would be better if violent actions and armaments are given up completely. If the world wants to make any progress it will have to give up armed forces. But when there is an army it should be properly administered and used. Neither of these things is being done in India.

Our armed forces are not being properly administered to day. As usual the government lied when it said that there are no group, political or caste considerations in the matter of promotions. A number of officers have resigned. In the last eight

months two officers have resigned. For the present I shall give out the name of one officer—Sri Jai Singh Apji. If there is an occasion I will reveal the other name also. The Thimaya-Menon episode is a part of this bungling in the administration of our armed forces. Different newspapers have interpreted it in different manners to suit their own interests. There are demands that if Mr. Menon is guilty, he should be removed, and if Gen. Thimaya is guilty he should be sacked immediately. But no one talks about the man who appointed them. After all what exactly is the difference between Mr. Thimaya and Mr. Krishna Menon? One is a man of the British Right while the other is a man of the British Left. That is, if Mr. Thimaya has been brought up by the British right-wing politicians, Mr. Menon has been brought up by the left-wing politicians of Britain. Yet if ever I have to choose between Mr. Thimaya and Mr. Krishna Menon I will choose the former. After all his profession is such that he will prove to be a man of devotion and loyalty. It is there in the military profession as such. Therefore if I were ever forced to choose between the two, provided both are civilians and not that one is a civilian and the other a military man, and to choose whom I would believe more, I would believe Mr. Thimaya more than Mr. Menon.

The problem is not civilian versus military, nor one of temperamental differences as given out. The real problem is ignored, the problem of maladministration in the army, of group politics. May be even Mr. Thimaya is part of the group-politics. Those people who today are engaged in issuing certificates of good character have pushed the problem of maladministration in the army to the background.

Coming back to the border problem, I won't talk about military action, nor about the last drop of blood, nor do I want to say that I shall support the government. I am not the sort of man to say that I shall support whatever action this government takes to defend the integrity of India. It is a meaningless and foolish language. How can I support a government which has kept the borders in a state of confusion and weakness, tried to

sugar-coat the Tibetan tragedy, followed a wrong policy in regard to the agrarian and industrial problems and which in its foreign policy puts consideration of the prestige of a few persons above the considerations of benefit to the country and humanity? Our only demand is that our areas should be taken back without much delay. And we shall certainly fulfil our duty in a crisis like this. We shall try our best to keep up the morale of the people and keep alive the love of the country in their hearts. And whatever difficulties we may have to go through, we shall not flinch from our duty and will try to imbibe our people with the same spirit.

There are the questions of patriotism and treachery. These questions arise because there is in our midst a party which gives some hope to the Chinese and Russians, the Communist Party. What is betrayal of the country? This word should be properly understood. Not that I am going to prove that communists are not traitors. Yet it would be better to understand the nature of their treachery so that in a time of crisis we may not be caught napping. Vibhishan was also a traitor but he betrayed his country for the great cause of truth and justice. In the same way if there are certain people who are prepared to betray their country, because according to them communism will bring about a just and good government, then at least the people of India should be able to understand it in the traditional background. There have always been and there shall always be people who are ready to 'betray' their country for the sake of truth and justice, according to their own conceptions of justice and truth.

Should only those who support the enemy be called traitors? What about those who have been the cause of the country's weakness at a time of crisis, who have continually kept the borders in a state of weakness? A mistake or two can be forgiven. But when absolutely nothing is done about the problems of language, price, agriculture and industrial growth, then it becomes a serious matter.



The Socialist Party has always launched agitations in these directions. But the parties like the Praja Socialist Party have always launched agitations which, instead of strengthening the country, weaken it. They are the people who swim with the current—whether it is the current of Tibet or of Samyukta Maharashtra. Sometimes I too lose hope about the Socialist movement; yet it should always be remembered that the Indian Socialists are engaged in the task of finding out and strengthening new and positive paths in politics. Today Mr. S. M. Joshi talks about pushing out Communists from the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, because, he says, they are traitors. Didn't Mr. Joshi see their treachery in 1942? What about Hungary and Tibet? But Mr. Joshi perhaps thinks that anybody who can be helpful in winning the elections is good enough—only so long as he is useful. A P.S.P. leader told me, without being asked, that they formed the front with the Communists simply because their very existence was at stake. It is obvious now that a party like the PSP cannot exist without MLAs and MPs, specially when it is a question of competition with us. If our Party wins more seats then naturally the PSP will die. So for the PSP the supreme problem is to exist, to exist at all costs. I told him that when it is a question of principles and life, it is better to perish than sacrifice principles; your death will not go in vain, it will produce new growth.

I shall not for a moment be surprised to find the self-same persons, who are raising a hue and cry that the communists are traitors, entering into electoral alliances with the Communist Party in 1962, as they did in 1957, in their anxiety to reap a good electoral harvest. And then a thousand and one reasons of democracy will be found out. Therefore, we must have the entire picture before our eyes while examining the word 'treason' in all its implications. It is clear from the foregoing that I do not hold communists as patriots. But I have seen so many varieties of treason in the last 15-20 years that I should be on my guard. Ten or fifteen years from now I thought communists alone were traitors. I was angry with them, even from within the heart;

anger of the mind is, of course, always there. Now I have found out that the self-styled patriots are also traitors. May be on account of their follies, or selfishness, or the so-called duty to save one's life in peril, or on account of the fact that they use office for self-glorification and not for changing the world for the better. Under such circumstances of all-round betrayal one must be on one's guard while branding any one party or group as traitors.

I may relate a recent conversation which I had with a communist. In days gone by he was with us. He is a labourer and has some regard for me. When he met me this time he had an open-hearted talk for about three hours. In the beginning he had thought that there would be greater comradeship among communists. But he found that it was not even that much as there was in his old Party. Asked if he felt alienated, he said, no; now he has settled down. Initially he felt rather upset. But now he has calmed himself. He is there and shall remain there. He made this much clear to me at the outset. Then he said communist leaders committed a grave error. They issued statements which showed as if they were not patriots. A clamour arose within the Communist Party and men like him raised voices of dissent. Now some of the communist leaders were talking all right. For they also say that they will defend the country and her frontiers if there is an aggression.

When we took up issues one by one he laughed, bringing arguments to an abrupt end. "It is all a manner of speech," he said. "Who sheds blood and who does not? Had the communist leaders adopted this manner of speech from the outset, we need not have faced many troubles."

Finally I asked him what he meant when he said that they would defend India. "Can you really fight for India against China?" He said: "Why not? We must have the country's freedom intact." "Don't be in a hurry," I pleaded. "Talk patiently. Tell me if you consider what China has done now aggression or not?" "I don't." "In case Chinese armies march

on the Delhi roads to liberate you, will you consider it to be an aggression or not?" "It cannot happen. It is well-nigh impossible. India will turn communist only when the masses of their own will put communists into power. Hence the question does not arise."

"What happened in Kerala? Was not democracy butchered there?"

"Yes, it was."

"If any force could save democracy there, would you not have welcomed it."

"By all means we would."

"Just exercise your mind a bit more. Suppose Kerala has moved to the north and in Himachal Pradesh, and communists rule there. Delhi government puts an end to the communist rule and democracy is butchered. And then neighbouring China oppose the Delhi government to save democracy. What will you do then?"

"Then it is a different matter."

I have seen many a treason in my life. I am intensely angry with treason. I want to save my country from treason, but from the real traitors. I do not mind talking a word or two with love and affection with such peasants and workers who are rather innocent people. Those who are continually weakening the country on account of *apad dharma*, the duty of saving one's existence at any cost, or for self-glorification are the more serious traitors.

How do the communists continue to remain strong inspite of the evil they are? It is erroneous to think that we can do our duty and also dispose of the communists by calling them 'traitors' and 'fifth columnists.' Communists have been disposed of in this fashion many times in the past. They have committed a

thousand and one sins and yet are gaining strength or maintaining whatever strength they have. They put an end to the civil liberties in Russia and yet did not lose strength. They slaughtered thousands in the Hungarian revolution and yet did not lose strength. They occupied Tibet forcibly and yet did not lose strength, national or international. They aligned with British imperialism in India in 1942 and sabotaged India's freedom struggle; and yet they did not lose strength. What is the reason behind this stubbornness of their growth? Beware of such Indian leaders as believe that they have finished the communists with such abusive phrases as 'traitors' and 'fifth columnists.' What sort of traitors are these who continually go on increasing their might !

I may point out here two such reasons. One is their internationalism, their sputniks and luniks. When a Hungary is enacted and people's minds get ruffled, even members of the Communist Party become shaky, there comes the sputnik and starts revolving round the earth or dashing towards the sun or the moon. And the ruffled minds settle down again. They say to themselves: No matter what sins are there, after all our sect is a mighty one and can alone deliver the goods to mankind ! Try to understand the mind of the communist, and also the man who changes his mind at the sight of the communist might. A man like me has never learnt to do so. Sputnik or no sputnik, my mind about Russia and China and communism will remain the same. In the same manner I have said many a time that howsoever wealthy America may be, my opinions about capitalism will remain the same. But the great majority of the people in India or elsewhere, look at the sputnik, its radiance and might, and change their minds.

There is yet another reason. When exploitation and tyranny are rampant and good men do not resist injustice by good means, bad men will win over mass support by their evil means. In the last 12 years tyranny has prevailed in respect of prices of food grains and inequalities of income and the insecurity of the common man is growing day by day. If the right type of

parties do not come out to fight these tyrannies non-violently and do not help the masses against the government and their bosses, communists will certainly win over the masses through their vile methods of resisting exploitation. This is rather simple.

If we keep in mind these two factors, it is easy to realise that communists cannot be done away within India or elsewhere by simply calling them traitors.

Recently the communists enacted a big agitation in Bengal. Big in the sense that many a life was lost; some 60-70 persons were killed. The communist agitations in India at the present are to a certain extent similar to those in pre-de Gaulle France. They indulge in bloody violence and disorder for three or four days in a year and let the government alone for the rest of the year. All this goes on as if there were an understanding between the two.

What type of agitation was this? I have come across only two types of propaganda about it. The communists and communist-supporters call it a mass upsurge. Whereas the anti-communists point towards the cruelty and savagery of the communists and the loot, arson and murder and damage done to the country by them.

The food agitation deserves a closer study than all this. It has, of course, revealed the unmitigated evil on which the Congress administration and the Communist Party are alike built. But to say this is not enough, for there is no alternative to them at present.

I may relate here a few incidents. On the 1st September police inflicted savage injuries on the demonstrators, numbering around 40,000. Some say nearly 500, yet others say around 1,000, persons were beaten by police lathis resulting in serious injuries to the bones of the arm, back or leg. While thinking of communist cruelty we should not forget the Congress cruelty which preceded it, otherwise our judgment about the whole affair is liable to go wrong.

I have been saying all these years that communist maggots grow on the Congress dunghills. You cannot wipe out the communist maggots alone, unless you also simultaneously sweep out the Congress dunghills.

The essential background to the food movement goes far beyond the existing political parties in the state, for it is, on the one hand, a matter of history and, on the other, a question of certain inherent social and economic tensions. Everybody knows that if Bihar and Uttar Pradesh exhibited crowd bravery during the struggle against British rule, Bengal was notable for individual bravery. There were occasional exceptions to this, as for instance the Midnapore masses, but by and large it was the terrorist movement in Bengal which produced unexcelled individual bravery. Such individual bravery is not an unmixed good, particularly when its inheritors are a party like the communists.

By a curious twist of fate, the bulk of living terrorists as also their tradition were swallowed up by the Communist Party. The communist vilification of Netaji Bose should have prevented this development. But the fact that no other political party accepted the creed of violence in its basic theory or practised it effectively as the communists did on however few occasions decided the issue. Unless the theory and practice of civil disobedience are able to produce such acts of individual bravery as would link them up with the terroristic politics against the British rule, there can be no hope of dissociating that great tradition from communism.

The other feature of the situation, which is perhaps obvious in so far as communism in West Bengal is concerned, is to a certain extent anti-Marwarism. One half of industrial and trade wealth is owned by the rich Marwaris, who because of their language, dress and other styles of living are not a part of the mass of the people and therefore become targets of attack, and the Communist Party of India is able to swallow and make use of the mass emotion against them. But the actual expression of this mass emotion is despicable in the extreme. It vents itself

against the poor man from the Hindi-speaking areas and also the poor Marwari, for the rich man makes use of his powers and he is also otherwise protected. An eminent geographer once described Calcutta as the city "par excellence" in all the world where money is respected most and men least—among these men are particularly Biharis, the Eastern Uttar Pradeshis, Oriyas, Telugus and now the East Bengal refugees. The bulk of these men draw to themselves the emotion of hatred which is originally generated against the rich Marwaris. The result is most disastrous. It has destroyed the universalist character of what is generally known as the cosmopolitan character of this city, India's largest and most consequential. It has also given to economic movements of progress a curiously reactionary twist. Instead of generating opposition to the Marwari capitalist as also the Bengali capitalist and landlord, communist and such like movements are splitting up the ranks of the mass of the poor.

I do not know how far the people of West Bengal have been able to see the curious kind of cowardice that is inherent in communism. Between the 1st and the 4th of September communist leadership fled from the field of action, while many bloody acts were taking place. The communists might try to assert that they were in jail, which would be a lie considering the very large numbers of them who were out.

A rumour is afloat that communist leader Mr. Jyoti Basu was "absconding" in Mr. Bidhan Chandra Roy's place and was comfortable there. May be it is not true. But I shall not be surprised if it were true. For Mr. Bidhan Roy has a niece called Sri Renu Chakravarti, who is a communist. If she has a room in her uncle's home what is there to wonder about? And if she keeps her leader in that apartment, what can the poor uncle do about it?

I may also add to the foregoing that after all India's political parties are of the same stock—the middle class. The fight among them is like the quarrel between partners of the same family.

The communist leaders were not to be found any where in the field between September 1 and 4. In the violent battle the general is always in the rear; in the battle of satyagraha the general is ever in the front. If a believer in satyagraha is accused of flying from the battlefield he will feel hurt and may subsequently correct himself. But for one who believes in violence in his heart it is the rule !

The theory and practice of constitutionalism cannot save Bengal nor India from communism. In a situation as the present its first attempt will be to finish the communists by calling them traitors and ruffians. But since they cannot be finished that way the false fears of impending communist rule will be raised, along with frantic appeals to strengthen the Congress. I may categorically state here that if Congressmen like Mr. Nehru continue in office and the internal and external weaknesses continue, communist rule would be established in India. Such parties as the Congress and the PSP are destined to fail.

The only way to check communist rule lies in awakening the masses for putting an end to the Congress rule as early as possible. Those who have lost faith in people's strength and who do not want to have people's movements and those who want to solve the country's problems by words alone, have only one way: They find communists gaining strength, and side with the Congress to save themselves.

What might save the situation is not a party of extreme constitutionalism but peaceful action. Nothing large-scale is immediately possible in states like West Bengal. What should be done is to build up pools of sanity, incessant person to person conversation as well as public meetings on the basis of cutting away from the evils of Congressism and communism and at the same time agitations wherever possible and civil disobedience wherever necessary against governmental policies of food, caste, language and the like.

Today the conflict is between 60 crore Chinese on the one hand and 40-50 lakh Indians on the other. Unless India's wo-



men, backward castes, workers, peasants, shop-keepers and minority Muslims and Christians are raised, how can they ever be prepared to defend the country? Strengthening the country should mean this in concrete terms—the uplifting of the 39 crores who form the depressed and backward classes of India.

Those who tax their mind quite a while on the question of India and China come to the same conclusion in all sorts of round about ways: Increase the country's strength and might. Then alone China's challenge can be met. When China does nothing to the British and Portugese enclaves of Hongkong and Macao, but intrudes in Ladakh and Longju and inteferes in Indonesia with regard to the settlement of the overseas Chinese question, she is acting in the traditional styles of power politics, which is to engage in combat with the weaker rather than the stronger foe. When the India government does nothing to Goa, is somewhat on a par with Pakistan and practises its guns in the bloody massacres of Kharswan or the Naga hills, it is prudently choosing its own people as the target least likely to retaliate with effect. Panchsheel or peaceful co-existence to the strong and the gun against the weak is the policy alike of India and China. Till the country gains strength the India government's policy is only a policy of impotent Kautilyaism. For Kautilyaism goes with strength and not weakness.

Let me also refer to the Bombay incident. Letters were exchanged between governments of India and China on this affair wherein reference was made to the Socialist Party. I do not like to deal with it at any length. For the prime minister has apologised for what he wrote to China about the Socialist Party. When a person apologises, in whichever way, one should accept it. It is true that had the prime minister tendered his apology stating reasons for the same, he would have done good to himself and the country at large.

In a demonstration in Bombay, a few Socialists threw some tomatoes and eggs on Mr. Mao tse-Tung's portrait. This antagonised the Chinese government. They wrote that it was a

“huge insult” and the Chinese can never forget the incident, not in a hundred years. May be it is Chinese way of writing. They used very harsh words. The India government in its reply said that this was an act of the Socialist Party, which is a small group and which has split away from the bigger Socialist Party called the Praja Socialist Party. There is nothing to be surprised at the statement. It is natural for the elder brother to praise the younger one and if the prime minister encourages the PSP it is only to add to his own strength. This Party, the note adds, is of no consequence. They are a small band of irresponsible persons with no effective voice in the country, and are continually indulging in objectionable activities against the government, and so forth.

When I heard about the incident six or seven days after its occurrence, I said it would have been better if such a thing had never happened. There has been a tradition in European democracy to express one's intense dislike of a person or policy by throwing rotten eggs and tomatoes on the person concerned. Of England it can be said that there is no leader who has had no experience of rotten eggs and tomatoes quite a few times cannot be deemed fit to become the prime minister. Democracy does not mean the imitation of traditions of England, Germany or France. Certain things are customary in those lands. Indians do not dwell deeply on such matters and consider the throwing of rotten eggs and tomatoes as something very foul. Foulness is not the only thing behind throwing rotten eggs. Whenever an Englishman or a Frenchman throws anything at a person he does not want to cause injury. Also, in Europe nobody will perhaps object to the throwing of rotten eggs for there is hardly any person who does not take eggs. But one half of India's population does not take eggs. All these things are to be thought of. Whoever in India throws rotten eggs and tomatoes on a person must be a bit childish. And then the western tradition is to throw rotten egg etc. on the person, not on his portrait. Your victim should have a chance to retaliate. Throw it on the leader of the government of your own country if you at all want to throw

it. But so long as frontiers between countries exist and there is native and a foreign land, one ought to discern between the two.

Since the prime minister has apologised we should not be swayed by anger but should think coolly over it. The prime minister should not have written to a foreign government about his own countrymen so carelessly. It may be true to say that we are not a party of sufficient strength. Had we taken to violence and throwing bombs the government would not dare to speak out so loosely about us. But we are determined to go the non-violent way, come what may. In the last three years 25 thousand of our men went to jail and a few died in jails, but Socialists did not throw back even a pebble.

What, after all, is a small Party? Our Party is small, if smallness or bigness is measured in terms of seats in the parliament and assemblies. Owing to our rules allowing only those seats to be contested where our Party membership is one percent of the total voters, we contested only 300-325 seats in the last election. We should now try to see that we contest some 1,500 seats this time so that we win around 200-250 seats. We must now do away with this state of being a small party. For this comes in the way of practising our principles. How these 1,500 seats are to be contested? With 'Clearance' and existing conditions or in some other ways, is to be thought of.

—1959, October 7; Hyderabad; *Translated and adapted from a Hindi speech.*

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# INDIA-CHINA CONFLICT

"The national committee of the Socialist Party urges upon the government to recover the territories that China has seized from India. Additionally, it wants the government to adopt a clear and consistent policy as will not imperil the lives of India's citizens, soldiers, and traders without sense, and heap contumely upon the nation's name and honour. The national committee also invites the people to consider if the nation's security and their freedom, upon which all else is based, are safe with the present government, and its policies.

The conflict between India and China must be viewed from the four angles: of Tibet, which is by nature and tradition an area of independence between the two countries; of the country's northern frontiers including Ladakh, Sikkim, Bhutan and Urviasiam together with the Nepal ally; of their comparative strength and speed of their growth; of India's foreign policy and, in this context, the policies of Congressism, Communism and the rest must also be examined.

A first mistake was made when the government and, to some extent, the people made that silly but fatal distinction between sovereignty and suzerainty and accepted on that basis the baby murder of Tibet by China in 1949-50. This could happen because India's foreign policy is moved not by idealism, certainly not by realistic considerations, but by a curious kind of sentiment-

talism. The Socialist Party desires the independence of Tibet and its people but would welcome the abolition of the political and property powers of Lamashahi as distinct from its religious authority. It does not consider the MacMohan line a happy demarcation of frontiers for it is an imperialist nomenclature and has done injustice to India and people of the Himalayas. It hopes that a strong and peaceful people of India will some day be able to persuade a strong and peaceful people of China to recognise the independence of Tibet or in the alternative, to regard Tsangpo as the natural frontier between India and China so that western Tibet in particular including Manasarovar could fulfil its destiny of closer kinship with India.

The Himalayan areas in India's north and their peoples have deliberately been kept weak during the twelve years of freedom. Either due to wrong estimate of the age in which we live and the height of the Himalayas or to faded old men's passion of the moment for archaic living and quaint styles, the India government has, despite repeated warnings since 1950, kept the entire Himalayan area and its peoples soft so as to invite foreign aggression. Such hardening of Nepal as took place consequent upon the abolition of Ranashahi was discouraged by the recognised political parties of India and encouraged primarily by elements, which now constitute the Socialist Party. The large area of Urvasiam, comprising over 35,000 sq. miles, is to this day being kept out of the main currents of national life and world awakening. The national committee asks for immediate enforcement of a Himalayan policy, as will harden and strengthen the country's northern frontiers and their peoples.

The national committee is well aware of China's increasing might and India's increasing stagnation, which have climaxed into the present conflict, and would want the people to ponder if their government's policies can ensure their strength and well being or protect their frontiers and freedom. China has marched very much ahead of India in respect of industrialization as well as agricultural output. If this were a result of experimentation with new concepts and styles of industrialization and not, as it is,

of total ineptitude, vainglory, and corruption, the Socialist Party would have asked the people to bear with it as a transitional measure. To inefficiency and corruption have been added the traditional desire of India's ruling castes to maintain and increase the distance between themselves and their people through language, dress and expenditure as contrasted with the almost total identification in speech, dress and expenditure between China's rulers and its people. The national committee is perturbed at the foreseeable collapse of these ruling classes, when the news of the first nuclear bomb made in China breaks, but it would counsel the people to stay calm, to prepare for a period of gruel and to build up new ideas and forces of national strengthening.

The national committee lays stress on that aspect of India's foreign policy, which makes it the like of all power diplomacy, so that it is robbed of the world-reforming of Gandhism as it has already been denied the power of Marxism. When China does nothing to the British and Portuguese enclaves of Honkong and Macao but intrudes into Ladak and Longju, she is acting in the traditional styles of power politics, which is to engage in combat with the weaker rather than the stronger foe. When the India government does nothing to Goa, is somewhat on a par with Pakistan and practises its guns in the bloody massacre of Khar-swam or the Naga Hills, it is prudently choosing its own people as the target least likely to retaliate with effect. Panchsheel or peaceful coexistence to the strong and the gun against the weak—is the policy alike of India and China. The India government gave the clearest and most unabashed expression to this policy, when it drew a distinction between wars among strong countries and police action, and counselled caution and forbearance in respect of the former.

As the national committee is of the view that Congressism is nothing but Gandhism minus its truth and non-violence and therefore the purest embodiment of ineffective hypocrisy, it can offer no resistance to the beastly challenge of China. Nor can it, in the long run, stem the tide of internal communism, for its capa-

cities to feed or console the people are limited and its tyrannies must therefore grow.

India's communism can be nothing but an ally of China's or Russia's communism, and that too in the highest interests of world reconstruction. The people of India must realise that they have to do with traitors, who are working not for money or selfish ends but for ideals. The communists of India are dangerous but elegant traitors, with great capacities to infect an almost entire people with their treachery. The strength of world communism lies in its international ability to produce a sputnik or a lunik each time there is a Hungary or Tibet or some massacre of the spirit of man and thus to draw the voice of conscience in the tumult of power alongside its counterpart national ability to resist exploitation and injustice, albeit with foul aims and fouler means, particularly when good people have forsaken civil resistance. To the luniks, the socialist answer is that Russia will age like America and England before it and that communism like its cousin capitalism cannot evolve a civilization, whose material prowess shall not age. To the evil but attractive resistance of communism, the socialist answer is civil disobedience. Nevertheless, the people must beware of the combined offensive of internal and external communism. International communism has probably undertaken this first military probe into Indian territory in order to study the soft spots of power and opinion and it will withdraw and come again with might, when, with luck, national communism may have been able to enact Kerala in Bengal, Bhutan or the Punjab and to invite its external comrades with a clear conscience in order to safeguard democracy.

Of Praja-Socialism, the nationalism committee needs to say nothing except that it is, at least in its leadership, an ensemble of persons anxious to ride the crest of every wave, whether pro-Hungary or anti-China or pro-Samyukt Maharashtra, in every company, whether Congress or Communist, probably because they are too tired and woebegone to work under sloughs and depression in order to create drop by drop those waves of opinion which change the fate of a people.

The national committee of the Socialist Party must confess to a sense of black despair that grips at the throat of every patriot, not because China is strong and this country is weak, for such disparities can be removed with time or a better mode, but because his people are showing little inclination to sweep away, while there is still time, their ruling castes, than which the world has known none viler. And yet the patriot must carry on, for he has nowhere to go and none to lean on. The Socialist Party invites all patriots to create drop by drop those waves of socialist and democratic opinion, which may yet by a miracle change the fate of the country."

—1959, *October 23-26; Gauhati; Socialist Party's national committee resolution.*

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# CHINESE PREMIER'S VISIT

I fear that it is most likely that Mr. Nehru might agree to a settlement during his talks with Chinese premier to be held at Delhi shortly, under which India would lose at least half of her border territories now under occupation of Chinese forces. Although it is not possible to hazard any speculation in regard to outcome of talk between these two prime ministers, however, I entertain fears, for I know damaging capabilities of Mr. Nehru to commit big blunders and, therefore, I think Mr. Nehru would agree to a settlement under which India would gain back only half of territory now occupied by the Chinese and lose the other half. This achievement of Mr. Nehru would be highly played up by India's press as another shining feather in cap of this man.

I deplore that atleast four political parties namely Congress, Jansangh, PSP and Swatantra Party, which are organizations representing right wing reaction of vested interests, had been repeatedly declaring that MacMahon line was India's frontier line. I am of the view that India's frontiers lay about 70 miles north of MacMahon line covering all territory wherein are Manasarovara, Kailash and east flowing Bramhaputra.

India can agree to leave these territories to a free Tibet, but never to China. The MacMahon line can form the frontier line between India and Tibet. Frontier between India and China can be only about 70 miles north of MacMahon line. We know that since India is weak today, she cannot assert the claims for

that territory. But after fifty or sixty years when India becomes sufficiently strong, people will appreciate importance of these words of mine. If Chinese could claim Sargamatha, wrongly called Everest, as it also has a name in the Chinese language, there was no reason why areas near Kailash and Manasarovar should not belong to India.

As regards Swatantra Party, there is no difference between this party and Congress as both represent country's reactionary vested interests. While Congress was holding power, the Swatantra Party was trying to get into power in order to champion cause of capitalists. One good thing with Swatantra Party is that Mr. Rajagopalachari would be less wasteful on luxuries than Mr. Nehru. There are grave dangers from these parties of rich men to Indian democracy, for they would be spending huge amounts during elections. I want the people to keep away from those parties and individuals who spent large amounts on leaflets, amplifiers or motor cars during elections, for these persons, having spent their money, would surely try to make up their losses through questionable methods when elected.

There is great significance of the civil disobedience movement to be launched by Socialist Party from May 1. I call upon people to make it a success, and to violate laws openly, for open violation of laws is no sin. What indeed is bad is to defy laws stealthily like thieves, officers, or ministers in this country.

During Mr. Chou en Lai's visit to Delhi, I would not approve of any demonstrations to be staged against the Chinese leader who is not coming on his own, but as invited guest of Mr. Nehru. If any one deserves a black flag demonstration, it is no one else but Mr. Nehru for extending an invitation to an outright aggressor. PSP leaders are making efforts to justify the proposal for staging demonstration against Mr. Chou En-lai by trying to draw parallel with countrywide boycott of the Prince of Wales visit to India under leadership of Gandhiji. These PSP fellows do not see beyond their nose and try to forget even the most crude facts relating to our struggle for freedom in the recent past.

When Gandhiji gave a call to the nation to boycott the visit of Prince of Wales, it was not any accepted representative of our country that had invited him. He was invited to visit India by the Viceroy who did not represent our people. But in the case of the Chinese premier, he has been invited by India's prime minister. Although I am against any demonstration against Mr. Chou En-lai, I strongly condemn Mr. Nehru for his very act of extending an invitation to Chinese premier who is an outright aggressor.

—1960, *April; Rudrapur; speech summary.*

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# INDIA, CHINA AND COLOURED PEOPLES SOLIDARITY

There is a dangerous tendency among most of the Indian circles to prefer Russia to China on certain nationalist and probably temporary considerations. The two countries represent like systems and if there is anything to choose, the Chinese belong to the group of coloured peoples whom the white people are suppressing. I regret that Chinese Communists appear to be forgetting this most vital fact of their existence, which I want to present to Mr. Chou En-lai on his arrival in this country.

When General Chiang-Kai-Shek visited India in 1942, I had similarly wanted to remind the general of this fact. At that time I was acting as a post man between Gandhiji and General Chiang, but Mr. Nehru blocked my efforts and I could only tell Mr. Nehru what I wanted to tell General Chiang. I desired Mr. Nehru to make approaches for Sino-Japanese peace, however futile they might have been in their actual outcome. Mr. Nehru had then said that fever would take its own course, upon which I had said that fever pills did hasten the cure or atleast alleviate the misery.

The Chinese prime minister would do well to recognise the sovereignty of Tibet, to cede Kailash and Manasarovar, and east flowing Brahmaputra to be India's frontier, and on that basis India and China could put up, together, a fight against the white domination of Australia, Africa, and South America.

—1960, *April 16; Fatehpur.*



# CAN DELHI ONLY BREED MOHAMMED SHAHS

Nearly five hours have passed since I read of what India has said and done in the United Nations in relation to China's admission, but I am not yet able to calm myself. When nearly a hundred thousand square miles of India's territory has been usurped by the Chinese, only traitors in India would talk of the problem as controversy, of China's perfidious aggression as misconduct, of India's suffering as pain. If I were in such a situation persuaded that China's admission might still on balance be proper, for that might soften and make her more responsible toward her international obligation, I would abstain on the voting. Even if I would not avoid voting in favour of China, I would either keep quiet or tell the truth. These shameless men who represent India and think all the world of their cunning treachery or double-dealing must be compelled at least to keep their traps shut. Future generations will wonder if Delhi can only breed Mohammed Shahs who lay bare their treasures of gold and living flesh at the feet of every conquering Nadirshah.

—1960, *October 5; Hyderabad; press statement.*



# CHINA'S ADMISSION INTO THE U.N.

"This meeting expresses its disgust at the continued support of the India government to China's admission into the United Nations. While the India government has refused to establish diplomatic relations with Israel on the plea that she invaded Egypt, although without having been able to occupy any territory, and with East Germany on the plea that the West German government would be angered, it is so wanting in national pride and international morality as not to attach any importance to the invasion of India by China and the occupation of Indian territory and thus to establish for all time its anti-national character."

—1961, *September 13-16; Ayodhya; Socialist Party's national committee resolution.*



# CHINA AND PORTUGAL

China's usurpation of Himalayan territories and Portugal's of Goa should be brought into the election campaign only so as to bring enlightenment and strength to the people. It is thoroughly useless to campaign for or against action of a military or similar kind. When non-Congress Parties demand action, the Congress Party is enabled to play the role of the sober wise man, and its negligence in strengthening or defending the country is obscured.

The real issue is how to bridge the gap between India's and China's power. India and China had both started with a like industrial position twelve years ago, and why then should India be producing only 3 million tons of steel a year against China's 15 million. It was this gap in industrial power which emboldened China to attack India.

There have been other mistakes of policy and are still being made such as continued support of India to China's admission into the United Nations.

It is a great fault of national character to keep an army, and not to use it when the nation's territory is invaded and usurped. But the counter-challenge must be instantaneous and not several years after the challenge.

I want the people to accuse the government of not equipping the country with sufficient agricultural and industrial power.

A main drawback of Indian planning consisted in the effort to modernize consumption, when all resources of investment and possible savings should be diverted into improving the apparatus of production. Nearly half of India's plan money is thus wastefully used. I recall travellers stories from Soviet Russia between 1920 and 1955 that it smelt awful and that razor blades left scratches, while the country, as is now obvious, was building up its industrial and scientific power. China is following an identical policy. That was also the policy ordained by Mahatma Gandhi although in a different way and with other aims. The non-communist politicians of Asia and Africa are making the mistake of imitating the luxury standards of Europe and America, which made the gap between the ordinary man and the big man in their countries ever wider, and their nations, therefore, ever weaker. The cosmopolites of Asia are trying to unite the bosses, bureaucrats and bourgeoisie of the world, while a philosophy of universalism which, as with Mahatma Gandhi, desires to unite the peoples of the world and make their living standards equal.

Propagandist vote-catching offensive against Portugal should be stopped completely unless it is meant to act as immediate precursor to action.

—1961, *December 3; Secunderabad.*

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# INDIA - PAKISTAN CONFEDERATION

The stage of all or nothing seems to have been reached in the Indo-Pakistan relationships. The issue of Kashmir or any other can no longer be settled by itself. We must have the courage to see that partition has not solved the problem for which it came into being. And, therefore, the reunion of India and Pakistan, in whatever manner, has become necessary. It is a matter of little importance whether this reunion is called federation or confederation. Let us call it a confederation to start with. Everybody knows that a confederation is a transitional arrangement, and it grows into a federation or dissolves in course of time. With the background of a confederation, the problem of Kashmir or Bengal or the Frontier can be settled. Jammu and Ladakh might stay with India and the PUNCH area might go to Pakistan and the Srinagar valley might decide whether to join India or Pakistan or form a separate entity. Likewise, the Bengal situation can improve basically if both the Bengals are separated from their present groupings and form a separate entity of United Bengal. Any just man would, similarly, want separate entity of Pakhtoon area. To both India and Pakistan the continuing imprisonment of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Shaikh Abdullah are matters of great shame.

I know that the details of my suggestion may be unpalatable even to those who might otherwise accept the idea of confederation. I would beg of such people to discuss the idea with their

own alternative details. The essential thing is to strive for a reunion of India and Pakistan which deals naturally with such subjects, foreign policy, defence, communications and currency, and equally so with the questions of citizenship. Every Hindu and every Muslim must feel secure, free and equal in all the territories of the confederation, India, Pakistan, Bengal, Pakhtoonistan, and Srinagar valley, if necessary. To those of Pakistan who might be alarmed that their biggest constituent is to be separated from them, I would say that its chief industrial centre would also be separated from India. In actual effect no one would be disjointed, for they will all be parts of the confederation. I hope that countries like Ghana and Ireland, which are reported to be taking an interest in the Kashmir question, would realise that the problem here is the same as in divided Germany or elsewhere. Although the Pakistan and India governments and organized public opinion in both countries may take a long time to think along the lines of my suggestions, I would beg for an earnest consideration by individuals and such organizations as are not too heavily committed to an evil past.

—1962, *May 27; Hyderabad; press interview.*

# RUSSIA, AMERICA AND CHINA

I have long held to the notion that the world is divided between the privileged white and the coloured underdog. This notion has sometimes been mistaken for an act of vengeful hostility to the white peoples, which does no good to the world. I have, however, felt emotionally at home with Euro-America and, infact, found greater awareness of the world among them than among the coloured peoples. The coloured man generally is emotionally hostile to Euro-America and intellectually enslaved to it. Men like me are emotionally friendly to Euro-America, but strive for intellectual freedom from it. Our position has been a little difficult of understanding both for the white and the coloured lackey but the coloured man's angle that we bring to bear upon interpretation of the world and its events helps reveal the truth. We did not create the division between a privileged white and the coloured underdog. It is there. In acknowledging the division, we aim to destroy it, not with a view to reverse roles but to achieve equality. One could, therefore, have legitimately expected more of the Chinese communists than of the Russian communists, at least in certain spheres. I will first record the spheres of these expectations before trying to discover what has happened to them.

Mankind must know of many insidious but hitherto unknown imperialisms. As imperialism is a somewhat odorous word, it creates a wall on genuine understanding, when it should not.

The idea is not to blame anybody. A certain situation of empire-colony relationship has arisen in several spheres of human activity. History, if anybody must be blamed for it. The coloured peoples must bear the blame for it, just as much as the white peoples, if not more, for they were supine, indolent or stupid when the whites were active, masterful and bloody.

Lebens-raum imperialism or international landlordism is the first of the unapprehended criminals. Countries like U.S. and Soviet Russia have enormous space with little density of population. Accidents of history alone have gifted these enormous land masses. Cruel barbarism has incidentally been a contributory factory to such accidents. Siberia and Australia are peopled at one person to the square mile. Canada is not much different. California is well under ten persons to the square mile. We may contrast these with the densities of 350 persons to the square mile in India and nearly 200 in China. If landlords within a country can be so unsavoury to the progressive, as it ought to be, what of this international landlordism? Some day, somebody or perhaps the whole of mankind will have to set right these unjust turns of history.

Mind-imperialism is as much a mark of our times as any other. It is true that there is a willingness on the part of the intellectual-imperialist to impart his learning, though not necessarily all the skills or the situation of elemental awakening, to the colonials of the mind. I may here point out that a similar mind-imperialism exists internally in India. Certain castes have become mind-imperialists through long tradition. One might say that several thousand years of division of labour by birth have been acting almost like a natural selection. On the world stage, this has now gone on for around 400 years. The white mind-imperialist would be just as wrong as the coloured high caste native mind-imperialist, if he were to deny all responsibility for this situation and contents himself with nostrum of equal opportunity. Equality of opportunity can only continue and deepen the injustice of mind-imperialism. Only through unequal and

privileged opportunities to the colonials of the mind can mind-imperialism be abolished.

A third such hidden tyranny is productivity-imperialism. Everybody knows that Russia and America with roughly  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the world's population produce more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of its wealth. The landless labourer in India earns 8 annas or 10 American cents a day, while his opposite number in U.S. earns around Rs. 25 or 5 American dollars a day. Russia and America produce between 8,000 and 14,000 rupees of wealth per person per year, while India has to be content with a paltry rupees 400 per person per year. Russia and America are growing each year at the rate of 250 rupees per person per year, while India's expansion is just 5 rupees, if that. The idea is not to apportion blame, atleast not in the present. The basis for this productivity-imperialism may have lain in ancient exploitation. If there is exploitation today, it is more or less with the willing consent of those exploited. No imputation of blame or any other kind of accusation must be read into this. The situation has to be recognised. If we the human race are members of one another, this situation must be deeply understood and remedied, assuming ofcourse that there are remedies to that.

Weapons-imperialism is a necessary corollary of the previous imperialisms or perhaps their source, and it is not so hidden. Russia and America have often agreed in their drafts on the need to keep the knowledge and the reality of nuclear weaponry to themselves. Some of the progressive Americans and Russians would be shocked if they were told that this amounts to weapons-imperialism of the whites against the coloured, but that it is. The coloured peoples have indeed have no right to fret or fume. They are more than willing to stock-pile any old conventional weapons, while they pay worshipful homage to the unilateralist disarmer in Euro-America. Such is the split mind of the coloured man. Once again, it is not a question of blame or accusation, but of simple recognition of a situation in which one part of mankind possesses almost the ultimate in weapons.

Price loot imperialism is the fifth such imperialism with which I shall stop the present enumeration. Price movements and the terms of trade are almost always unfavourable to agriculture and the producer of raw materials. If the prices of manufactures have gone up by 100% in the last 10 years, primary produce has increased just by 74%. This price loot causes an unheard of injustice in all the world. Robbery on this score alone must have run into billions every year. I dare say that there is similar internal price loot in the relationship between manufacturers and primary produce. But that is aggravated to a very large extent by the presence of indirect taxation. One hears almost every day of foreign aid and the philanthropy involved in it. The taker of gifts must indeed be contrite and humble, at least that is my view, and at least until the taker has learned to misuse gifts and both he and the giver have become aware of the world situation as a whole. However, one never hears of the price loot inherent in every item of international trade between the white and coloured peoples.

Against each of these imperialisms, India and China and all the other coloured peoples should have been able to act with firmness and unision. They should of course have made every effort to include such white peoples in their ranks and, in fact, invite them to leadership as were willing to recognise the world situation. But none of this was to happen. I had some times day-dreamed in my earlier years that China and India and the just minded whites would be able some day to knock the door of Australia, Siberia, California and have them opened. But the knocking has taken place elsewhere. Bursting with some kind of power, one knows not which China has sought the easy way out. She has knocked at the Himalayas. Not to talk of Australia, she did not even knock at Hong Kong or Macao. She did not have strength enough in her knuckles even for enterprises. She has chosen to knock where she thought her strength sufficed. I am compelled to the view that this shall ever remain a tragedy of the human race.

Enthroned man will work not for the removal of injustice but for the attainment of aims that lie within his reach. The reach of the coloured man must necessarily remain small, even wicked, for a long time yet. Not much can, therefore, be expected of the coloured man as sits on the throne. Deliverance must come, if it ever will, from the white man. He has infinitely greater power and potentially greater intelligence. If ever he sees the world situation as a whole, he may do something about it. Coloured peoples are indeed not out of the arena altogether. Such of them whom little packets of power do not corrupt may take a wider view and the more risky initiative. I must however add an item to the theory of the struggle between the white and the coloured peoples. This struggle will be overcome, if at all, by the intelligence of the white as much as the self-interest of the coloured peoples.

I rather turn towards Russia and America. I do not intend to make a very close examination of their respective merits in connection with the five imperialisms. To date neither has shown much merit or intelligence. Some rough isolated trends may be indicated. The Russians seem to have been more willing to communicate their skills of the steel industry to the Indian than the west European has been. They have also charged lower rates of interest on their investment. This would demonstrate their superiority in relation to productivity-imperialism, although in a very small way. Americans, on the other hand, have been willing to take coloured settlers into California, although only nominally. Coloured students at their university are apparently more numerous than at the Russian universities. How far this is due to the unwillingness of coloured governments to open their students to Russianism rather than Americanism and how far to the inclination of Russia to emphasise a particular type of general education rather than technical and scientific skills, at least for foreign students, is more than I can say. Russian record against open imperialism of political domination by one people over another has in recent years been undoubtedly superior to the American.

Would there be a similar inequality of achievements in respect of the five imperialisms here enumerated, and who would be better, Russia or America? I hope and pray that both Russia and America, in whose hands more than any others, rests the betterment of the human race, will become equally aware of the world situation as a whole.

—1962, *June 1; Hyderabad.*

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# CHINESE INVASION AND OUR AIMS

"The national committee of the Socialist Party has considered the grave perils arising out of China's invasion of India, that may even undermine the foundations of Indian statehood. The committee has noted that China's invasion started thirteen years ago with the invasion of Tibet, and after coming to a halt, began again six years ago halting with the occupation of Ladakh and other areas, and is now rolling into Urvasiyam and the rest of Ladakh with the dreadful prospect that the Chinese war machine may halt again in order to grind sometime later.

The committee must draw attention to the total lack of direction in the country's defence policy. Although battle has now been joined in several places, there is yet no state of war, nor a declaration of aims and the people are being fed on the hot air of words. The government says sometimes that it shall fight to the last man and the last gun, a wholly meaningless assertion, and again that it shall not negotiate on the basis of surrender, something which a people says after it has been exhausted and is about to be defeated. The committee demands of the government that it stop insulting the intelligence of the people with these empty or defeatist remarks and clearly state the aim that it shall not this time lay down arms and the war shall continue until all the territories of India are retaken and Tibet is liberated.

The committee is not too happy about use of arms. It would have preferred free India to explore paths of disarmament including the unilateral. Even now it would not hesitate to go along with the government, if it decided to disband the armed forces and experimented with possibilities of unarmed defence. But the committee must condemn the state of mind which retains armed forces but not as a fit instrument of war. A policy of non-violence and peace must be distinguished clearly from a policy of enfeebled violence. The committee calls for an invigoration and better equipping of the country's armed force.

The committee grieves that with the removal of British officers and weapons and the backing of British factories, India's armed forces did not receive a new base, which they should have. The committee desires that whatever is possible to introduce this popular basis particularly in officer-soldier relationship should be done. As a first step, it recommends the conscription of any age-group, for instance, the age-group twentyfive to twentysix, which would begin to turn the country's armed forces into people's rather than professional. The committee demands that the government purchase all the weapons that it can get from any where, and notes in this connection the great gap between volume of words spoken and deed done in relation to purchase of Mig and other aircraft.

The Socialist Party asks the people not to be perturbed at the beatings that the military is taking, but there is a condition for it. Confident that a war is won or lost with the outcome of the last battle, earlier beating and withdrawals acquire meaning only if the aim is clearly stated and striking power grows and is used. The committee is perplexed why frontier posts were not supported by air power. At the same time, the committee wants the people and their armed forces to be sure that, although they are withdrawing for the present and may be forced to do so for some time more, their action will not now stop until they have recovered all their lost territories and liberated Tibet. In this connection, the committee wish to reiterate the Party's opinion

that the MacMahon line may serve as the frontier between India and free Tibet, but Kailash-Manasarovar and east-flowing Brahmaputra can alone serve as the frontier between India and China.

The committee asks for immediate talks with Dalai Lama and other representatives of the Tibetan people with a view to finalise Indian commitment to Tibetan independence and Tibetan commitment to revolutionary renovation of Tibet's economy and social order.

While it is not the intention of the national committee to narrate the grievous errors of the country's foreign policy, with which its defence policy is intimately connected, or its lack of creative content, it must ask for clearer aims and more vigorous action in the future. Passive non-alignment, which makes use alone of the freedom to say yes or no to this or that measure must give place to creative policies. Beginnings of India-Pakistan reunion, even in the shape of a loose confederation, and firmer friendship with the people and government of Nepal must be sought. In view of the grievous blundering in the two portfolios of foreign affairs and defence, the committee demands the resignation of the two ministers in the interest of furthering creative national effort.

The committee has taken note of silly calls for national unity and cessation of controversy. The nation knows that it must stand united and single, for the Chinese murderer will make no distinction between one Indian and another, and no other people on earth has suffered more due to loss of statehood. What the nation needs to know now is how to hurl back the Chinese war monster. To keep silent on this matter for fear of raising controversy would be to betray the nation's trust. Furthermore, the committee wishes to ask as to who is raising controversy; those who wish to impose the domination of English against the clear mandate of the constitution or those who are demanding the abolition of its public use. The people shall rise and with energy bursting through their ancient wintering limbs, if they

know that the gap between the big man and common man will narrow, that prices of essential articles are fixed according to certain principles of welfare, that English has gone, that backward castes and groups will be uplifted through preferential opportunities. Above all, they must know they are on a crusade to liberate their young brother, Tibet, whose freedom they had once allowed so callously to be massacred, and also to hunt the wild beast who has violated our native soil back into his lair."

—1962, *October 24-25; Patna; Socialist Party's national committee resolution.*

# VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

My stomach turned, and that of millions must have, at the news that India supported China's admission to United Nations at the general assembly yesterday. It is a most shameless thing to do, not alone from India's viewpoint but from that of world freedom and peace. If the principle of universality prompts China's admission, what of Taiwan's (Formosa's).

The trouble with India's non-alignment has been that it is passive and confines itself to the freedom to choose from the two solutions, Atlantic and Soviet, and does not take the pains to think out new and creative solutions. The solution of China and Taiwan has been before the India government for over ten years now, although the present time is not opportune even for that but for outright opposition to or silence on China's admission.

In this context, I must warn against distortion of news. The Socialist Party has not asked for the resignation of the defence minister. It has asked for the resignation of the foreign and defence ministers. This war has been preceded by so much bungling that government feels it necessary to hide our losses and to emphasise our weather or terrain difficulties, while slurring over the treacherous Tibetan temperature. Even so, the present beatings and withdrawals of our armed forces would become bearable, if the government made a clear declaration that it would not lay down arms this time, until every inch of the motherland has been freed. China's strategy has so far been to

invade, advance and halt, and this is her third invasion, and India's has been to make some resistance and halt and declare that she is preparing.

India must finally make up her mind. Let the government disband all armed forces and explore possibilities of non-violent defence. Else, the armed forces must be made into a fit instrument of war and defence and, when they are used they must be used effectively. To mix non-violence with violence is rankest stupidity. Non-violence is not enfeebled violence and a possible policy of non-violence must be clearly distinguished from the present policy of feeble violence.

Is India capable of striking with might alone in Goa and Kashmir? We must buy, borrow or beg all the weapons we can from any where. I must remind the prime minister of the poem he used to like so much: Had we but world enough and time, this coyness, lady, were no crime.

—1962, *October 27; Delhi; press statement.*

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# JAMBOODWEEP, CHINA, FOREIGN POLICY AND GANDHISM

The people must never again forget the concept of cultural India, which is essential supplementary to that of political India. To the north, the map of cultural India would, at the present time, include such countries as Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Burma, Malaya, Tibet and, of course, Nepal and Bhutan. As the designation of cultural India may not be too happy, the name Jamboodweep may be tried instead. No man in his senses would deny the cultural affinities of this area. Some have doubts about its ethnic character and are misled by such foolish and ill-defined words as Arya and Mangol. Jamboodweep is not Mangol in any sense of the term, also not the ethnic. The racial and historical classifications of Mangol and the like are at best a linguistic fantasy and, in any event, the Han and Manchu tribes, which form the base of China's population, are not related ethnically to Mangol and Jamboodweep.

The People's Republic of China has been operating on fables and lies of history, and on short-lived treaties born out of the fickle fortunes of war. It has, furthermore, shown an amazing taste for throwing its weight all around and for biting out and gobbling up whatever it thinks is soft flesh. Like an animal struck with ralties, communist China is whirling around, a foe to humanity. After being beaten back from Quemoy, Matsu and Formosa, and not having dares at all to force Hong Kong or Macao, it has been successively falling on what it thinks are the

soft Himalayas. Soviet Russia had some reason in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, but it held its breath for two decades. When the prime minister called Communist China worse than Hitler Germany, he did not, perhaps, know all the implications of what he was saying, but that was one of his more lucid moments. The war between the Axis and the Allies was a conflict between two groups of wealthy and powerful nations, evil undoubtedly, but not devoid of good. China's war on India is the fell swoop of one backward and developing country on another, a chapter of unrelieved evil.

Against this twin background of Jamboodweep, and China's mad thirsts the people and government of India must acquire great power at will. Where the war should stop, and with what intensity it should be waged must no longer be matters for discretionary decisions of an individual. They must be the decisions of the nation. Return to the line of 8th September 1962 would leave around twelve or thirteen thousand square miles of Indian territory in Chinese hands, as the Chinese proposal of 9th November 1959 would, around thirteen to fourteen thousand, of course, not including the territories gifted to the free Tibet. Both are almost equally dirty proposals and must be repudiated by the nation, lest future generations should wonder what the war was about. Unconditional surrender of Peking can be the only proper aims of this war, but it does not correspond with existing realities, and I would not accept it because of its militarist character. The only legitimate alternatives can be the expulsion of Chinese troops beyond the 1947 frontier or the liberation of Tibet, and I incline towards the latter. Only a prize idiot or a traitor would continue to assert that Tibet is part of China. First, language; second, script; third, way of life; fourth, religion; fifth, history including prayer to Panchan Lama; sixth, land contours; seventh and above all, people's will assert Tibet's independence and close kinship with India. Ephemeral treaties cannot cancel these enduring realities.

An equally important and some what related question is the intensity with which India should wage this war. Let us not bear



for ever this brand on our forehead that, while India used her air-power against weaker foes in Goa and Kashmir, she did not do so against Chinese troop concentrations in Tibet or on the slopes, although that meant sacrificing troops and territory. To the argument that reprisals might be made and that India must still make preparations, my answer is that China will do what she likes any how, and that a democracy makes better preparations after a war has broken out than before it. We must also not forget that the weather on the Tibetan plateau is exceedingly treacherous, temperature falling by forty to fifty degrees fahrenheit inside of an hour, and the people rebellious, thus making the Chinese position precarious particularly in winter.

Instead of appealing forthily for enlistment and military training, the people and the government must consider calling up the age group twenty five to twenty six or any other for conscription. Times of war require a people's force drawn from all sections of the population rather than a professional one supplemented by selective recruitment.

Let not the debate on foreign policy run into the arid waste of pro and contra non-alignment. My clear charge is that the India government has not understood the principle of non-alignment properly, that it has mistaken a policy of alternative service to the two blocks for one of independence, that it has been content with the freedom to say yes or no to American or Russian proposals, and has avoided the pain of creative thinking. India government's ineptness and lack of principle for thirteen long years and infamy now at China's admission to United Nations is an illustration. In accordance with the principle of universality and on the basis of a policy to recognise existing frontiers and release confederal tendencies, India should have in the past asked for the two membership of Mao China and Chiang Taiwan. An invaded country, which is without shame, can alone refuse to oppose or atleast abstain on any new international recognition of its invader. I must also emphasize, what I have been doing ever since the attainment of freedom, that more frequent abstaining is a necessary corollary of non-alignment.

The government has executed the policy of non-alignment most disastrously. It allowed some of its members like Mr. Menon to become symbols of the Soviet viewpoint and some others like Mr. Patil those of the Atlantic viewpoint in the foolish hope that they would counter-poise one another and help achieve non-alignment. What was achieved was a house divided against itself and aligned in different directions. Each man's mind should have been stimulated to become the battle ground for conflicting alignments and equipped with the necessary power to overcome resulting tensions and thus to achieve non-alignment. That ought to be done even at this late stage.

I must emphasize that I continue to hate weapons, whose use I am so ardently advocating at the present time. Behind this advocacy lie fourteen years of continued ineffectiveness of people like me also Gandhians in their own way, and the degrading hypocrisy of acknowledged Gandhism, governmental as well as priestly. The job in hand must be done with the clear-sighted view that a policy of enfeebled violence has nothing whatever to do with the principle of non-violence. Any unthinking mixture is disastrous, more so of violence and non-violence. After the present phase of violence is over and if the genuine Gandhians come to top, a new era may begin.

—1962, *November 14; Calcutta; Press conference.*

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# AFRO-ASIAN LEADERS' COMPROMISE EFFORTS

Compromise efforts between India and China by some Afro-Asian leaders are ridiculous. People like Dr. Nkruma of Ghana are compradors of international diplomacy. I am sorry that persons like Mrs. Bandarnayake were also associating with them.

I would like to ask what would have happened if India tried to achieve compromise between England and Egypt over Suez canal a few years back. India would never forgive such foreigners as wanting India to accept any settlement short of India-Tibet boundary of 15th August 1947. Whatever free India had when she began her career of freedom, she must be able to retain. Therefore, foreigners should keep away from such confusing tangles as India government's proposal of 8th September 1962 line or Chinese proposal line of 7th November 1959, for both are silly little spots in jungle full of moss and weeds and blinding trees.

I know that China shouted louder than India for freedom of Algeria and such like issues. It is also possible that angularities of personal behaviour have often been annoying. I would request Afro-Asian leaders not to take out on Indian people what they might have suffered from India government.

I request Dr. Cheddi Jagan and other like him not to be overwhelmed by seeming revolutionary fervour of China. They

must remember that there are people like me who are trying to achieve Cuba in India, but an Indian Cuba which must per force be ever ready to wage war with China when so compelled. China for ever shattered the dream that coloured people and their governments could together strive to remove tyranny and injustice of white man. China did not knock at Mongolia or Siberia or Hong Kong or Maccao or Australia or even Formosa, for any of these would have been far stronger for her and she, instead, chose to pounce on what she thought was soft Himalayas.

I regretfully admit that fight against inequality and injustice is such that any combination of all coloured people is a most idle and empty fantasy, and that the combination shall have to be irrespective of colour.

I met Dr. Rajendra Prasad, former President of India, this afternoon after nearly eleven years. I appealed to Dr. Prasad to do something for improving Indo-Nepal relations. I feel that as Dr. Rajendra Prasad has a somewhat traditionalist mind, it would not be difficult for King Mahendra to trust him, and as a people's man, he cannot be unjust to Nepali National Congress. I also feel that although enduring settlement might not yet be possible but Dr. Prasad could certainly succeed in achieving some kind of working arrangement between the two. The job is too big for India government and Dr. Rajendra Prasad is the fittest man for it.

—1962, November 26; Patna; Press conference.

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# SINO-INDIAN WAR: SEVEN IDEAS

A new type of planning to ensure rapid development is necessary. India's reverses in battle should not be explained by the false plea that emphasis on economic development made military preparation weak. Modern technology has made economic and military strength two sides of the same coin. India's military position is weak because her economic position is also weak. In order to remove this weakness, India should now plan not only in terms of produce but also of men. The men behind the wheel must be energised. This can be done only if problems of inequality, caste, language, hunger and the like which clog energy are solved radically.

General Cariappa deserves high praise for striving to speak in Hindi. But the General should not have indulged in harmful demagoguery. Not only the General but everybody else belongs to the party of fortyfive lakhs. Political parties are only instruments of the people. Some are good and some bad. Even the General cannot do without these instruments. I want him to become aware of this situation unless he wishes to be used by parties like Swatantra and Jan Sangh or the government, more probably, the latter, for it is the government that always benefits from a situation of unawareness and anomaly.

Some suitable authority with necessary influence should fix a day each month, say the first Sunday or Ekadashi, when the

people would forego one meal and contribute savings to war-fund, and another day when every dweller of village or mohalla could bring his uncooked grains to a common kitchen for community eating. I want essential articles to be sold at fixed prices, and I advise shop keepers to shut shop if out of supply, rather than to raise prices, and customers to learn to do without things in short supply.

I want the Socialists to understand fully all ideas which the Party had tried to inject into the Sino-Indian war: 1. No armistice short of the boundray of 15th August 1947, 2. No peace without liberation of Tibet, 3. War without indecision and upto the Tibetan plateau, 4. Conscription instead of voluntary recruitment, 5. Real non-alignment in place of the present time alternative service and alignment in different directions, 6. Commitment to the Himalayas and concern over Jambhodweep, 7. Energising of the people through revolutionary talk and action.

—1962, *November 28; Supaul; speech summary.*

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# EFFICACY OF NONVIOLENCE IN WAR

Proof of India's great failure is the silence of the prime minister of British Guiana, Dr. Cheddi Jagan of Indian ancestry on the India-China war. Furthermore, countries which have given their support to India belong to the Atlantic camp which most vocal Indians have so far looked upon as rightist and reactionary. I must recommend to my people to revise their concept of left and right. It is also quite clear that real dividing line in the world today is communism and anti-communism, and India has failed signally in changing this line. When the war ends India must make a great effort to build up an image of liberty and equality and strength different from that of the Soviets and the Atlantics and also from the brokers and nincompoops of free India's fifteen years.

Every country in the world has a China party barring the U.S.A. China has for ever become a threat to India and, therefore, India's complete friend and ally is the U.S.A. Friendship out of idealistic motives becomes uncertain at some stage. True friendship is born out of common interests.

Regarding the efficacy of the ideology of non-violence in the context of the war, I say that those who try to mix war with peace and violence with non-violence are saboteurs, if not worse. As there is no possibility now of practising non-violence against invading armies, India has no alternative to organizing the most effective violence possible to her.

—1962, November 28; Lucknow; Press conference.



# NO COMPROMISE

I urge the government of India not to have any compromise with China unless it withdraws behind Indian territory as it was in 1947. This meant vacation of the 12,000 square miles area in Ladakh which China had taken possession of while constructing the Aksai Chin road.

In its dealings with China the India government had all along been following a weak policy. Just for retaining China's friendship, India, 12 years ago, let the Chinese construct the Aksai Chin road through Indian territory. Sardar K. M. Panikar, the then ambassador in China, had forewarned India about China's constructing this road.

India has suffered disgrace because of its ill-planned strategy. India should have attacked China's weak points instead of letting the Chinese adopt its own tactics. It is wrong to say that the war was lost because the Chinese were superior in numbers or had better equipment. India should raise a people's army in which all ablebodied persons within particular age groups should be compulsorily recruited.

I suggest a confederation of India and Pakistan to face the common enemy. I am surprised that the present rulers of Pakistan did not understand the need for this and indulged, instead, in malicious propaganda against India. I, however, regret that Mr. Nehru should have made conflicting statements on the proposed talks with Pakistan.

—1962, *December 3; Delhi; speech summary.*





# AMERICAN AID

In order to correct the imbalance of my reported speeches, I would thank you to publish some other portions.

I aim at turning India into a 'Cuba,' but an Indian Cuba which would be willing to fight against China and if necessary the Soviet camp.

For the duration of the present war, satyagraha and strikes may not indeed take place. But the battle between the rich and the poor must be ever there, at least in the mind. That is the only way to warm up the common people. Communism is an evil doctrine but one of its good points is that it warms up the ordinary people.

When I have asked for the fullest possible military assistance from the U.S. in the war against China, although I have none of the usual pacts in mind, I am also aware of the fact that the collective behaviour of the U.S. is some what immature politically. A number of individual Americans are finest in the world. But collective America likes to turn every other country in the image of free enterprise, and some American organizations make the mistake of supporting some of India's political parties with money.

In saying that America is our best friend in all the world against China, I am aware that we would have to resist some of

its other desires. I hold as firmly as ever to the principle of equal-irrelevance. My charge against the India government is that it has not pursued a policy of non-alignment. A part of the cabinet like Mr. Menon devoted itself to the friendship with the Soviet, and another like Mr. Patil with the Atlantic, both so enthusiastically, that half the country got aligned with the Soviets and the other half with the Atlantic, at least in mind. India must, in future, pursue a real and creative policy of non-alignment. It may be asked what do I then offer America in return for the massive aid I am expecting of her. I offer her nothing beyond a split of principle in the Afro-Asian camp and warm friendship of a section of coloured people. Can there be anything better than that, for she has hitherto had money-friendship. What I offer her now is the friendship of folks whom a lot of Americans would call communists, and coloured communists at that.

—1962, *December 4; Delhi; letter written to newspaper editors.*

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# THREE WILLS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIP

In international relationships, a people may be actuated by any of three wills, sometimes overlapping and sometimes contradictory, the will to war, the will to surrender and the will to peace. The will to defensive war may not necessarily be inconsistent with the will to peace. But politicians, armed forces and the people of India have been fluctuating between a weak will to fight and the will to surrender. Prime minister's pro-Colombo proposals speech was actuated by the weak will to war. His subsequent tearfulness at Bomdilla's fall and, two or three days later, his boyish glee at the Chinese cease fire showed a frightening will to surrender. The behaviour of India's armed forces at Sela and the ease with which Chinese marched 150 miles in five days over difficult mountain terrain needs some explaining. The will to war as well as the will to peace is made out of sterner stuff than this. I recall the case of Maginot Line of France in this connection.

I know that good men in previous centuries called weapons bad and the current century has made them futile, but which weapons? Nuclear weapons of U.S. and U.S.S.R. are futile except as a threat. But conventional weapons still have their uses. Abolition of nuclear weapons is meaningless unless it is accompanied by or is a first step to abolition of conventional weapons. But abolition of weapons is not possible as long as injustice prevails, whether the willingness of the tyrant or the

bully to practice injustice or the unwillingness of the ordinary man to resist injustice civilly. Therefore, the main thing is to resist injustice. Resistance and non-violence can go together in internal matters, but no way has yet been found to combine them in international affairs. There can be no such thing as curative non-violence, once a war has broken out. What is perhaps possible is preventive non-violence, so that a war does not break out or that a people begins to learn to live without armed forces.

China is either a mad dog whirling around in search of soft flesh, which it could not find in Taiwan and hoped to in the Himalayas. Or, it plans to swallow the Himalayas and to seat native communists on the Delhi throne. Its partial withdrawal seems to indicate that it is content for the present with sapping the will of the Indian people, with having demoralised the government and the armed forces. There is no hope except if the people awake, intelligently and not with emotional ballyhoo.

—1962, *December 6; Delhi.*

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# TO AFRO-ASIAN LEADERS

To the Colombo Afro-Asian meeting, an ordinary citizen, without official authority or limitations, would like to submit a reasoning in keeping with justice, history and India's true case. The MacMahon-Ladakh lines are an imperialist frontier, call them illegal if you will. A village by the name of Mansar situated several score miles north of this frontier had its population enumerated not with Tibet's but with India's until 1941. That it gave land revenue to India would have its parallel elsewhere, but I do not know of any other instance in all the world where the population of an area is counted not with its own country's but with that of another. This is proof enough of the fact that India's frontier lay beyond the line of Kailash-Manasarovar and Sindhu-Brahmaputra and that some Indian ruler gifted all this territory to Tibet for administration but kept the village or Mansar as a symbol of sovereignty. Furthermore, no people ever built stories which made its primary gods and goddesses like Siva and Parvati on Kailash resident in a foreign land.

But I am not claiming a return of all this Kailash-Brahmaputra line territory to India. We are prepared to sacrifice our sovereignty and surrender our territory to Tibet, in case Tibet were to become free again. I am aware of the argument of Chinese invaders and imperialists. They are quick to quote imperialist Britain's acceptance of China's authority over Tibet, while denouncing other arrangements as imperialist and illegal.

It has been the traditional usage of Britain to accept any effete sovereignty and to act in its behalf. This it did in relation to its early rule over Bengal and later India, as also to the arrangements on Tibet. Furthermore, present-day Britain has its eyes on the growing China trade and on the future of Hong Kong. Britain's policies towards China in the past as now, and admissions flowing therefrom, have therefore little value. Let us also not forget the Anglo-Russian rivalry over the British Empire in India. British arrangements with China and Tibet in the nineteenth century and after were governed by this rivalry.

I am aware of the occasional documents over the past six hundred years establishing China's fitful suzerainty over Tibet. But so is there a document establishing one-time suzerainty of Tibet over China. Furthermore, the last ten centuries have been a time of India's degradation and quite a few arrangements concerning the Himalayas and their north do not reflect the necessities of geography and history and the various peoples of this area. In relation particularly to Tibet, language, script, religion, way of life, land contours, history and, above all, people's will dictate that Tibet is nearer India than China and that, in any event, it should be independent.

Everybody knows that China has produced fantastic maps on most tenuous evidence. I can produce matching maps to show Sinkiang or Inner Mongolia as Indian. Let us be done with foolery of this sort. India does not wish to incorporate Tibet or any other area. Let China follow the example. It is the will of the Tibetan people to be free and that argument should be ultimate. If India's period of degradation is ending, everybody will do well to appreciate India's commitment to security of Himalayan states like Tibet and its concern with independence of Jambudweep states like Cambodia.

I would, therefore, appeal to Afro-Asian leaders meeting in Colombo and the great Singhali people and other peoples, whom they represent not to get bogged in frontiers and arguments of surrender and to act in conformity with justice and freedom.

Armistice should be sought to be arranged on the 15th August 1947 frontier and peace should be considered possible on the basis of Tibetan independence. No Afro-Asian government should be misled by the India government's weak positions, as they have earlier not been by such as Jordan. To a possible argument about China's industrial and military strength, my answer is: Let India go under for the time being, and that may well remove the corruption of her elite and the softness of her people.

--1962, *December 16; Delhi; Press statement.*

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# THREE ASIAS

The concept of Afro-Asian solidarity was at best an illusion and generally a fraud and deception. The Ceylon premier Mrs. Bandaranayke has not done well by associating with the Chinese premier in promoting this concept after its falsity had been shown up in the Himalayas.

Since 1950 I had wanted the three Asias to be recognized in their distinct and sometime conflicting identities, conservative Asia, communist Asia and socialist Asia. Events have proved me wrong in one respect alone. Socialist Asia exists only on people's level and not at all on governmental level. On governmental level, a corrupt and pseudo-leftist Asia exists whose public sector differentiates in wages and amenities worse than the private sector. Pseudo-leftist and communist Asia sometimes conflict and more often co-operate and promote the concept of Afro-Asian solidarity for personal purposes.

If to get weapons from America, Germany or Japan violates Afro-Asian solidarity, what of the assistance obtained from Russia and other East-European countries by China or U.A.R. for building up their economy and armed forces. At one time, eighty thousand technicians and engineers alone from Russia laboured in China. India's coyness towards available foreign assistance and personnel has been a cause of her economic and defence weakness.

China's readiness to settle boundary problems with Burma and Nepal must be ascribed to her reasonable calculation that these countries the moment they are invaded would ask for all types of military assistance from all over as against India's procrastination.



Communist Asia is different from communist Europe, more adventurous, more unprincipled, less cautious and more revolutionary. The argument that communist China would mature like Soviet Russia has no meaning, for communist Russia never in her most callow period tried to grab Latvia, Estonia or Lithuania by force, territories to which she had at least some claim, while China has none to the Himalayas.

Corrupt and pseudo-left Asia will prove more inadequate than conservative Asia against communist Asia. It will have neither internal energy of social revolution nor foreign assistance from conservative Europe. It will pursue internal party aims to the neglect of external security, as is quite evident from the manoeuvrings of India's Congress Party and Lanka's Freedom Party and others relating to India-China rapprochement. Pseudo-left Asia can only act as comprador alternatively to communist and conservative diplomacies.

It is possible that Ceylon and others are hurting India's frontiers at the cowardly instigation of the India government. They should realise that India has not been a free agent. Dependent on the Russian veto for Kashmir and the American dollar for five-year plans, the Delhi government has been unable to follow a policy of non-alignment or national security. Future generations of India will never forgive the present governments of Lanka and elsewhere for their complicity in reducing India's territories.

India is entering into a stalemate with China, documented or undocumented. The Delhi government will not have courage either shameless enough to make treaty with China on the basis of territorial losses nor manful enough to prepare to win back lost territories. This stalemate may last several years. The people must in this period strive to release the energy of social revolution and to think out integrated economic, defence and foreign policies.

—1963, *January 8; Calcutta.*

# A PRESS CONFERENCE

*European and Asian communism* : The difference between European and Asian communism is not the difference between youth and maturity. European communism even when young did not attack Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Nothing makes for good manners in civilizations so much as the strength of the foe. European communism has come up against a strong European capitalism while Asian communism has come up against weak, effeminate right or a corrupt pseudo-left. There is nothing to tame Asian communism and that is why it must by nature be uncivilized. There are many more areas in Asia like the soft Himalayas tempting Asian communism to strike.

*Asian solidarity* : There are three Asias, Asia of capitalism and reaction, Asia of communism and chaos, and Asia of corrupt pseudo-left. The fourth Asia of socialism and change is still in the making. Who shall unite with whom in order to achieve Afro-Asian solidarity? I am perfectly certain that had China attacked Burma or Nepal, neither government would have wasted more than an hour for summoning all help from everywhere. That is why China did not attack them. Let us also remember that Russia had threatened intervention against England and in Egypt's favour. Next time when Egypt and Israel war around Gaza, I would not protest if some of my countrymen call it, in the style of the U.A.R. prime minister, a border conflict.

*Press behaviour towards U.A.R. prime minister* : The U.A.R. premier should have been heckled. I am the only consistent man who went all out in their support. But hereafter I should not go all out in their support.

*On Colombo proposals* : To every foreigner and foreign government the northern frontier of India as it existed on 15th August 1947 should be inviolate. All the Colombo powers who have sought compromise on very much less than this frontier have forfeited all my claims to respect and even to attention. Should they claim they have the sanction of the India government in this matter, my answer is that the India government is weak as also unbalanced in its outlook and that future generations will not forgive such foreigners as supported the India government in its weakness.

*Question* : What would you suggest to overcome the present situation ?

*Answer* : My first act would be to over-throw the present government and revolutionise the economic policy. Military power is like the fist and economic power the arm. Only idiots can say that the arm and fist are in conflict.

In the national income of Rs. 150 billion (15,000 crores) a year, 50 lakhs of top people take away Rs. 5,000 crores and 43 crores of the mass have to be content with 10,000 crores. Not until this situation is vitally changed can we have industrialization or better armed forces or people's determination.

*China's object in waging war* : China has only two objects (i) Himalayas for themselves and (ii) throne of Delhi for Indian communists.

*Question* : What do you think of Sino-Russian conflict?

*Answer* : The military strength of Russia is such that it can rub China out inside of two hours. So also can America. Russia-China controversy has meaning not because of the res-

pective military strength of the two but to ideological. Russia has taken to leftism from top which must in Afro-Asia should necessarily mean corrupt psuedo-leftism. Against this, China is advancing leftism from bottom. But she is mixing it up most disastrously with foreign intervention and conquest. The rift between Russia and China is a conflict between a corrupt leftism from top and a savage leftism from bottom, and a healthy vigorous leftism is becoming difficult to develop.

I should like very friendly relations to grow between Russia and America, and I would like this alliance of Russia and America to consider with sympathy the two questions of Indo-Pakistan confederation and freedom of Tibet, without which there can be no real peace in South Asia. It is in Russia's interest to further these two, because China, which is pursuing a savage leftism from bottom, must necessarily endanger Russia's security, borders and well-being, and engulf the whole world in catastrophe. Russia must some day recognise that Tibet is not a part of China.

There is an alliance between Russia and America but it is negative, not positive. They are afraid of each other; past burdens and all kinds of allies to carry with. The white world must revise its opinions drastically. The agricultural and industrial commodities must have parity. All the aid is nothing compared to the loot by the white world, including Russia, in pricing industrial goods. There is a price imperialism which cuts across capitalism, communism etc. Why I am disgusted with China is that instead of taking up the price question between the advanced and backward areas, it has taken up the question between backward areas themselves.

The war between Hitler Germany and allies was a war between 2 groups of strong and wealthy powers. Evil necessarily flows out of every war but from this war some good also did; for if any two individuals were responsible for India's freedom, they are the good Mr. Gandhi and bad Mr. Hitler. The war between China and India is a war between the backward and retarded

people, one less retarded than the other, but fundamentally backward, and no good can come out of it.

In the next 100 years no coloured people can come upto the standard of America. Whatever illusions I have had 15 years ago, in this case, I do not have them now.

*Why China suddenly declared cease fire :* The Russian pressure or the American threat are there, and I do not deny them. But there was another danger to China. China can wage war on India only as long as India has wobbly and undetermined government oscillating between moods of triumphant victory and despairing defeat. With the fall of Bomdila and Walong and the reported Chinese advance to the Foot hills, people's temper was being roused, and who knows if the present Delhi government would not have had to make way for another more resolute. The Chinese have every means to know the temper of the people, for their embassy has all along been here, and I imagine with the right of diplomatic immunity and transmitters. They must have reported the people's temper after the Bomdila and Walong fall to their principals in Peking who might have thought that enough has been enough.

*Reason for advocating China's U.N. membership :* It is like sanctifying the rape of the mother with a ceremonial wedding. I have never understood India's advocacy of China's membership in the U.N. Certainly not now. All this talk of taming China with a U.N. membership is piffle. In any case the invaded country does not wish to tame the invader with such puerile means, and others may be left to do that job. As to the argument of universality I should like to know as to how often India has pleaded the cause of Spain. Furthermore, this principle of universality would require two memberships, one for mainland China and the other for Formosa (Taiwan). Both are full fledged states in control of their respective territories and, on Mr. Nehru's own definition, both are entitled to U.N. membership. In any case this question should arise only after the China aggression has been vacated.

The political vocal sections in India consider the fight between right and left in the country more important than the Chinese aggression.

—1963, *February 2; Hyderabad.*

# MILITARY ASSISTANCE

I had indeed wanted to kiss Mr. Macmillan for his speedy and straight offer of help, but the press did not report me fully, for I had listed the Kennedy's as well, and in fact a little more ardently. The ardour was in no small measure due to impersonal reasons. While every other country has a China party, the U.S. has none or practically none. America like India has acquired a package dislike of China, and that should be a great argument for Indo-American co-operation atleast in relation to China.

Once it is decided to have armed forces and to use them, it becomes difficult to understand government's coyness about import of weapons. Several distinct stages in India's attitude to Anglo-American weapons from total refusal to purchase, to lend-lease to import of instructors and technicians, where the matter stopped for the time being, have been discernible. Foot-soldiers were not required nor intended to be brought in, so ran an additional list of information. That road-block would also have been bypassed, had the Chinese pushed in further. It appears that the lady was giving in inch by inch and suffering great crisis of mind. Governments should know better than to act in this emotional manner. They should have a policy.

Indonesia, U.A.R. and Cuba are the three great centres of military build-up, more proxy power than ones own. The Soviets have built them up. Cuba indeed had got missiles, not to talk

of masses of aircraft, and several thousand Russian soldiers. The two current prophets of non-alignment, Indonesia and U.A.R., may not have got the Russian missiles, but they have certainly got everything else. The Indonesian and Egyptian air force is each reported to comprise several thousand aircraft. It is worth recalling that Indonesian airmen were only the other day receiving their training at Indian stations. But India talks a lot of pompous priggery, while others act.

What has Indonesia or Egypt given to the Russians in exchange? They are all closed societies and, if there are secret agreements, it would be difficult to know their terms. In view however of the shrill cry of non-alignment raised by them, the presumption should be made that they are not tied to Russia.

Why cannot India receive American assistance in the same style and perhaps on more massive scale, for a greater foe is involved, and still stay non-aligned. I am ofcourse assuming that America would want to do it. If her crusade against communism has any meaning, she would not refuse to help a country that wishes to restrict itself against Chinese communism on the plea that it does not extend the fight. No military pacts involving a give and take should therefore be necessary.

A serious difficulty arises in so far as India and America are both democracies and therefore talk more than they act. India is furthermore torn asunder, her government as much as her people. Her non-alignment is more a matter of alignment in the two directions of Sovietism and Atlanticism. Reliance on India's word becomes difficult, not only that its keepers may change but the word too. The whole thing therefore boils down to a simple proposition; are we the people of India serious and really non-aligned and have we understood the character of the Chinese menace? We are lost to all sense of shame and a gang of unprincipled liars besides, if our behaviour at the U.N. in respect of communist China's admission is the test. No serious country campaigns for international recognition to its invaders, while it is neutral or hostile against their foes like Spain or Chiang China.



'Still I have doubts, they are personal and, while they rankle, they have no strength to deflect. Are we justified in injecting such military build-up through our own volition? We are not Indonesia nor Egypt, for we have a past of non-violence. But what use is that non-violence, unless it shows us a way to resist the violators of our frontiers and land. So far, its authorised votaries have talked more hot air than any other group. Today, we have no choice. We may have it tomorrow. A country whose frontiers and territories are threatened, if it keeps armed forces and uses them, must take all types of military assistance from wherever it can get them.

—1963, *February 16; Bangalore.*

# SOME ASPECTS OF INDIA'S CHINA POLICY

The inwardness of a nation's policy is not too difficult to understand, if the nation's government is making a fresh start without ruts, vested interests and routines and the policy makers are not too many. The inwardness of India's foolish policy towards China should on this account be comparatively easy to understand. The total number of policy-makers comprised one man. That one man reflected in a broad way the defects of the revolution and the diseases of people over the centuries.

Free India was soon faced with the prospect of two Chinas. One was the China of the Kuomintang, corrupt, capitalistic and feudal. The other was the China of the communists, revolutionary, tyrannical and soon to be interventionist. India made a full and complete choice, without reservations. She accepted the China of the communists. Such a full acceptance was contrary to teachings of history, to needs of the state and to human welfare. It was also some what uncivilized.

The argument centring on vulgarity and ungratefulness is the least important, although it is singularly significant in revealing the mind of the policy maker. Mr. Chiang-Kai-Shek was the only statesman in all the world to have come out openly in support of India's freedom while she was yet struggling. This fact should never have been forgotten. That is not to say that India should have gone on supporting him and his govern-

ment. Nations are not run for gratefulness or benevolence. India was undoubtedly required to change her policy. Aside from the question as to what this change should have been its manner was of utmost importance. A civilized government would never have uttered words of anger or cheap sarcasm about "the gentleman in Famosa" as Mr. Nehru did. When once friendly relationships are terminated without actually turning into enmity, reticence is required. Still more reticence is required, if one has reason to be grateful to the other. India's policy maker is refined alone in outward manners, and that too to the equal or the superior, without inward refinement, a nations policy is always incomplete.

Any ordinary student of history would know that the Himalayas have never been a protector of weakened India, but that a strong India has always protected the Himalayas. India's policy, however, was built not on this historical truth, but on the poetical premise of the Himalayas being her sentry. An additional illusion was allowed to grow. As India and China had not directly clashed on battle fields for some centuries a superstition of eternal peace between the two was propogated as a historical principle. It was conveniently forgotten that India and China, also in ancient times and when free had clashed, directly or indirectly, but also in the vast middle area, some of which even came to be termed as Indo-China. Free and ancient India had more often than not won in this encounter, physically and spiritually, for her weapons were more sophisticated and she did not play the imperialistic game, at least not crudely. India of the past thousand years had been shoved too much from one enslavement to another to be aware of a paternal or filial obligation to this area. What was born out of slavery became an accepted custom under freedom.

Freedom in all the world and particularly in this middle area between India and China suffered as a consequence. The needs of the Indian state also suffered. Invading armies were permitted to fortify themselves in possessions increasingly nearer to India. This was done not only because of faulty his-

historical understanding or unawareness of current politics. A deeper inward reason appears to have worked.

One hears of undergraduates at Princeton or Oxford who want to appear to be radical. They are not actually radical. Most of them would be shocked, if they were required to work out their radicalism in their own person or land. They only wish to be modern and chic. Communism has occasionally been most chic in the intellectual sphere. A tribe of men and women has therefore existed in varying numbers since the third decade of the century, for the fashion has ebbed and flowed, whom we can best call pseudo-radical or pseudo-leftist. A significant quality of pseudo-leftism is its passivity in internal policy and its activity of the external. What it dreads to do at home, it tries to achieve through association with appropriate foreign elements. It seeks to achieve glory through association, through touch. What is more radical or leftist than to be associated with and touching communist Russia or communist China!

The Indian revolution was beginning to reach into the economic and social spheres, when its author died and truncated freedom came. The revolution was therefore arrested. Aside from such political freedom as appeared superficially, the only other permanent gain consisted of a mode, of a procedure. The revolution was almost emptied of its content, but acquired a new mode, the non-violent struggle. The arrested revolution has been trying practically to destroy the mode, the procedure, that it gave birth to before it was halted.

Arrest of revolution fits in very well with the country's historical behaviour and thought. India's people are nine-tenths dormant, one hundredth active and nine-hundredths half-alive. What has caused this situation is a terrible story but cannot be told here. What needs to be told here is that a revolutionary explosion alone can change this situation. The social and economic situation must explode, so that energy may pulsate through old and decomposing bones. Almost everything in India's structure is hostile to such a revolution. Those who need most to

carry it out are least able to do it. Those who could perhaps have carried it out are either blinded by a ludicrously narrow self-interest or have become victims of a most enfeebling system of thought. The abstract and the concrete have been separated here as nowhere, so that the revolution is itself abstracted.

India's policy maker has been a fit representative of this situation. A representative of arrested revolution at home, he has had little difficulty so far to carry the people with him. His quest to be modern and chic in thought has therefore inevitably led him into the bypaths of pseudo-leftism and pseudo-radicalism. He has been content to acquire revolutionary glory by association, by touch. In this, the clever Chinese, and they were communists in this case, have made use of his vanity. They were content in the earlier stages to be chaperoned by him at international conferences as a younger sister by the older. It appeared as though India's policy maker was condescending to form the association with communist China. This gave him revolutionary glory and he did not appear to run after it.

This was a great calamity for India but also for the world. For lack of internal revolution, India stayed weak, while China grew in economic and military might. But over this rapidly deteriorating relationship of power was spread the obscuring mantle of association in revolution. The world lost an opportunity, for India alone could have made use of it. Chinese communism has been internally tyrannical right from the start, as all communism must inevitably be before it ceases to be itself. Private rights are swallowed by collective rights. Personal freedom almost ceased to be. The rights of privacy do not exist against those of the collective. All this was common knowledge to the European. He had a greater cultural heritage behind him of the modern sort. Russia has therefore to advance in her revolution in the full lime light of the European desire for privacy. India alone could have awakened a corresponding desire for privacy in Afro-Asian hearts. By an unhedged acceptance of communist China, she missed this chance. The India government was guilty of a still greater crime.

Russian communism has not been interventionist. This may or may not have been due to the character or conditions of the Russian people. It was certainly due to the condition of their neighbours. Capitalist Europe was neither corrupt nor feudal, at least not in a way so as to be economically and militarily inferior to communist Russia. There was therefore little scope for Soviet Russian interventionism. China on the other hand is constantly tempted. She is surrounded by a whole string of weaker neighbours. She has therefore, been interventionist, almost from the beginning and continued to be such. She intervened in Tibet and successfully, for Tibet had no protectors or friends. She tried then to intervene in Korea and also fitfully in Formosa, but she broke her teeth, for her victims were strongly protected. Then she turned her attention to the softer territory in the Indian Himalayas. The revolutionary attempts the possible. The revolutionary does not dare attack Formosa or Hongkong. He attempts the possible. This should have been foreseen by the most ignorant of India's statesmen. Actually, there was not much need to foresee it, for it eventuated within a few months of communist capture of Peking. The baby-murder of Tibet took place. China's interventionist leftism could have been exposed right at the start. India alone could have done it. She missed the chance. To Afro-Asians, China's internal tyranny and external interventionism remained obscured by the enveloping mantle of revolutionary glory.

The concept of Afro-Asian solidarity, which is as foolish as dangerous, could not have grown into such proportions, if India had taken a principled and long range view of the two Chinas. There was no reason either a world interest or national interest, either in principle or expediency, why India should have recognised only one out of the two Chinas and pressed for its membership in the United Nations. World interest demanded that India should not completely slur over the internal tyranny and the external interventionism of communist China. National interest demanded that a neighbour right across on country's frontiers with that kind of character should be objectively and not sentimentally

tally defended, for he could easily turn into an enemy. After all, communist China too had recognised two Indias, that is India and Pakistan. And so had most other countries. It may be said that the two Indias were born in amity and mutual settlement, although that too is a story as sordid as tragic. The two Chinas were born in enmity and continued in such condition. These however are side issues. The central issue is the fact of government, whether a government is in clear possession of a territory fit enough to be called a country. This is precisely the principle which the prime minister has claimed a dozen times, has governed his conduct in respect of recognition and membership in the United Nations. According to this principle, both the countries of China and Taiwan merited Indian interest. Neither country presumably would have been pleased with such a policy. India probably would have lost diplomatic relationships with both. That would have been India's great hour. China's tyranny and interventionism beginning with Tibet would have been exposed to the world's full view. India would have been the chief agent to do it. She could not have been invaded so easily or disastrously as she latter was.

Such countries as Burma and Laos on the one hand and the Phillipines on the other would probably have traced a different course of development. Certainly Ceylon, perhaps also Indonesia. All the world would have been slightly different. India would have acted as a catalyser in the internal politics of most such countries. They would have been deeply and continually, in the depths as well as the surface of consciousness, aware of China's internal tyranny and external interventionism. But this would have required another kind of India, not the pseudo-leftist India of the fifties and after but a genuinely socialist India, at least in the making.

At present, there are three Afro-Asias: feudal-capitalist Afro-Asia, communist Afro-Asia, pseudo-radical Afro-Asia. I confess to an earlier error of analysis. I had recognised the existence of a socialist Afro-Asia, when in fact it was only a dream and intention, at that, a some what puerile

intention. I had at the same time failed to recognise the existence in government, for that is the only existence that matters, of a pseudo-radical Afro-Asia. The India government had appeared to me as feudal-capitalist and not as pseudo-leftist. This error of analysis had obscured certain evil potentialities, which showed themselves later. Pseudo-leftists fool enormous populations over a considerable range of time. They weaken a country to its depths. But they can keep a semblance of health and prosperity.

To make a thorough analysis of a pseudo-radical's mind would be as pleasureable as profitable. Does he pursue his double acting consciously? I should think not, although I sometimes, that like a true actor he must both be aware and unaware of his performance. The pseudo-radical perhaps dings himself that he could make an omlette without breaking eggs. He thinks he can plan without abolishing property in the means of production. He thinks he can handle men as though they were animals in a farm, without language and without the need to comprehend what they were expected to do. He thinks he can please everybody. All that he needs to do is to be clever, try to imitate Euro-American technology and living standards, without caring to note that he denies to the mass what he appropriates for himself. This pseudo-radical does not set out for himself Marxist aim "workers of the world unite," nor Gandhi's aim "peoples of the world unite," but an utterly novel aim peculiar to himself, "Bourgeois, bureaucrats and leaders of the world unite." He probably thinks that the summit unity of world leader and bureaucrats, particularly with those of communist countries would create an institutional and emotional framework as would result in socialism. The illusion of technological plenty sustains him in the notion of a revolution without struggle and peace and with the ease of an inevitable happening. In this, association with acknowledged revolutionaries helps. So, therefore, link arms, comrades. The pseudo-leftist government in India has over the years sought to link arms with the communist government of China. A suspicion has probably all the time



gnawed at the Indian pseudo-leftist that he is not true revolutionary. In linking arms with the true revolutionaries of China, he has felt buttressed. The Chinese communist is a true revolutionary, indeed an evil one. In looking for the true revolutionary in order to cover up his own deficiencies of revolutionary behaviour, he has chosen not to see the evil aspects of the Chinese revolution until it was too late, and, then again in a most unintegrated fashion. If Afro-Asia and India are to be freed from the menace of tyranny and interventionism, the doctrine of pseudo-radicalism must be killed outright. A vigorous native leftism must grow. Then, it would not need to lean on such evil crutches as the Chinese revolution.

*II. Dual wills of the people :* Side by side with government's dual role of advocate of China and defender of India, there has been a simultaneity of dual wills. In this, the people have sinned almost as much as the government. India has not known clearly what she wanted. She seems sometimes to have been ready for war, but not for surrender of territory. At the first severe blows, however, a change of temper seemed to come over her, reflecting a somewhat overwhelming desire for cease-fire and live and let live. This is not to be confused with keeping a line of retreat open. That every army does with a view to withdraw, if unavoidable, so as to regroup and fight. In such a case, a physical retreat takes place impelled by the will to war. With India, the retreat seemed often to have been psychological, not physical but spiritual. The will to war seemed to run parallel with the will to be done with it as soon as possible, to get back to normal pleasures and to avoid the strains of losses and anxieties for worse.

When the will to war exhausts itself after a protracted effort and with no hope of victory left, a people may begin to get tired. But the Indian people appears to have been tired simultaneously with every single effort it made. It was ready to talk to the enemy every time it was beaten back and was anxious. In fact, it never really waged war seriously. To a group of opposition

parliamentarians, the prime minister explained India's non-declaration of war on China with the plea that China would then bomb Delhi and other cities and they were evidently satisfied. A race of men afraid of bombings wishes to defend frontiers!. This affair of air-attacks came up several times. To the demand that Indian armed forces seek out weak spots of Chinese armour the answer was the fear of bombing. To the demand that India's air-force bomb Chinese troops advancing into Indian territory, the answer was the fear of bombing. If such was India's state of mind, why did she at all decide, at any time, to withstand China? Should India's armed forces have successfully withstood China's troops, that itself could have persuaded China to attack by air and bomb.

One can understand a limited war in two senses, apart from the usual one of stopping at total nuclear destruction. 1. Unconditional surrender of the opposing government is not aimed at 2. nor is there the desire to advance into enemy territory beyond the point necessary to destroy the impetus and concentration of advancing enemy forces. If there had been a genuine desire to defend the country's frontiers, India would have sought out enemy weak positions on Tibetan territory in the manner that China did on Indian territory. Nobody, atleast not the Socialists suggested that India's armed forces advance into Tibet in order to free her. That is a separate issue altogether and must be tackled in appropriate manner. To stem China's advance into India, it was necessary to seek her concentration of troops and material in Tibet and try to engage such of them as could be taken by surprise and destroyed. And when a country is invaded, all arms of its military might must be put to use, that is, if the decision is to oppose the invasion by force.

It may be argued that the blame lay with the leadership, and not the people. That is not wholly correct, not even basically correct. The people had the leadership appropriate to its temper and preparations and its capacity of achievement. India's premier has sometimes excelled in physical recklessness but he

has almost totally lacked in moral courage. The capacity to take unflinching decisions and to stick to them at risk of life or position belongs to courage. The people lack it too, also in that general and vague way in which alone a people can possess it. In weaker moments of historical determinism, I wonder if anybody other than jackals who hunt on the other or make a preference of it and who submit at the first reverse could have served the people at all.

India suffers from two sets of ailments. One is a thousand years old and more and the other is as old as India's freedom. It is not always easy to separate the two. In actual effect, the two interpenetrate. Remedies must also interpenetrate. Nobody contends that change in economic, military or foreign policies will alone do the trick. Change in the spirit and temper of the people must also be promoted.

India began disintegrating in the seventh century after Christ. The bell of successful invasion first tolled at the end of the tenth century. She has since been prey to successive conquests. She prepared a series of native answers, Pathan, Mewari, finally Mogul, Maratha and Sikh, but each one failed to ultimate success. One should not croak too much at the apparent success of the last efforts. In the first place, the success was only partial and in the second, it came to many other lands too, which had not made much of an effort.

In the past thousand years and more, India has excelled in creating problems without being able to solve any of them. She has become a museum of problems and is threatening to become an anthropological museum for the rest of the world.

Some inner weakness has been plaguing her since the seventh and tenth centuries, definitely, though the beginnings must have been earlier. To weapon, wayward elephants, cow, native treachery, foreign barbarism and the like have been ascribed past defeats. And Shame be on India and her genius for synthesis and her spirituality, of unity in diversity that she rose over every one

of them to dazzle her own sons or protectors and to invite the next wave of strangers. Something similar is happening today, the same emphasis on external causes. The same make-belief of unexistent grandeur. Something is wrong with the soul of India, whose expression is this exquisite courtesan of Delhi.

Since the seventh and more particularly the tenth centuries, great men have knowingly or unknowingly treated India's soul, but they have invariably failed. Each one of them results in a sect and adds to the disease. Not one reaches the entire population. Not one transforms even the majority. Ramananda, Mahadevi-Basvanna, Chaitanya, Kabira, Dadoo, Dayanand were men and women of dazzling brilliance wanting to do something to caste and women's degradation—two main sources of the inner weakness, but, from the view point of the nation's renewal, rather tinsels. If present achievements of Gandhism are an index, Gandhiji is threatening to join this august company.

Even founders of great religions have only added to the problem of religious diversity. Buddhism, Jainism, Islam and Christianity have each been unable to convert completely or to form a purposeful people with the Hindus.

The Indian situation makes no rational sense. And yet it makes sense to every little group participating in it, that caste has done. Revolutions occur in other lands when a situation ceases to make sense to the people participating in it. The Indian situation lost all sense over a thousand years ago and has never recaptured it. But it still makes complete sense to all participating groups. Never was a revolution so necessary; never has a revolution been so impossible.

All talk of India's greatness in the past thousand years must stop, for to recognise sickness is a first step to recovery. For every Pratap or Sivaji or Shershah, there have been a thousand Mansinghas or Mirjafars and a hundred thousand undecided whether they are men or cattle. Ever to rave about these heroes of the deed or the mind is treason, for there was something lacking in them and their people.

Contrary tendencies have ofcourse been at work. But to mistake these unsuccessful amendments for the main proposition would be grievous error. The recent most error has been to rave about the resurgence and unity of the nation in the face of China's invasion. Dirty people have even lauded the Chinese invasion for this blessing. India's big men are so uncertain of themselves and their country that they must see a silver lining in every cloud. Actually, the silver lining has itself been an optical illusion. The resurgence and unity were frothy and restricted to urban areas and middle classes. The acid test is ofcourse harder. Has this Chinese tragedy made any difference to habits of thought and behaviour of thousands of groups and castes that are supposed to form the Indian people?

The Indian people does not yet exist, that is as a viable people capable of defending its statehood. Thousands of groups and castes exist, each willing for its own interest to deceive state permanently and desert it occasionally. Unless a rapid course of dissolution of these groups is put through, India cannot prosper. Freedom in the narrow sense is ofcourse not imperilled. If the Chinese had kept on advancing into India, the present government would have been replaced by one of nationalist or communist resolve. One would have stopped the Chinese advance by force, including proxy-force, and the other by consent. Physical enslavement of peoples seems no longer to be possible. What is possible, and in the case of the Indian people probable, is spiritual liberation or dirt and economic misery.

What can end our inner weakness? None of the traditional philosophies can do it. Communism gives sometimes a deceptive impression. Apart from its being a doctrine against privacy and the individual and, therefore, ephemeral, its capacity to dissolve groups and castes is low and only slightly higher for economic uplift. No man of miracle can do it. We have had too many of them before. No miracle of any one idea or monism can do it. We have had too many of them before. The glib talk of India being special must end, for our chief speciality has consisted

in being poor and enslaved. If there is anything in our spirituality or culture, it must express itself through rational solutions by making them more compassionate and not through some spiritual-looking and spiritual-talking hocus-pocus. A full and four-fronted offensive must be opened. 1. Religious: war on religious beliefs and practices that degrade the individual and disintegrate the people. 2. Social: a collective practice of interdining and encouragement to inter-marriage and rigorous combating of groups, signs and displays. 3. Economic: radical changes in property and income structures as also government hierarchy with a view to make a people out of divided groups some of them looking civilized, of half men and half cattle. 4. Political: preferential opportunity for backward groups and emphasis on and honest use of the adult vote.

The brief flash of battles gave an opportunity. Emotions were heating. The nation was getting ready to be smelted. But the leadership was just not there, neither government nor opposition. Not one measure to remove inner weaknesses was put through. Even now one day in the month may be set aside for people of all groups, castes and women in the village and city to bring their raw food to a common kitchen and make a community feast of it. This is only one measure. Others must follow.

*III. Dual roles of government :* The India-China conflict is almost as old as Indian freedom or China's communist rule. In the earlier stages, the India government was not aware of the conflict. After it could no longer shut its eyes it depended on a combination of goodwill towards the Chinese and persistence against them as also some cleverness. Throughout, therefore, the prime minister had to assume two roles. He took, on the one hand to advocating China's cause to his own people, lest they should become restive at continual appeasement or quitism. He pressed on the other, India's claims and rights as best he could before China's and world's attention. These two roles often conflicted. In any event, China can and does easily justify her case by quotations from India government's numerous notes and pronouncements which, taken as a whole, make a sordid

reading. The phrase "disputed territory" for instance, figures often. Whenever the India government finds it difficult to arrange with its own people it almost gifts areas like Longju, Barahoti and Aksaichin to the Chinese by calling them disputed. When the people demand that these areas should be recovered or atleast continually claimed, the prime minister turns partially into China's advocate to answer the argument, justify his shilly-shallying or keep China hoping. What exactly is disputed territory? When it so suited her, China turned yet another bit of the Himalayas into disputed territory. Must an Indian premier go on using his argument just as interminably.

Rarely has internal difficulty of argument with ones own people led a government to external abandonment of territorial positions to neighbours. This would perhaps not be possible in other lands. The bounds between native and foreign, freedom and slavery are in India not too sharply stretched on the peoples mind. Native rulers are unscrupulous or traitorous enough to use any argument, even such as goes against the integrity of the state, to save their positions or their skin. The unparalleled infamy of the Ladakh arguments cannot be explained in any other way. No prime minister ever in history described his territories usurped by foreign forces as rocky, valueless where not a grass blade grows, but to India's premier belongs this unique shame. The degradation started with the India government justifying China's presence in Tibet, which was among the first acts of the Indo-Chinese relationship under which it sought wrongly to still the suspicions of the people.

To avoid still lower depths the India government must make a straight statement. It should declare that it made dubious statements in order to soften China and win her friendship. It may acknowledge the lesson learnt that dubious or untruthful speech does no good, even if it is aimed to achieve good-will and peace. It may announce that it will no longer act as China's advocate against its own territories and all such earlier advocacy may be treated as devoid of truth or value and motivated by the stupid desire to please.

**IV. Himalayas :** Himalayas comprise roughly of two divisions, one Indian and the other fraternal Indian. Himalayas consist of such regions as Urvashi, Ladakh, Badrinath and Darjeeling. Such territories as Tibet and Nepal form fraternal Himalayas. Of the nearly three crores of people inhabiting the Himalayas, roughly one crore live in the Indian Himalayas and two crores in the fraternal Himalayas.

Both territory and people have been neglected in recent centuries. This period has seen India's downfall. Turns of bad poetry have become maxims of state policy. The height of the Himalayas made fools look upon them as sentry and protector, while geography has provided hundreds of Himalayan passes back and forth between India and Trans-Himalayan north and history numerous records of invasions. Himalayas have never been India's sentry. Ages that looked upon them as such have suffered invasions from across them. Free and strong India has always protected the Himalayas, both its own and the fraternal, striving to provide such security and welfare to their peoples as she could. Modes of thought and action belonging to the period of downfall have persisted into free India, at least in relation to the Himalayas. Enough forewarnings were given, but they were not heeded.

Everybody knew that communist China must necessarily follow forward policies, both territorial and ideological, in respect of the Himalayas and their peoples. Adequate answer to that would have been the adoption of forward policies of a different kind by India, not indeed territorial, but radically democratic and leftist, which would have filled the Himalayan peoples for the modern age and encountered their power and peace to Chinese savagery. Instead, India treated the Himalayan territories and peoples more or less as museum pieces and threw one of them to the wolf.

Acceptance by India of China's suzerainty over Tibet has been the first blunder in the whole series of Himalayan disaster. One would have thought that schoolboyish distinctions between sovereignty and suzerainty would not be made in the present



age, but India of scholastic predictions and actual meaninglessness did so.

Except for brief phases during India's downfall Tibet has been independent and never a part of China. In respect of (a) language, (b) script, (c) religion, (d) way of life, (e) land contours, (f) understandings and treaties, Tibet has been with India rather than China and because of the most overriding test, (g) people's wish, Tibet has been and should become independent. Kailash, Manasarovar and east-flowing Brahmaputra once formed part of India's domain and were gifted to Tibet as long as it was free. Waters of the line along the Kailash-Manasarovar ridge flow towards India. No people ever domiciled its major gods and goddesses like Sankar and Parvati in foreign territory. And yet India today does not and should not want Tibet or any part of it. She should only want Tibet to be free.

British acceptance of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet during the nineteenth century and after should have little meaning. A practice of British imperialism has been to exercise power on somebody else's behalf, at least at the commencement. They accepted the effete Chinese emperor's authority, for it did not exist, and operated in its name. Furthermore, Himalayan arrangements during the centuries of India's downfall do not correspond to the requirements of nature, history and people's will. Even so, Tibet had ruled over China for some years.

That the India government accepted the case of China in Tibet and surrendered its own rights must be ascribed to its propensity to appear generous, to be overly smart as well as to its muddled policies. Right from the start, it has played blind man's buff in respect of China. Often playing Godmother to early communist China in the hope of pleasing her as well as the so called progressive opinion, even at the risk of very bad manners against Chiang-Kai-Shek and Taiwan. It may also be that the India government or the prime minister acted peevishly. Irritated by America and Pakistan over Kashmir, the prime minister

just did not know what permanent harm he was doing his country and Tibet by looking away from the road between Sinkiang and Tibet the Chinese built on India territory.

Chinese generals on way to complete Tibet's submission were given passage through India. For a long number of years, the greeds for the old silver dollars of China made India's government and tradesmen carry on a flourishing Indo-Tibetan trade through Gangtok, which helped China master her early difficulties.

India helped China do baby-murder in Tibet. She must atone as best she can. She must strive to prevent the total disappearance of a whole people from history. If the India government cannot let the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan refugees function as Tibet's provisional government, the Dalai Lama and his colleagues would do well to seek refuge on braver soil. Not many years ago, somebody had done some air-dropping for Tibetan rebels. A forward policy must be adopted towards Tibetan refugees in India. They must be cared for and modernized. All India indeed lives miserably, but small things can help; the heavier clothes and folds of Tibetan climate must be changed at once for lighter wear.

China has been business-like, either murderous as in Tibet or flattering as in Nepal, with the Himalayas that are fraternal to India. Nepal is not only a friend, but a near relation to India. Proof of the India government's colossal failure lies in the hostility or quietude of her northern neighbours. China the stranger has them on her side or atleast not against.

India has tried to practice the finesse of British or Jesuit diplomacy without their strength or tradition. The prime minister is a parvenu of historical learning. He has evidently tried to speak in two voices, with just a slight change in emphasis or clause, to the king and the former prime minister of Nepal. Diplomacy of that kind had never been good among relations. Against an aggressively ideological policy like China's it makes no sense whatever. Additionally, the prime minister has been a very

bad model to his neighbours. If India's prime minister could hope for non-alignment through cancelling Mr. Patil's Atlantic alignment with Mr. Menon's Soviet alignment, why could not Nepal's Koirala have Mr. Tulsi Giri build the Soviet or Chinese alignment and Mr. Subarana Shamsheer or himself the Atlantic. Too much smartness has been Mr. Nehru's undoing. It may well have meant something worse for his disciples. Nations in the making need simple beliefs and untortured way and wherever possible truth and human dignity. China at least had the simple beliefs though without truth and dignity.

People of Nepali ancestry form the majority in Bhutan and Sikkim of the Indian Himalayas. They are also spread over the rest of the Indian Himalayas. The opportunity has not perhaps been lost for ever. These men must be persuaded to become bastions of democracy and progress, not through the aid and its temptations flowing to them but through something that happens to the mind.

*V. Language :* The problem of language partakes of thousand year old and fifteen year old diseases. But the Chinese tragedy has made no difference to the thinking of India's leadership, governmental and oppositional, in this connection. Idiots still wish to fight China with English and see in it unexisting founts of knowledge, power and unity. China's knowledge and technical efficiency are expansive. India's knowledge and technical efficiency are restrictive. China is operating like Japan through the people's language; India through an instrument of minority domination and exploitation. The mass of the people are kept out of everything and therefore in ignorance and misery and the minority acquires external skills.

The rotting soul of upper classes devises no solutions and throws mud on them, when others do so. The formula of "mother tongue and optionally Hindi" is almost entirely satisfactory, even in the present state of almost total misunderstanding. Under this formula, the mother tongue would immediately replace English in all state activities. At the centre, three choices of

multi-lingual centre, a bifurcated centre with option to coastal states to join the English section, and a Hindi centre with safeguards may be offered; it being clearly understood that no mixing of choices can be done.

The present government and the ruling party specially must be charged with the crime of weakening the people through continued use of a language they don't understand and of undermining knowledge and technical skills through misuse of intelligence in peculiarities of grammar and pronunciation.

Although codes too are broken and the English-speaking people conduct their work through English, the weaker countries with lesser resources of intelligence and counter-intelligence would be securer with the use of their own language.



# DOCUMENTS

## I. CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE AGGRESSION

1947

August 15: India achieves independence. The first independent government continued to enjoy some privileges in Tibet. India's trade agents were entitled to maintain armed forces for their own as well as British citizens' security. They were entrusted with the arrangements of tele-communications between Gangtok and Yantung and Tyangse. They were managing post and telegraph offices in Yantung, Phedi and Gyantse. India government also owned 11 rest houses in Tibet.

1949

October 1: Proclamation of Chinese people's republic.

December 30: India government recognise formally people's China. India was among the first to give recognition.

1950

August 13: India government

communicated its concern over unsettled conditions across its frontiers and urged for peaceful negotiations over China-Tibet relations.

August 21: China government declares its readiness to settle Tibet problem by peaceful and friendly methods. It also desired fixation of Indo-China border.

August 24: India government appreciated Chinese intentions about Tibet and said that the recognised frontiers between India and Tibet should not be violated by either.

September 19: Indian delegation in the U.N. general assembly advocated that the people's government should represent China in the U.N. That resolution was reiterated 10 times in the last few years.

October 7: Chinese armies enter Tibet.

October 21: India government expresses apprehension to Chinese government that this might defer her admission to

the U.N. and it may also disturb peace on Indian frontiers

October 30: Chinese government criticised India government that it was influenced by anti-China countries.

November 1: India government expressed its surprise over Chinese allegations and said that she only wished peaceful settlement of the problem.

1951

February 1: India votes against the resolution in the U.N. general assembly naming China as invader in Korea.

1953

December 31: Negotiations open at Peking between the two governments over India-Tibet relations.

1954

April 29: Trade agreement between India and Tibet signed. India relinquished its privileges in Tibet and accepts Tibet as Chinese territory. This agreement was for a period of 8 years. They also agreed to mutually abide by five principles of: 1. Respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, 2. Non-aggression, 3. Non-interference in internal matters, 4. Equality, 5 Coexistence.

June 25: Mr. Chou En-lai's state visit to Delhi.

June 28: Joint communique by both premiers reiterating their

faith in Panchashil and friendship between the two countries.

July 17: Chinese government protest against stationing of Indian-forces in Barahoti. This was the first occasion when China government claimed on Indian territory.

August 27: India government writes to China government denying Chinese allegation that Indian armymen have infiltrated into Tibet. It also protested against attempts by Chinese officers entering Barahoti.

October 14: A trade-agreement was signed.

October 18: Nehru visits China to strengthen mutual friendship. During his talks with Chinese leaders he referred to certain maps prepared by China showing 50 thousand sq. miles of Indian territory as Chinese. Mr. Chou En-lai replied that these maps have no special significance and they were drawn on the basis of old Kuimintang maps and that the Chinese government had no time to revise them.

1955

April 18: China participated in the Afro-Asian conference convened by Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan.

May 11: On China government's request Mr. Krishna Menon proceeded to Peking to

explore solution of the Formosa problem.

June 28: India government sent a protest letter to Chinese government on unauthorised presence of a Chinese party in Barahoti.

September 15: A party of Chinese soldiers entered Damchan in U.P., 10 miles this side of the Indian border.

November 5: India government sent a protest letter against Chinese infiltration in Damchan in U.P.

### 1956

April 28: An armed contingent established a camp at half a mile east from Nilang in Uttar Pradesh.

May 2: India government sent a protest note to Chinese government against the infiltration of Chinese army men in Nilang area.

July 26: The Chinese claimed Barahoti and refuted that Tunjunila was a frontier pass.

September 1: A Chinese garrison crossed the Shipki pass and entered into Indian territory.

September 8: India government sent a protest note to Chinese government against Chinese crossing Shipki pass.

September 16: A Chinese garrison again crossed the Shipki pass and entered into Indian territory.

September 20: A Chinese patrol crossed the Shipki pass and

advanced upto Hup Sang area. On being confronted by Indian patrol the Chinese threatened to use arms.

November 28: Mr. Chou En-lai came to India. He stated that so far as Burma was concerned the Chinese government have accepted 1914 frontier i.e. McMahon line. He proposed that India also accept this border line. He said that he would consult the Tibetan authorities in this matter.

### 1957

October: A Chinese garrison crossed into border division of Lohit in Urvasiam (NEFA) and advanced upto Walong.

### 1958

April-May: Talks were held between the representatives of India and China governments on the question of Barahoti. The government of India suggested that pending settlement both the parties should not send their military and civil personnel to the above said area. China agreed to withdraw only the military personnel. The talks made it clear that China had no knowledge about the area on which she was laying claim.

July 2: India government sent a protest note to Chinese government against the Chinese army occupying Khurnak fort in Ladakh.

September: Chinese garrison patrolling the northern part of



- Aksai Chin arrested their Indian counterpart and put them under their custody for about 5 weeks and ill-treated them.
- September 27: A sizable Chinese party crossed into the border division of Lohit with construction materials and later went away towards Burma.
- October 18: India government protested to the construction of motorable roads by China in Aksai Chin area in Ladakh.
- October : Chinese army men established their check posts at Lapthal and Sangchamalla in Uttar Pradesh.
- October 27: Aeroplanes coming from Tibet side flew over Spiti valley (Punjab) and Himachal Pradesh. Between October 29 to November 1 also the aeroplanes coming from Tibet side flew over Chini, Himachal Pradesh.
- November 8: India government lodged protest against Chinese claim on Aksai Chin in Ladakh and mal-treatment with Indian patrol party.
- December 10: India government asked to withdraw Chinese government their armed personnel from Barahoti, Lapthal and Sangchamalla.
- December 14: Mr. Nehru in a letter to Mr. Chou En-lai drew his attention to a map published in a government Chinese journal in which Indo-China border was wrongly drawn.
- 1959
- January 17: India government sent protest note to China government against the Chinese infiltration in Walong in 1957 and in Lohit division in September 1958.
- January 23: In reply to Mr. Nehru's letter Mr. Chou En-lai stated that India-China border was never formally determined. In 1954 Chinese government did not raise this question since conditions then were not favourable for compromise. He said that the Chinese government had never accepted McMahon line also. In other words the China government had now refused to accept the centuries-long traditional border, which had been acceptable to both the countries. Refusing to honour all assurances and contravening the agreement of 1954 the Chinese laid their claim to about 50 thousand sq. miles of Indian territory.
- March 31: Dalai Lama crossed into India. He was given political asylum.
- May 16: China government warned India government against adopting dual policy and said that the principles of Panchasheel are being adhered to according to convenience.
- May 23: India government expressed regret on the Chinese

attitude and said that India's conviction in the principles of Panchshil was based on her basic policy, not on expediency.

July 11: India government drew attention of the Chinese government towards the difficulties which the Indian traders and tourists were made to suffer.

July 28: An armed Chinese contingent crossed into Ladakh in the area of western Pangong lake and arrested six Indian soldiers and established camp at Spangur.

July 30: India government protested against Chinese infiltration.

August 7: An armed Chinese patrol party entered in Khinzemane in the East and drove back the Indian patrol party.

August 25: A big Chinese garrison entered in Suvanajari division of Urvashi and fired at Indian army men and captured Indian border post in Langju.

October 20: The Chinese army men crossed into Chang Chenmo valley in south Ladakh and advanced forty miles in Indian territory. Being encountered by Indian patrol party near Kangra pass they opened fire and killed nine Indians. The other ten members of the Indian party were arrested and before release

they were subjected to harsh and inhuman treatment.

October 23: India government protested against the Chinese attack on Indian patrol party and demanded release of those under arrest.

November 16: With a view to compromise India government proposed that as an interim measure India government should withdraw their military personnel from the areas which the Chinese claim and the Chinese should withdraw behind the traditional border line as shown in Indian maps. This would avert the danger of clash on the border.

December 17: Chinese government rejected the proposal that the armies of both the countries should withdraw in western sector. They, instead, made advances in west and south in Aksai Chin and built roads in the area.

1960

April 19: Mr. Chou En-lai came to Delhi and had a six day talk with Mr. Nehru. At the conclusion of the talk the two prime ministers declared that they could not settle the differences. It was agreed that the officers of the governments should meet in conference in order to scrutinize the documents relating to the claims of the two governments. In the meantime all possible efforts

will be made to prevent fighting in border areas.

June 3: A big Chinese contingent infiltrated into Takt Sang Gompa in Urvasiam five miles inside the Indian territory.

June 25: A Chinese survey party came to Suriya.

July 29: India government lodged protest against the Chinese infiltration into Takt Sang Gompa.

August 22: India government drew the attention of the Chinese government to 52 violations of Indian air space committed by aeroplanes coming from Tibet side since March 1960

September 22: An armed Chinese patrol party entered the area near Jalepla pass in Sikkim.

September 27: India government protested against Chinese incursions in Sikkim.

October 13: An armed Chinese contingent came in the area of hot spring western sector.

#### 1961

February 14: India government published the report of the officials of the two countries on India-China border. The report on the basis of several facts made it clear that the border shown by India was the only traditionally fixed border. The report further said that the Chinese claim on about 50 thousands sq. miles of

Indian territory was wrong. Out of this claimed area about 12 thousand sq. miles were in unlawful occupation of China. China did not make any mention of this report for long. Ultimately in May 1962 they published distorted Chinese version of the report.

April 20: Chinese army crossed into Sikkim near Jalepla pass.

May: The Chinese crossed into Indian territory near Chushul in the western sector.

July 13: Mr. R. K. Nehru, secretary-general in foreign affairs ministry, made a halt at Peking on his way back from Mangolia to Delhi. He held talks with the leaders of the Chinese government.

July: A Chinese patrol party came one mile inside Indian territory in the west of Chemokar Polanke in Kameng border division in eastern sector.

August: Chinese soldiers established three new check posts in Ladakh and constructed roads linking these posts with rear posts.

September 12: Armed Chinese forces crossed into Sikkim via Jalepla pass.

October 31: India government drew the attention of the Chinese government towards Chinese incursions and occupation of a large tract of Indian territory. India government asked the Chinese government to withdraw from Indian terri-

tory and desist from aggressive activities.

1962

January: Some military and civil Chinese officials crossed the border near Longju in the eastern sector and went towards To Roi, an Indian village  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile this side of the border.

February 22: India government sent a protest note to China government against their advance patrol activities in Ladakh.

April 15: India government sent a protest note to China government against their establishing military check posts at six miles west of Sumdoko in Ladakh.

April 18: India government sent a protest note to China government against Chinese incursion into To Roi village.

April 30: China government declared that they had ordered patrolling of the whole area from Karakoram pass to Kangua pass. China also demanded that India should remove their two check posts from the territory otherwise China will start patrolling on the border.

April, May: There was constant advance patrolling by the Chinese in the Chip-Chap area of Ladakh.

May 3: The governments of Pakistan and China announced that they had agreed to enter

negotiations on the India-China border, west of Karakoram pass, which is now under the unlawful occupation of Pakistan.

May 10: India government drew the attention of China government to the fact that the sovereignty of the whole of Jammu and Kashmir state belonged to India only. Hence any agreement between China and Pakistan regarding territory of Kashmir would have no legal validity.

May: China established a new check posts in Indian territory about ten miles south-east of Spangur.

May 21: India government sent a protest note to China government against Chinese establishing a new check post near Spangur.

June 2: The period of 1954 agreement terminated, which China had violated by subjecting Indian tradesmen and tourists in Tibet to hardships and by making intrusions in Indian territory.

June 28: India government sent a protest note to China government against Chinese setting up one more check post about six miles further from their illegal check post near Chip-Chap river.

July 10: India government sent a protest note to China government against Chinese encircling the Indian post on the Galwan river.

July 12: India government sent a protest note to China government against Chinese setting up new check posts in areas of Chip-Chap, Chang-Chenyo and Pangang.

[*The above is translated from "Nava Bharat Times" dated August 7, 1962*].

September 8: Chinese forces were sighted taking position near Dhola post south of McMahon line in Kameng division of NEFA.

September 12: Chinese troops entered NEFA area near Tawang.

September 21: Chinese soldiers crept into Indian territory and threw hand grenades. The Indian soldiers guarding the post fired at the intruding Chinese within a few hundred yards of the post. Spasmodic firing continued for next few days until October 10th.

October 10: Massive Chinese attack on Indian posts, heavy Chinese casualties.

October 11: Exchange of firing continued. Reinforced Chinese troops captured Thagla Ridge the traditional Indo-Tibetan boundary.

October 20: China launched massive attack on NEFA and Ladakh fronts.

October 21: Chinese crossed Namka-Chu river four miles south of the McMahon line. Dhola and Khinzemane post abandoned. Chinese occupied two Indian posts in Ladakh.

A helicopter carrying casualties was shot down in NEFA. October 22: All seven Indian posts lost in Ladakh. Indian post at Asang Dhar in NEFA abandoned under massive Chinese attack.

October 23: Peking orders its troops "not to restrain themselves to the bounds of the McMahon line."

October 24: Two-pronged Chinese attack on Tawang in NEFA. Chinese captured Lampu, 10 miles south of McMahon line. Indian posts at Brokenthang and Zaninthang lost, Kibetoo in Lohit division abandoned. Galwan valley post in Ladakh captured by the Chinese. Heavy fighting both in NEFA and Ladakh.

October 25: After bitter fighting Indian troops withdrew from Tawang. Heavy fighting in Siang division of NEFA. In Ladakh one more post captured by the Chinese.

October 25: The invading Chinese forces captured Lampu about ten miles south of the McMahon line.

October 26: Chinese launch a massive attack at the eastern side of the McMahon line to occupy Walong in the Lohit division near the Burmese border. In the Tawang area the Chinese reached Jang village four or five miles further south on the route to Bomdila and Tezpur. Chinese flung hundreds of troops to overwhelm

the post at Siang division east of Longju. In the Ladakh region sporadic fighting continued but no frontal attack was attempted on two Indian strongholds at either Daulet Beg Oldi or Chushul.

Emergency declared and the nation is put on war path.

National defence fund established, government appealed to the people to contribute generously.

President Nasser of UAR forwarded four points proposal to end India-China border fighting. The four points are:

1. That fighting be stopped forthwith,
2. That both sides retreat to positions they held before September 8th.
3. A demilitarised zone be made to separate the forces of the two countries and negotiations be held between the two countries.
4. The governments of Afghanistan, Indonesia, Algeria, Sudan, Morocco, Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, Cambodia and Mali should join in common effort to restore peace in Indo-China border.

October 27: A slight turn in favour of India, two attacks on the outskirts of Walong were hurled back. News came of the heroic, single handed battle that a non-commissioned officer gave, in which he killed eight Chinese before he was himself shot down. Fighting

stopped around Jang. Indian troops had earlier withdrawn a little distance to higher ground in the rear of the village.

Prime minister Nehru announced arrangements with certain countries for securing modern armament and equipment for the Jawans. Citizens panels formed to aid defence.

October 28: Troops of the Jammu and Kashmir Militia in Damchok launched a counter attack and threw the Chinese forces back when they infiltrated between Damchok and Jara La.

In the NEFA front a force of 200 Chinese attacked the Indian personnel of a forward post in the Siang division. Indian troops fought back and inflicted 20 casualties on the Chinese. Indian casualties were only two.

Nasser takes initiative in inviting Afro-Asian countries' suggestions, to stop fighting on Indo-China border.

October 29: Indian troops had to withdraw in the face of invading Chinese hordes from Damchok 90 to 100 miles south-east of the strategic airfield of Chushul; and Jara la eight miles north-east of Damchok. Before they withdrew the Indian troops destroyed all stocks and stores which they could not carry. Indian casualties in all the sectors were estimated to be between 2,000 to 2,500.

Kennedy and MacMillan offered their assistance to India to meet the Chinese aggression.

October 30: With an overwhelming strength of artillery and mortars, the Indian troops recaptured Jang which they had lost to the Chinese on the 26th. In the Lohit valley Walong was bravely defended in the face of repeated Chinese attacks. In the Dhola area near Tawang Chinese were able to put increased pressure because of their lines of communication.

Queen Elizabeth declared that her government is prepared to do what India demands.

U.S. assailed Pakistan on its spiteful stand on west arms aid to India.

October 31: A comparative lull in NEFA and Ladakh: Indian troops continued shelling newly set up Chinese post in the Jang area in their bid to recapture Tawang a Monastery town which the Chinese had captured on the 25th.

November 1: Chinese troops fired with mortars at Indian patrols in the Jang area east of Tawang, without any casualties. There was no change in the situation near Walong at the other end of NEFA. Position remained same in Ladakh.

Nassar forwarded four point proposals to end India-China border fighting.

November 2: Uneasy calm continued in the fighting in NEFA and Ladakh except some exchange of fire in the vicinity of Walong in the Lohit division of NEFA.

Massive airlift of U.S. weapons to India began. Prof. J. K. Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador in India announced that planes with arms would be coming in at regular interval. With C-135s, America's fastest and newest Jets would be flying this equipment.

Nesser's formula that China should withdraw its troops on the Sino-Indian border, to positions they had held before September 8 was rejected by Peking.

November 3: U.S. arms consisting of light infantry equipment started arriving in Calcutta.

November 4: Reports of Indian forces taking back three hamlets situated between Jang and Tawang. In the Chushul area in Ladakh one of Indian transport planes was fired at at by the Chinese with small arms.

Pakistan protested vigorously against the proposed sale of arms by Turkey to India.

The prime minister announced the decision to form a national defence council.

November 5: Chinese captured Daulat Beg Oldi near Karakorum pass and two miles west of the Chinese 1960 claim line.

With the capture of Daulat Beg Oldi Chinese occupy all claimed areas in Ladakh.

November 6: Chinese concentrate a heavy reinforcement, few miles from Chushul, thus threatening the Chushul airstrip in Ladakh, the highest in the world.

In the Subansir division in NEFA the Chinese troops and Indian patrols exchanged fire.

In Walong eastern corner of NEFA, Chinese tried to approach an Indian post but were forced to retreat in the face of strong Indian firing.

The government of India set up a 30 member national defence council. Prime minister Nehru is the Chairman of the Council.

November 7: One thousand Indian soldiers who were mistaken as dead returned to base. Chinese pressure continued in Walong in the Lohit division in NEFA and near Chushul in Ladakh.

Mr. Krishna Menon bows out to popular demand, with the acceptance of his resignation by the prime minister.

Premier Chou makes new proposal of withdrawing his troops 20 kilometers north of the McMahon line in the eastern sector. In the Ladakh region Cou En-lai says that the line of actual control coincides in the main with the traditional customary line.

In the meantime Chinese

build-up continued near Chushul.

In the Walong area in NEFA Chinese reinforced their positions.

November 8: Chinese step up their offensive with mortars and automatic weapons at Walong from the north and north-east to capture the town from surrounding hills to gain access to the strategic Lohit river valley. In one of these clashes 15 Chinese were killed. The Indian casualties were one killed and two wounded.

In the Ladakh area Chinese build up consisted of members of troops, heavy equipment including tanks.

November 9: India troops shell Mrol in the Tawang area in NEFA. Chinese concentrate their troops in the three areas viz., Chushul in Ladakh, Tawang valley in the west of NEFA and in the vicinity of Walong in the Lohit division near Burma border.

India promised arms from France.

November 13 & 14: Freezing weather in the Himalayas, created a lull in the fighting. The temperature near Chushul in Ladakh was reported to be 30 degrees centigrade below zero. In NEFA it is a few degrees below zero.

The appointment of Shri Y. B. Chavan as the union defence minister was announced.

—From *UNITED ASIA* December 1962.



## II. UNILATERAL CEASE-FIRE BY CHINA

*Statement given by the Chinese government, 21 November 1962.*

In the past two years, first in the western and then in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border. Indian troops crossed the line of actual control between China and India, nibbled Chinese territory, set up strong points for aggression and provoked a number of border clashes. Relying on the advantageous military positions they had occupied and having made full preparation, the Indian troops eventually launched massive armed attacks all along the line on the Chinese frontier guards on October 20. This border conflict deliberately provoked by India has been going on for a month.

The Chinese government served repeated warnings in regard to the increasingly serious Indian encroachments and provocations, and pointed out the gravity of their consequences. The Chinese frontier guards all along maintained maximum self-restraint and forbearance in order to avert any border conflict. However, all these efforts by China proved of no avail, and the Indian acts of aggression steadily increased. Pressed beyond the limits of endurance and left with no room for retreat, the Chinese frontier guards finally had no choice but to strike back resolutely in self-defence. After the present large-scale border conflict broke out, the Chinese government quickly

took the initiative measures in an effort to extinguish the flames of conflict that had been kindled. On October 24, that is, four days after the outbreak of the current border clashes, the Chinese government put forward three reasonable proposals for stopping the border clashes, reopening peaceful negotiations and settling the Sino-Indian boundary question. The three proposals are as follows:

1. Both parties affirm that the Sino-Indian boundary question must be settled peacefully through negotiations. Pending a peaceful settlement, the Chinese government hopes that the Indian government will agree that both parties respect the line of actual control between the two sides along the entire Sino-Indian border, and armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres from this line and disengage.

2. Provided that the Indian government agrees to the above proposal, the Chinese government is willing, though consultation between the two parties to withdraw its frontier guards in the eastern sector of the border to the north of the line of actual control and India undertake not to cross the line of actual control, i.e., the traditional customary line, in the middle and western sectors of the border.

Matters relating to the disengagement of the armed forces of the two parties and the cessation of armed conflict shall be negotiated by officials designated by the Chinese and Indian governments respectively.

3. The Chinese government considers that, in order to seek a friendly settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, talks should be held once again by the prime ministers of China and India. At a time considered to be appropriate by both parties the Chinese government would welcome the Indian prime minister to Peking, if this should be inconvenient to the Indian government, the Chinese premier would be ready to go to Delhi for talks.

On the very day it received them, the Indian government hastily rejected the Chinese government's three proposals and insisted that the Chinese government should agree to restore the state of the boundary as it prevailed prior to September 8, 1962, that is to say, India wanted to re-occupy large tracts of Chinese territory so that the Indian troops might regain the position from which they could launch massive armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards at any time. In his reply to premier Chou En-lai dated November 14, prime minister Nehru put forward an even more unreasonable demand, which, on the one hand, required the Chinese government to agree to the Indian

troops reverting to their positions prior to September 8, and, on the other hand, required the Chinese frontier guards not only to withdraw to their position as on September 8, but to retreat farther in the western sector to the so-called position of November 7, 1959, as defined for them by India unilaterally, that is, requiring China to cede five or six thousand square miles (13 to 14 thousand kilometres) more of Chinese territory. In the meantime the Indian government relying on large amount of U.S. military aid, again launched powerful attacks in the eastern and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border in an obstinate attempt to expand the border conflict.

It is by no means accidental that the Indian government has taken such an extremely unreasonable attitude. To meet the needs of its internal and external politics, the Indian government has long pursued policy of deliberately keeping the Sino-Indian boundary question unsettled, keeping the armed forces of the two countries engaged and maintaining tension along the Sino-Indian border. Whenever it considered the time favourable, the Indian government make use of this situation to carry out armed invasion and provocation on the Sino-Indian border and even went to the length of provoking an armed clash. Or else, it made use of the situation to conduct cold war against China. The

experience of many years shows that the Indian government has invariably tried by hook or by crook to block the path which was opened by the Chinese government for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. This policy of the Indian government runs diametrically counter to the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples and the common desires of all the peoples of the world and serves only the interests of imperialism.

The Chinese government's three proposals are most fair and reasonable; they are the only proposals capable of averting border clashes, ensuring border tranquility and bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese government perseveres in these three proposals. However, the Indian government has so far rejected these proposals and continued to expand the border conflict, thus daily aggravating the Sino-Indian border situation. In order to reverse this trend the Chinese government has decided to take initiative measures in order to promote realization of these three proposals.

The Chinese government hereby declares the following:

1. Beginning from the day following that of the issuance of the present statement, i.e., from 00.00 hours on November 22, 1962, the Chinese frontier guards

will cease fire along the entire Sino-Indian border.

2. Beginning from December 1, 1962, the Chinese frontier guards will withdraw to positions 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control which existed between China and India on November 7, 1959.

In the eastern sector, although the Chinese frontier guards have so far been fighting back in self-defence on Chinese territory north of the traditional customary line, they are prepared to withdraw from their present positions to the north of the line of actual control, that is, north of the illegal McMahon line, and to withdraw 20 kilometres farther back from that line.

In the middle and western sectors the Chinese frontier guards will withdraw 20 kilometres from the line of actual control.

3. In order to ensure the normal movement of the inhabitants in the Sino-Indian border area, forestall the activities of saboteurs and maintain order there, China will set up check-posts. The Chinese government will notify the Indian government of the location of these check-posts through diplomatic channels.

These measures taken by the Chinese government on its own initiative demonstrate its great sincerity for stopping the border

conflict and settling the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully. It should be pointed out in particular that after withdrawing, the Chinese frontier guards will be far behind their positions prior to September 8, 1962. The Chinese government hopes that as a result of the above mentioned initiative measures taken by China, the Indian government will take into consideration the desires of the Indian people and peoples of the world, make a new start and give a positive response. Provided that the Indian government agrees to take corresponding measures, the Chinese and Indian governments can immediately appoint officials to meet at places agreed upon by both parties in the various sectors of the Sino-Indian border to discuss matters relating to the 20 kilometres withdrawal of the armed forces of each party to form a demilitarized zone, the establishment of check posts by each party on its side of the line of actual control as well as the return of captured personnel.

When the talks between the officials of the two parties have yielded results and the results have been put into effect, talks can be held by the prime ministers of the two countries for further seeking an amicable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese government would welcome the Indian prime minister to Peking, if this should be inconvenient to the Indian government the Chi-

nese premier would be ready to go to Delhi for the talks.

The Chinese government sincerely hopes that the Indian government will make a positive response. Even if the Indian government fails to make a response in good time, the Chinese government will take the initiative to carry out the above mentioned measures as scheduled.

However, the Chinese government cannot but take into account the following possible eventualities: (1) that the Indian troops should continue their attack after the Chinese frontier guards have ceased fire and when they are withdrawing; (2) that after the Chinese frontier guards have withdrawn 20 kilometres from the entire line of actual control, the Indian troops should again advance to the line of actual control in the eastern sector, i.e., the illegal McMahan line and/or refuse to withdraw but remain on the line of actual control in the middle and western sectors; and (3) that after the Chinese frontier guards have withdrawn 20 kilometres from the entire line of actual control, the Indian troops should cross the line of actual control, and recover the positions prior to September 8, that is to say, again cross the illegal McMahan line and reoccupy the Kechilang river area, north of the line in the eastern sector reoccupy Wugi in the middle sector and restore their 43 strong points for aggres-

sion in the Chip-Chap river valley, the Galwan river valley the Pangong Lake area, and the Demchok area or set up more strong points for aggression on Chinese territory in the western sector. The Chinese government solemnly declares that should the above eventualities occur, China reserves the right to strike back in self-defence, and the Indian government will be held completely responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom. The people of the world will then see even more clearly who is peace-loving and who is bellicose, who upholds friendship between the Chinese and the Indian peoples and Asian-African solidarity, and who is undermining them, who is protecting the common interests of the Asian and African peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and who is violating and damaging these common interests.

The Sino-Indian boundary question is an issue between two Asian countries. China and India should settle this issue peacefully; they should not cross swords on account of this issue, and even less allow U.S. imperialism to poke in its hand and develop the present unfortunate border conflict into a war in which Asians are made to fight Asians. It is from its consistent stand of protecting the fundamental rights of the Chinese and Indian people, strengthening Asian-African solidarity and preserving world peace that the Chinese government has, after considering the matter over and over, decide to take important measures. The Chinese government calls upon all Asian and African countries and all peace-loving countries and people to exert efforts to urge the Indian government to take corresponding measures so as to stop the border conflict, reopen peaceful negotiation and settle the Sino-Indian boundary question.

—G. O. I. White Paper No. VIII

### III. COLOMBO PROPOSALS

*The following is the text of the proposals of six non-aligned nations Conference held at Colombo from December 10 to 12, 1962.*

1. The conference considers that the existing *de facto* cease-fire period is a good starting point for a peaceful settlement of the Indian-Chinese conflict.

2. (a) With regard to the western sector, the conference would

like to make an appeal to the Chinese government to carry out their 20 kilometres withdrawal of their military posts as had been proposed in the letters of prime minister Chou En-lai to prime minister Nehru of November 21 and November 28, 1962.

(b) The conference would make an appeal to the Indian government to keep their existing military position.

(c) Pending a final solution of the border dispute, the area vacated by the Chinese military withdrawals will be a demilitarized zone to be administered by civilian posts of both sides to be agreed upon, without prejudice to the rights of the previous presence of both India and China in that area.

3. With regard to the eastern sector, the conference considers that the line of actual control in the areas recognised by both the governments could serve as a cease fire line to their respective positions. Remaining areas in this sector can be settled in their future discussions.

4. With regard to the problems of the middle sector, the conference suggests that they will be solved by peaceful means, without resorting to force.

5. The conference believes that these proposals, which could help in consolidating the cease-fire, once implemented, should pave the way for discussions between representatives of both parties for the purpose of solving problems entailed with cease-fire position.

6. The conference would like to make it clear that a positive response for the proposed appeal will not prejudice the position of either of the two governments as regards its conception of the final alignment of the boundaries.

## Clarifications :

*The following is the text of the clarifications of paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 of the Colombo conference proposals given by the delegations of Ceylon, U.A.R. and Ghana at the request of the Government of India :*

*Western sector:* (i) The withdrawal of Chinese forces proposed by the Colombo conference will be 20 kilometres as proposed by prime minister Chou En-lai to prime minister Nehru in the statement of the Chinese government dated 21 November and in prime minister Chou En-lai's letter of November 28, 1962, i.e.

from the line of actual control between the two sides as of November 7, 1959, as defined in maps III and V circulated by the government of China.

(ii) The existing military posts which the forces of the government of India will keep to will be on and upto the line indicated in (i) above.

(iii) The demilitarized zone of 20 kilometres created by Chinese military withdrawals will be administered by civilian posts of both sides. This is a substantive part of the Colombo conference proposals. It is as to the location, the number of posts and their composition that there has to be an agreement between the two governments of India and China.

*Eastern sector :* The Indian forces can, in accordance with the Colombo conference proposals move right upto the south of the line of actual control, i.e., the McMahon line, except for the two areas on which there is difference of opinion between the governments of India and China. The Chinese forces similarly can move right upto the north of

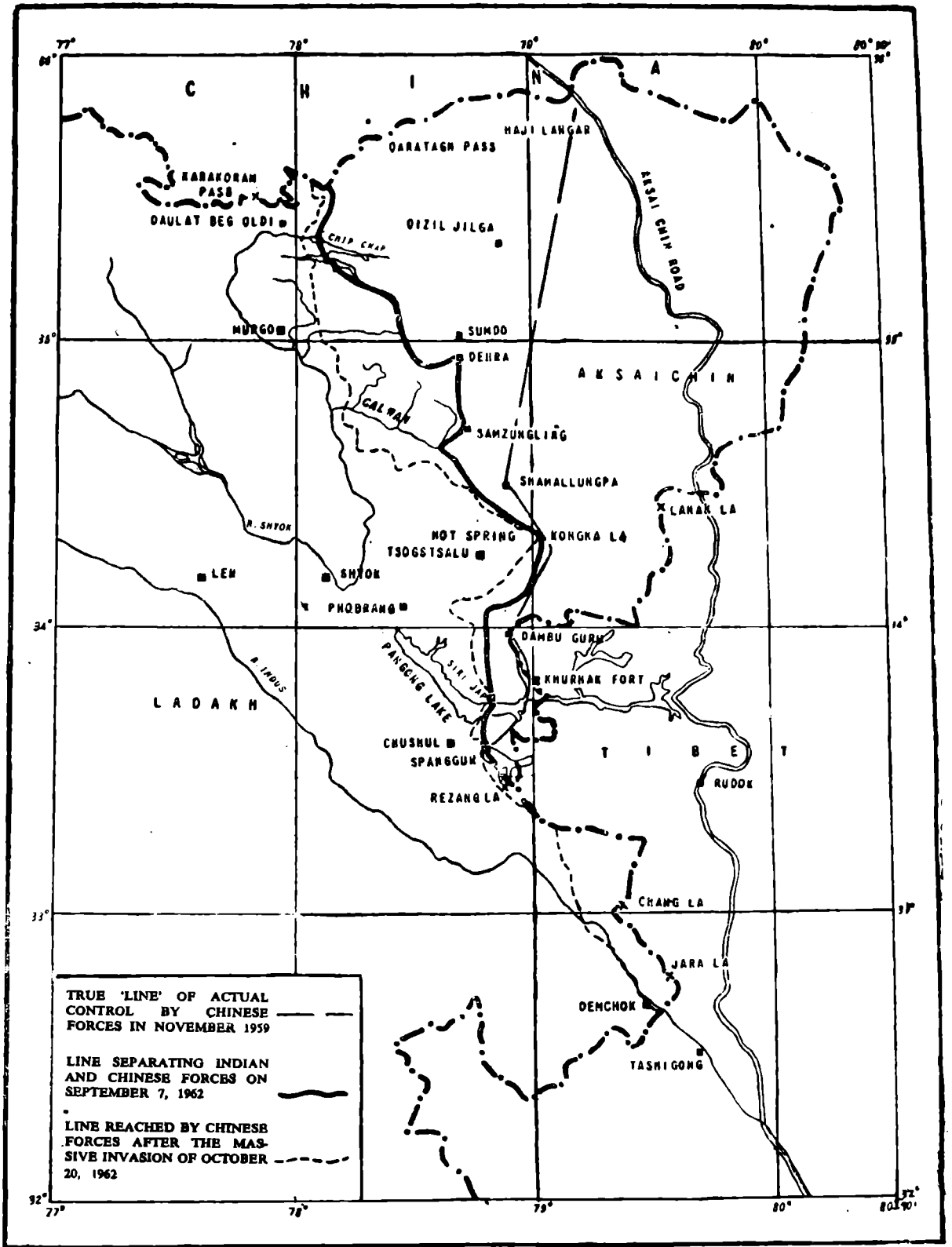
the McMahon line except for these two areas. The two areas referred to as the remaining areas in the Colombo conference proposals, arrangements in regard to which are to be settled between the governments of India and China, according to the Colombo conference proposals, are Chedong or the Thagla Ridge area and the Longju area, in which cases there is a difference of opinion as to the line of actual control between the two governments.

*Middle sector :* The Colombo conference desired that the status quo in this sector should be maintained and neither side should do anything to disturb the *status quo*.

—G. O. I. White Paper No. IX

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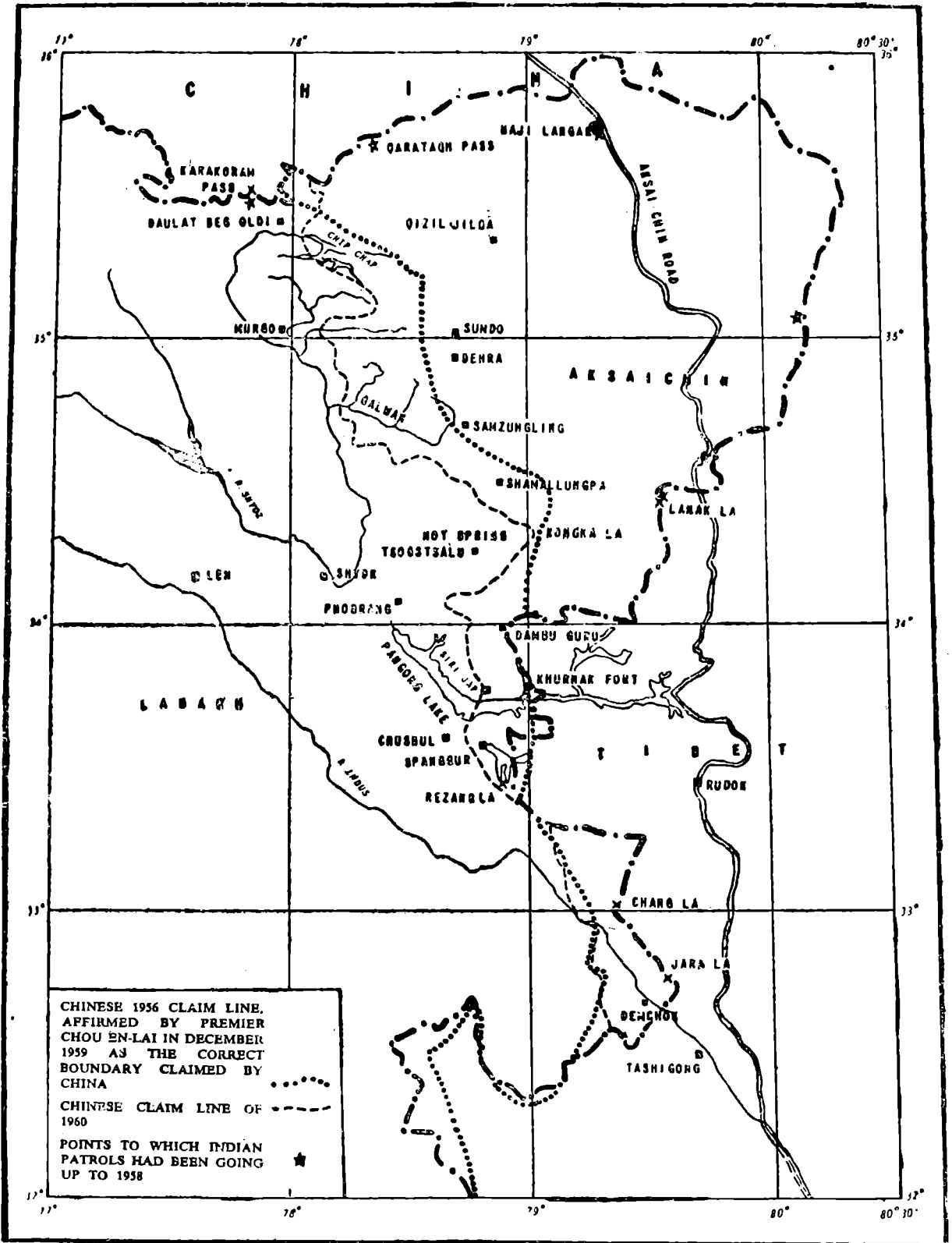
**MAP 1**  
**LINE SEPARATING INDIAN AND CHINESE FORCES ON**  
**7 SEPTEMBER 1962 IN WESTERN SECTOR**





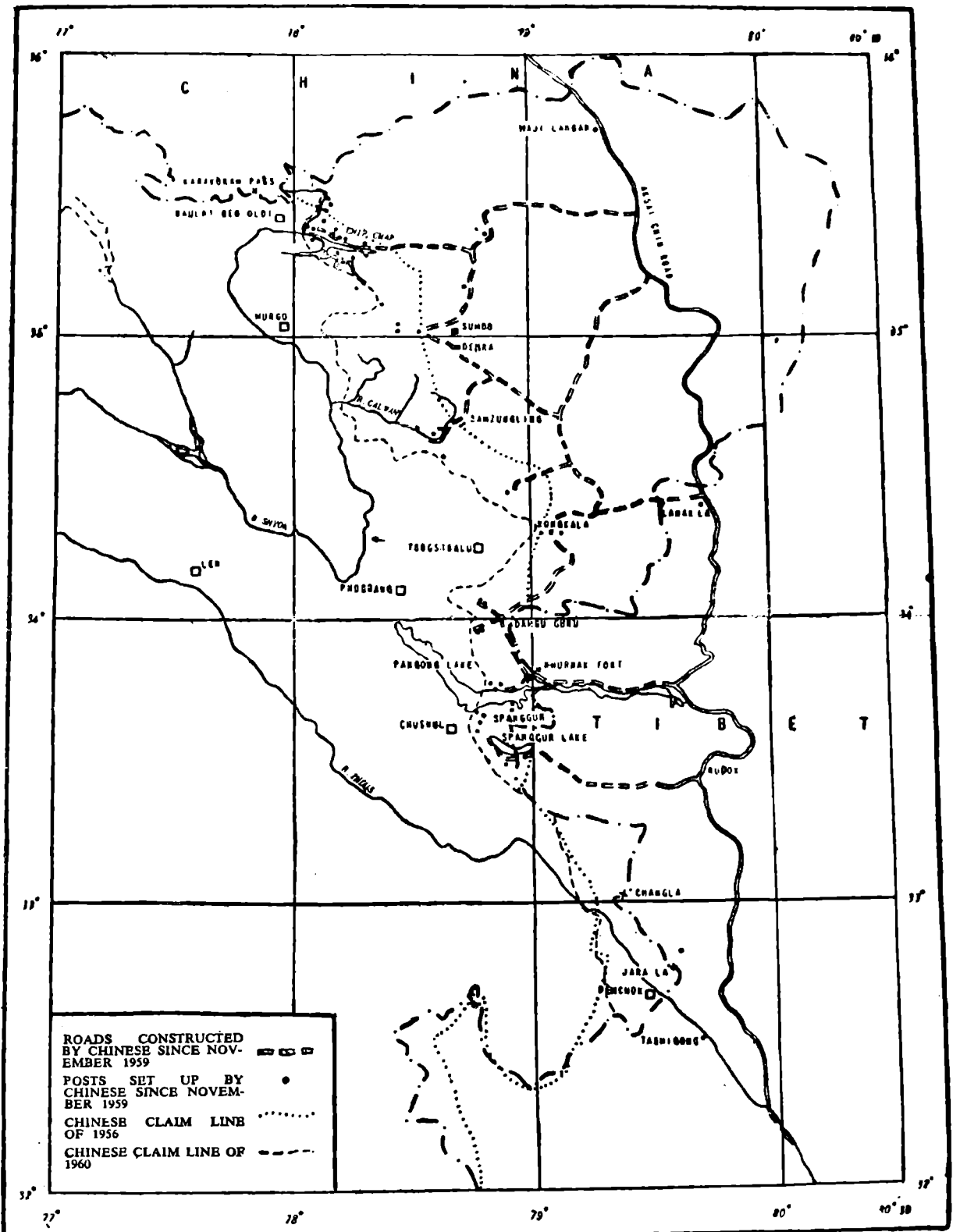
# MAP 2

## CHINESE CLAIM LINES OF 1956 AND 1960 IN WESTERN SECTOR

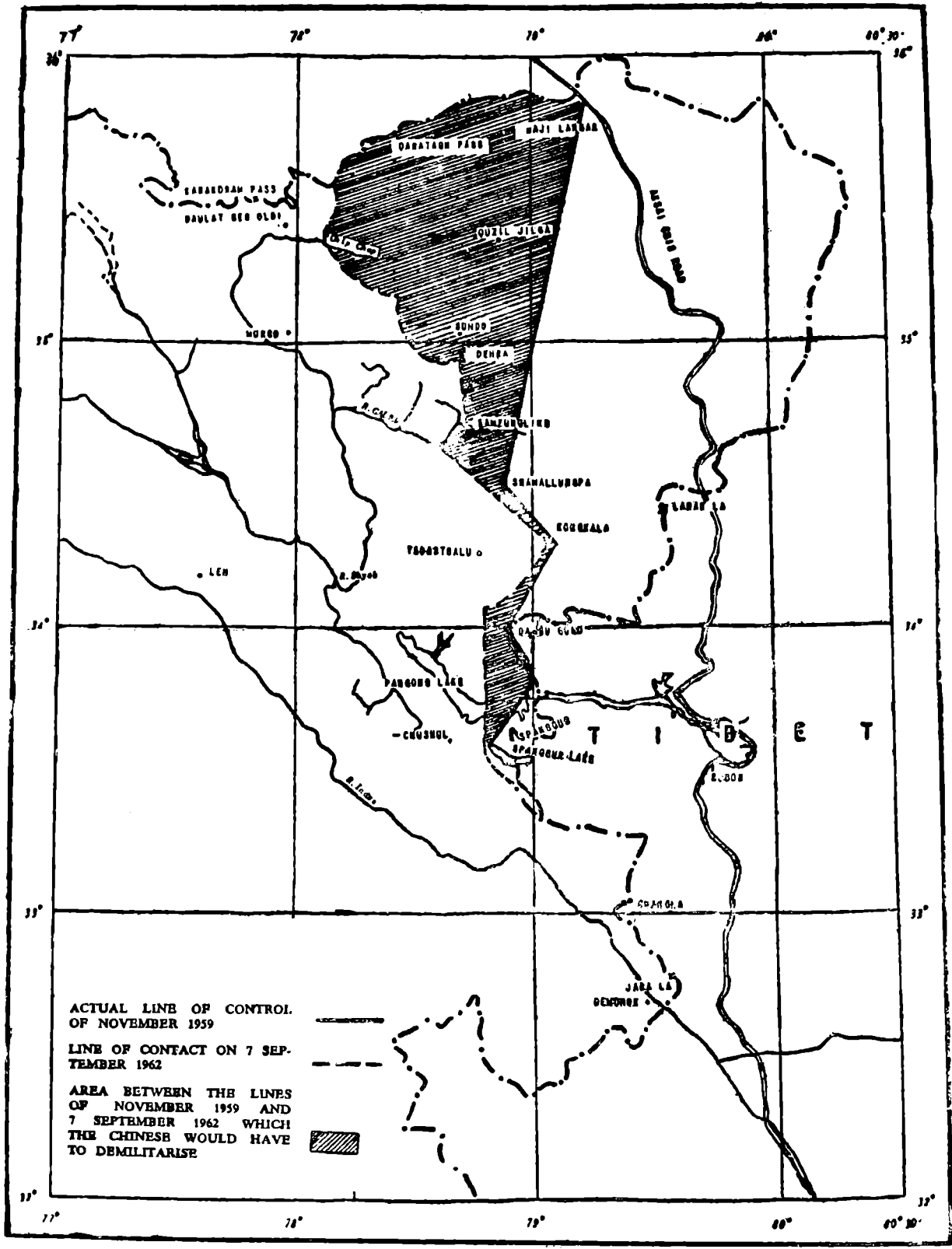


### MAP 3

## ROADS CONSTRUCTED AND POSTS SET UP ILLEGALLY BY CHINESE SINCE NOVEMBER 1959 IN WESTERN SECTOR

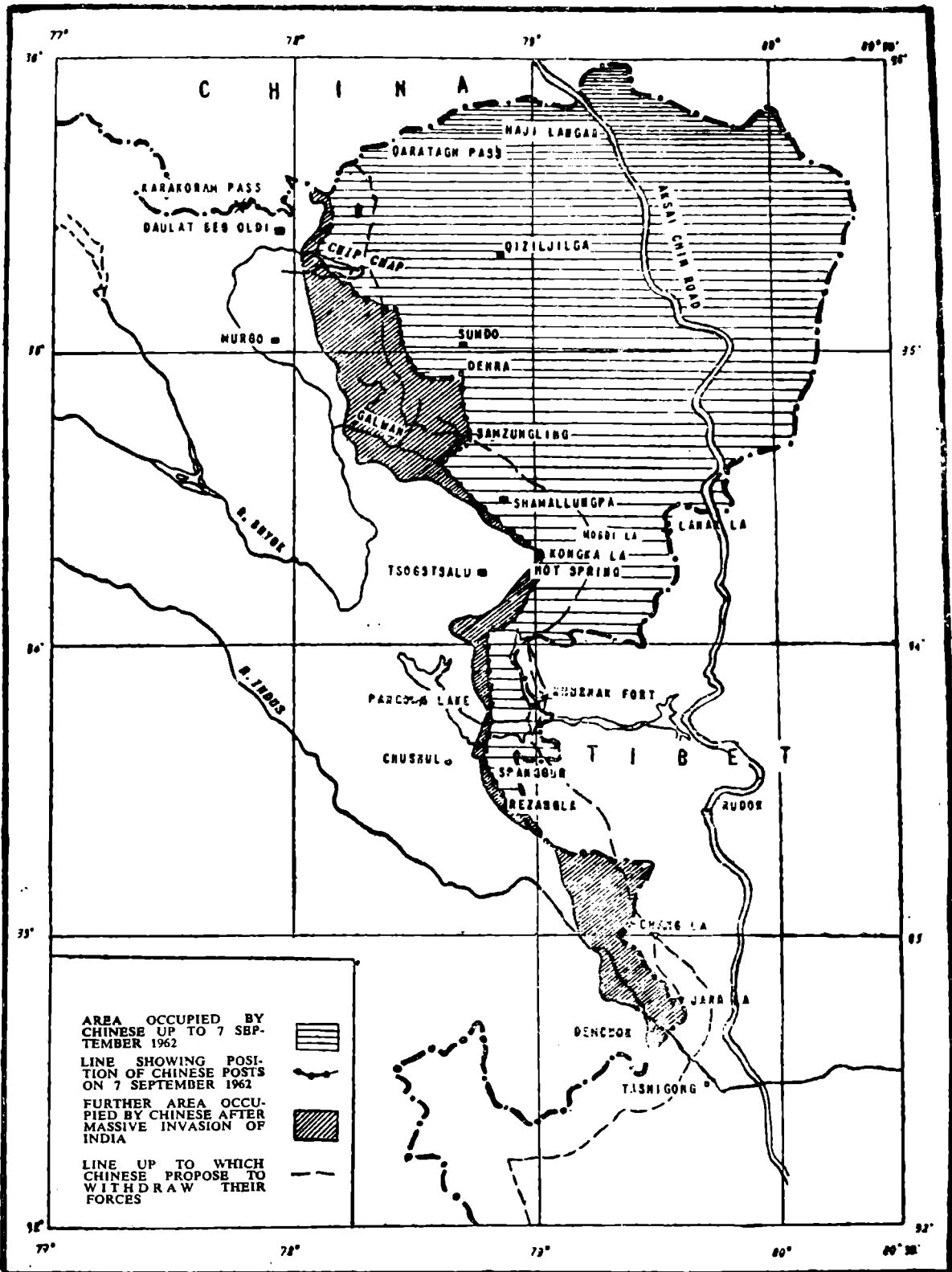


**MAP 4**  
**LINE OF ACTUAL CONTROL IN NOVEMBER 1959 AND**  
**SEPTEMBER 1962 IN WESTERN SECTOR**



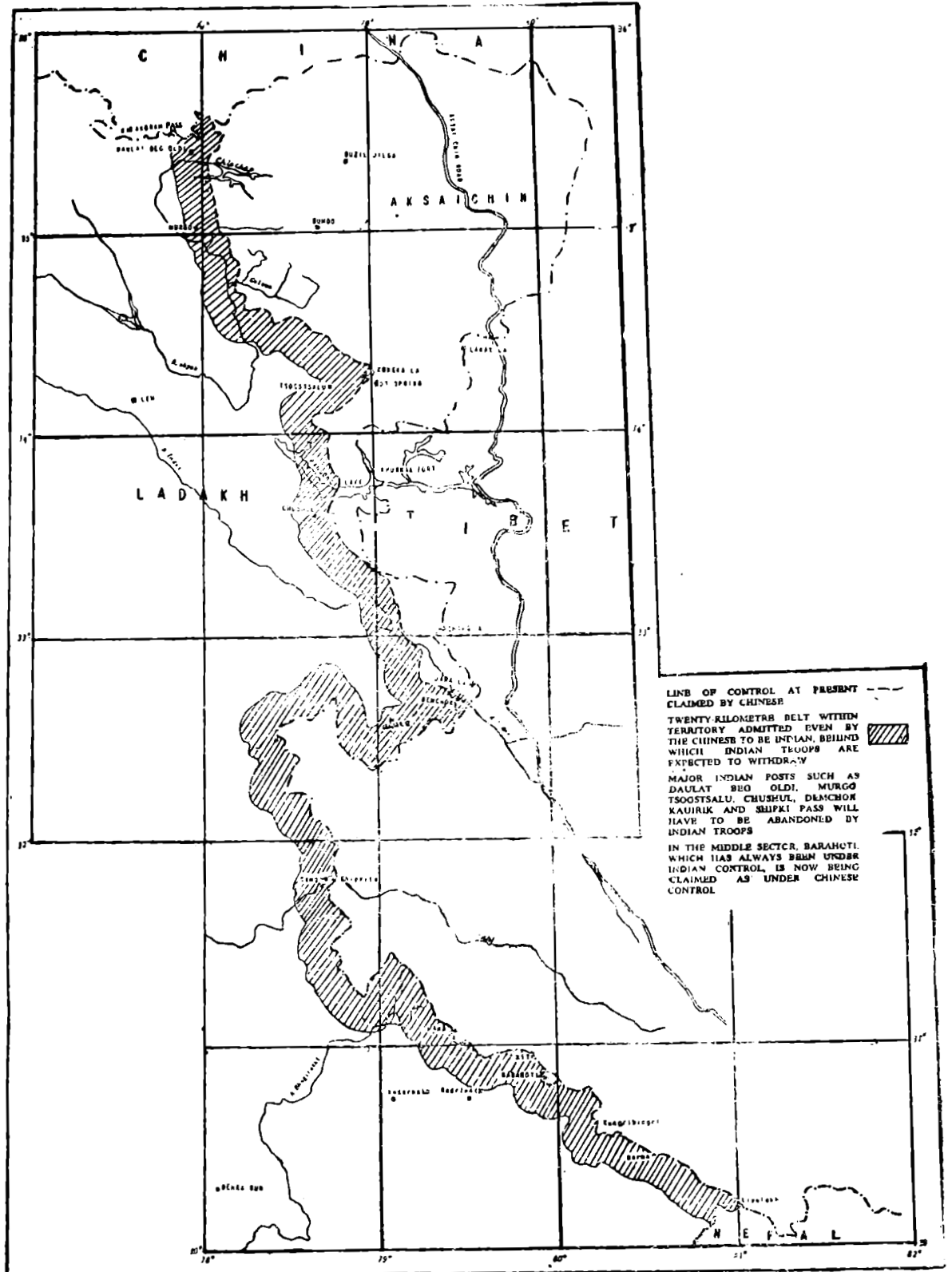
# MAP 5

## CHINESE ADVANCES BEFORE 8 SEPTEMBER 1962 AND AFTER 8 SEPTEMBER 1962 IN WESTERN SECTOR, AND AREA WHICH THEY ARE PREPARED TO DEMILITARISE



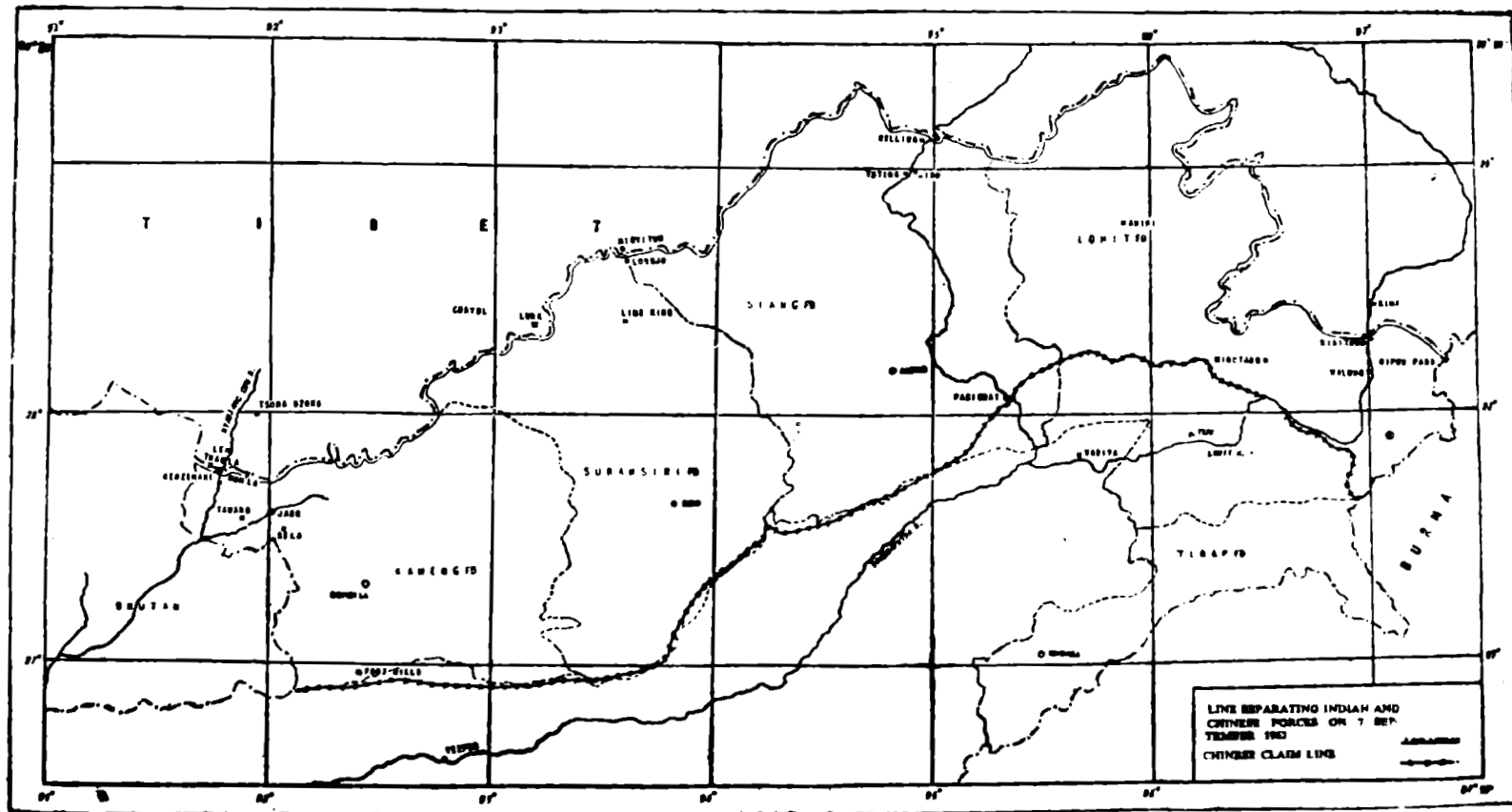
# MAP 6

## EXTENT OF INDIAN TERRITORY AND INDIAN POSTS TO BE EVACUATED BY INDIAN FORCES IN WESTERN AND MIDDLE SECTORS UNDER CHINA'S THREE-POINT PROPOSAL



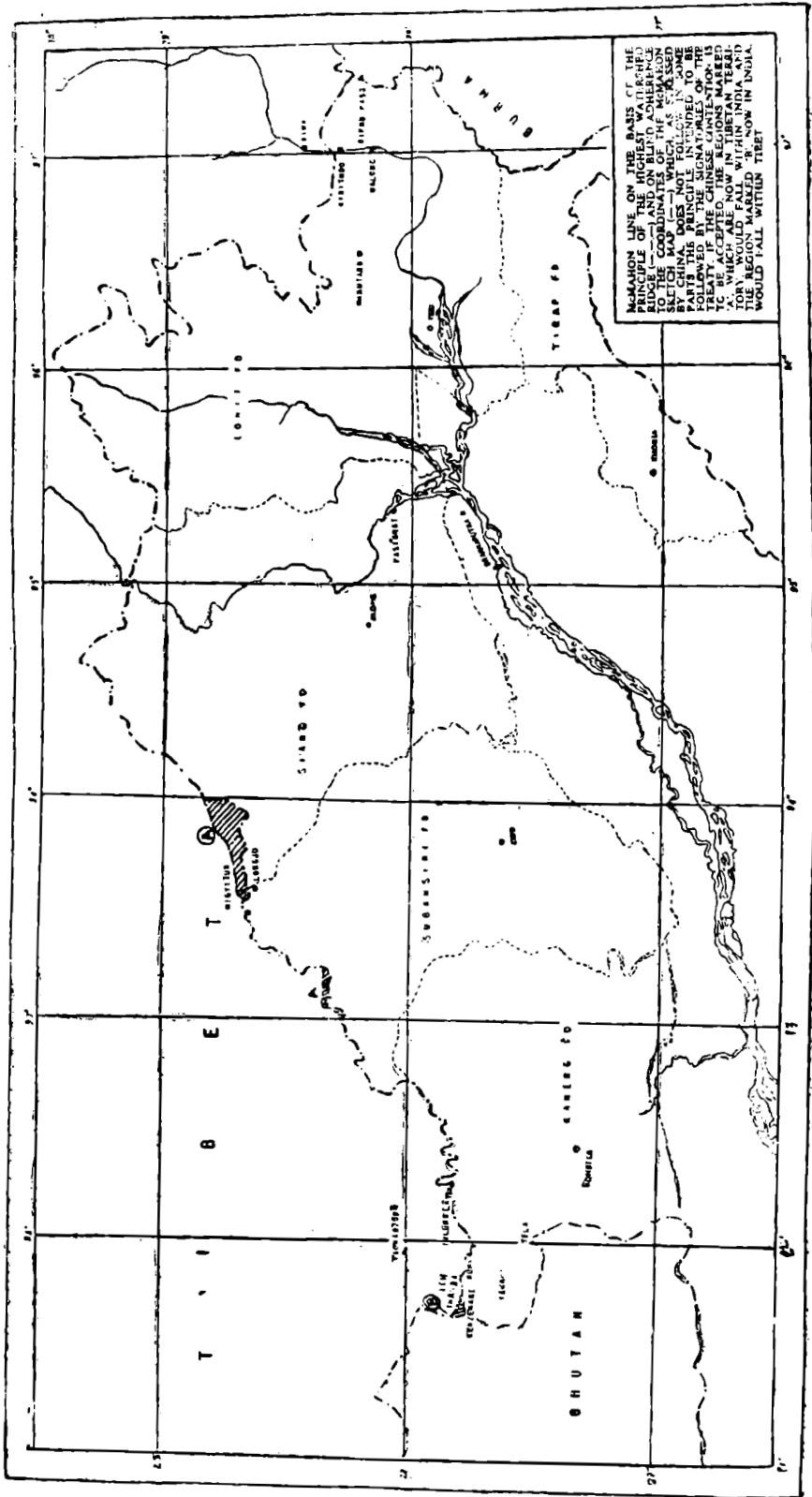
# MAP 7

## LINE SEPARATING INDIAN AND CHINESE FORCES ON 7 SEPTEMBER 1962 IN EASTERN SECTOR

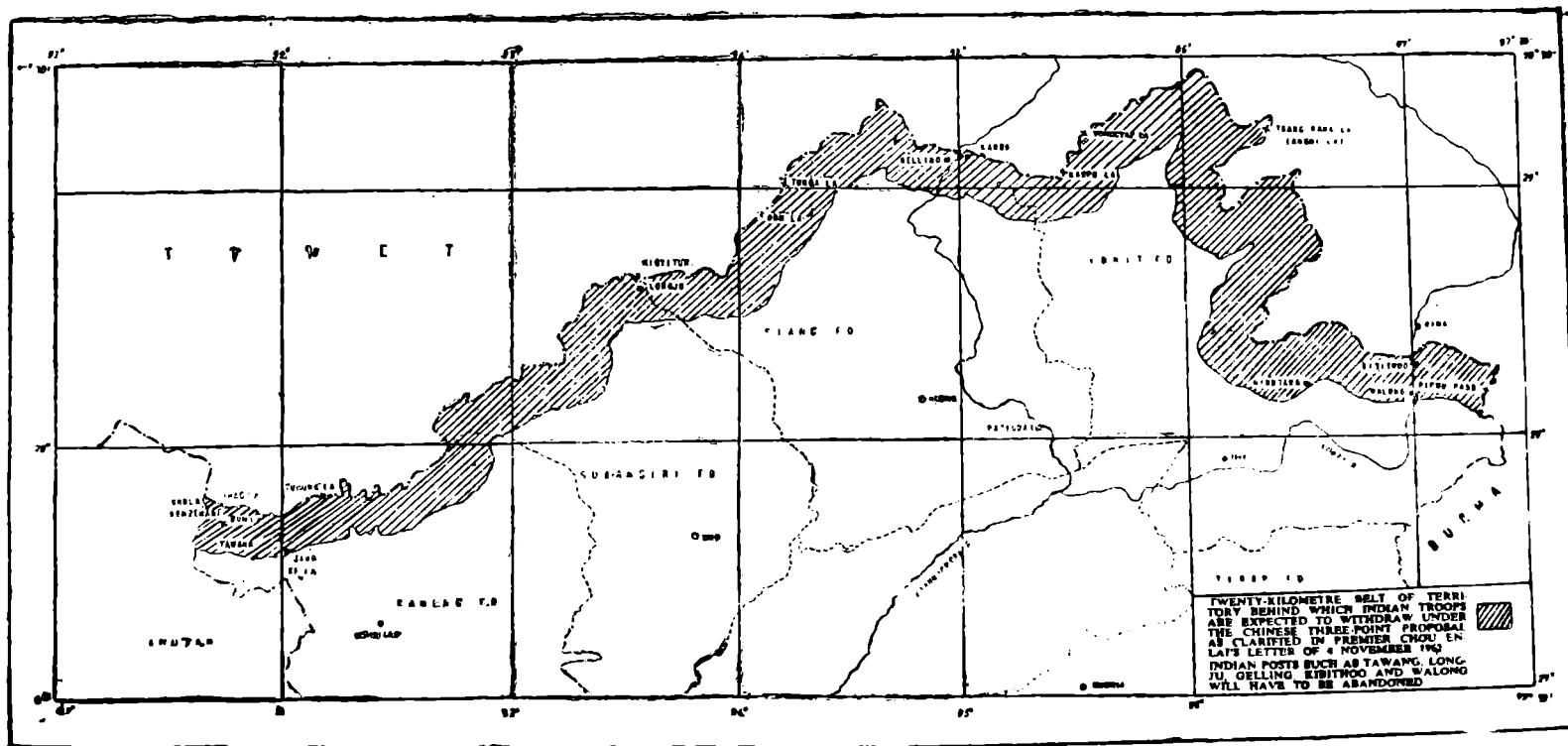


LINE SEPARATING INDIAN AND  
CHINESE FORCES ON 7 SEP  
1962  
CHINESE CLAIM LINE

# MAP 8 THE McMAHON LINE

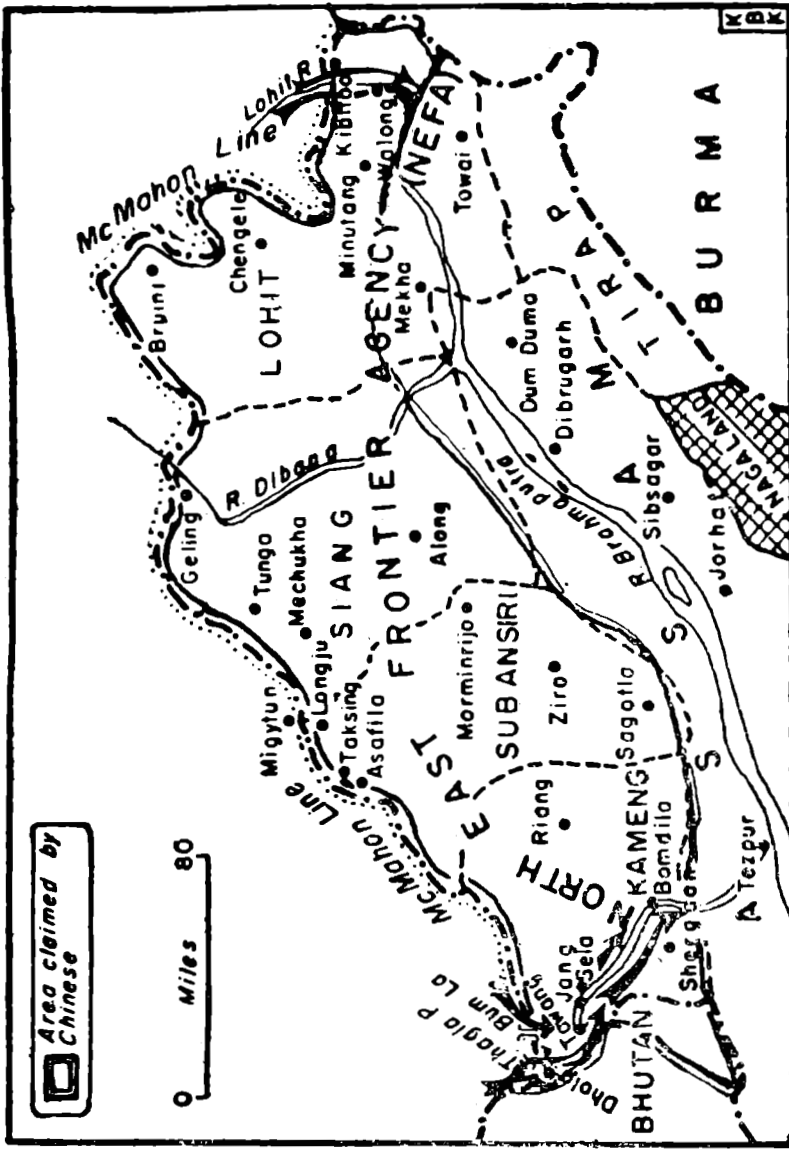


**MAP 9**  
**EXTENT OF INDIAN TERRITORY AND INDIAN POSTS TO BE**  
**EVACUATED BY INDIAN FORCES IN EASTERN SECTOR**  
**UNDER CHINA'S THREE-POINT PROPOSAL**

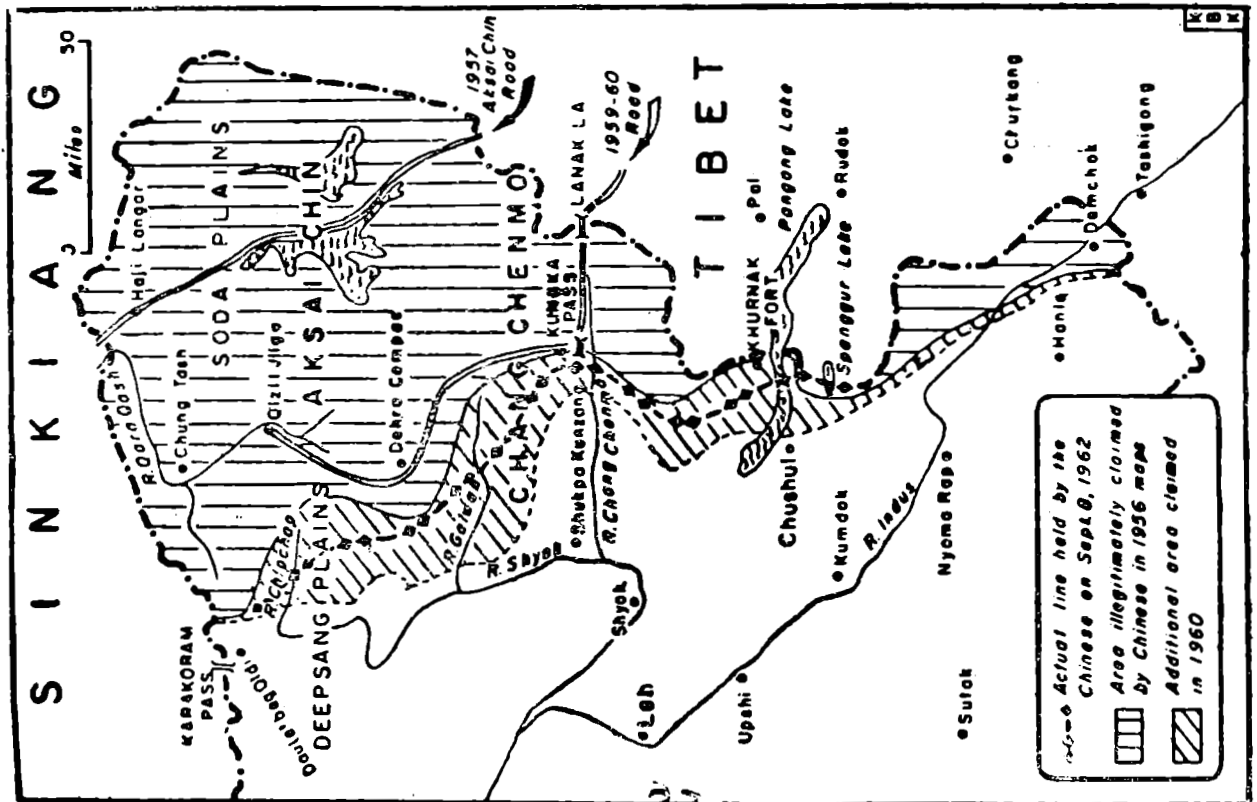




MAP 11



MAP 10



[ Maps 1 to 9 are reproduced from "Chinese aggression in maps", Publications division, Government of India, and Maps 10 and 11 from "India accepts The Challenge," issued by Afro-Asian Council, New Delhi.]

27 SEP 1962

