



**Indian Parliament on the issue of  
Tibet**

**LOK SABHA DEBATES**

**1952 -2005**



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## **Publisher's Note**

Tibetan Parliamentary & Policy Research Centre is happy to bring out the compilation of debates, discussion and questions on Tibet or issues related to Tibet in both the houses of Indian Parliament in two volumes.

Through this publication, I wish to thank on behalf of the Tibetan people, the People and Government of India for their consistent sympathy, support and hospitality extended to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Refugees over the last 46 years and the hope that this will continue till we return to Tibet. Few exceptions are unavoidable.

We also remain ever grateful to all the Indian Policy makers for keeping the Tibetan issue alive, which also serves India's National Interest. We look forward to their continued support.

We hope this publication will come handy to researchers as well as activists as a ready reference. We have tried our best over the last two years to compile all available materials. However there may be oversight, for which we are totally responsible and we seek your valuable input to enable us to add and improve in our future publications.

We have tried to be as diligent and correct as possible to transcribe from the original sources.

I wish to thank the Library of the Indian Parliament and the Nehru Memorial Library for giving us access to the materials. I wish to thank Mr. Kunsang Rigzin for compiling the materials, Mr. Thupten Rinchen for transcribing, Mr. Tenzin Dawa for transcribing the Hindi portion and Mr. Choekyong Wangchuk for proofreading and editing the texts.

**Penpa Tsering**

Executive Director

Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre

New Delhi

**FRIEDRICH-NAUMANN-STIFTUNG**  
**&**  
**THE TIBETAN PARLIAMENTARY AND**  
**POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE**

The **Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung** (FNSt) established in 1958 is a non-profit organization for public benefit. It promotes the liberal principle of Freedom in Human Dignity in all sectors of society, both nationally as well as internationally, in developed as well as developing countries.

The Foundation is active in more than 75 countries. In the South Asian Region comprising the SAARC countries the Foundation's work encompasses projects concerned with support for economic liberalisation; fostering regional economic co-operation in South Asia; promotion of civic rights; and environmental protection. All these activities are carried out in co-operation with local, national and international NGOs, the emphasis being on self-reliance and the setting up of democratic institutions.

Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung in partnership with the **Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies** has set up the **Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre (TPPRC)** with the purpose of strengthening the Tibetan diaspora in building up a healthy democratic working ethos. The objective is to prepare the Tibetans in exile for the assumption of responsibilities that would respond to their hopes and aspirations through a framework of legislative, executive and judicial institutions based on the concept of the Tibetan polity guided by *Saddharma* and with a view to generating human values and considerations based on man's free will, equality, justice and non-violence. There is also the standing need to constantly remind the Tibetan diaspora of their national identity, culture and heritage and the global community of Tibet's unique contribution to the world of thought and culture.

Established in 1994, the Centre has already reached a very representative section of Tibetans residing in India and Nepal, encouraging them to get actively involved in their new democratic institutions and helping their leadership to formulate a vision for the future. Moreover, the Centre has a sound back-up programme of publications to disseminate information to build up national and international public opinion for the fulfillment of a just cause.

15 November 1950

Written Answers to Questions

### CHINESE INVASION OF TIBET

**\*43. Prof. K.T Shah:**

- (a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether the attention of the Government of India has been drawn to Press Reports about an invasion of Tibet by the Army of the People's Republic of China?
- (b) If so, what is the actual position?

**The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) On account of difficult communication, news from Tibet are meager. From information that we have obtained so far, we understand that the Chinese troops crossed the Dri Chu river, which is the boundary between China and Tibet, on 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1950 at a number of places. They are reported to have captured Chamdo, the capital of the Eastern Provinces of Kham and are said to be advancing towards Lhasa.

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6 December 1950

Written Answers to Questions

### MOTION RE. : INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister):** I should like to say a few words about our two other neighbouring countries, Tibet and Nepal. Some questions were asked earlier this morning in regard to the advance of the Chinese forces in Tibet. I could not give much information, nor can I give that information now. The story of Tibet so far as we are concerned in this matter is very simple. I am not going into past history. Ever since the People's Government of China talked about Tibet and about liberation of Tibet, our Ambassador- acting on our behalf- told them how we felt about it. We told them that we earnestly hope that this matter would be settled peacefully by China and Tibet. We told them that we had no territorial or political ambitions in regard to Tibet. We had trade and cultural relations, which naturally we would like to preserve, and they came in the way of nobody, neither Tibet nor China. We were interested in Tibet maintaining her autonomy which she had had for the last forty or fifty years at least. We did not challenge or deny the suzerainty of China over Tibet.

But, we did lay considerable stress on the autonomy of Tibet. So, we pointed out all these in a friendly way to the Chinese Government and in their replies, they always said that they would very much like to settle this peacefully but in any event they were going to liberate Tibet. It is not quite clear from whom they were going to liberate it. However, their replies made us to understand that a peaceful solution would be found, though I must say that they gave no assurance or guarantee about it to us. They always put the two together: "We are prepared for a peaceful solution; but anyhow we are going to liberate". So that, when we heard about their armies marching into Tibet, it did come as a surprise to us and a shock.

We had come to believe that the matter will be settled by peaceful negotiations. And indeed, one can hardly talk about war between China and Tibet. Tibet is not in a position to carry on a war. There is no threat from Tibet to China, obviously. They say, there might be foreign intrigues in Tibet which I do not know. Anyhow, there was no immediate threat. Violence might perhaps be justified in the modern world but naturally, one should not indulge in violence unless there is no other way. Well, there was a way in Tibet as we had pointed out. So it was a surprise.

The House knows and has seen the correspondence that was exchanged between the Chinese Government and our Government. Even so, we have gone on pressing them that it would be desirable to halt their advance and settle the matter peacefully with Tibetan representatives. As a matter of fact, there can be no doubt that for the last several weeks the main advance has been halted. But I cannot definitely say what they intend to do or whether some small groups have not gone in various directions or advanced in various directions. So far as we know, towards Lhasa there has been no advance and conditions in Lhasa at present are still normal. That, of course, does not solve the problem. All I can say is that I earnestly hope that even now, the Government of China will try to settle the matter peacefully.

**Prof. Ranga (Madras):** As the Foreign Minister was developing his subject this morning, I began to wonder what his conception could possibly be in regard to the strategic importance of the things that are happening all around us. Could he be indifferent to the gathering clouds of threats of insecurity to our own safety in our own country, to our much-prized liberties and freedom - threats which are all around us, especially in the north and north-east sides of our

country and our borders? It is very easy indeed for us to grow sentimental as well as eloquent whenever anything concerning Asia is mentioned to us. But can we be indifferent to the change that has been coming over the minds of large numbers of the leaders who are today in charge of great masses of geographical areas of the world, especially in the East? Can we be quite so confident that the China that we talk about is the same today as it used to be ten years ago, one hundred years ago, two thousand years ago when Lord Buddha's teachings were being carried to China through our missionaries? Chinese people, we have all great respect for them; Chinese people, we like to love them. But at the same time we should also realize who today are the leaders of the Chinese people. Who is in charge of the Chinese Government today? Could we be indifferent to the fact that only the other day it was none else than the Chinese Government which had hinted that India was the foreign power in Tibet which was supposed to be queering the pitch? Could we be also indifferent to the fact that China, the modern China, the present day China was sending her own troops in order to assert her sovereignty over Tibet? And in the mind of people on that side of the world, sovereignty makes no other meaning than expansion of their own control- political, economic and social over other peoples. Now, when we talk again and again of the sovereignty of the Chinese people over the Tibetan Government or country what is it that we are doing? Are we not giving a blank cheque to be signed on our behalf by somebody else in order to spread their own imperialist tentacles?

We should in all seriousness be prepared to realise the strength of the people who are there on that side in charge of that Government. True, the United Nations troops are bearing the brunt of their attack in Korea. Millions of people are supposed to have poured into Korea. It is something like an avalanchic sweep. Is it impossible for those people, under more or less similar circumstances, to pour into India too under the same pressure of ideological and imperialistic urges? Should we not keep these things in our mind?

Instead of that I found, to my utter surprise our Government and their spokesmen both in India as well as abroad, repeatedly professing their friendship not only to China's people, not only to the Chinese Government, but to China's sovereignty over Tibet. This beats anybody and everybody. These are days when we should be ready with the aid of the United Nations and other countries to counter this menace of sovereignty of one country over another. Instead of that we go about accepting it, admitting it and apologizing to it. This is one criticism that I am obliged to make against our foreign policy.

**Dr. S.P Mukherjee (West Bengal):** Along with China, we have to take up the question of Tibet because both are inter-linked. Now the Prime Minister naturally reminded the House of the part which India had played progressively in the matter of recognition of the legitimate rights of the present Chinese Government. How has China reciprocated? When it comes to the question of Tibet, there may or may not be some sort of loose suzerainty of China over Tibet, but historically this is not an easy a matter and yet, what is the reply that China sent to India, when India asked China not to proceed on the path of violence in the matter of Tibet? The reply that China has sent has shocked, surprised and has given sorrow to the Government of India. I do not know whether it has made any difference with regard to China's settled policy in respect of Tibet, but here again, what is the definite policy of the Government of India with regard to Tibet? The Prime Minister just glossed over it. He said: we have sent another request asking them to be peaceful, but has that made any difference? Just as in the case of Korea, each country for which this so-called liberation starts in the worst sufferer. It is like the old story of the operation being fully successful and the patient succumbing. The suffering of the people themselves are indescribable. Only in this morning's papers we had a graphic account of the last British Correspondent who left the North Korean capital, stating how he found the whole place burning, reminding him of some performances of Sir Guy Fawkes. Similarly with regard to Tibet, we sent frantic appeals to China asking her not to be violent but did China listen? What is the policy behind China's action? It is no use our trying to gloss over things because these are matters which affect not only the people of Tibet but also the security of India. It is fact that the boundary between India and Tibet is yet to be definitely defined. The Prime Minister said the other day that we stand by the Mac Mohan Line but the maps of China which are in circulation even now include portions of Assam, Ladakh and Leh and territories in which India is vitally interested. The reply which China has sent to India on the question of Tibet definitely indicates that China will do everything necessary for the purpose of keeping in tact what it considers to be China's border and when it refers to Chinese border, it includes Tibet as well and the undefined boundary of Tibet so far as it touches the Indian border.

Similarly with regard to Nepal, the Prime Minister spoke very calmly the whole time-he did not use strong words-a few strong sentences were however used by him, when he warmed up in connection with Nepal. We must follow a

patient policy with regard to Pakistan; we must follow a friendly policy with regard to China; we must follow surrendering policy with regard to Tibet but with regard to Nepal, we shall never allow any one not only to enter into Nepal-any foreign power-but also not allow anyone to go over to the other side of the Himalayas. It is perfectly true; we are interested in Nepal. It affects our security to a very considerable measure.

**Shri Manasi:** The second assumption on which I think we should reconsider our stand is our regards to the nature of the Chinese Communist regime. One year ago, when we recognised Communist China, it was possible to take two different views. There were those who argued that every Communist government must be a satellite of Soviet Russia and must be a predatory and imperialistic in character. There were others who argued that Communist China was a new government and should be given a chance to prove its own quality. And for one year this country has been Communist China's best friend. A year has passed and we are able to judge in what way our friendship has been reciprocated and whether she has lived up to her reputation of being a freedom-loving and democratic country.

Even this country has not received very much friendship. May I remind the House that some months ago, after we have shown our friendliness to Communist China, a message was sent by Mao Tse Tung to Ranadive, the Secretary of the Communist Party, which was engaged in trying to overthrow our Government by force-a message of greetings and good wishes "for the liberation" of India and their hope that India would soon go the Chinese way. When diplomatic relations were established between the two Governments, to sympathise with a Fifth Column working in this country certainly does not constitute an act of friendship. Therefore, it should not be a matter for surprise that we should also be attacked in the two notes that have been sent to us in the matter of Tibet. In fact, there is more than an insinuation in these Notes. There is a suggestion that we have been responsible for instigating the Tibetans to resist Chinese suzerainty. We know that is entirely false. If anything, our Prime Minister was trying to persuade the Tibetan leaders to accommodate the Chinese claims to suzerainty. I read a statement of the *New China News Agency* a few months ago that the "Anglo-American imperialists and their running dog, Pandit Nehru, were plotting a coup in Lhasa for the annexation of Tibet" (*Several Hon. Members:* Shame). If this is the reward that comes to this country from one year's of friendship and advocacy surely, the least what we can do is to reconsider our (estimate) of the Chinese Communist regime. What that (estimate) should be I will leave it to the Government of the day to decide. In the whole, we might maintain diplomatic relations with the Chinese Government on the basis of reciprocity, there can be no longer any illusions about friendship, about cordiality and about comradeship in Asia. By the one act of attacking Tibet and deceiving the Indian Government after their assurances given repeatedly, they have shown utter contempt for the idea that we embraced, namely, of a free and united Asia. They have cut Asia into two-Communist and non-Communist Asia. Those of us who are not prepared to go all the way with them must fall on the other side of the fence.

The Prime Minister has pointed out today, and the House welcomes his assurance, that we would not tolerate anyone crossing the Himalayas. We have been accustomed to look upon the Himalayas as our sentinels from ages past. I would like to cite here the words of the Poet Iqbal in that great poem:

*Sare Jahan Se Acha, Hindustan Hamara;  
Parvat Woh Sab Se Uncha Hamsaya Asman ka  
Woh Santri Hamara, Who Pasban Hamara.*

### ***The House adjourned till 7 December 1950***

**M.A. Ayyangar (Madras):** So far as our defences are concerned, we ought not to bite but we at least must hiss sometimes. If we do not hiss even, we will be trodden. Sir, it appeared that a saint advised a snake not to bite. It went on not biting and children threw stones at it and ultimately it was about to cost its very life. The serpent then went to the saint and asked, "What shall I do? It is costing me my life." The saint advised that it should at least hiss. The serpent was never advised not to hiss, but only not to bite. We found that with all our interest in China, with our recommendation that she ought to be taken into the U.N., China has marched on Tibet. Tibet is one of the most peace-loving countries in the world. Both by tradition and religion, Tibetans never waged war. In the European Continent they can have Switzerland. Can we not have a similar Switzerland in the form of Tibet to our North? What is this 'liberation'? As our Prime Minister rightly pointed out, there is no question of liberation. It is all a myth, it is a hoax. China ought not to have marched onto Tibet. Sir, as against the 450 millions of Chinese, if we with our 350 millions had armed ourselves and were ready for an offensive if necessary, China would not have ventured on Tibet. So far as our defences are concerned, we are not making all the necessary efforts. Possibly it has become impossible for us, or else the will is wanting. I am not

prepared to say whether it is the one or the other. In a world, where there is a race for armaments going on and there is an itching for fight everywhere, we, though do not enter the fight, should at least be on our guard. I should say that more than raising our armaments, we should if possible, unless all the people come into the U.N, enter into the pacts of non-aggression with our neighbouring countries. I am glad to say that our Prime Minister tried in this direction. He tried to enter into a non-aggression pact with Pakistan and wanted a no war declaration, but unfortunately it has been turned down. With respect to the other countries around us, our immediate neighbours, we must enter into non-aggression pacts with them. That is another precaution of safety. That is the way we ought to proceed. We shall be friends with all and enemies of none. That shall be the relentless policy that we should pursue.

**Prof. S.N Mishra:** Sir, I have found it suggested that expansionist or aggressive Communism, now poses a great strategic menace on our northern border. I do not think that the advance of Communist forces in Tibet should have been magnified to the extent it has been. Our Prime Minister-as a matter of fact, all the spokesmen of our foreign policy-never denied that China had the suzerainty over Tibet. Having conceded the basic thing, which you legally had to what is this unnecessary alarm? This is simply creating a sort of fear complex as my hon. friend sitting behind me told hon. Member, Mr. Frank Anthony while he was speaking; When we accept the suzerainty of China over Tibet, it was rather strange and I thought somewhat unnecessary that even the little hue and cry should have been raised over the movement of the Chinese forces into a certain part of Tibet. It seems to me there was absolutely nothing shady or subterranean about it. I want to put a question to the hon. the Prime Minister whether it is a fact that our Ambassador in Peking was informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August that they were going to take any action in Sikiang which is the outer part of Tibet. That report has not been contradicted so far. It is almost accepted that part of Tibet is an integral part of China. It is only the internal part of Tibet which has been considered to be autonomous. I think this point should have been clarified in the statement of the Prime Minister.

**Shri Jaochim Alva (Bombay):** About China, Sir, I want to say this much. There has been a warning of history. China and Japan were the greatest friends in history. One of the cardinal aims of the great Sun Yat Sen was that China and Japan shall not fight and that they should live in peace forever. But due to the intervention and manipulation of foreign powers both the countries were in deadly combat for nearly half a century so much so that today they hate each other. China and India shall never forget this historic lesson. India will have to be patient and if ever strife enters our soil, it shall be the end of all the power and greatness of Asia. These powers have to live as neighbours in love and friendship and if that love is torn to bits, we shall be engaged in a deadly combat more deadlier than has been experienced for over forty years between China and Japan. Today let us not fight; let us have patience. Napoleon once described China as a sleeping Giant. Whilst the Giant was asleep, his ears were bitten by some flies. When he was awake, he just drove them away. That is the lesson of Tibet.

China took over Tibet only after the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel was crossed and Pandit Nehru's warning in regard to the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel has been proved true, that if they have crossed the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel it would bring untold hardships to everybody. That warning has become the warning of history. This warning will be remembered very long years before you and I perhaps leave these benches. On account of the American crossing that Parallel came untold dangers; if the Parallel had not been crossed you might not have witnessed the spectacle of China being obsessed with fear and hence Tibet was invaded. China might not have been in a jittery state and the people in Tibet would not have asked for help.

**Shri Gautam (Uttar Pradesh):** Speaking about China I have not much to say in regard to her part in Korea. I do not find China in the wrong in the matter of her attitude in that behalf. In the matter of Tibet, however, I am of the view that China's attack on Tibet was an act of highhandedness. I do not admit the validity of treaties made in remote times under which China's suzerainty over Tibet was recognized. I do not feel bound to recognize them. On the other hand, I hold that Tibet is a free country with a separate entity of its own and that it does not form a part of China. It could have formed a part of imperialist China but not of the present Chinese Republic. Hence, I think that Tibet has and should continue to have the free right to retain her entity as a free and independent country. I do not feel myself bound to recognize China's claim to extend its dominion over that country by invoking old treaties. I maintain that Tibet must remain an independent country and must not come under the domination of China. This is all the more essential for the reason that there ought to be buffer state between our country and China. The existence of that buffer state would help us and other countries in the maintenance of peace in the world. Hence, I would submit that this question should be considered and China's claim on Tibet should not be conceded. China should be told to keep its hands off Tibet and not to try to extend its dominion over Tibet.



**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister):** About China, about Tibet more particularly, Prof. Ranga was somewhat displeased at my referring occasionally to the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. Please note that I used the word suzerainty not sovereignty. There is a slight difference, not much. I was telling the House of a historical fact; I was not discussing the future. It is a historical fact and in the context of things it is perfectly true that we have admitted repeatedly this Chinese suzerainty over Tibet just as we have laid stress on Tibet's autonomy. But, apart from this historical or legal or constitutional argument, or even the argument that Mr. Gautam raised about Buffer States and the like, which if I may say so is not much of an argument, -it may be his desire and my desire, but it is not an argument-the real point to be laid is that it is not right for any country to talk about its sovereignty or suzerainty over any area outside its own immediate range. That is to say, if Tibet is different from China, it should ultimately be the wishes of the people of Tibet that should prevail and not any legal or constitutional arguments. That I think is a valid point. Whether the people of Tibet are strong enough to do that or not is another matter. Whether we are strong enough or any other country is strong enough to see that is done is another matter also. But, it is a right and proper thing to say, and I see no difficulty in saying it to the Chinese Government that whether you have suzerainty over Tibet or sovereignty over Tibet, surely, according to any principles, principles you proclaim and the principles I proclaim, the last voice in regard to Tibet should be the voice of the people of Tibet and of nobody else.

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**9 February 1951**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETANS ENTERING INDIA**

**\*1324. Shri A.B Gurung:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state the number of Tibetans who have entered into India since the Chinese invasion of Tibet?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar):** Under the Passport Rules, Tibetans could enter India without any passport, visa or entry permit. Similar facilities were enjoyed by Indians entering Tibet. Hence, no record was kept of the considerable number of Tibetans who entered India during the last quarter of 1950. On the 26<sup>th</sup> December, 1950, orders were issued requiring Tibetans to obtain permits for entry and stay in India.

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**13 February 1951**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INDIAN CITIZENSHIP FOR TIBETANS**

**\*1404. Shri A.B Gurung:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Tibetans are treated as Foreigners; and
- (b) whether Tibetans settled in India can claim Indian citizenship?

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari):**

- (a) Till recently Tibetans were exempted from both passport and visa regulations and from the necessity of registering themselves under the Registration of Foreigners Rules. They are still exempt from passport and visa regulations but are required to register themselves
- (b) Yes, provided they satisfy the conditions laid down in Part II of the constitution or such future legislation as Parliament may enact.

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**14 February 1951**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **INDIAN INTERESTS IN TIBET (Negotiations with China)**

**\*1424. Prof. S.N. Mishra:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether negotiations have been conducted on diplomatic level with the Peking Government for safeguarding the India's political, cultural and commercial interests in Tibet as suggested in the last correspondence of the Peking Government; and
- (b) if so, the results thereof?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Kesar):**

(a) and (b) There has been no interference with our interests in Tibet and there is, therefore, no occasion to start any negotiations.

**S.N. Mishra:** May I know, Sir, what is the diplomatic practice at the present moment-whether we carry on diplomatic negotiations both with Dalai Lama and the Peking Government for the protection of Indian interests?

**The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** The question is not quite clear to me, but I will endeavour to answer it nevertheless. I do not quite know what the hon. Members means. We have had an Agent in Lhasa. He deals with any problem that arises in Lhasa. There are not many problems-very few. He keeps us informed and we keep him informed when any questions arises.

**S.N. Mishra:** May I know whether any of our political or commercial representatives is stationed in any part of Tibet, which is under occupation of the Chinese at the present moment?

**Jawaharlal Nehru (The Prime Minister):** No, Sir.

**Prof. Ranga:** What is the position, Sir, of the capital city of Lhasa itself? Has it passed into the hands of the Chinese or is it still in the hands of the Tibetans?

**Jawaharlal Nehru (The Prime Minister):** What the internal position is I cannot say- I mean the internal changes. But it continues as before. I think I made it clear on a previous occasion that the advance of any Chinese force was limited round about the border and, in fact, took place largely through a territory about which there was certain argument as to whether it belonged to China or to Tibet proper. They advanced there many months ago and since then there has been no major advance anywhere.

**Mr. Speaker:** I think it is better we do not go into much details over this question.

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14 February 1951

Oral Answers to Questions

### CHINESE INVASION OF TIBET

**\*1433. Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state how far Chinese forces have advanced into Tibet?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Kesar):** There has been no change since the reply given to Question No. 43 on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1950.

**Chailiha:** May I know whether the Chinese soldiers have come up to Rema and Woolung in the North Eastern frontier, whether that is known to the Government, and whether they have withdrawn from that area?

**Dr. Kesar:** If my hon. Friend had listened to the reply given in November 1950, it was stated then, that according to our information Chinese troops had entered the easternmost province of Tibet. It is in that area that our frontier town of Rema lies. It is quite natural that some Chinese soldiers should contact our frontier there.

**Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** May I know whether the advance has been stopped by the Tibetan resistance or due to any other reason?

**Dr. Kesar:** We have no definite information. But, from the facts it looks as though the advance or further penetration of Chinese has stopped. We ourselves have no definite information.

**Shri Sidhva:** What is the distance of our border from the town that the Chinese have occupied?

**Dr. Kesar:** We said that they have occupied the whole of one province-the eastern-most province-of Tibet. It is very difficult to say what is the point occupied by the Chinese.

**Shri Sidhva:** What is the distance between our border and the territory occupied by the Chinese?

**Dr. Kesar:** It is not a question of any border. The whole province was occupied

**Shri Chahila:** Is it not a fact that Rema was in our jurisdiction and that some Chinese soldiers have occupied it within the last few months?

**Dr. Kesar:** No, I don't think that information is correct. The fact is certain Chinese soldiers did penetrate into our territory on the border. But it is not certain whether they were aware of the fact that that was our territory. Whatever, those Chinese soldiers who did come have now quitted our territory

**B. R. Bhagat:** Sir, where is the Chinese army nearest to our border?

**Dr. Kesar:** We have no definite information.

**Shri A. B. Gurung:** Is it not a fact that as a result of the invasion of Tibet by China, there has been a large influx of Tibetans into Indian territory, if so, may I know what steps the Government propose to take to stop this influx?

**Dr. Kesar:** There is no doubt that the number of Tibetans coming from Tibet to India has increased due to the present uncertain conditions in Tibet. Government have not taken any particular steps to stop that. But as the hon. House has been informed before, Tibetans are now treated as foreigners in India and every Tibetan has to register himself so that his movements may be followed by Government.

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2 April 1951

Written Answers to Questions

### REGISTRATION OF TIBETANS

**\*2733. A. B. Gurung:**

- (a) Will the minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state the number of Tibetans registered as foreigners in the district of Darjeeling?
- (b) Which are the places in India where Tibetans have entered?
- (c) How many Tibetans are in the Government of India service?

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari):**

- (a) 3618
- (b) There has been no abnormal entry of Tibetans into India recently. Those Tibetans who have come to India have done so through the normal trade routes.
- (c) The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House.

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7 April 1951

Oral Answers to Questions

### REGISTRATION OF TIBETAN NATIONALS

**\*2814. Prof. S. N. Mishra:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state the number of Tibetan nationals resident in India who have received registration certificates under the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules 1939, since Government's order withdrawing exemption?

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari):** 1939.

**Prof. S. N. Mishra:** May I know whether a similar arrangement has been made in Tibet for registration of Indian residents there? If so, what is their number?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** I am not aware of the laws of Tibet. I am not able to give the number because the question was not about that.

**Prof. S. N. Mishra:** May I know how many Tibetans are there in the service of the Government of India particularly in the Intelligence Department that is working at Kalimpong?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** If I remember aright, there is another question for today on the same subject. I should not like to waste the time of the House by looking into the number of the question. The answer is here.

**Mr. Deputy- Speaker:** Am I to understand that the number in the answer is 1939?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** The answer to question No. 2814 is 1939.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Does it tally with the number of the year of the Registration of Foreigners Rules? By accident?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** Yes, Under the Registration of Foreigners Rules, these persons were exempted for some time. After the Chinese troubles, we renewed the regulations and all those who entered India had to come with permits. All those residents were also asked to register themselves. The number of resident Tibetans registered is 1939; those who have come with permits and registered is 2835. The total comes to 4,774.

**Prof. S. N. Mishra:** I do not know what the reply to my question is. I wanted to know how many Tibetans are there in the Intelligence Bureau working at Kalimpong.

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** I would be answering that question later if notice is given. But, I think it has already been put by some other hon. Member and I have the answer ready.

**Kesava Rao:** May I know whether the Tibetans have applied for Indian citizenship?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** No. The resident Tibetans have been registered and as I said already said, their number is 1939. Some have come recently with permits from the check posts; their number is 2835. No question of citizenship arises.

**Shri Chattopadhyay:** What is the breakup of such registered people according to provinces?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** Answering only about Tibetans resident, and registered, there are 11 in Assam, 37 in Bihar, 123 in Punjab, 196 in Uttar Pradesh, 1433 in West Bengal and 78 in Delhi, and 61 in Himachal Pradesh. As for arrivals with permits. Assam 173; West Bengal 2650; Himachal Pradesh 12.

**Shri S. N. Das:** What is the number of those who have been refused permits for entry?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** I am unable to give any figure as to refusal. But, judging from the rules and the instructions which we have issued, they are ordinary trading people and no question of refusal arises.

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10 April 1951

Written Answer to Questions

### COMMUNIST INFILTRATION FROM TIBET

**\*2991. Shri Rathnaswamy:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

- whether the attention of the Government of India has been drawn to the proceedings of the 21<sup>st</sup> March 1951, of the Legislative Assembly of the Uttar Pradesh, when it was alleged that there was a Communist infiltration from the borders touching Tibet;
- if so, whether any steps have been taken to verify these allegations;
- whether any understanding between the Governments of India and Nepal has been agreed upon to keep a patrol on the borders of Tibet and the frontier countries and if so, since when; and
- whether any violations on these borders have so far been reported?

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari):**

- and (b). A few Tibetans from Lim near Lhasa came to the jungles of Garhwal for collecting wood for making utensils which fetch a high price in Tibet. There has been no infiltration of Communists or others.
- and (d). The answer is in the negative.

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24 May 1951

Oral Answers to Questions

### YARN AND CLOTH TO TIBET

**\*4461. Dr. M. M Das:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

- whether Government exercise any control over the export of yarn and cloth to Tibet;
- if so, what and how the control is effected;
- the quantum of cloth and yarn exported to Tibet during each of the last three years: and

(d) whether this trade in yarn and cloth is executed on a Government to Government level?

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Mahtab):**

(a) (b) and (d). Supply of cloth and yarn to Tibet, since 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1948, is being made under the internal distribution scheme. The cloth quota was fixed on the basis of past exports and the supply is arranged through the nominees / commission agents appointed by the Tibet Liaison Officer, Kalimpong.

No yarn quota has been fixed for Tibet. But yarn is released in lieu of cloth whenever such requests are received from the Government of Tibet.

(c) **Cloth :**

1948 ..... 1,580 bales.

(from 1-7-48 to 31-12-48).

1949 ..... 1,007 bales.

1950 ..... 1,208 bales.

**Yarn :**

1948 ..... Nil.

1949 ..... 79 bales

1950 ..... Nil.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** May I know what are the functions of the Tibet Liaison Officer in Kalimpong and of the Tibetan Cloth and Yarn Syndicate with regard to the export of our cotton cloth to Tibet?

**Shri Mahtab:** The Tibet Liaison Officer appoints nominees or commission agents through whom the cloth transactions take place.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** May I know what is the answer of the hon. Minister regarding part (d) of my question: whether this trade in yarn and cloth is executed on a Government to Government level?

**Shri Mahtab:** It is done through these nominees and commission agents and not on a Government to Government level.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** May I know whether any export duty is imposed on these exports?

**Shri Mahtab:** It is within our internal distribution scheme and therefore no export duty is imposed.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** May I know whether there is any machinery to prevent undue and exorbitant prices being charged to the Tibetan dealers by Indian dealers?

**Shri Mahtab:** The cloth or yarn is sold to the Tibetan agents at controlled prices but we have no hand in enforcing observance of controlled prices there in Tibet-it is the duty of the Tibetan Government to look to it and I think they are doing it.

**Shri Rathnaswamy:** May I know whether our trade with Tibet has in any way been affected because of the Chinese invasion of Tibet?

**Shri Mahtab:** It has been repeatedly stated here that our trade with Tibet has not been affected in any way.

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6 June 1951

Written Answers to Questions

**TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*4961. Shri Krishnanand Rai:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there has been any influx of refugees into Indian territory from Tibet since the entry of Chinese forces there; and
- (b) if so, the number of such refugees and the regions where they have settled?

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari):**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) Does not arise.



**29 September 1954**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**MOTION RE: INTERNATIONAL SITUATION (contd)**

**Shri Asoka Mehta (Bhandara):** Our Prime Minister has been emphasizing the five principles of the Sino-Indian Treaty on Tibet. These principles are undoubtedly welcome, but when it is realized that Tibet, whose people are alien to the Chinese in race, language, culture and religion and who have received their Buddhism from India, whose script was devised by Indian pandits and whose cultural contacts with India spread over centuries, is described in that very treaty as the "Tibet region of China", the valuable principles lose much of their motive power.

A more recent development that claims our attention is the establishment of the SEATO. Most of the free Asian countries absented themselves from the Manila deliberations. The countries that attended the Conference ultimately agreed; the pressure of circumstances led them to agree to form an organisation much looser and organisation has not only looser texture, but keener awareness of its basic weakness, i.e., its close association with colonialism. This 'me-tooism' of the SEATO is a tribute to the growing influence of the policy that the free and the democratic countries are striving to pursue.

The Prime Minister was right in describing these various pacts, NATO, ANZUS, SEATO, etc., that litter the world, as interlocked arrangements filled with danger to mankind. Interlocking is obnoxious in politics as it is in economics. But surely, monolithic hold, chinkless monopoly, is no better. The Sino-Soviet bloc, stretching from East Germany to North Korea and Viet Minh, provides little assurance to peace. President Mao Tse Tung has rendered no service to the cause of peace or the five principles, when he declared recently that alliance with the Soviet Union is the sheet-anchor of Chinese foreign policy. Let us hope that our Prime Minister's visit to Peking will make the ancient city realise that the best solvent of inimical interlocking is loosening the bonds of one's own blocs.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Heoghly):** There is the melancholy chapter to which reference has already been made in one of his speeches by Shri Purushottam Das Tandon and by Acharya Kripalani-I refer to the betrayal of Tibet. That is a melancholy episode in Indian history. The Tibetan Delegation was invited to Delhi. While the Tibetan Delegation was going back *via* Calcutta the Chinese army invaded Tibet, and finally annexed it. Pandit Nehru was initially shocked and even sarcastically remarked: What is this liberation? Liberation from whom? In the end, India had not the courage even to support a resolution sponsored in the United Nations on Chinese aggression against Tibet. If I remember aright, the leader of the Indian Delegation announced that India would support that resolution condemning Chinese aggression on Tibet. But, later on, he backed out and did not give any support to that resolution. I call this appeasement of aggression. This is really not an effort towards peace. The Sino-Tibetan treaty marks another episode. Our government has made a free gift of the telecommunication, even though China was prepared to pay for it. The Sino-Russian bloc is making today North Korea, Manchuria, Sinkiang and Tibet a strong military base and is thereby threatening the security of Asia and the world.

Sir, I am raising this Tibetan question because I feel that this betrayal of Tibet and the surrender to the aggression of China has led to disastrous results in Nepal. There is a feeling that our foreign policy is neither independent nor really dynamic. There is a feeling that India is steadily, slowly drifting towards the totalitarian bloc. There is a feeling that India's Prime Minister is a fellow-traveller. A definite bias in favour of the Communist camp would be barren. Our Foreign Policy has succeeded in making America greatly anti-Indian.

Democracy has two aspects-it is a way of life; it is a way of life based on liberty-civil liberty, religious liberty and political liberty. These rights of liberty are recognized and fairly established in western democracies. Democracy is fundamentally an act of faith and self-discipline and willing allegiance. Totalitarian governments provide forced allegiance by authority, violence or compulsion. India stands for certain heritage and culture. She should never sacrifice or betray the spirit for material gains. An opportunist or puerile policy with a definite bias in favour of the communist camp will be a barren policy. Peaceful co-existence was ushered with a fanfare after the funeral of Tibet-which is called liberation of Tibet under the Chinese forces. Our foreign policy *vis-à-vis* Nepal has succeeded in making Nepal gradually anti-Indian.



That has been the reaction after the betrayal of Tibet. The Parliamentary Goodwill Delegation which went from Delhi...

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**Shri Tek Chand:** There was just a reference to the treatment of the Tibetans. A carping criticism has been directed against our foreign policy that we did not uphold the independence of the Tibetans. Nobody has a soft corner for China for a minute. Nevertheless, the Chinese claim to Tibet was recognized by the U.S.A. (An hon. Member: When?)

**Shri B.S. Murthy (Eluru):** Because the United States have agreed, is it that we must also agree?

**Shri N.C. Chatterjee:** Is that the logic?

**Shri Tek Chand:** If Shri B.S. Murthy had put that question, it would not have perturbed me at all. Now that Shri N.C. Chatterjee says, "is that logic," am I to teach logic to Shri N.C. Chatterjee? Shri N.C. Chatterjee should not defy logic and say whether the policy of the country is in consonance with logic. The argument that I maintained was that there is no love lost today between America and China. Both of them have their teeth dug into other's flesh as deeply as they possibly can. In this matter, even the U.S.A. was willing to recognise the claim of China over Tibet. That being so, who are we to contest that claim? According to my learned friends over there, if the logic is incomprehensible to them, I have all my sympathies for them.

**Shri N.C. Chatterjee:** My point is that it is really an encouragement to aggression which ought not to have been done by India.

**Shri Tek Chand:** According to Shri N.C. Chatterjee's notions, -perhaps the most lethal weapon that he can wield is a pen - we should not wage war with anybody with whom we do not see eye to eye. That is a logic that one does not understand; but his vehemence one can certainly appreciate.

**Shri Velayudhan:** It might have been megalomania if it was not a mania. I do not know how commonsense at least can justify itself the criticism regarding Tibet. Tibet was not at any time part of India, and if it was attached to India it was during the British imperial regime, and it was the imperial regime that kept Tibet as it was during the time of Chiang-Kai-Shek's regime the U.S.A. recognized it as part of China. And now some of our friends from this side come forward and say: "China is an aggressor of Tibetan people", as if they are the champions of the liberty of the people of Tibet. What I am going to tell you is this, that Tibet is not only racially connected with China but politically also it was like that, and India has not got any business to interfere in the affairs of Tibet.

A word about Goa. Of course, I think the policy followed by the Prime Minister as far as the Goa question is concerned is consistent with the policy of peace which he has been following.

**Shri Joachin Alva (Kanara):** I find that my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, made a reference to Nepal and Tibet. I am surprised that he is still flogging a dead horse. The joining of Tibet with China is a historic fact. No one can undo it. If the British Government in India were not capable of holding up Tibet in the manner that they wanted to do, it is not anybody's fault.

When Mr. Chatterjee spoke about Goa and said that the Indian police were on the frontier doing Salazaar's job, I felt in agreement with him, though the implication of his truth was not clear and we could not agree on that at all. I felt that he was thrusting down our throat a *jelabi* or chocolate with a great bit of salt. He thinks of the old bogey of Tibet and of offending China, saying that our relations with China should be on a war footing. That is a policy suicidal to our interest. It has long been given a decent burial. Mr. Chatterjee has still not taken any kind of inspiration from the great historic meeting between Mr. Chou En-lai and our Prime Minister.

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**30 September 1954**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **MOTIOM RE. : INTERNATIONAL SITUATION**

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** One of the biggest factors that count today in Asian affairs is the emergence of new China. There are many misunderstandings about Chinese intentions. I personally had many such misunderstandings about China until I heard our Prime Minister. In this connection I would request our Prime Minister when he goes to China, to invite Dalai-Lama to India. This idea has occurred to me for a long time. I am not a lamaist. But I have studied Tibet and liked that

country very much. We had connections with Tibet for a very long time. And, I would like, to say, that if the Dalai-Lama comes to India for a pilgrimage of Buddha-Gaya and Sarnath, many of the misunderstandings which are existing today in our country will be removed and we will have no grievance against China.

**Acharya Kripalani:** ...We have failed in arresting the march of Communist China to our borders. A small buffer state there was deprived of its freedom and that state was swallowed up. When we made a feeble protest, we were told-not very politely-to shut up. Not only that, we were told that we were the stooges of the western powers....

**Shri Venkataraman (Tanjore):** China has claimed some sort of suzerainty over Tibet. The amount or the extent of such suzerainty which was exercised over the area of Tibet was varying with the strength of the Government in China. If the Chinese Government was strong, then there was a greater exercise of suzerainty. If the Chinese Government was weak, there was greater autonomy in Tibet. Now, before the People's Government of China established itself, when still Chiang-Kai-Shek was the head of the Chinese Government, an application from Tibet went to America and they wanted to sell Yak tails, the tails of the animal Yak. They were politely told that they still were under the suzerainty of China and that they were not an autonomous independent State. Now, if they were under the suzerainty of China when Chiang-Kai-Shek was in charge of the administration of China, does it immediately become different because the Government of China has changed, or some other person has come into possession of control of the country? It continues to be. If the suzerainty of China over Tibet existed at all, it continues to exist, whatever is the Government. Therefore, there is not much of logic in saying that now it is no longer under the suzerainty of China and that it is a case of aggression. Well, we are trying to find out the complaints against the Chinese Republican Government when we say that they have either made an aggression on Tibet or they have swallowed up Tibet as has been suggested by Mr. Chatterjee. The only question if the people of Tibet had ever protested against such an act. Mr. Chatterjee referred to a complaint that was made by Tibet to the United Nations in 1950. I understand that it came before the General Committee, i.e., the steering committee which places the items on the agenda of the United Nations. At that stage itself it did not find any support from any nations and it failed. It would be wrong to accuse India as having betrayed Tibet.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** India is not omnipotent to see that the entire world questions are settled by India. Can we do it?

**Shri Venkataraman:** That is exactly my point. That is why I said, when a committee which consisted or representatives of the five big powers with the Chairman of the several committees of which India was only one member, that it cannot be said to be one of the failures of India if India was not able to get the question of Tibet on the agenda of the United Nations. After all as I prefaced by speech, India is one of the nations in the world, and we would not even be able to say that it is one of the big Powers in the world.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Several hon. Members have referred to Tibet—'the melancholy chapter of the Tibet'. I really do not understand. I have given the most earnest thought to this matter. What did any hon. Member of this House expect us to do in regard to Tibet at any time? Did we fail or did we do a wrong thing? I am not going into that matter now but I would beg any hon. Member who has doubts about this question to just consider and try to find out the background, the early history and the late history of Tibet, India and China have been, what is the history of the British in Tibet has been and what is the relationship of Tibet with China or India has been. Where did we come into the picture unless we wanted to assume an aggressive role of interfering with other countries? Many things happen in the world which we do not like and which we would wish were rather different but we do not go like Don Quixote with a lance in hand against everything that we dislike. We put up with these things because we would, without mankind any difference, merely get into trouble. We have to see all these things in some larger context of policy.

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**19 August 1958**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TRADE WITH WESTERN TIBET**

**578. Shri Hem Raj:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the volume of trade transacted in the Western Tibet at Radok and Gartok respectively in the years 1955, 1956, 1957 by the Indian traders;
- (b) the help extended to the Indian traders and merchants by the Indian Trade Agent; and



- (c) the names of the places where Indian Trade Agents have been posted in the Eastern, Central, Southern and Western Tibet?

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

- (a) There are no arrangements for recording the volume of trade transacted at a particular marks in Tibet like Radok and Gartok. The total values of India's export trade with Western Tibet for the 3 years in question were:
- 1955 – Rs. 57,29,505  
1956 – Rs. 50,04,310  
1957 – Rs. 45,56,620
- (b) The Indian Trade Agents in Tibet render all possible assistance by taking up with the local authorities the difficulties of Indian traders arising in course of normal trade transactions under local regulations, protection of their life and property, the hiring of means of transport at reasonable rates and renting of buildings and godowns at rates recognized under the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954.
- (c) Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok.



**23 March 1959**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT : SITUATION IN TIBET**

**Mr. Speaker:** I have received notice of an adjournment motion relating to:

“Disturbance in Tibet Culminating in open fighting between the Chinese forces and the local population in Lhasa near Potala and our Consulate General in that city”.

Some time ago, a Call Attention notice was tabled and I see from today's Order Paper that the hon. Prime Minister has agreed to make a statement on this very subject. I may now request him to make his statement so that we can dispose of both together.

**Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur):** Adjournment motion relates to a discussion. What the Prime Minister will make is a statement.

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members are fully aware that the moment an adjournment motion is tabled, I do not accept or reject it. I would like to hear from the Government what exactly they have to say and then make up my mind. If I do give consent, I will allow an opportunity for discussion.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** On a point of order. I would like to seek not only your guidance but also ruling with regard to the type of adjournment motions that may be admissible. Are disturbances in a foreign country a relevant subject for an adjournment motion in this House? I want that to be made clear for future guidance.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will take that into consideration in deciding it. The hon. Member has stated his point. I have not yet decided. I am only hearing.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** May I say that the statement I am making now has nothing to do with any proposal for an adjournment motion?

**Mr. Speaker:** I only want to know the facts.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I really wanted to make it clear that I was going to make it regardless of any proposal for an adjournment motion or any other motion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Both have synchronized. That was why I said it.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Recent reports about happenings in the Tibet region of China have naturally aroused a great deal of interest in the country. The sequence of events is not quite clear to us. But I should like to make a brief statement on the principal facts in so far as we know them. Last week, on the 17<sup>th</sup> March, in the course of the discussion on the Demands for the Ministry of External Affairs, I referred briefly to the tense situation there. I mentioned that there had been a clash of wills, although no major violence had occurred recently.

We have since received fuller information from our Consul General in Lhasa. It appears that various rumours in

regard to the Dalai Lama caused excitement in Lhasa. About two weeks ago, a large crowd of Tibetans entered the premises of the Indian consulate General. They spoke to our Consul General about the rumours and their apprehensions. Three days later, a large number of Tibetan women came to our Consulate General to accompany them to the Chinese Foreign Bureau and be a witness to their presenting certain demands. The Consul General told them that this was not proper and that he could not accompany them or associate himself with any demonstration. The Consul General brought these incidents to the notice of Chinese Foreign Bureau at Lhasa. He had rightly decided not to interfere in these internal affairs.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> March, fighting suddenly broke out between the Chinese troops and Tibetan elements. There was firing in the vicinity of our Consulate General and some stray bullets hit our building. For some time it was not possible for the Consul General to go out of the premises. All our staff and their families are safe and no significant damage to property has been reported. Apparently, the situation in Lhasa has somewhat quietened down.

There are about 30 members of our staff in the Consulate General at Lhasa. Together with their families, the number is about 100. There are also 16 other nationals in the Lhasa region—that is, Indian nationals—about whom we have no full information at present.

As soon as the fighting broke out in Lhasa, we requested the Chinese Government through our Ambassador in Peking and the Chinese Ambassador here to ensure the fullest protection to our personnel and properties in Lhasa, and they promised to do so. On the 21<sup>st</sup> March, a representative of the Chinese Foreign Bureau in Lhasa called on our Consul General and suggested to him that for the better protection of himself and his staff, they should move into the Foreign Bureau. We have instructed our Consul General to inform the Foreign Bureau that it will not be right or proper for our Consul General to leave the premises. A large number of Indian nationals are involved, including the families of our personnel, and there are valuable properties and records within our premises. In accordance with international law and usage, our Consul General and his staff and our records and properties are entitled to the fullest protection and we have no doubt that the Chinese Government will see the reasonableness of our request.

This outbreak of violence in Lhasa itself is a new development. Previously there had been conflicts in various parts of Southern Tibet between the Khampas and the Chinese forces. But the Lhasa region had remained quiet.

The House will now appreciate that this is a difficult and delicate situation and we should avoid doing anything which will worsen it. We have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of China with whom we have friendly relations. In 1954 the Sino-Indian Agreement was concluded. It was in this that for the first time, the principle of Panch Sheel was stated. (*An hon. Member: And Flouted!*).

There is a long tradition of cultural and religious ties between India and the Tibet region of China. In this region lie many places of pilgrimage which are considered holy by both Hindus and Buddhists and large numbers of our people visit them every year. The Dalai Lama, whom we had the honour and pleasure of receiving in our country in 1956-57, is held in high veneration by our people and we hope he is safe. We earnestly trust that the present troubles will be resolved peacefully.

Our Consul General at Lhasa and his staff are in a difficult situation for reasons beyond their control. I have no doubt that the House will wish me to send our best wishes on this occasion to him and to our other representatives in the Tibet region.

**Mr. Speaker:** In view of this elaborate statement, I do not give my consent to the moving of this motion for adjournment.

**Shri Vajpayee:** On a point of information, Sir: May I know from the hon. Prime Minister the position of the Dalai Lama, whether he is safe?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am afraid I have no correct information as to where he is. But, I certainly hope he is safe.

**Shri M. R. Masani (Ranchi East):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, while bowing to your decision about the adjournment motion which I respectfully think is perfectly correct, may I say that the wide-spread concern rather than the interest which these developments have elicited in the country would be served if expression was given to these feelings by a discussion in this House. I wonder if the Prime Minister would agree to this House having an early opportunity to discuss these developments and their implications in regard to our frontiers and other implications that would follow.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It is novel, perhaps, Sir, for this House to discuss events in another country. Sometimes, of course, they may have some bearing and reference is made in the Foreign Affairs Debate. But, a general discussion over events which are happening in another country would be a bad precedent which may have far-reaching consequences.

**Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated Anglo-Indians):** Sir, may I say that we are not only intimately but anxiously concerned about the attitude of the Government. Our attitude vis-à-vis Tibet has been a little confused. We do not know whether the Government has accepted the suzerainty of China over Tibet.

Another matter with which we are deeply concerned is whether, because of an obvious sort of communist terror there, the Government would be prepared to give asylum to the Tibetan refugees in India.

**Shri S. A. Dange (Bombay City-Central):** Sir, the Prime Minister has stated that any such discussion would be an interference in the internal affairs of another country. For example, if Peking were to discuss the arrest of Master Tara Singh, there would be enough protest here. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal):** The analogy is not correct.

**S. A. Dange:** If Peking were to discuss the land reforms which are being threatened with civil war here, there would be enough trouble. (*Interruptions*). I understand why Shri Masani is anxious to discuss it here.

**C. D. Pande:** We want to discuss it fully because.....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I have already given my ruling regarding this adjournment motion.

**C. D. Pande:** This is not like Hungary or Algeria.

**Shri Asoka Mehta (Muzaffarpur):** Sir, you should not give your ruling quickly. This is a matter in which we are all profoundly concerned. You must not express yourself with quickness, Sir. (*Interruptions*). I would say that you may permit the House to express its views on this subject.

**Shri Goray (Poona):** Whatever ruling you may give, I beg to submit this. The other day you stated, Sir, that every adjournment motion does not necessarily mean that it is a motion of censure against the Government. You said that an adjournment motion can be treated as a sort of an expression of concern which the whole House feels. This is a matter on which most of us, excepting the Communist Members here-everybody-feels concerned and rightly so. Therefore, you may allow us to move this motion for adjournment. It is not a censure on the Government but it expresses our deep concern at a particular development.

You will remember, Sir, the other day Shrimati Renu Chakarvartty here said that all these things were exaggerated. I suppose even the Prime Minister was under the impression that all these were not completely true. But, now, all of a sudden, we find that fighting has broken out in Lhasa. This is not a sudden development. So many things must have happened before that. Therefore, I say, this is a development which threatens us also. Supposing tomorrow there is more fighting in Tibet and refugees come to our border. There will be such an immense pressure on our border that India will get involved willy-nilly. Therefore, I think, this matter should be discussed here. It is not a censure move against the Government. And, I submit that before you decide to rule it out, you should ponder over it.

**Mr. Speaker:** Regarding the desire to have discussion on the subject, I can only say this much. The argument that is advanced is that if fighting should develop, a number of people would be forced to leave their hearths and homes and come away to this side. That could be said with respect to any internal trouble in any one of our adjacent countries. What will happen if they come here? If they come here, let us look after the problem, when it arises.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** The problem has arisen.

**Mr. Speaker:** Therefore, this can be said easily on Mongolia and North China. Some of them may come and ask for refugee here. Whether it is a matter for an adjournment motion or not, it is for me to decide. I have to decide whether we are at all concerned with a particular matter and whether it is a matter of interfering with the internal administration of a particular State. All that we are concerned with is this. We are on friendly terms with our neighbouring states with which we have to deal. The internal affairs of a State have never been discussed in this House. I am not going to allow, either directly or indirectly, any discussion regarding this matter. (*Interruptions*).

I have disallowed this. Now, let us proceed to the next item-Papers to be laid on the Table.



**30 March 1959**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS (Contd)**

**Mr. Speaker:** I have received notice of some adjournment motions, the substance of which fall under two heads;

1. Chinese news agency statement that Kalimpong is being used as a base for anti-Chinese rebellion; and
2. Chinese troops are near India's border. A number of hon. Members, Shri Hem Barua, Shri Vajpayee and others have given notice of adjournment motions. Now the hon. Prime Minister.

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** I want to say something before the hon. Prime Minister makes a statement.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I have got the statement of the hon. Member here.

**Shri Hem Barua:** I want to add...

**Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad):** Mine is not here.

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall hang up on the notice board the names of all hon. Members who have given notices of adjournment motions. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Goray (Poona):** Please understand our anxiety. It is not for publicity.

**Mr. Speaker:** I understand that; I am not referring to that.

**Shri Hem Barua:** My adjournment motion is very specific; first, about the Chinese authorities' official communiqué to the effect that Kalimpong is the centre of the rebellion. I want to ascertain from the Prime Minister whether any correspondence was made by the Chinese Government through diplomatic channels before coming out openly with an official communiqué of the sort, because it establishes in a way the complicity of India in this rebellion, which is not true. At the same time, I just want to know from the Prime Minister whether on any occasion anything of this sort was communicated to the Prime Minister and, if so, whether the Prime Minister made an enquiry into it and whether the Chinese Government was asked to give specific instances of people in Kalimpong connected with this.

Another specific issue is this. In the communiqué we find one thing. The communiqué says that the Prime Minister was not allowing a discussion on Tibet in this House. That I can understand. But what I cannot understand is this; in the same breath they say, in an indirect way, that attempting to discuss Tibetan developments in the Indian Parliament will be considered as an unfriendly act. This is rather....

**Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated-Anglo-Indians):** Impertinent.

**Shri Hem Barua:** .....impertinent. It may be a sort of hauteur on their part on what this Parliament should do or should not do; because, we have that amount of reason, that amount of sense, whether to discuss it or not to discuss it. We are the representatives of the people who are in this Parliament, presided over by you, Sir. They did not have that right. I want a clarification on these two broad points from the Prime Minister.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** I wanted to mention only one thing. It is not so simple a matter. Somebody from some other country casts some aspersions on our Parliament. We are an independent country. We are a sovereign body and if some person or some agency outside says that it is not proper for us in this Parliament to discuss any matter concerning anything in the world then I think that is an aspersion on the whole country and we should not remain silent over such remarks. We should protest against these things.

Then, again this New China News Agency have circulated the news-I do not know whether that is a fact or not; the hon. Prime Minister will say something about it-that Kalimpong has been used as a commanding centre of the rebellion. The facts, as have been disclosed by the Press, say that some 18 people of the old Government headed by the Dalai Lama have been dismissed and a new Government has been installed there. Some people sitting here in Kalimpong could not do that. It seems that the whole of Tibet has risen in rebellion. There could not be only some people in Kalimpong. It is a serious matter over which the whole country is agitated. So, we should have some sort of a discussion here. It is not

that we shall be interfering in the matters of China but we shall certainly say something in view of the fact that our relations with the Tibetans have been very cordial all through, whether it was proper that we should have entered into an agreement by which the freedom of the Tibetan people was raped, as has been done today.

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** Sir, would you not allow some of us to make a statement?

**Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur):** May I submit that a new situation has arisen.

**Mr. Speaker:** If he is going to say the same thing then enough has been said. Is there any new point?

**Shri Vajpayee:** No, it has not been said. What I want to say is that the whole question of our relationship with China should be reviewed in the background of the happenings and developments that are taking place in Tibet. The garrisoning of Tibet by the Chinese troops and the establishment of airfields in Tibet constitute a direct threat to the security of India. The conduct of China in regard to Tibet can hardly be regarded as friendly to India. After the restraint displayed by the hon. Prime Minister, it was least expected from China that the New China News Agency will come out with sinister suggestion that Kalimpong is being used as a base against the national uprising in Tibet. I think the time has come when the Government of China has got to be told that India will no longer remain a silent spectator to the tragedy that is being enacted on the roof of the world.

**Shri B. C. Kamble (Nanded-Reserved-Sch. Castes):** With regard to Kalimpong, I shall be very brief. The interested parties, that is, the two countries who are claiming to be friendly with each other are giving rival news. The Government of India is saying, according to the newspapers, that the Government of India had asked the Chinese authorities to cite instances whereupon the Union Government will investigate into the matter. No instances have been cited by the Chinese authorities. That is the stand taken by the Union Government whereas repeatedly the Chinese authorities are alleging that Kalimpong is made a commanding centre. Now, the position becomes worse because of the friendly relations. Both the countries are saying that we are friendly with each other. Then who is unfriendly? What exactly is the truth? Is India unfriendly or is China unfriendly? That must be ascertained. Therefore, in order to maintain the friendly relationship it is my submission that the truth must be ascertained and whosoever is indulging in false propaganda must be requested to withdraw the wrong allegations, if made either by the Union Government or by the Chinese Government.

With regard to the other observation made in the official communiqué of China, that is, that it would be impolite and improper to have any discussion in this country, I may submit that our discussion in this House....

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not going to allow that. The same point has been made once or twice.

**Shri B. C. Kamble:** The question is...

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no question. Shri Mohammed Imam.

**Shri B. C. Kamble:** The question is ...

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not going to allow repetition of the same matter, that is, whether it is open or it is not open for the other Government or somebody to say that we shall not discuss this matter. It has been said.

**Shri B. C. Kamble:** I will finish it....

**Mr. Speaker:** No, I am not going to allow discussion on this point so soon. First of all, let me make up my mind whether I should give an opportunity or not. Then I would allow it.

**Shri Mohammed Imam (Chitaldrug):** A grave crisis has arisen on account of the fact that China has overrun Tibet and it has completely occupied this area. This entire subjugation of this territory is threatening the safety of India. To this effect I have tabled an adjournment motion. This is a very important matter as can be gauged by the concern expressed by various hon. Members of this House except perhaps one section.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member refers to the massing of Chinese troops on the south and south east borders of Tibet. That is a new thing that he refers to.

**Shri Mohammed Imam:** Yes, a new thing. It has also been reported that the Chinese have fanned out their troops. Their troops are massed on the south and south east frontier. Practically, they are very near to India. This causes a good deal of concern. We know the history of the Communist countries in other continents and in other areas. So, this is a



very dangerous situation. Therefore, what I submit is that the hon. Prime Minister must take the hon. Members of this House into confidence. This is a matter which should be debated threadbare in this House. I think hon. Members are anxious to contribute their views. They are anxious to express their concern and also help the Government and hon. Minister of Defence because these external matters should not be a subject of controversy. It should not be a matter of party politics. We must all be united when the defence of the country is concerned. So, I submit that the hon. Prime Minister will give us an opportunity to express our views. We shall express our views in all sincerity in the interests of the country. So, I submit that the adjournment motion, if admitted either as an adjournment motion or in the form of a special motion, is certainly not in the spirit of censuring the Government. In this matter it should be left open to the House and the hon. Members must be allowed to express their views on this important matter. It is vital at present to the interests of India.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura):** I have again a word to say because I was in Tibet and I went to Tibet, helped by China and with a Chinese passport. I was touring all over eastern Tibet. Dalai Lama wrote me a letter. It was in 1925. Now, I have a word to say.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have heard him already once. On the same matter I cannot hear him again.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I take it that I should say something about these adjournment motions.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes. I gave an opportunity to all those hon. Members who sponsored the adjournment motion.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** If you will permit me in dealing with these adjournment motions I may perhaps go slightly beyond the range of some of the questions put forward. I do wish.....

**Mr. Speaker:** It is clear that there is no question of censure involved in this. All hon. Members are anxious to know as to what exactly is the matter.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** These adjournment motions as adjournment motions, if I may say so, can hardly arise. But so far as I am concerned, I do not wish to take shelter under any technical plea for not giving any information that I think ought to be given. Indeed, subject to certain very broad considerations to which Shri Tyagi referred, I wish to place all the information that we get before the House, as it comes in, and I propose to do so in the future too. It is not necessary for hon. Members to demand a statement from me, but I shall do so whenever any important piece of information comes. I shall place it before the House.

At the present moment we have a mass of statements in the press, rumours, allegations, statements of the Chinese Government, from which it is a little difficult to sort out exactly the truth of what is happening. We have one thing on which you can certainly say that there it is. There are press communiqués issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China. I do not understand why hon. Members bring in the news agency in this matter. It is a Government communiqué and the news agency did a completely right thing in placing the official communiqué before us and before the public. You may not like the wording of the communiqué or the content of it. That is a different matter. But it is the duty of a news agency to deal with such an important matter—not to suppress it but to place it before the public.

May I also refer to what for instance, hon. Member Shri Imam has talked about that is, the massing of troops. Now, I am completely unaware of this. In fact, I have not heard a rumour to that effect, leave out the facts. And he wants an adjournment motion because there is “massing of troops on the Indian border”!

**Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khandesh):** He said about the fanning out of Chinese troops.

**Shri Mohammed Imam:** That is the word I used in my adjournment motion.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** All kind of things are appearing in the Press which, again are based sometimes, presumably on reports not from within Tibet but from outside Tibet, whether it is Hong Kong or whether it is any other place. I do not say that any such rumour must necessarily be wrong. How can I say that? But, normally speaking, they are not correct. Anyhow, my information is that there is no massing of troops on the Indian border, so far as I know. How can I discuss it when I do not accept that fact?

But, the major things that we have to consider are, as I said on the last occasion, the contacts of India with Tibet are

very old, geographical, of course, trade, of course, but much more so, cultural and religious. Vast numbers of pilgrims go there from here and some come from Tibet to India. So that, this contact, this relationship is something deeper than the changing political scene. Naturally we are affected by it. Apart from that, as I said on the last occasion, large numbers of people in India venerate the Dalai Lama, respect him very greatly and he was our honoured guest some time ago. Because of these contacts our reaction to anything that happens in Tibet is bound to be very deep, as we see it. It is not for me to object to those reactions. But, we have to bear them in mind.

May I say that all these questions that have been recently put about giving political asylum are, probably, of no service at all to the people who might seek political asylum in India? It is no good. One has to see the difficult situation as it is and not merely create conditions which make it more difficult to deal with the situation or deal with the persons seeking political asylum. There it is. Whatever I say in regard to that will make it more difficult for these people, I say. So that, on the one side, there is this deep feeling of a certain kinship, if I may use that word, cultural kinship between the people of India and the people of Tibet.

That, of course, does not mean that we interfere in Tibet, in any way. We did interfere, not we, I mean, but the previous Government of India took an expedition to Lhasa under Col. Younghusband, 55 years ago. It very much interfered: imperialist intervention. They sat down there and imposed the British Government's will, acting through the then Government of India on Tibet and imposed our troops there in Tibet, in Yatung, Gyantse. All kinds of extra-territorial privileges were imposed on Tibet because Tibet was weak and there was the British Empire. With some variations, we inherited these special extra-territorial privileges when India became independent.

Regardless of what happened in Tibet or China or anywhere, we could not, according to our own policy, maintain our forces in a foreign country, even if there had been no change in Tibet. That was relic of British Imperialism which we did not wish to continue. We had to withdraw them back. It so happened that soon after this there was a change in the Government in China - about that time, soon after - their armies marched into Tibet. What I am venturing to say is that the policy we adopted towards Tibet would have been adopted regardless of what China did, and we would have withdrawn our forces, etc. that was the main thing we did.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** There, everybody agrees.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Apparently people seem to imagine that we surrendered some privileges in Tibet. The privileges which we surrendered in Tibet were privileges which we do not seek to have in any other country in the world. Tibet or any other. It was patent from the strictly practical point of view, even apart from sentiments, that we could not do anything in Tibet either in law, constitutionally or practically.

Our attitude, and historically, previously- I am not going to the past history of 500 years-the position of all previous Governments in India and elsewhere has been the recognition of some kind of suzerainty or sovereignty of China over Tibet and Tibetan autonomy. That was normally the basis of approach. The measure of the autonomy has varied, because the strength of China, the weakness of China, the strength of Tibet, the weakness of Tibet has varied in the course of the last hundred of years. But, that is the position. Every Government in China has claimed that. Many Governments in Tibet have repudiated that. So, there it is. Anyhow, we could not become judges or interfere or intervene either in law, or in fact, or in the circumstances, we could do nothing. That is just past history.

May I say one thing to the House? When the Premier of the Chinese Government came here 3 or 4 years ago or 2 and half years ago, he discussed this question of this situation in Tibet with me at his own instance. I did not raise it, so far as I remember. He told me then that Tibet had always been, according to him and according to the Chinese position, a part of the Chinese State: that is, they have always claimed it and they have had it, according to him; but yet, Tibet was not China. Tibet is not China; Tibet is not a province of China. Tibet is an autonomous region which has been a part of the Chinese State- that was as far as I remember his words-therefore, we want to treat it as an autonomous region and give it full autonomy. That is how he explained the Chinese Government's attitude to Tibet. All I could say was that we had to recognize Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. But I was glad to hear Mr. Chou En-lai laying such stress on Tibetan autonomy. I said if this was fully acted upon and was well known to Tibetans, possibly the difficulties would be much less, because, I remember, difficulties had arisen already three years ago.

For nearly three years, there has been what is called the Khampa revolt in China. Khampa region, although it consists of people of Tibetan origin, is not technically Tibet now. About 50 or 60 years ago, the Khampa region in Eastern Tibet

was incorporated into China. It was never really adequately controlled or ruled by any authority, Tibetan or Chinese, because Khampas are mountain people, rather tough people, not liking anybody ruling them.

When the new Chinese Government came in, quite apart from Tibet proper, the Kampa region was in China proper. They started introducing their new reforms or changes, whatever they did in land or otherwise, in the Khampa region. That brought them into trouble with the Khampas in Tibet-not actually in Tibet, but the Tibetans in China, you may say. That trouble started 2 or 3 years ago or more than that-about three years ago, locally confined there. Then it spread to the south and south-east chiefly. Naturally one does not have details. But, it was a kind of guerilla activity which went on causing much trouble to both the parties and damage all that. That has been continuing. When, Premier Chou En-lai talked to me, this Khampa trouble has started. It is not a kind of trouble which is of great military importance to any Government: not that; it is a nuisance and it prevents things from settling down.

That has been continuing. Nothing new has happened except that in some border some convoy has been attacked or taken away or something has been happening. The new thing, what has happened in Lhasa, may I say, has not flown from that; it is really a completely new development. The very matter was mentioned by me in this House and to the Press here the moment we heard of fighting there. Previous to that, only a few days previously, I had spoken in this House and talked about the conflict of wills there. I thought that expression was a good expression to describe what was happening there because there was no violence at that stage. Nobody had hit anybody. But, this conflict had come out in the open in the sense of people talking in the open. It lasted 3, 4 or 5 days when actual firing began, I cannot say who began it, but it began. Normally, one would say that where it is a question of military might, the Chinese Government is much stronger than some kind of local recruits of the Tibetan Army. It is obvious. So, that has been the background of it.

Now, it is unfortunate that all this damage is done. I do not know what damage has been done, but some considerable damage has been done to some of the old monasteries in Lhasa, and maybe, some valued manuscripts have suffered thereby; and all that has happened, and our sympathies go out very much to the Tibetans.....

**Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West-Reserved-Sch. Tribes):** Hear, hear.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** .....quite apart from the actual incidents, what has happened there, who was to blame and who was not to blame.

In the press today, the Chinese News Agency has published some letters, which, it is said, have been written by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese Governor, the military Governor of Lhasa, just in this month. I would not like to say anything about those letters. I would like to have a little greater confirmation about them, about what they are, in what circumstances they were written, whether they were written at all. It is very difficult; because all these things are being said by various parties, it is exceedingly difficult to sift the truth out of this lot of chaff. And whatever I may say, whatever the Government may do, may have far-reaching consequences.

We talk about Tibet, and we want to have friendly relations with the people of Tibet, and we want them to progress in freedom and all that. At the same time, it is important for us to have friendly relations with this great country of China. That does not mean that I or this Government or this Parliament or anyone else should submit to any kind of dictation from any country, however great or big it may be.

**Some Hon. Members:** Hear, hear.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** That is not the point. But it also does mean that in a difficult situation, we should exercise a certain measure of restraint and wisdom in dealing with her, and not in an excited moment do something which may lead our country into difficulties. (*Interruptions*).

Today is the 30<sup>th</sup> of this month. It was on the 20<sup>th</sup>, the early morning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, that firing began and it is now the tenth day. There isn't any news coming from that country, except rumours. The only news that has come to us or to the wide world - I am leaving out China; they might have some special ways of getting news-the only news that came to us was from our Consul-General's telegrams to us. We got them pretty rapidly.

But what can the Consul-General report? Remember that too. The Consul-General reports by and large what he sees from the window of his consulate. Obviously, he cannot tell us what is happening all over Tibet. He does not know.



He is in touch with Lhasa, and more or less Lhasa is what he can see from his consulate, just around buildings where firing took place. He can report that. He cannot even tell us all that is happening in Lhasa itself. He cannot tell us precisely and definitely what has happened to our nationals who are spread out there. He can tell us definitely that our staff in our consulate is safe. He can tell us also that so far as he knows our other Indian nationals are safe, but he is not certain, because he just cannot reach them, so that all news has been cut off, and it comes to us in extremely small dribbles, news that we can hardly rely upon. And it becomes difficult for me to make statements or to say that we shall take some action, because of vague rumours which are obviously not always reliable.

Now, may I just say one word-I think I have answered it-about the people from Ladakh? It has been the old custom of people from Ladakh to go to Lhasa, and they do not take any travel papers or anything. They go for courses of instruction. Lhasa is in a sense their spiritual centre, their educational centre, from the Buddhist point of view. So, plenty of people go there. At the present moment, I have been informed that four head abbots from Leh are there, as well as-I forget the number,-about 30 or 40 or 50-or it may be somewhere about a hundred-monks and others who have gone there. We have not got them on our register there, because they simply come and go, and do not report to us. But as soon as I heard about this two days ago, we are making inquiries about them.

Now, I come to the statements issued, presumably by the Chinese Government. Now, those statements give a narrative of facts according to them, and I have nothing to say to that. I can neither confirm it nor deny it, because it is not in my knowledge to make a firm statement; if it was, I would make it.

As I said, so far as the letters which are said to have been written by the Dalai Lama are concerned, they are rather surprising letters. I can't say more; I should like to know more about them before I say.

There are two things mentioned in this statement of the Chinese authorities. One is about Kalimpong. About that, as soon as that appeared, the External Affairs Ministry, through a spokesman, contradicted that statement or corrected it. I suppose hon. Members have seen it, but I shall read it out or part of it, if they have not.

"Asked for his comments on the description of Kalimpong as the commanding centre of the rebellion' in the news communiqué released.....an official spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs emphatically repudiated the suggestion. He said that a number of people from Tibet have been residing in Kalimpong for many years....."

-many years meaning twenty, thirty, forty, fifty and more-

"...and among them are some who arrived during the last three or four years."

It is not many, it may be in dozens, perhaps.

"The Government of India have repeatedly made it clear to them that they should not indulge in any propaganda activities against a friendly Government on Indian soil. The last warning was given about six months ago and since then these persons have remained quiet. There have been no unlawful activities in Kalimpong or elsewhere either by these people or others. It is, therefore, entirely incorrect to say that Kalimpong is the centre of any rebellious activities. The check-posts on the India-Tibet border are adequately manned and the strictest watch is always maintained on movements between India and Tibet."

Now, an hon. Member wanted precise information as to whether the Chinese Government had complained to us about Kalimpong. I shall tell him, so far as I can remember that in the last few months or maybe a year, there has been no complaint but there were on two occasions perhaps two or maybe three in the last three or four years in which references to Kalimpong was made. It said that some people in Kalimpong were carrying out propaganda activities. Our position has always been the same. We have made it quite clear to people who came from Tibet and even to some important people that, "You are welcome to come here, but we cannot allow Indian soil to be used for subversive activities or even aggressive propaganda activities against friendly Governments". That general policy of ours applies to every Embassy that is here; maybe sometimes they overstep the mark or we do not object when we might have objected. That applies to every Embassy here or every foreigners here. So, that was the rule that we followed. On two or three occasions in the past, some leaflets came out in Kalimpong, which we thought was undesirable. We drew the attention of the people who had brought it out, saying "You should not do this, this kind of thing from Indian soil". As far as we know, our instructions and warnings had effect. We are not aware, in fact, in the last many months, of any activity in Kalimpong; it may be in people's minds there; naturally they may have feelings; they may have sentiments. But

I am merely saying that it is wrong to say that Kalimpong was a kind of centre from which activists were organised.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravatty (Basirhat):** Has the Prime Minister read Elizabeth Partridge's article which has come in one of the papers where she says that she has contacted the rebels? It has come out in papers.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I have not read that particular article. I do not know which article the hon. Lady Member is referring. In one or two cases, foreign correspondents have gone and talked to people there in Kalimpong or wherever it is. I do not know where, it may be Kalimpong or it may be elsewhere, but they have not mentioned the names or the place or the individuals contacted. And they have given an account from the point of view more or less of those people in Tibet, who were on the site of the revolt. That I cannot catch, I cannot get in, but broadly speaking, it is wrong to say that Kalimpong has been the centre. Certainly, we have very good control of our check-posts, of people coming and going from Tibet to India, and nobody in Kalimpong can easily come or go, and you cannot control something where the movement is not easy.

I am not told that when we enquired about Elizabeth Partridge's article, we found out that she had not gone anywhere near the border; she had written it from far away.

The second point to which reference has been made by hon. Members is to what is said in those press statements about our discussions here. It is not necessary for me to say that it is open to this House, this Parliament, and it is completely free to say or do what it chooses to discuss any matter it chooses, subject always to the necessities of good sense and wisdom of which you, Sir, are the best judge. Nobody else outside this House is going to judge.

Unfortunately, the methods of government and the way the legislatures and organizations function in China are different from ours. Perhaps they don't quite realize the background or the way of our functioning. Quite apart from what we do, or whether what any hon. Member says is right or wrong, he has the right to say it; he has the right to say the wrong thing, as many hon. Members on the opposite side know very well!

**Hem Barua:** You enjoy that right equally!

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It is, I suppose, a little difficult for people trained in a different tradition for a long time to understand the normal ways in which a parliamentary system of Government functions. We should not be over-eager to find fault with somebody who does not agree with us, who describes our system in a different way, but certainly it should be made perfectly clear to all concerned that this Parliament is not going to be limited in the exercise of its right of discussion, saying or action or anything, by any external or internal authority, whoever it may be. Having said that, obviously that right has to be exercised always with wisdom and always thinking of the consequences, and how that right should be exercised.

**Shri Nath Pai:** We can always claim to have done so in the past.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** This shows our Government is very weak, powerless to deal with questions all round India, north, south, east, west.

**Mr. Speaker:** Very well.

In view of the elaborate statement made by the hon. Prime Minister, I do not think, having regard to the situation, it is necessary to allow any of these adjournment motions tabled.

The situation is delicate. Let us see. Nobody can prevent us from discussing. That much I can assure. The hon. Leader of the House also has said that it might be due to the misunderstanding of others. We are an entirely independent and free nation, and this Parliament is supreme as far as that matter is concerned, subject, of course, to the Constitution, a Constitution not laid down by any others. We lay down the Constitution ourselves. We are always watchful and ready. I will never hustle or muzzle this House so far as these matters are concerned.

**Shri Nath Pai:** We associate ourselves with the sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister with which we are broadly in agreement, but it will be necessary that the House gets a chance to state it, because, on such an occasion, it is necessary that you hear not merely the Government, but you hear the Opposition also, as there is a necessity to create an impression in the world that there is near-unanimity so far as expression of sympathy for the Tibetan cause is concerned.

And one small sentence I want to bring to your notice. It has hurt us tremendously. It is that India is being bracketed with the Chiang-kai-Shek gang. There is a release today in which it is said that they were coming to India because India was going to show sympathy. These are things of which the Government should take serious note. We want friendship, and we are dedicated to friendship with China, but we are not trying to purchase it by closing our eyes, by gagging our mouth and plugging our ears and drugging our conscience. This needs to be very much impressed.

**Mr. Speaker:** Even if we have a discussion, nothing can prevent them from going on saying it.

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**30 March 1959**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

## **REFUGEES FROM TIBET**

### **Short Notice Question (S.N.Q.)**

**S.N.Q**  
**No. 15**

**Shri M. R. Masani:**  
**Shri Asoka Mehta:**  
**Shri Frank Anthony:**  
**Shri Naushir Bharucha:**  
**Shri Goray:**  
**Shri Shree Narayan Das:**  
**Shri A. M. Tariq:**

**Shri Nek Ram Nagi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to a news report in *The Statesman* (Delhi) of March 21 which states:-  
“The Government of India’s present anxiety concerns the movement of refugees towards the long and rambling frontiers. India has taken steps to strengthen the check-posts and the orders are that no refugees should be allowed to cross over.”
- (b) if so, whether the report is correct; and
- (c) if not, what is the policy Government propose to follow in the matter of giving effect to international law and practice of giving asylum to political refugees entering the country from Tibet?

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

- (a) Yes.
  - (b) and (c). The general instructions issued by the Government of India some time ago were that any persons endeavouring to cross our frontier should be stopped at our check posts and should not be allowed to cross over unless they have the necessary travel papers. The existing strength of our check posts on the borders is sufficient for dealing with normal movements between India and Tibet. There has thus far not been any substantial increase in the movement of persons from Tibet region into India. If necessity arises the strength of our check posts will be increased.
2. The general position under International Law is that a State is free to admit or not to admit a foreigner into its territory. This applies to giving asylum also. It is thus a matter entirely in the discretion of the Government concerned. It is the sovereign right of the State to give asylum when it chooses but no individual can insist on obtaining such asylum. Individual cases have to be considered on merits whenever occasion for this arises.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Does not the Prime Minister appreciate that since the Chinese authorities have given instructions to their soldiers to shoot at sight any groups or individual Tibetans who may be crossing the frontier into India and carrying out those instructions would mean in fact co-operating in their butchery?

**Mr. Speaker:** What is the hon. Member asking?

**An Hon. Member:** Speech-making.

**Mr. Speaker:** What is his question?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Is the Prime Minister aware that Austria, which enjoys a neutral status and had diplomatic relations with Hungary in 1956, threw its frontiers wide open to receive thousands of Hungarian refugees and why cannot this country follow the same brave policy?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Primarily because this is not Austria or Hungary and secondly because the question has not arisen. As I have said, we have not had any large numbers, or even small numbers, of people, apart from the normal traffic. The question has not arisen; it is a hypothetical question. Whenever any question arises, it will have to be considered in the context of events and conditions there. It is obviously impossible for me to give an answer to a question which has not arisen.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** If a group of.....

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member will kindly read Rule 41. Matters involving high policy cannot be asked in a question.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Would you allow me to elucidate the answer given by the Prime Minister?

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member is going on giving suggestions. He is not eliciting information.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I am eliciting information.

**Mr. Speaker:** What is it?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Will the Prime Minister explain what would happen if a party of 25 or 30 Tibetans who are followed in hot pursuit by Chinese forces come to the frontier? Will their lives be protected or will they be allowed to be butchered?

**Mr. Speaker:** I think the hon. Member is also a barrister. This is irrelevant according to all standards. Hypothetical questions cannot be asked.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** The Prime Minister has said that it is always within the discretion of a sovereign power to admit asylum to those who may seek it. We have a specific context and that is, presumably the Chinese Government have given an order to their soldiers to shoot any Tibetan seeking entry into India. In that context, I want to ask the Prime Minister how he proposes to give asylum to a Tibetan, because he has said each will have to be considered on merits, and the Chinese soldiers have been told to shoot them at sight.

**Mr. Speaker:** If they are shot at sight, how can they enter India?

**Shri Frank Anthony:** There need not be any deliberate mis-assumption of my question. When they will be seeking presumably asylum on a large scale, the Chinese soldiers being ordered to shoot them at sight, I want to know how we are going to admit them and consider each case on merit?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** You have been pleased to answer that question, Sir. All these are hypothetical approaches. There has not been any slightest, vaguest approach to us of this kind or any facts indicating that such an approach, such a thing, might happen. How can I answer that? Secondly, if I may say so, I do not know, because there are so many rumours and statements. If people are shot at sight, surely the hon. Member does not imagine this kind of thing happening on the border: People sitting on the border and waiting for people to approach the border. This kind of thing does not happen; if they are sitting on the border, nobody will go to that border. They will go to some other border or they will be shot down before. This kind of thing does not happen—people being pursued and so on.

**Shri Jaipal Singh:** May I raise a point of order? I seek your guidance. Since I have not given you notice in regard to it—whether it is a question of privilege or not—I am raising it as a point of order. I want to know how it is that the Chinese Embassy here have issued officially...

**Mr. Speaker:** We have got some adjournment motions. The hon. Member can wait and see.

**Shri Jaipal Singh:** I have not finished the question. It is a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** It does not arise out of this. The point of order must arise out of the question. It does not arise out of this question—what the Chinese Embassy has done here. The hon. Member will kindly wait and see. There are some adjournment motions relating to that subject.

**Shri Naushir Bharucha:** May I know whether the Government have addressed any communication to the Peking's authorities conveying the Government's reaction to the military occupation of Tibet?

**Mr. Speaker:** How does it arise out of this?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No, Sir; the military occupation of Tibet has been in existence for the last few years.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** If the Dalai Lama approaches the border, shall he be allowed political asylum here in India, because it is given in the Press that if the Dalai Lama crosses the border, he will not be shot at, but others who cross the border from Tibet will be shot at. So, if the Dalai Lama crosses the border, shall he be given asylum here?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am really unable to understand this question. Is the newspaper correspondent is the Prime Minister of India? Here the hon. Prime Minister has repeatedly said no to each question. If any, when those persons come in, certainly we will consider, not in groups, but each individual case on merits. Why should he unnecessarily embarrass to put a question as to what will happen if the Dalai Lama comes in?

**श्री ओ मुओ तारिक :** मैं इज़्ज़त माब वज़ीरे आज़म से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि ल्हासा में लद्दाख के तकरीबन 60 के करीब लोग मौजूद हैं इसके अलावा वहाँ पर बहुत सारे कुश्क हैं, उनके वापस आने के लिए और उनके सलामती के लिए हकूमत ने क्या इन्तिज़ामात किये हैं?

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू :** हमें तो मालूम नहीं कि लद्दाख के वहाँ लामा या और लोग कितने ल्हासा में थे या उसके इर्द गिर्द में थे क्योंकि हमारे पास कोई फ़ैहरिस्त नहीं है । दो रोज़ हुए हमसे पूछा गया, हमें कहा गया कि दरियाफ्त करें इसके बारे में । चुनांचे फ़ौरन हमने दरियाफ्त करने की कोशिश की है ल्हासा से उनकी ख़ैरियत के बारे में । बात यह है कि यों तो जो हिन्दुस्तान नेशनल जाते हैं, उनकी फ़ैहरिस्त हमारे पास रहती है, लेकिन पुराने ज़माने से लद्दाख के तरफ़ से जो जाते हैं, आमदोरफ्त रहती है, उसकी कोई फ़ैहरिस्त नहीं है और न उनके नाम हमारे पास रहते हैं । लेकिन हम दरियाफ्त कर रहे हैं ।

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Goray.

**Shri B. C. Kamble:** May I know whether it is a fact that the Chinese....

**Mr. Speaker:** I have called Shri Goray.

**Shri Goray:** The Prime Minister said just now about the refugees, that the policy of the government will be decided upon when the need arises. I would like to say that when the need arises it may be rather too late to decide the policy. You cannot start digging a well when you are thirsty. I am saying that the policy should be decided upon just now.

**Mr. Speaker:** He has said so. He has already said about the policy in the House.

**Shri Goray:** I think it is very inadequate, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is all right. That is not under discussion now.

**Shri B. C. Kamble:** Is it a fact that the Chinese authorities have issued orders to shoot? Then, will the Union Government exercise discretion in favour of admitting the refugees in India?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It is very extraordinary. The Chinese order to shoot, if they issued such an order, has no relation to this question of our admitting people or not admitting people. Nothing has happened on the borders of India. It is in the interior of Tibet that this is happening. And, certainly it is not a question of our not having a policy. We have got a very clear policy. But the implementation of that policy depends upon the circumstances. All our check-posts have been informed of the broad policies that should be pursued in these matters. Obviously, I cannot be expected to say that when a large crowd comes suddenly. I should admit it-or if half the population comes. How can I commit the Government of India to any such thing?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Why not?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Because, we will not admit them. I should be quite clear about it, because no country can possibly say, if you take the past history of thousands of years "we will admit everyone".

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Austria admitted thousands of people.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** But we are not Austrians.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Shri Masani's information on the subject is no doubt very intimate. I cannot challenge that. But I do say that no country can give a guarantee, or should give a guarantee, that "we will admit every person who wants to cross the border".

**Shri Tyagi:** On a point of order. It has been conventional in all Parliaments everywhere practically that the Ministers in charge of Foreign Affairs and Defence have been enjoying the privilege of keeping away information on matters pertaining to high diplomatic policy for the safety of the nation itself. Shall we not observe that convention here in this Parliament on matters which pertain to our future relationship, that the Ministers concerned may enjoy the privilege of keeping the information from the House?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not able to understand the point of order.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** I just want to ask one very important question.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I will be forced to take disciplinary action against him.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** Only against me and not against others?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. There must be a limit to this. Does the hon. Member, Shri Tyagi, mean to say that the hon. Prime Minister need not have said all that he has said?

**Shri Tyagi:** I would like to suggest that the hon. Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs and the one in charge of Defence Affairs may have the privilege of keeping information from the House if the situation so requires.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have received notice of some adjournment motions.

**Shri Naushir Bharucha:** We still have to ask some questions. I would like to know whether the Prime Minister has communicated his reactions regarding the latest developments in Tibet to the Chinese authorities, any type of reactions?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No, Sir, if he is referring to the statements which were issued yesterday.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will come to them. There are some adjournment motions on the subject.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** Just one point. I have been abroad for 31 years and I have been often a refugee in a way. The British Government wanted to capture me in Afghanistan. The Afghanistan Government had said, "we cannot give him up". And when I was in Peking, the British Government had extra-territorial rights in China and the British Government wanted to capture me. The French Legation told me: we would inform you if the British take any action against you. So, I was protected all the time in all the countries of the world, non-British countries. Under these circumstances, I can request you, I can beg you that you kindly give asylum to every Tibetan who comes here. There is no harm in it.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have received notice of adjournment motions.....

**Shri Naushir Bharucha:** I request you to permit us to put some more questions.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order, they will not be answered now.

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1 April 1959

Answers to Questions

**DEBATE: MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT**  
**Released by Chinese Embassy of Article in *People's daily*.**

**Mr. Speaker:** I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Shri Khadikar:

"The release by the Chinese Embassy in Delhi of an article in the People's Daily reiterating that the instigation for rebellion in Tibet came from Kalimpong which is termed as centre for collision with imperialism..."

This was disposed of the other day.

"In view of the categorical repudiation by the Prime Minister on Monday the 30<sup>th</sup> March on the floor of the House of the allegation that Kalimpong was the commanding centre of revolt in Tibet, the release thereafter by the Chinese Embassy constitutes violation of the diplomatic privilege enjoyed by the Foreign Embassies in India.

Further, the statement was issued by the Communist Party Secretariat justifying Chinese allegations that Kalimpong was the 'Commanding Centre' of the Tibetan revolt after emphatic repudiation of the same by the Prime Minister. The



statement alleges that 'many shady happenings are taking place at Kalimpong and that a lot of doubtful foreigners are visiting the place'. On the basis of it, the statement further accuses the Indian Government that they are violating *Panch Shila* which enjoins strict neutrality in each other's affairs."

So far as the facts are concerned, there is no doubt about both the facts: whether the Chinese Embassy has issued such a note after the Prime Minister's statement and whether the Communists Party Secretariat has used this expression regarding what happened in Kalimpong. Both of them are correct.

**Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur):** Yes.

**Shri Khadilkar (Ahmednagar):** I may be given an opportunity to say something about it. It is a matter of very serious concern, because the hon. Prime Minister stated categorically last Monday that there is no truth in this allegation. After that, if the communist party and the *People's Daily* repeat that allegation, that means that the Prime Minister is telling a falsehood to this House; that is a question which the House must very seriously consider.

I am not one of those who look with a certain amount of cynical indifference to the happenings in Tibet nor would I like to get hysterical with protests and condemnation of China. I would like to ask whether, in the given situation, acting as the Chinese Government has done in Tibet, it is not a violation of the agreement itself. It is an international matter. Are we not vitally concerned, because all the tribes round the Himalayan range are more or less akin to the Tibetan people? So, our concern about Tibet is not of a political nature; it is much more than that; it is of a human, moral and cultural nature. It must be recognized; it cannot be ignored in any manner by any party in this country.

Another factor is very important. When we accepted China's suzerainty over Tibet, our Government has not accepted the sovereignty of China over Tibet. So, the time has come when we must give serious thought to this matter. We are not interfering; there was no allegation so far, till certain incidents took place inside the Tibetan border that certain agents were acting from Kalimpong; they were imperialist agents, agents of Chiang-kai-shek, etc. Was there any allegation in the Chinese Press to this effect before the trouble started in Tibet? I keep in touch with the news of this nature; there was none. Now, to cover up certain actions of theirs, to make such an allegation against India is, I think, violating certain basic fundamentals on which a solemn agreement was entered into by both the countries.

We have, by our own free will, given up extra-territorial rights over Tibet. I have nothing to say against that. But while giving up the extra-territorial rights, we also made it certain that its local autonomy will remain and will be guaranteed. It was guaranteed by China. I am not concerned with what is being done at the moment from a political angle, but we have to look at it from the wider angle, which resulted in consolidating Asia-African union at Bandung. What is the spirit of Bandung? The spirit of Bandung—the solidarity of Asian countries—was followed by actions in Tibet. It violates the spirit underlying Bandung declarations. Ultimately, the spirit of Bandung and the spirit of Panchsheel should prevail. This statement by the communist party or the allegation in *Peoples' Daily*, I think, violates certain solemn agreements entered into by that great and friendly country with our country. Therefore, any allegation or any suggestion that the Prime Minister was not telling the truth to this House and not taking the House into confidence must be repudiated here and now.

**Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not much concerned with what the foreigners here do. But I am very much concerned with what our own people do. The communist party has passed a resolution in which it says, in spite of the denial of the Prime Minister, that intrigues engineered by the imperialist are going on by the agents of Chiang-kai-shek in our own territory, and that they have information of this. They have no information directly from Kalimpong, but they have information via Peking...

**Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal):** Their Homeland!

**Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi):** Their Fatherland!

**Acharya Kripalani:** ...and therefore, it must be very conclusive. Supposing tomorrow, taking the cue from our nationalists who are the lovers of this country, the Chinese Government be so mad as to think that it was necessary to destroy this nest of intrigue in Indian territory and invaded our territory, the logical conclusion would be, communist party would welcome such an act... (*Interruptions*).

**Some Hon. Members:** Shame.

**Shri Panigrahi (Puri):** You are not to advise here.

**Shrimati Renu Chakarvatty (Basirhat):** There is a limit to our patience (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Nath Pai:** His voice must be heard.

**Shrimati Renu Chakavartty:** He has to withdraw it.

**Shri Nath Pai:** He should not withdraw....(*Interruptions*).

**Acharya Kripalani:** The Speaker must be allowed to have his say....

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Why not allow a discussion? Let us have a discussion...(*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Let there be no disturbance. I understood him only to say that this will lead to this consequence.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravatty:** He said, we would welcome any such intervention. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Let there be no disturbance. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Tangamani (Madurai):** Why don't you ban the communist party and send us all out?

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta-Central):** Here is a Member who has made some accusations. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravatty:** We will take instructions only from you.

**Shri Dasappa:** On a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Tyagi:** It is the 1<sup>st</sup> of April, I am afraid.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Tangamani:** There is a limit to the 1<sup>st</sup> of April.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Let hon. Members try to be a little more patient. No doubt this is an important matter. Certainly there is some kind of trouble going on in Tibet. Now we do not want to allow it to extend to this country. We have very friendly relations with them. Also, as the hon. Prime Minister said their internal matter are not to be brought for discussion here. That is why I did not allow a discussion on this subject.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravatty:** No, no, what he said was...

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. The hon. Lady member is too interpretative. I am really sorry. (*Interruptions*). We have kept quiet for a couple of days in spite of whatever has happened. Naturally, one cannot be sitting quiet if a number of allegations are made from one side or the other which will be derogatory to the country or which will affect us. Therefore, the hon. Prime Minister explained at length every one of these matters. Thereafter these two news items have appeared—one is from the Chinese Embassy in Delhi releasing an article from the “People's Daily” of China and the other is a statement by the Secretariat of the Communist Party of India. The hon. Member while referring to them said that this is a matter which causes deep concern as, apart from what the Embassy says, responsible people belonging to a party in this country have made some allegation or similar allegations. (*Interruptions*). Of course, it is reported. Order, order. What has been stated is their interpretation. I thought of giving the hon. Members an opportunity. In the meanwhile, they are going on talking like this. It is open to any hon. Member here to say what, according to him, is the consequences or the likely consequence of such statements. I was going to give an opportunity to the other side. I thought I might call the hon. Lady Member but in view of her interruptions I am rather hesitant to call her. (*Interruptions*). Order, order. I am not shutting out any Member or some party that certain allegations have been made in the “Peoples' Daily”. Of course, I will certainly give an opportunity to them to say what exactly was meant and, if necessary, and if the “Peoples' Daily” has to be placed here, it will be placed. All I understood from what the Acharya said was that coming as it does from a responsible party, it might be misunderstood. That is all I understood.



**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** No.

**Mr. Speaker:** If it is a little different, it will be understood in that light. That is all. Now let the Acharya continue.

**Acharya Kripalani:** I want your protection to continue what I was saying.

**Mr. Speaker:** Very well, he might continue.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** You will have to withdraw what you said.

**Acharya Kripalani:** That is for the Speaker to decide and he has already decided.

**Mr. Speaker:** Very well. Let all hon. Members take it only in that light.

**Acharya Kripalani:** What I want to submit is that throughout history if there is a country in which intrigues are going on against another country, that country has a right to see that those intrigues are stopped, and if our own people go and say that intrigues are going on in Kalimpong, I say this is very unpatriotic.....

**Shri C. D. Pande:** It is treason.

**Acharya Kripalani:** ...and it is in consonance with the previous conduct of the Communist Party. *(Interruptions)* I strongly protest. After the Prime Minister has said that there is no truth in these allegations, people of our own country, our own nationals, who consider themselves democratic, who consider themselves patriotic, show only one patriotism, and that is for the communist block and nothing else. *(Interruptions)*. I protest against this.

**Shri Tangamani:** Don't bother.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** Acharya Kripalani has chosen to reflect upon the conduct of the Communist Party and of the Members of this House belonging to the Communist Party. *(Interruptions)*.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. What is all this shouting for?

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** You have permitted Acharya Kripalani to say what he wanted. Now may I have my say? What has happened is that throughout the discussion on Tibet we have always tried to maintain the utterest restraint and when all kinds of things were said which would obviously jeopardize the friendly relations between India and China we did not muddy the waters *(Interruptions)*. You have noted that we were ready to take part in the discussion regarding the admissibility or otherwise of the adjournment motion, but we exercised as much of restraint as was recommended by the Prime Minister later on. We did not need his recommendation; we restrained ourselves. But what has happened and what has given the opportunity to Acharya Kripalani to make damaging statements about the Communist Party- the second largest political party in this country? This is a statement issued by our party headquarters.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I will allow him an opportunity. The two points that have been raised in the adjournment motion are- the release by the Chinese Embassy and the statement by the Communist Party Secretariat. The adjournment motion just says:

“Further the statement issued by the Communist Party Secretariat justifying Chinese allegations that Kalimpong was the ‘Commanding Centre’ of the Tibetan revolt after emphatic repudiation of the same by the Prime Minister. The statement alleges that ‘many shady happenings are taking place at Kalimpong and that a lot of doubtful foreigners are visiting the place’”. This is the simple point.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** It is with regard to that that I want to have my say. In regard to Kalimpong in this House some time ago the Prime Minister had himself stated that in Kalimpong a great deal of undesirable goings-on are continuing for a long time *(Interruptions)*.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** There are communists there also.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** In the second place, the Prime Minister in his statement last Monday referred by name to a particular foreign correspondent who gave very tendentious descriptions as to what was happening in Tibet, and that correspondent had never been further than Kalimpong according to what the Prime Minister has said.

**Some Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Some Hon. Members:** Yes, yes.

**Mr. Speaker:** He did not say that.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** He was operating from there. So he was asked to leave Kalimpong and questions were asked in Parliament about this man. That being so...

**Mr. Speaker:** As far as I remember, the Prime Minister said, and there was also laughter in the House, that this person did not visit Kalimpong at all.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** He did not visit the border, that is all.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** But he was operating in Kalimpong and it was from Kalimpong that he wrote a letter to "*The Statesman*" objecting to the order which put a restraint upon him. It was in Kalimpong that these things were taking place. The Prime Minister denied that Kalimpong has been the centre of prejudicial activity in regard to Tibet-China. We certainly accepted his denial. But if the *Peoples' Daily* in China published the communiqué of the Government of that country which says that Kalimpong is a place which is giving a lot of headache, now naturally in view of what is happening in Kalimpong, in view particularly of the foreign correspondent in recent months sending tendentious reports which have been utilized by our friends over here, in view of all that, it is open to any political party in this country to point out to the Government the desirability of keeping a proper check over the activities in Kalimpong. It is from Kalimpong that a former Prime Minister of Tibet has come all the way to Delhi—God knows from where the money came—in order to make representations in a particular fashion and in order to jeopardize the friendship between India and China. That being so, we have not abdicated our responsibility in regard to the maintenance of friendly relationship between India and China and the position of Kalimpong, which has been, on the hon. Prime Minister's own admission, a hotbed of international intrigue. (*Several hon. Members: No, no*). That being so, it is open to us and it is our right and duty to refer to the absolute undesirability of this kind of activity in Kalimpong. That is why it is open to us to say and I resent very strongly, as strongly as I ever can—the slightest reflection coming from the Acharya or anybody else in this House or outside upon our loyalty to this country (*Several hon. Members: No, no*). If this thing goes on like this, to hell with co-operation. If you mean to say that we are disloyal to this country, let us have a fight over it. You know very well who are really and truly loyal to this country. The reflection which comes from this man here, in spite of his eminence, is something which we are not going to stomach and which we are going to reply in the proper way. That is why we resent this kind of an expression.

**C. D. Pande:** I want to protest against the repression...

**The Minister of Finance (Shri Moraji Desai):** Sir, can any hon. Member be referred to as 'this man' in this House?

**Several hon. Members:** Shame, shame.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** I want one minute.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Home Minister.

**Shri Manaen (Darjeeling):** Apart from mentioning the names of the two correspondents, will the hon. Minister be good enough to tell this House as to what definite information he has about what has happened in Kalimpong?

**An. Hon. Member:** Read the newspaper.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura):** I have something important to say.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have to ask the hon. Member, Raja Mahendra Pratap, that he should not go on interrupting like this day in and day out. Unless I call him, he ought not to interfere. I am giving him this warning. In spite of his age, I will be obliged to request him keep out of this House if he persists in doing so. I cannot put up with this kind of interference however great a man he might be.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** Sir, I was helping you

**Mr. Speaker:** He ought not to interrupt.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** I am going to stop all this, but you do not hear me.

**Mr. Speaker:** No, I would not hear him.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** If you know what I am going to say you will see that peace will rule here and peace will rule in Tibet. I beg to say.....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. It is very wrong. The hon. Home Minister.

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri G. B. Pant):** Sir, the hon. Prime Minister dealt with this delicate problem with his usual restraint and dignity the other day. One would have naturally expected that his words will be readily accepted not only by the people in this country but also by those in other countries. He holds a very unrivalled position in the international world (*Interruption*) and his statesmanship, integrity and passion for peace have never been questioned anywhere (*Interruption*). He dealt with the matter, as I said, in a manner which should have carried conviction to everyone at least in this House and if anything has been said thereafter, which is inconsistent with the authoritative observations and remarks made by him, we cannot but deplore such an attitude (*Interruption*).

So far as this particular motion is concerned, it has two parts. One deals with what has appeared in the *Peoples' Daily* of China.

**An hon. Member:** Of India.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** Of India.

**An hon. Member:** No, of China.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** Is it of India or of China?

**An hon. Member:** It is of China

**Shri G. B. Pant:** Hon. Friends on the other side can enlighten me. They will please correct me if I am wrong. But something was written in the *People's Daily*. What has appeared there seems to repudiate what the hon. Prime Minister had stated here the other day. We all have nothing but feelings of friendliness for China. The hon. Prime Minister has been fighting the Chinese cause for the last many years (*Interruption*) and stood against very powerful blocs for the admission of China into the United Nations Organisation. In other ways too, when China was in difficulty the hon. Prime Minister helped China to the utmost extent possible.

Here, we are in a delicate position. We want to maintain that friendliness with China. It is our neighbour and it is a great country. It is one with whom we have entered into an agreement and with whom our association goes back to many many hundreds of years. But, at the same time Tibet is a closer neighbour—a very weak neighbour; one who deserves compassion and pity if nothing else. It consists of almost unarmed people, who give their time to prayers and to devotion and who have hardly any mundane interests. People like that, I think, should be regarded with sympathy by everyone. And, when they are in trouble and when they are faced with a very trying ordeal, I think we cannot but feel that sympathy for them. In fact, we have cultural ties, we have religious ties and we have those ties which poor people have with other people elsewhere and both of us belong to those communities which still have faith in religion and in God. So, there are many ties binding us together. In spite of that so far as political relations go, we want to adhere to the policy which we have accepted in our relations with China and both of us have agreed to the basic principles of *Panchsheel*.

After that clear enunciation of policy by the hon. Prime Minister one would have expected that his words would not be disputed. But this paper has taken a different line. Perhaps the Chinese Government may not have noticed what the hon. Prime Minister has said. If they had, perhaps they would not have repeated what had been repudiated and denied categorically by the External Affairs Ministry and the remarks made by the spokesman of that Ministry had been endorsed by the hon. Prime Minister in the course of his speech. He had also referred to that matter in full details. So, I can quite understand that some of our hon. Members should feel perturbed and concerned when the solemn statement made by the hon. Prime Minister is in any way disputed by any section of our people in this country. The words used in the communiqué, I am told—I do not know if I am right; perhaps I shall stand corrected if they are wrong, but the communiqué issued by the Central Office of the Communist Party says....

**Mr. Speaker:** Have hon. Members got a copy of that statement?

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** It is there.

**Mr. Speaker:** We cannot go by a newspaper.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** The communiqué issued by the Central Office of the Communist Party says that Kalimpong was the commanding centre of the revolt. These are the words which had appeared in the report that was published by the Chinese news agency. And if these words have also been confirmed by the Central Office of the Communist Party, after they have had the opportunity of listening to what the Prime Minister had said...

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** May I read out a portion of that statement?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. When I asked the hon. Member to give me an authoritative statement, he said, no.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** No. I have got it here. I was showing it from here.

**Shri Nagi Reddy (Anantapur):** I can clarify it.....

**Shri Tangamani:** Is the hon. Minister reading from an authoritative statement issued by the party office?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I shall call Shri Tangamani by name. Should he go on talking when four others of the same party also are talking?

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** I want to read a portion .....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I have allowed them to speak. I have allowed them to make interruptions also. He says every blessed thing which will destroy the goodness or the orderly manner in which this should happen. I have not been preventing them. But let it go on in an orderly manner. If Shri S. M. Banerjee wants to speak, let him speak.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** I want only one minute. The statement is here in *The Hindustan Times*.

**Mr. Speaker:** Is it an authoritative statement?

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** It is a quotation; I am reading out that quotation.....

**Mr. Speaker:** This is in the newspaper. The hon. Minister also has got that.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, these are the words.....

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** This is from a different paper. I can clarify it because.... (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Unless the hon. Member has got an authoritative version, we shall go by the newspaper here. (*Interruptions*.) Let there be no interruptions. Let me see. At the end, if an explanation is necessary, I shall give him an opportunity. Let him wait.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** I am not aware if Shri S. M. Banerjee is a Member of the Politbureau.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** There is no Politbureau Member here. They are outside.... (*Interruptions*)

**Shri G. B. Pant:** Then, the hon. Member is in no better position than I am; it is no better than that; his position is in no way better than mine.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** I shall read out the correct version of it impartially.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** These words have been used in the adjournment motion that this thing was said; and the Speaker had made inquiries. And I understood that this was almost accepted that the facts that had appeared were in this adjournment motion and were correctly stated. But, as I mentioned, if it has not been said, then what is stated in the adjournment motion would not be correct. If it has been said, I would not only consider it unfortunate but extremely deplorable that a statement like this should have appeared....

**Several hon. Members:** Hear, hear (*Interruptions*).

**Shri G. B. Pant:** .....after the Prime Minister had made his statement in this House and a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry had definitely stated that this charge as utterly unfounded and baseless. In the circumstances, if

Members here feel that such statements are likely to give a wrong impression to the outside people, I think that feeling must be respected. It does give rise to some sort of misunderstanding. Then, there is another statement here which is still equally important and worth noticing.

“The statement further accuses the Indian Government that they are violating *Panchsheel* which enjoins strict neutrality and non-intervention in each other's affairs.”.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** That is a complete distortion.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** I am relying only on the statement.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Minister has got a copy. What is the meaning of interrupting like this?

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** We were not asked to bring the copy. I would bring it tomorrow morning.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let him keep quiet and listen.

**Shri Tangamani:** If the hon. Minister has not got the authoritative copy, let him only refer to.....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. In spite of my repeated requests, no hon. Member is able to give me an authoritative version. We all go by that appears in the newspaper.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** If you give me half an hour, I shall bring it. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** There cannot be interruptions like this. Hon. Members on both sides are relying upon newspaper reports. One newspaper says something and omit something else and another newspaper says something more.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** Why not we get it?

**Mr. Speaker:** ..... Therefore, I shall allow both sides to refer to newspapers; unless we get an authoritative statement, we shall be proceeding on this. Let there be no interruption.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** You may read from my newspaper.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am going to refer to it. When the communist Party gave the names of speakers, I found Shri S. M. Banerjee's name missing. But, now, I do not know why he is particular about this.

**An hon. Member:** He is not a Member of the Communist Party.

**S. M. Banerjee:** I am an Independent. But I have every sympathy with the Communist Party, and I support every right action of theirs.

**Mr. Speaker:** He is not a Member of the Communist Party.

Speaker: **Shri Tangamani:**

We were not given any information that the adjournment motion would be coming up and we would have to bring that statement. (*Interruptions*).....

**Shri G. B. Pant:** .....no cause for provocation or irritation. That is far from my intention. And I tried to deal with matters in a dispassionate and detached way, so far as I possibly can.

So, I am saying that if there is any sort of allegation or insinuation or suggestion in the statement that the Government of India had failed in observing the principles of *Panchseel*, *Panchsheel* of which the Prime Minister is the father.....

**Shri Tangamani:** Shadow boxing.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** The word was really ushered into existence by him; many of the sovereign States have now accepted it, and have agreed to pay their homage and allegiance to it. It would be a matter of regret if the Prime Minister were to be repudiated by some of his own countrymen.....

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** No, it has not been done. Who said that?

**Shri G. B. Pant:** Then, my statement is.....

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** Why should he go on saying that we have repudiated something, which we have not done. He is a responsible Home Minister. And he ought not to say this kind of thing.

**Mr. Speaker:** He is entitled to read what has been made in the statement. Hon. Members have made a statement. I have allowed Shri H. N. Mukerjee to have his say. Let the hon. Minister explain his own standpoint. I shall ultimately decide what is to be done.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** I am basing my remarks on what has been stated in the text of the adjournment motion itself.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** I shall get the statement in half an hour.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** I am not referring to anything extraneous or external to it. Everything that I have said is germane to and arises out of the text of the adjournment motion itself. So, what I am saying is this that if this is correct, then I take it that the Mover has taken good care to see that the words that he has used are really authentic and correct. So, I am saying that if anybody here in our country has said that the Government of India has infringed the basic principles of *Panchsheel* that would be a matter of deep regret to everyone of us here, because, the Prime Minister has, as I said a minute earlier, persuaded many other countries, to accept this *Panchsheel*, and among other countries, China too. So, it would be a matter of real sorrow and even of anguish to some of us, if it were said that the Government of India had failed to act up to their professions with regard to the solemn doctrine of *Panchsheel*. So, I am in agreement with the spirit of the remarks made by the Mover.....

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Allow a discussion.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** .....and also to a large extent with what Acharya Kripalani has said.

**Several hon. Members:** Hear, hear.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** He is not prepared to read the final statement we have made, and yet he is making a statement like this..(Interruptions).

**Shri G. B. Pant:** Every observation that has been made....(Interruptions)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Let us hear the hon. Minister.

**Shri G. B. Pant:** I hope that when the hon. Members who seem to be a little excited cool down a little, they themselves will probably agree with every word of what I have said. That is all that I have to say.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** May I ask a question to the hon. Home Minister?

**Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated-Anglo-Indians):** I want a clarification from the hon. Home Minister with regard to the first point raised in this adjournment motion. I submit with respect that it raises a very vital matter in respect of diplomatic convention. Can any Embassy which enjoys certain immunities in this country issue a statement in effect saying that the Prime Minister of the country is a liar, that the Government of the country.....

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** It is not issued by the Embassy.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** As far as I can make you said that the Embassy here had either released or endorsed a statement, had released or endorsed it. Could the Pakistan High Commission, for instance, issue a statement here saying that the Government of India is conniving at, or encouraging, subversive activities in Pakistan.....

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** It is not done.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** .....and our own Embassy say this is in Peking? They would not be permitted to say, they would be turned out at least. I mean it is a vital matter. What is the Government's reaction to this obvious abuse of diplomatic privilege?

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** One question, sir.

**Shri Raja Mahendra Pratap:** You hear me, all trouble will end.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have heard both sides.



**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** We would like to reply.

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no question of replying in this.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** I just want information from the hon. Home Minister.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** We have not got an opportunity.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** I want to clarify the position of the Communist Party. It has not been clarified.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not going to hear.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** May I request you one thing? Just one sentence. I will make a request.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have allowed Shri Hiren Mukerjee to speak.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** You have allowed so many others to speak also.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** Tomorrow, I will read out the statement of the Communist Party so that things can be clarified.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I am not going to allow

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** I will send you an official copy of our statement. I make a request. I am prepared to send an official copy of the statement to you, and I only request you to see that, that statement is read for clarification tomorrow in the House so that this distortion may not go on always here.

**Acharya Kripalani:** Shri Anthony has asked a question from the Home Minister about diplomatic immunities. I suppose that question must be answered.

**Mr. Speaker:** When is the hon. Prime Minister returning?

**The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha):** He is returning tomorrow. He will be present in the House tomorrow.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** To the hon. Home Minister I want to ask one thing.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** May I request an answer from you for my enquiry?

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** You were pleased to call me. They are not giving a chance.

**Mr. Speaker:** No harm. He will have an opportunity.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Only a question.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not passing any final orders now.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Rose-

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not going to allow him now.

An adjournment motion has been placed before the House stating that after the Prime Minister's statement, the Chinese Embassy in India has circulated a copy of an article appearing in the *People's Daily* of China, where it is said to have attributed that the centre of rebellious activity-that is what I find in the adjournment motion-is still in Kalimpong.

It also refers to a statement issued by the Communist Party of India stating among others that "many shady happenings are taking place at Kalimpong and that a lot of doubtful foreigners are visiting the place".

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Quite right.

**Acharya Kripalani:** Quite right?

**Mr. Speaker:** Quite right. These two statements are made after hon. Prime Minister's statement, and are likely to bring about unfriendly relations, or snap the friendly relations that exist between the two neighboring countries of India and China.

Regarding the earlier one relating to the issue of the circulation of a paper by the Embassy, a point was raised as to

whether it was open to any Embassy to carry on or to circulate certain papers notwithstanding the fact that the Prime Minister of this country had made a statement. That is a matter of policy which has to be investigated or which has to be explained.

Regarding the second point, I have been given the P.T.I. report wherein, substantially, though not word for word, the same thing appears:

“Referring in this connection to the Chinese charge that Kalimpong has become the command centre of Tibetan rebels, the statement said, ‘we all know that many shady happenings are taking place in Kalimpong and that a lot of doubtful foreigners are visiting this place’”.

Therefore, so far as that statement is concerned, the statement is not challenged.

In the adjournment motion two statements are made, one relating to the Embassy circulating the paper, a copy or an extract; the other one a statement by the Communist Party of India. The Communist Party still says here, agreeing with what that paper has said, that Kalimpong is the centre of all this trouble.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** On a point of order, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no question of point of order.

The hon. Members on this side have said that it is true, and therefore they stick to it. Here is a statement of the hon. Prime Minister that it was suggested some time ago that there were some people carrying on not an intrigue but a whole conspiracy here. That was exaggerated and at the same time, he has seen to it that nothing happens. But there is a definite statement by a responsible party here notwithstanding even the recent reiteration of the hon. Prime Minister. This is likely, as Acharya Kripalani has said, to embitter the feelings between the two great countries. This is a very serious matter, if it is true.

So far as whether it is open to them from a diplomatic standpoint or not, that is also a serious matter for this House to consider.

If these statements are allowed to be made, if they are false, it may create disturbances or difficulties in the way of our foreign policy. I do not make light of this matter. Anyhow, the hon. Prime Minister is not here. Let us wait.

In the meanwhile, if the hon. Members here belonging to the Communist Party want to place the statement, a true copy of the statement here, I shall only be too glad to receive it.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** May I just beg you.....

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** I had given notice of an adjournment motion about *Pravada's* comment yesterday. You had written to me and I want to approach you. What has been your decision about that?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is irrelevant now.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** The *Pravada* has again published it.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Right though this entire debate that has been going on, one point has never occurred either to the hon. Home Minister or those great upholders of the dignity of India, that in the Communist Party statement, which has also appeared in this Press, there is a statement saying that an enquiry is being requested, an investigation by the Prime Minister. I think it is quite within our jurisdiction, and we have done it right throughout; we have not accepted the fact which has been stated on the basis of a little chit from the Deputy Minister to the Prime Minister that these foreigners have not been there and that they have not been intriguing there. Therefore, are we not within our rights, even being fully patriotic Indians, if some things are happening there, to ask the Prime Minister to institute an enquiry? Why has this thing been right throughout completely subdued and completely kept away from the House by the hon. Home Minister? We are completely within our rights.

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):** The hon. Member thinks that the Prime Minister has been making statements without making enquiries. I take very strong exception to that.

Secondly, the matter had been brought to the notice of the Government by the Chinese Embassy last July, and a



thorough- going enquiry was made into all the allegations made by the Chinese Government, and we have sent an aide *memoire* dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1958 repudiating all the charges, giving them the result of our enquiry, and not one of them was found correct. And it is on the basis of that report that the Prime Minister has made his statement. There is no reason why we should make another inquiry just because the Communist Party wants it.

With regard to the second point, as to whether there was a violation of diplomatic privileges, actually there is really no violation of diplomatic privileges as such, but it is highly improper for any Mission posted in any country to make any critical statement about the Government of that country or its activities. It is not the function of a Mission posted anywhere, in any country, to make a critical estimate of that Government's policy or to criticize the activities of that Government. In this case, the Prime Minister's integrity has been challenged, his honesty has been challenged. We take very strong exception,.... (*Interruptions*)-what is the point of shouting? We take very strong exception to the statement made by the Communist Party, the full text of which has already appeared....

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Where?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** ....in the *Times of India*. It is true that in that statement, by implication, they do say that a Government which is committed to *Panchsheel* has been giving a portion of its territory for carrying on subversive propaganda or subversive activities against them. Sir, I categorically deny that this has been done, and on behalf of the Government, I can say that no part of India will be used ever by any country or any group to do propaganda or carry on subversive activities against any country, much less against a friendly country like China.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** May we be allowed to place on the Table of the House a statement....

**Mr. Speaker:** All that I can say is that this matter will stand over till tomorrow.

There is one other thing. Shrimati Reenu Chakravartty said that she feels, and her party feels, that these subversive activities are happening in Kalimpong, but that they only want an investigation to be made by the hon. Prime Minister. Sitting here, I can only say that there are ways of bringing this matter to the notice of the Prime Minister. The hon. Prime Minister said only day before yesterday that these activities are not being carried on, they have made inquiry and so on. So to say this in a paper or in a statement to the Press is not necessary, they might have written to the Prime Minister saying, 'Notwithstanding this, we have got this information'. Therefore, it is that Acharya Kripalani said that it is not right to do this. Let this stand over. As to who is right and who is wrong will be decided by the House.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** On a point of explanation...

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Prime Minister will be here tomorrow.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Will the Home Minister reply to one question?

**Shriamti Renu Chakravartty:** May I ask whether tomorrow the entire question of the charges which we have in our possession regarding espionage there will also be allowed to be discussed?

**Mr. Speaker:** I have postponed my decision as to whether to admit the motion or not. I shall hear the hon. Prime Minister tomorrow and make up my mind as to whether it ought to be admitted. If I admit it, I will allow a discussion tomorrow evening. Every adjournment motion, if admitted, will be taken up at the end of the day. Therefore, if it is admitted, all hon. Members will have an opportunity to bring whatever records or materials they may like us to have. They won't be taken by surprise. All this will happen only after admission. This is only the preliminary stage.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** What about the lathi charge?

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** May I know whether it is a fact that a certain very important member of the Communist Party of India was called by the Chinese Embassy here and certain consultations were held there, certain briefs were given and after that a meeting was held and some decisions were taken? Will the Home Minister inquire about this? Also ....(*Interruptions*)

**An Hon. Member:** What is there for the Home Minister to inquire?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** This kind of counter-challenging has been allowed in the past that certain people are spies in the headquarters of the Communist Party. They could not prove it but it remained on the records and this sort

of tendentious things are being allowed by you.

**Mr. Speaker:** Very well. The hon. Lady Member admits that they will go and talk by saying, why should they not?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** I object strongly to the way you have tried to distort the whole matter.

**Mr. Speaker:** What has she said? I cannot understand.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** My point is that you have tried directly to distort what I have said. I have not once agreed that we are going to talk with the Chinese Embassy every day. Is that what you are saying? Is that what I have said?

**Mr. Speaker:** Now Papers to be laid on the Table.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I rise to a point of order....

**The Minister of Mines and Oil (Shri K. D. Malaviya):** With your permission, may I ....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order please (*Laughter*).

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** My point of order refers to this. You permitted Shri Braj Raj Singh to make a certain statement and put that on the record of the House and also to be communicated to the Press of the world. That refers to an allegation that a particular Embassy had certain contacts with some particular Members of the House.

**An Hon. Member:** He said Communist Party.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** As far as the fact of the situation is concerned, personally I can certainly say this that there is no harm done if Members of this House go anywhere. But as far as we are concerned, as far as Communists in this House are concerned, I can categorically deny that there is any such connection between us and the Embassy of any country here, and, therefore, the insinuation is completely wrong. Besides, from the point of view of diplomatic relationship, I think it is highly improper for Members of this House to insinuate that Members of certain Embassies, Embassies of Socialist countries in particular, have a kind of peculiar relationship with Members of the Communist Party. That is a matter of which you have to take note. What I have been noticing in these proceedings is that you are rather soft in regard to allowing certain things to get into the record, things which militate against the Communist Party. That we can look after ourselves. The Communist Party can look after itself. But as a matter of fact, we are entitled to protection from you to see that any improper remarks, remarks which go against the whole grain of our relationship with others, are not put on the record. But sometimes you are soft in allowing such things. (*Interruptions*)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** You hear everybody. You hear me also.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will hear him later.

Shri Braj Raj Singh has tried to draw the attention of the House to what he had heard or to what he had been informed, that some Members of the Communist Party had discussions with the Chinese Embassy.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** I did not say that. I said a very important member of the Communist Party was called. I did not say 'any Member of the House'. I wanted to know about it from the Home Minister. (*Interruptions*)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. It is all on record. (*Interruptions by several Members from the Communist Group*).

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** They were traitors in 1942. क्या बात कर रहे हैं ?  
(*Interruptions*)

**Mr. Speaker:** So far as I am concerned, I would never like to give any impression that I am not holding the scales even. I am sorry if I created an impression of that kind. I would be the last person to create such an impression, or to do anything to create such an impression in the mind of any hon. Member in this House or any Party. So far as I am concerned, all Parties are entitled to respect. Each Party is trying to do its best to serve this country. (*An Hon. Member: Doubtful*).

I do not make any distinction. It may be that each individual Party thinks that it is superior to the other Party. So far as I am concerned, all Parties are equal.

Shri Braj Raj Singh wanted to bring that matter to the notice of the hon. Home Minister. I understood from the manner in which the hon. Lady Member got up-and there was some disturbance then-that she said-"There is no harm in seeing". I do not know. It may be a misunderstanding. I thought she said-"What is the harm if I go and see?" (*prolonged laughter*). That was how I understood.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** No, no. I never said that. (*Interruptions*) You are distorting what I said.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is a mistake. I am saying it is a mistake. (*Interruptions*) If hon. Members disturb members of other parties who are speaking, it is all right. But some hon. Members disturb when members of their own party are speaking and that is why sometimes I am not able to hear them properly (*Interruptions*).

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Even if we are 30 members, we are not frightened to face a hostile House. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. So, the matter stands.  
Papers to be laid on the Table, Shri A. M. Thomas.

**Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur):** Sir, what about my adjournment motion?

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** And about other adjournment motions, Sir?

**Mr. Speaker:** I have disallowed those motions.

**Shri Vajpayee:** Sir, I had given notice of an adjournment motion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Raja Mahendra Pratap.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** Sir, I just want to say a few words. I want peace in this House and I want peace in Tibet. I say if these gentlemen can endear themselves to China they can be very useful in bringing about peace in Tibet. We can send them to Peking, China. (*Interruptions*). If I were the Prime Minister, I will make list of these, our communist friends. I will say: 'Thank you very much for your objecting to my declaration.' (*Interruption*). I would have said: 'You did very right in saying that my statement was wrong. By saying this, you endear yourselves to China. China became pleased with you. So you are the best instruments for peace. You are patriots; you cannot be unpatriotic, no hon. friends here is unpatriotic. So we can utilize you for peace.' (*Interruptions*). Our Jan Sanghi people and these people who are objecting to the conditions in Tibet can be sent to Kalimpong and they can try to influence the Tibetans from there and bring peace. We want peace in this House and we want peace in the world.

**Mr. Speaker:** Papers to be laid on the Table; Shri A. M. Thomas.

**Shri Vajpayee:** What about my adjournment motion, Sir?

**Mr. Speaker:** I have disallowed that motion.

**Shri Vajpayee:** But there is no reason given, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr. Vajpayee will come and see me in the Chamber.

**Shri Vajpayee:** No, Sir.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Shri Vajpayee and Shri Assar and others had given notice.....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. (*Interruptions*). I am not going to allow this kind of interruptions.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Sir, have we forgotten Delhi? We have confined ourselves to Tibet only.

**Mr. Speaker:** I want Mr. Banerjee to keep out of the House for the rest of the day.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** I am going, Sir. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** He is so much interrupting the business of this House that I hereby order him to withdraw from the House for the rest of the day.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Sir, I am going. But this adjournment motion means.....

**Mr. Speaker:** Let him withdraw.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Yes, Sir, I am going.

**Mr. Speaker:** I cannot put up with this kind of interruptions any more.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Thank you very much, Sir.  
(Shri S. M. Banerjee then left the House.)

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** May I submit, Sir.....

**Mr. Speaker:** No, no. Papers to be laid on the Table.

**The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. M. Thomas):** Sir, I beg to lay on the Table under.....

**Shri Vajpayee:** Sir, I rise to move an adjournment motion. If the adjournment motion is not going to be admitted, I must know the reasons why it is not going to be admitted.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have disallowed the motion.

**Shri Vajpayee:** On what ground, Sir?

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us get along Mr. Thomas. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Vajpayee:** It is not a continuing matter, Sir. (*Interruptions*). There is no State Assembly, and Parliament is the only forum. There was a violent lathi charge.

**Shri Punnoose (Ambalapuzha):** One word, Sir.

**Shri Tangamani:** There is a Municipal Corporation.....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. There must be an order maintained in the House. Mr. Vajpayee, Mr. Assar, Shri Braj Raj Singh jointly sent me a notice of an adjournment motion. I disallowed that adjournment motion.

**Shri Punnoose:** It is very important, Sir. It happened in Delhi and not in Tibet.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let it happen here. If I disallow an adjournment motion should they go on moving it? Then what is the use of my disallowing it? (*Interruptions*).

Order, order. I am going to allow a short-notice question regarding the subject of that adjournment motion. I may tell the House that it is about the death of somebody of Tibetan origin who died in police custody. That is what is reported in the Press. That ought to be brought in by this adjournment motion. Should there be an adjournment motion if somebody dies? Death is deplorable. But, I will allow a short-notice question on that matter. I am going to allow the Minister to make a statement or answer that short-notice question.

If after each adjournment motion is disallowed, an hon. Member gets up and says: "This is my adjournment motion and I intend stating it here", then I will have to close the shop and go. Things are being done here in such a way that I am exceedingly sorry that hon. Members do not observe decorum. I am trying to accommodate every hon. Member. They have to satisfy me. I have been saying this for three or four days. Nobody has cared to see me. Hon. Members want to make statements here. They can come and see me and convince me about the thing. I have not been asked to revise my decision. I am prepared to meet them. Shri Banerjee or Shri Braj Raj Singh or Shri Vajpayee. They can come and satisfy me as to why I should revise my decision. Then I shall bring it before the House. So.....

**Shri V. P. Nayar (Quilon):** Sir, I would submit that Mr. Banerjee who has been ordered by you to leave the House did not give an adjournment motion on the death of the Tibetan. As I understand, Sir, his motion was with reference to the lathi charge right under our nose at Delhi. There is no State Legislature. I feel that a Member is entitled to know the reason of your ruling.

**Mr. Speaker:** I said it is a simple matter of law and order. If some people gather and the police ask them to go and they refuse are beaten by police, immediately, an adjournment motion is brought in. This Parliament is spending thousands of rupees everyday, and should we take up the time of the House like this? Is it necessary that an hon. Member should get

up and go on disturbing the House? There is a limit to this.

Yes, let us go to the next item papers to be laid on the Table.



**3 April 1959**

**Answers to Questions**

### **STATEMENT RE: THE DALAI LAMA**

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** The other day, three days ago, I think, when I was speaking about recent happenings in Tibet, I mentioned that I would keep the House informed of every fresh development. In the last two days, day before yesterday and yesterday, we have been receiving a number of messages. They were often delayed because they had to come through a rather devious route.

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

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

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

**Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad):** I want a clarification, which is a very important one.

**Shri Khadilkar (Ahmednagar):** I want a little more information.

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

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

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

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** We do not know if we have given him.

**An hon. Member:** We have.

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

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** So far as Mr. Khadilkar's question is concerned, about spiritual rights, etc., I cannot answer it. It is a complicated matter which will have to be considered. But there is no doubt that he will receive respectful treatment.

**Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khandesh):** Is it a fact that the Dalai Lama was injured?

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

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

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**22 April 1959**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### INDIAN CONSUL-GENERAL IN LHASA

**S.N.Q. No. 28 — Shri S.A. Mehdi:**

**Shri Nath Pai:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

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

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

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

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

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** No, Sir.

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

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

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** इस समय जो हमारे कौंसुलेट जनरल पर से प्रतिबन्ध हटा लिये गये हैं तो क्या इसका यह अर्थ है कि वह केवल ल्हासा नगर में ही बिना किसी प्रतिबन्ध के घूम सकते हैं या सारे तिब्बत में दौरा कर सकते हैं?

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** फ़िलहाल यह तो खाली ल्हासा नगर का सवाल था ! अब और जगहों पर तो जाना मैं समझता हूँ कि उनके लिए कठिन होगा !



**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** I just want to say.....

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member may ask and not say.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** I ask a question. I say we have enemies on the West; we have enemies on the East. Is it proper to create more enemies in the North? We are friendly to Tibet; but we should not say things that annoy China. That is what I say. Is it proper?



**27 April 1959**

**Answers to Questions**

### **STATEMENT RE: SITUATION IN TIBET**

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

A few days ago, the Dalai Lama and his party reached Mussoorie, where Government had made arrangements for their stay. I have had occasion to visit Mussoorie since then and have had a long talk with the Dalai Lama.

In the course of the last few days, reports have reached us that considerable numbers of Tibetans, numbering some thousands, have recently crossed into the Kameng Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency and some hundreds have also entered the territory of Bhutan. They sought asylum, and we have agreed to this. Some of them who carried arms were disarmed. We do not know the exact number yet. Temporary arrangements are being made in a camp for their maintenance until they can be dispersed in accordance with their wishes and the necessities governing such cases. We could not leave these refugees to their own resources. Apart from the humanitarian considerations involved, there was also the law and order problem to be considered. We are grateful to the Government of Assam for their help and co-operation in this matter.

So far as the Dalai Lama and his party are concerned, we had to take adequate measures on grounds of security and also to protect them from large numbers of newspaper correspondents, both Indian and foreign, who, in their anxiety to obtain first hand information in regard to a matter of world importance, were likely to harass and almost overwhelm the Dalai Lama and his party. While we were anxious to give protection to the Dalai Lama and his party, we were agreeable to giving these newspapermen suitable opportunities to see him. I had received an appeal from nearly 75 representatives of news agencies and newspaper from Tezpur requesting me to give them such an opportunities. A senior officer of the External Affairs Ministry was, therefore, deputed to proceed to Tezpur in advance to deal with the press representatives and photographers who had assembled in that small town of Assam. This officer made the necessary administrative arrangements to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of the newspapermen to see the Dalai Lama and to photograph him. Soon after entering India, the Dalai Lama indicated his wish to make a statement. We were later informed that this statement would be released at Tezpur. Our officer made arrangements for the distribution of a translation of the statement to the newspaper correspondents.

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

I need not tell the House that the Dalai Lama entered India entirely of his own volition. At no time had we suggested that he should come to India. We had naturally given thought to the possibility of his seeking asylum in India and when such request came, we readily granted it. His entry with a large party in a remote corner of our country created special problems of transport, organization and security. We deputed an officer to meet the Dalai Lama and his party at Bomdila and to escort them to Mussoorie. The particular officer was selected because he had served as Consul-General in Lhasa and therefore was to some extent known to the Dalai Lama and his officials. The selection of Mussoorie for the Dalai Lama's stay was not finalized till his own wishes were ascertained in the matter and he agreed to it. There was no desire on our part to put any undue restrictions on him, but in the special circumstances, certain arrangements had necessarily to be made to prevent any mishap. It should be remembered that the various events in Tibet, culminating in the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa and entry into India had created tremendous interest among the people of India and in the

world press. After his arrival in Mussoorie, steps were taken to prevent the Dalai Lama from being harassed by crowds of people trying to see him as well as by newspapermen. Apart from this, no restrictions about his movement were placed on him. He has been told that he and his party can move about Mussoorie according to their wishes. It should be remembered that the Dalai Lama has recently not only had a long strenuous and dangerous journey, but has also had harrowing experiences which must affect the nerves of even a hardened person. He is only just 24 years of age.

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

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

Another and an even stranger allegation has been made about "Indian expansionists" who, it is alleged, are inheritors of the British tradition of imperialism and expansion. It is perfectly true that British policy was one of expansion into Tibet and that they carried this out by force of arms early in this century. That was, in our opinion, an unjustified and cruel adventure which brought much harm to the Tibetans. As a result of that, the then British Government in India established certain extra territorial rights in Tibet. When India became independent, we inherited some of these rights. Being entirely opposed to any such extra territorial rights in another country, we did not wish to retain them. But in the early days after Independence and partition, our hands were full, as this House well knows, and we had to face very difficult situations in our own country. We ignored, if I may say so, Tibet. Not being able to find a suitable person to act as our representative at Lhasa, we allowed for some time the existing British representative to continue at Lhasa. Later an Indian took his place. Soon after the Chinese armies entered Tibet, the question of these extra territorial rights was raised and we readily agreed to give them up. We would have given them up anyhow, whatever developments might have taken place in Tibet. We withdrew our army detachments from some places in Tibet and handed over Indian postal and telegraph installations and rest houses. We laid down the Five Principles of the Panchsheel and placed our relationship with the Tibet region on a new footing. What we were anxious about was to preserve the traditional connections between India and Tibet in regard to pilgrim traffic and trade. Our action in this matter and whatever we have done subsequently in regard to Tibet is proof enough of our policy and that India had no political or ulterior ambitions in Tibet. Indeed, even from the narrowest practical point of view, any other policy would have been wrong and futile. Ever since then we have endeavoured not only to act up to the agreement we made, but to cultivate the friendship with the Chinese State and people.

It is therefore a matter of the deepest regret and surprise to us that charges should be made which are both unbecoming and entirely void of substance. We have conveyed this deep feeling of regret to the Chinese Government, more especially at the speeches delivered recently in the current session of the National People's Congress in Peking.

I stated some time ago that our broad policy was governed by three factors: (1) the preservation of the security and integrity of India; (2) our desire to maintain friendly relations with China; and (3) our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet. We shall continue to follow that policy because we think that is a correct policy not only for the present but even more so for the future. It would be a tragedy if the two great countries of Asia- India and China- which have been peaceful neighbours for ages past, should develop feelings of hostility against each other. We for our part will follow this policy, but we hope that China also will do likewise and that nothing will be said or done which endangers the friendly relations of the two countries which are so important from the wider point of view of the peace of Asia and the world. The Five Principles have laid down, *inter alia* mutual respect for each other. Such mutual respect is gravely impaired if unfounded charges are made and the language of the cold war used.

I have already made it clear previously that the charge that Kalimpong was the centre of the Tibetan rebellion is wholly unjustified. We have large number of people of Tibetan stock living in India as Indian nationals. We have also some Tibetan émigrés in India. All of these deeply respect the Dalai Lama. Some of these have been exceedingly unhappy at developments in Tibet; some, no doubt, have anti-Chinese sentiments. We have made it clear to them that they will not be permitted to carry on any subversive activities from India, and I should like to say that by and large they have acted in accordance with the directions of the Government of India. I cannot obviously say that some one has not done something secretly, but to imagine or say that a small group of persons sitting in Kalimpong organised a major upheaval in Tibet seems to me to make a large draft on imagination and to slur over obvious facts.

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

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

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

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

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

attempt to explain a situation by the use of rather wornout words, phrases and slogans, is seldom helpful.

When the news of these unhappy developments came to India, there was immediately a strong and widespread reaction. The Government did not bring about this reaction. Nor was this reaction essentially political. It was largely one of sympathy based on sentiment and humanitarian reasons and also a certain feeling of kinship with the Tibetan people derived from long-established religious and cultural contacts. It was an instinctive reaction. It is true that some people in India sought to profit by it by turning it in an undesirable direction. But the fact that reaction of the Indian people was there if that was the reaction here, one may well imagine the reaction among the Tibetans themselves. Probably this reaction is shared in the other Buddhist countries of Asia. When there are such strong feelings, which are essentially not political, they cannot be dealt with by political methods alone, much less by military methods. We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet; we have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China, but at the same time, we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet, and we are greatly distressed at their hapless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China, in their wisdom, will not use their great strength against the Tibetan but will win them through friendly co-operation in accordance with the assurance they have themselves given about the autonomy of the Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease.

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

**Shri Khadilkar (Ahmednagar):** Of course, I know there is no opportunity for discussion; I do not want to press it, but I would like to have a little clarification,.....

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall get copies of this circulated to all hon. Members. Let them read it.

**Shri Khadilkar:** Some clarification is called for.

**Mr. Speaker:** Not now. Hon. Members will read the statement leisurely and then let us see.

**Shri Khadilkar:** Will you give some time for discussion?

**Mr. Speaker:** I cannot make any promise. Can I go on making promises to other hon. Members also? Let any proper motion come in proper time. Let hon. Members take time to study all this and make up their mind as to whether there is anything more that has to be clarified. All this I have to consider.

Speaker: **Shri Hem Barua:** I want a little clarification.

Speaker: **Mr. Speaker:** Not now. Hon. Members will kindly read the statement, and then if really there is some very important matter, we shall see.

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**5 May 1959**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**तिब्बती आप्रवासी**

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:**

**श्री रघुनाथ सिंह:**

**4007 श्री हेम बरूआ:**

**श्री से० आ० मेहदी:**

**श्री प्र० ग० देव:** क्या प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) जब से तिब्बत में हाल का विद्रोह आरम्भ हुआ है तब से अब तक कितने तिब्बतियों ने भारत में प्रवेश किया;
- (ख) वे किन किन दरों से कितनी कितनी संख्या में भारत में प्रविष्ट हुए;
- (ग) उन में से कितने तिब्बतियों को भारत में राजनैतिक शरण दी जा चुकी है;
- (घ) वे भारत के किन-किन स्थानों पर बस गये हैं; और
- (ङ.) उन के पुनर्वास और उन्हें अन्य प्रकार की सहायता देने की क्या व्यवस्था की जा रही है?

**प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू):**

- क) पहली मार्च के बाद से जिन तिब्बतियों ने यात्रा पत्रों (ट्रेवल पेपर्स) के बगैर भारत में प्रवेश किया है, उनकी ठीक संख्या तो मालूम नहीं है, पर वे 7500 के लगभग होंगे ।
- ख) लगभग 1500 लोग चुथांगमू के पास वाले दर्रे से होकर आये हैं और लगभग 5000 लोग तुलुंगला से, जो उत्तर-पूर्व सीमान्त एजेंसी के कामंग सीमांत डिवीजन में है, और करीब 700 लोग सिक्किम के नथूला और जेलेपला दरों से होकर आये हैं ।

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**8 May 1959**

**Answers to Questions**

### **DISCUSSION RE: SITUATION IN TIBET**

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Khadilkar.

**Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad):** What is the time allotted for discussion? Up to what time will it go on?

**Mr. Speaker:** The time allotted is 2 and half hours. It is now, say, a quarter past twelve. The discussion has to conclude by a quarter to three.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat):** Does it mean that 20 or so minutes more at the end, for the non-official business, will be given?

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes. That would not be cut. Hon. Members are aware that the time allotted is 2 and half hours. So, I shall restrict each speech to 15 minutes. In the case of the hon. Member who raises the discussion, I will allow him some more minutes, say, five minutes more.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I do not wish to take too much time of the House. 20 minutes will be ample for me.

**Mr. Speaker:** Not 20 minutes for everyone.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am saying that I shall also abide by the rule, - about 15 minutes as far as possible.

**Mr. Speaker:** Normally I do not impose any restriction upon the hon. Prime Minister.

**Shri Khadilkar (Ahmednagar):** Mr. Speaker, I thank you for allowing me an opportunity to raise a discussion on the situation in Tibet. After listening to the comparison in statement about that recent developments in Tibet, by our Prime Minister I had expected that the Chinese Government would take note of it and would stop further campaign, in which we have been accused of interference, expansionism and several other charges have been levelled against us. Unfortunately, the same type of charges have been repeated in this country by the communist party organ and almost every point that was covered by the statement has been challenged in a signed article in the last issue of *New Age*. I felt that the communist party would not at least fail to take note of what the hierarchy which they accept. I mean the Communist hierarchy what at least Lenin said about the freedom of nationalities. But I do not want to repeat here what Lenin said about the question of autonomy or self-determination of people of distinct nationality.



These charges were repeated by responsible persons. We have been painted in the same way as the Americans were painted or even now are being painted in the campaign against them. We have been tarred with the same brush so far as the Chinese Press is concerned. At Mussoorie, the Prime Minister suggested that let the Panchen Lama come over to India or any dignitary of the Chinese State and let them talk the matter over. I felt that it would have been proper and I fervently hoped that China would accept the invitation and instead of bringing it down to the level of a propaganda of a vicious nature, Tibetan issue would be lifted up and taken on a diplomatic level. But unfortunately, it seems that the diplomatic channels are still blocked. I do not know why.

The propaganda that was carried on from the platform of the Chinese People's Congress is now being carried on through the columns of the *Peking People's Daily*. Readers are ventilating their views and only yesterday, the *Peking People's Daily* has said, "We shall hit back" in blunt terms. Not only that; I am really surprised that this propaganda is carried on at a still lower level. There are workers' rallies and students' rallies all over China where the minds of the people especially of the younger generation are being poisoned against our country.

I want to know what we have done concerning Tibet. Have we taken some new line? Have we not stated in 1949-50 what we are stating today, or, are we stating something else that we had not communicated before? This is the question. Therefore; I would like to point out what we frankly told before and what we are saying about the Tibetan uprising now. There are several charges; I do not want to repeat them here. They have been answered by our Prime Minister in a most dignified and restrained manner. The Prime Minister knows fully well that in our country, though Government can decide, and even the Prime Minister can say something, but, as it was said once upon a time by Roosevelt, perhaps the Government can remain neutral, but people cannot remain neutral. They make up their decisions. It is a vital moral issue. All the minds cannot be just controlled. In this country, you cannot switch off and switch on the propaganda machine, as is being done in China. It is most unfortunate.

For instance, take the case of interference. I was astounded to read it—a most fantastic charge—and I was reminded of a small incident in jail. While we were prisoners in 1932, in our neighbouring yard, behind a wall, a young prisoner was mercilessly caned. He was shrieking and we could not bear it. We rushed to the door of the yard and protested against the hitting. All the warders came; the Superintendent arrived on the spot and said, "What is this?" We said, we have a right to protest. He ordered us to be locked up in the barracks. Later on, the jail superintendent had recorded in our record books that for interference in the administration of the jail, our privileges were cut off. The charge of interference in the Tibetan affairs is of a similar nature.

Are we going to be silenced because it is a friendly country with whom we have tried to cultivate friendship despite certain issues hanging on fire and because our foreign policy is being guided by certain basic fundamental human values? Are we not to test the events in Tibet on the same touchstone? Are we to be inhibited hence-forward when we are dealing with our neighbour with a different system of Government? While we deal with the problems like Algeria and the Algerian Government in exile do we not openly take sides? Their Prime Minister was here and he was received by our Prime Minister as well as our people. Our relations with France are not in any way hostile. We have expressed our views about Central Africans and the sort of terror practiced against the African people by the British imperialists. So far as Tibet is concerned, is it proposed that India should watch the events in Tibet considering that it is a military problem and a domestic problem. As Robespierre, one of the French Revolution leaders, said, China can send missionaries, though they are not welcome, with guns and settle that affair. Can we adopt that attitude? Is it consistent with our policy? What is our policy?

I would just not like to go over all the statements and communications that were exchanged in 1950 between our Government and the Government of China. But I would just point out what we have stated there and what the people of Tibet feel about it. It is not a question of what we feel or what the Chinese feel; it is a question of what the Tibetan people feel about it. I would like to point out that in 1950, the Tibetans made a representation to the United Nations. What did they say in that representation? They have stated there that:

"The Chinese claim Tibet as a part of China. The Tibetan feel that racially, culturally, geographically, they are far apart from the Chinese. If the Chinese find the reaction of the Tibetans to their unnatural claim not acceptable, there are other civilized methods by which they can ascertain the views of the people of Tibet."

We are also saying the same thing. And at that time, fortunately, when this statement was submitted to the United Nations, no suspicion was expressed that there was, in drafting it, some hidden hand under the influence of some foreign



power, Indian hand behind it. This was the voice of the Tibetan people as it was represented to the United Nations. Therefore, this we accepted, and while carrying on the negotiations, we stated in our note of the 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1950:

“In the present context of world events, invasion by Chinese troops is deplorable and, in the considered judgment of the Government of India, not in the interest of China or peace”.

What we have told them today? Have we changed today? We are saying the same thing.

Of course, the Chinese reply was very curt. They said: it is entirely a domestic problem of China.

Again, when it was a question of communication, trying to understand each other's problem, we stated, and stated in a very frank manner, that the Government of India was convinced that the problem could be settled by peaceful negotiation, adjusting the legitimate Tibetan claim to autonomy within the framework of Chinese suzerainty. This is very important. No section of responsible opinion, no party in this land, has seriously advocated the independence of Tibet. But certainly we want Tibetan people assured freedom to shape their own lives and their own destiny. We do not want to create a new Himalayan cock-pit. If Tibet is declared independent, there is a possibility of lots of complications. Do we not realise that? (*Shri Ranga*: who said that?) But at the same time we must realise that when we relinquished whatever rights we had acquired after Britishers left-and I must say we must feel proud about it; our Prime Minister said “we do not want to have those extra-territorial rights”-when we relinquished them, we never claimed anything in return. It was a unilateral declaration. But I am confident that the Prime Minister would have felt, while making this moral gesture, that the Chinese would also try to respect the rights of the Tibetan people, instead of asserting them on the basis of the old title deeds of doubtful value, title deeds which were imposed on the Tibetan people by the old feudal emperors.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** They have respected them by publishing maps wherein a portion of India is included in China.

**Shri Khadilkar:** I am coming to that.

Therefore it is surprising, and the charge is again repeated that we are influenced by some foreign power. With all the force at my command, I would appeal to this House to tell the Chinese people that it is insulting; because when we got freedom, if we take the gamut of experience of the last ten years of our relationship with China, in the early period their remarks about our Prime Minister and of our Government, to put it very mildly, were never flattering. They doubted whether we had achieved freedom. With all this background we have to consider the repetition of this charge of foreign influence. And in this correspondence also I find this, namely, “you are being guided by some foreign influence”-in order to create the impression that because we were under foreign domination, such a suspicion could be thrown with advantage. It is done with a view to create a sort of inhibition in our mind while dealing with our neighbour with whom we want to maintain the most friendly relations. This is the position.

Therefore, so far as the Tibetan uprising is concerned, on this occasion, we must realise that it is the Tibetan people who have created the problem for China. Whether it is to be dealt with militarily or not we are to sit quiet, that is different matter altogether. We cannot sit quiet. Of course, they have a military might. They can send in divisions and say “we have restored peace”-as it is said that you can create a desert by ruthless repression and call it peace and later on you can build up socialism there. Our idea of socialism is totally different. I am a Marxist, and Marxism means the highest type of humanism. If somebody is going to vulgarise Marxism and parade over the world a new type of slavery, I will never tolerate it. (*Interruption*). Certainly it is not your monopoly.

Therefore, so far as Tibet is concerned, who in this country desires that the old relic of society should be preserved as a museum piece? I am told-I do not know, but I am prepared to believe it-that even the young Panchen Lama does not want to preserve that old society. He wants to change it. But he wants to change it and transform it with the consent of the people-that is the main difference-not with the military machine, not with the military strength, but with the consent of the people. That is a certainly different method. And, as we have said, Chinese method and our method is different.

So, our approach to Tibetan affairs is the same. It has been very consistent. We have not changed it. Only, it is a question of how China is going to deal with Tibet and deal with a friendly country like India.

It is a great tragedy, because, for the first time, when a country like China is dealing with another friendly country

which is not in the least imperialist and which tries to crystallise its relationship in a positive way, as it is based on Panch Sheel, we get this experience. China should realise it how we would feel about it. That must be clearly understood in this context, and if we ignore it in a certain cloudy, idealistic thinking, I do not think it would benefit the world, nor would it help to consolidate world peace.

Things have come to a pass where we have to face realities. Therefore, my first submission is that so far as our Prime Minister's statement is concerned and the Government of India policy is concerned, we are consistently following this policy; and though we have given up our extra-territorial rights, we have never accepted Chinese sovereignty—that distinction is there—we have only accepted Chinese suzerainty. We shall accept it in the larger interests.

**Shri Ranga (Tenali):** Why should we?

**Shri Khadilkar:** Then there is another question. When I said we must take into consideration the gamut of experience of our relationship within the last ten years, there are other factors also. When dealing with India, the Chinese Communist Government is a government necessarily inspired by certain nationalist feelings, nationalist sentiments. Indian Communists can afford to disregard Indian national sentiments; that is their tradition; they have not grown up in our nationalist tradition which is the misfortune of Indian communism.

**Shri Muhammad Elias (Howrah):** You are there to defend it!

**Shri Khadilkar:** Yes, do not worry about it.

Therefore, what I am going to say on this occasion need not to be taken as something Chauvinistic. Our civilization is woven round like Himalayas, and all our culture, our thought has some imprint of the Himalayas from the ancient ages. If some power, with big military might, sits at the top of the Himalayas and says “we are the masters of the situation to deal with this problem”, I feel they are not properly appreciating the Indian sentiment, the Indian mind so far as the Himalayas and our traditional flow of civilization in this land are concerned.

**An Hon. Member:** The Ganga comes from Himalayas.

**Shri Khadilkar:** I would appeal to the Chinese to give more thought to this aspect of the problem.

When I mention the Himalayas; I also feel that after the consolidation of freedom in China there is an area of geographical indecision on our border. We need not bring it over in this controversy. But one thing is certain. When they are saying every time “Oh, you are still being influenced by some foreign power”, we must also tell them that whatever the British did and whatever legacy they have left, we accept it consistent with our national interest. We do not want to encroach upon anybody's freedom, but at the same time as the Prime Minister said the other day, we will have to judge, issue to issue, what is to be done, what is not to be done, from the point of view of our national security. After repeated requests these cartographic errors, or mistakes as they are called, it is not yet rectified. I am not sure but I am told that the same Chinese map was exhibited at the recent Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, dominated by my hon. Friends on the right. They exhibited the same wrong map in Calcutta. They never raised any voice of objection. In that map—I have examined that map very carefully and I have a photograph of it....

**An Hon. Member:** Not only the Congress but all Parties were there.

**Shri Khadilkar:** I have examined that map. All things that were of the old regime of Chiang Kai Shek have been rectified and only the border remains to be rectified. Do we not know what happened as regards the indecision of the border, when the question with Burma came? When the question of two provinces of Burma on the border, Kachin State and Wa came, there was trouble. Therefore I would appeal to my Chinese friends in all humility, but in all earnestness, that they should try to settle this issue. As another big power in Asia, we cannot be subdued, we cannot be cowed down hence-forward. ‘Oh! You are under foreign influence and therefore you are not your own masters’—this argument should not be bandied about any Communist hence-forth in this land. This is my humble submission. There is another danger which my Communist friends ought to appreciate. What is that danger? After freedom, we consistently followed the policy of non-alignment and non-commitment. Western protagonists of the cold war feel that this uncommitted area is a vacuum because there are no strategic bases. In such a situation if China, by her present policy is going to push or pull us in this or in that direction and thus putting us into the cold war conflict, we must guard against that. We are the masters or the makers of our policy. We have adopted it after a good deal of thought. Therefore, at this juncture I would

appeal to the Chinese-it is no use appealing to my hon. friends here-that it is not in the interest of world peace.....

**An Hon. Member:** Always appeal to the principles.

**Shri Khadikar:** I would appeal to the Chinese that it is not in the interest of world peace to weaken the hands of Shri Nehru. Why I say this is because he plays a role, when the world is divided in two camps he supplied the bridge to avoid conflict.

In effect, the two ideologies are contending for world supremacy. Indian policy reflects, if I may say so a new ideology emerging, which represents a certain synthesis, where representatives of contending powers can sit together and discuss, debate and try to settle issues in a peaceful manner. That was *Panchsheel* and that was the spirit of Bandung. We welcomed China at Bandung in the same spirit. We thought that with China, India and Soviet Union, we can certainly consolidate peace in Asia and Africa and can avoid the danger of war.

Let me remind my Chinese friends that people in India, Africa, Asia, and everywhere-particularly in India-feel that after the Second World War, a force of liberation was released. It has helped to demolish the old Imperialist powers and strengthen freedom in the countries formerly under colonial domination. Do you want to create a sense of frustration or suspension if not of resistance in the minds of our people? You must give thought to it very patiently and very earnestly and appreciate the spirit in which we are operating in this land and are appealing to the people of the world.

In conclusion I would like to say one word. As it has been said-my Communist friends know it-by a great Communist leader, you should never get dizzy with success. I would appeal to the Chinese friends in all sincerity that we want their friendship. But we want their friendship with honour and with mutual trust. Otherwise with mutual suspicion, when there are issues, they are kept at the background. When these issues come up before the public, immediately forgetting friendship if they are going to attack our *bona fides*, we must resist Chinese attempts and resist it with all the might at our command.

We are not big because we have got a big army. We have been judged in the wide world by the people of the world because in international politics we have introduced a new element - that is my conviction - to judge events on certain basic human values-values of freedom, values of compassion and so many other things. I do not want to repeat them. Are we going to judge Tibetan events not according to the same values, not on the same touchstone? I feel that we must stick to it and whatever be the charges made in the heat of the controversy they should not deter us from this course.

With these words, I would appeal that we should not take seriously what that teenage Lama said in China.

**An Hon. Member:** Panchen Lama.

**Shri Khadikar:** Panchen Lama, I am sorry. It was, to my mind, impertinence. I could have excused it in a young man of his age, but how it was released to the press by the friendly Chinese power is something that I cannot understand. To say that our monuments are not well kept, to say that we had given discriminatory treatment to him and at the same time to say that the Dalai Lama here is under duress is just absurd. When there is an open invitation for him to come and meet and settle the issue, he didn't. I hope the Chinese will appreciate the deep sentiment and the vital interest not the political interest but a very vital interest that we have in Tibetan freedom and the whole Himalayan region, if I may say so.

**Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi):** Sir, the subject is important, the time allowed is very short and I will try to be as brief as possible. It is nothing unusual for countries to criticize each other in their internal and external policy. Nobody take this criticism to be interference in the internal affairs of the country. If it were so then the hard criticism that is being leveled by China against Yugoslavia would be considered internal interference in the affairs of that country. But in the Communist world there are two standards of judgement-one for themselves and the other for others with whom they think they are in opposition.

Recently, China has become supersensitive to any criticism. When a person is supersensitive, I am afraid, he has a bad conscience. Even the mildest remarks of the Congress President were denounced. Why? -because she said that Tibet was a country. I can understand the wrath against me because I have never believed in the *bona fides*, I have never believed in the professions or the promises of the Chinese. Mine has been the solitary voice in this House-almost solitary-raised against this rape of a nation. As early as 1950, I said in this House that the Communist Government in China was in charge of the country. The Government of India, therefore, thought it right that it should not be denied the

membership of the UN and we advocated the cause of China. But if we had waited a little, we would have been more cautious. Soon this nation that had won its freedom so recently, strangled the freedom of a neighbouring nation with whose freedom we are intimately concerned. Our Government's attitude is understandable only on the assumption that Tibet is a far off country and is none of our concern.

"But supposing what has happened in Tibet happens in Nepal, then I am sure we will, whether we are well prepared or not, go to war against China. In that case what would become of our advocacy of China to the membership of the United Nations?"

Then, Sir, again in 1954, I said in this House: "Recently we have entered into a treaty with China. I feel that China, after it had gone Communist, committed an act of aggression against Tibet. The plea is that China had the ancient right of suzerainty. This right was out of date, old and anti-quoted. It was never exercised in fact. It had lapsed by the flux of time. Even if it had not lapsed, it is not right in these days of democracy, by which our Communist friends swear, by which the Chinese swear, to talk of this ancient suzerainty and exercise it in a new form in a country which had and has nothing to do with China. Tibet is culturally more akin to India than it is to China. I consider this as much colonial aggression on the part of China as any indulged in by the Western nations. Whether certain nations commit aggression against others does not always concern us. But in this case we are intimately concerned because China has destroyed a buffer state. In international politics, when a buffer State is destroyed by a powerful nation, that nation is considered to have committed aggression against its neighbours."

Sir, England went to war with Germany not because Germany had invaded England but because it had invaded Poland and Belgium.

Sir, further, I said in this House: "It is also well-known that in the new map of China other border territories like Nepal, Sikkim, etc., figure. This gives us an idea of the aggressive designs of China. Let us see what the Chinese themselves did in the Korean War. As soon as the U.N troops, or more correctly the American troops, reached the borders of China, it felt insecure and it immediately joined the Korean war..."

I do not say that because China conquered Tibet we should have gone to war with it. But this does not mean that we should recognize the claim of China on Tibet. We must know that it is an act of aggression against a foreign nation."

Again, Sir, in the same year, I said: "A small buffer state on our borders was deprived of its freedom. When we made a feeble protest we were told that we were the stooges of the Western powers. If I remember alright we were called 'running dogs of imperialism'."

Again, Sir, in 1958 talking about *Panchsheel*, I said: "This great doctrine was born in sin, because it was enunciated to put the seal of our approval upon the destruction of an ancient nation which was associated with us spiritually and culturally."

Sir, at that time, some hon. Member intervened and asked: "Is that nation suffering?"

My reply was: "Whether it is suffering or not is not the question. It was a nation which wanted to live its own life and it ought to have been allowed to live its own life. A good government is no substitute for self-government."

Sir, some of our friends in the Rajya Sabha have said that we should continue to plead the cause of China for the membership of the United Nations. I respect their opinion. They think that as a member of the United Nations, China would be subject to some public opinion there. This is not a fact. There is South Africa, there is France, there is Russia and many other aggressive nations. Because they are members of the United Nations they have not ceased to be aggressive.

We are again told that though China might have broken *Panchsheel*, we must stick to *Panchsheel*. Sir, I do not consider that the principles of the *Panchsheel* are moral imperatives. Even moral imperatives cannot be stuck to unilaterally in the international world. *Panchsheel* implies a mutuality of respect for each other's integrity and sovereignty. How can there be respect for these things unless there is mutuality? *Panchsheel* also implies peaceful co-existence. How can there be peaceful co-existence unless it is an idea that applies to more nations than one? You cannot have peaceful coexistence alone. It is an impossibility. *Panchsheel* therefore implies mutuality and you cannot practise it if others violate it. And we have seen how nation after nation having sworn by *Panchsheel* have been violating it. In the present case, China has not only violated them, but has accused us of violating them. *Chor Kotwal Ko Danda*.

Sir, I feel even if we go on emphasizing our friendship with China by saying *Chini-Hindi bhai bhai*, at the end of days, I say, this nation will never be friendly to us. Why? Because a friendly nation does not go and howl at another nation in the public market. If they have to say that Kalimpong was-what do they call it-the "command centre" then it was open to them to have brought it to our notice through diplomatic channels. And they did it six months earlier; the case was investigated & the charges was found unfounded and a report was sent to them. They had nothing further to say. Why was this method of diplomatic approach not employed on this occasion? Why this howling at a friendly nation in the market place? I cannot quite understand how it is possible to be friendly with this nation with this mentality.

Yet our efforts to save it will only result in this that they will not give us credit for good intentions. They will only give us credit for cowardice. It will never appear to a bully that you are doing things out of your goodness; it will only appear to him that you are frightened.

Not only do they not care for us, but I say this Communist China does not care for the whole of Asia. It does not care even for the opinion of Asia. If it had cared, it would have realized that it was alienating the whole of Asia, especially, South East Asia. To whom will South East Asia look for support? It will more and more look to America even as the more powerful nations of Europe are looking to America. If they are afraid of China, (fear makes strange bad fellows) and I have absolutely no doubt that they will look to America for support. They cannot look to Russia. Therefore, the Chinese have destroyed the very confidence of the Asian nations.

There is another reason also. The Asian nations know that there is Formosa, that there are the off-coast islands, that there is Hong Kong. All this is Chinese territory. It is populated by Chinese people. They (Communist China) do not go that side and conquer that territory and incorporate it with China to which it rightly belongs. But, they go to an alien nation and an alien people and they conquer them. The Asian nations are not stupid. They know that they do not do it not because Chiang Kaishek has more power than Communist China, but because America is behind it. They know, if they attack these places persistently, America would step in. They know that if America steps in, there will be the Third World war of which they are mightily afraid. They are not ready for it. Even if Russia may be ready, China is not ready.

They are doing things which injure not only India, but their own case. Selfishness always works like that. When selfish and aggressive people take to violence, they defeat their own objects. Not only has China earned a bad name, it has made the Asiatic people to look towards directions from which they wanted to wean them. China has extended the area of cold war. It has made matters worse instead of bettering them. I do not think even the conquest of Tibet was an adequate price for what they have earned for themselves and the way in which they have done it.

Therefore, I am glad that at least in this, we are not involved and our Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha made it clear that whatever may happen, in this cold war, we maintain our position of non-alignment. He has declared his position. But, what do the Chinese say?

**An Hon. Member:** Let them say, what they like.

**Acharya Kripalani:** They say, by name, "Shri Nehru had been pushed by the West into an important role in their so-called sympathy with Tibetan movement." Whatever the Chinese may say, I believe our foreign policy is safe in the hands of our Prime Minister. I further say, that they should thank their stars that it is in the hands of our Prime Minister.

But, whatever the Chinese may say, we are not concerned with them. We are, as I said once before here, more concerned with our fellow countrymen. May I ask them (the Communists) a few questions: whether they approve of the wild, violent and not true to facts propaganda that is carried on from day to day in China? Do they believe that the Dalai Lama was really kidnapped?

**Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj:** Panchen Lama is in duress.

**Acharya Kripalani:** After what our Prime Minister has repeatedly said, do they believe that the Dalai Lama issued these letters under duress? Do they believe that these letters had something to do with the officers of our Foreign department?

**An Hon. Member:** Of course, they do.

**Acharya Kripalani:** All right. Do they believe that the Dalai Lama is under surveillance in India? If they believe why do they get their information from Peking? Why don't they go to Mussoorie. I am sure, if applied to the Prime Minister, or



even without application, they will be allowed to go to Mussoorie and see things for themselves. But they want to see things through Peking and from nowhere else. They will not take facts even from the Prime Minister. They will not go there. They will take it from Peking blindly. May I ask, do they believe that India has expansionist designs on Tibet or, for the matter of that, on any other country? Above all, do they believe in the maps that have been published by China? That is the crucial question. Then, we will know where we stand and where they stand in this country. If they do not believe, have they advised their dear friends in China to suppress these maps? These are maps, we are told, that were published by Chiang Kaishek. Do they want China to follow in the footsteps of Chiang Kaishek, I ask my Communist friends. We are interested to know things from them categorically. Their representatives are here. Let them answer all these questions. If they do not answer them, then, I say that they have got no case and China has got no case.

One thing more and I have done. I would draw the attention of the Prime Minister to what is said in China that the Dalai Lama and his companions are under surveillance. I know whatever restrictions are placed upon their liberty are for safety reasons. They are also imposed so that the Tibetans may not say in India things that may be distasteful to China, they may not say things that might touch the sensitive soul of the Chinese.

**An Hon. Member:** Have they a soul?

**Acharya Kripalani:** We are putting these restrictions on their account, and those for whom we are doing all these things, do not want them. I see no reason why more freedom of expression and more freedom of movement should not be allowed to the Dalai Lama and his companions when the Chinese do not appreciate our good offices and even when they find evil in our good deeds. In the Kingdom of Hell, Satan said, "Evil be thou my good". When they suspect us of evil, let us allow the Dalai Lama and his companions to come out and meet the newspaper people and other people and political associations and political people and give out their mind. Only then will my communist friends be convinced.

**Dr. P. Subbarayan (Tiruchengode):** Mr. Speaker, I have listened to the two speeches that have preceded mine with the care that is due. My hon. Friend Acharya Kripalani ended by asking some questions of our communist friends and I hope they will face them boldly and answer them. I want also to ask them a question. In spite of the repeated statements which have been made by the Prime Minister, still the Chinese Peoples Daily has said that the Prime Minister has spoken for the expansionists. I would like to know what is meant by expansionists and how the Prime Minister has spoken for the expansionists when he has taken great care to state our policy. They have said that the Prime Minister has supported the expansionists. I cannot see how they came to this conclusion when he has been most careful to state that our policy is not changed. As he has stated in this House while he made his statement on Tibet, there were only three points which he laid down.

The first was the security of India. Nobody can deny that because any Government worth its name, the security of the country is the most important. We may believe in non-violence, and we try to follow that policy in the best way we can, but at the same time, the world being what it is, we have got to take care that our security, is not disturbed.

Secondly, what did the Prime Minister say? He said that friendly relations with China should be continued, and we want to develop that further because for at least two thousand years, friendly relations have continued between China and ourselves. Was there anything wrong in what he said? Have our Communist friends ever thought of this situation? Have they ever said that there is this one man in this country who is standing between peace and war? I ask them that question, because he has consistently maintained it in spite of all that has happened in this world, that India stands for non-alignment, not out of any selfish interests, but out of the interests created in India because of the policy laid down by the great Mahatma. I remember once Mahatmaji said, "When I am gone, he will speak with my voice". And he is doing it every time he speaks on the world situation. That is, to maintain peace, to get nations together, get them round a table and settle quarrels by negotiations rather than by the arbitrament or arms—that has been the policy of India. I do not think that in spite of what has happened in Tibet, in spite of the distress it has caused to the Indian people, we have in any way travelled away from the position we have taken up. Therefore, it is up to all Indian parties including my communist friends, to strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister, if they do believe in world peace. It is no use talking about world peace and at the same time doing things which really do not go to maintain world peace. There is, no doubt, a cold war and we have avoided the cold war; and in bringing the Bandung Powers together, we tried our best to keep the cold war away from the east, or from Asia if I may so put it.

But what has happened? The way in which the Chinese public opinion has reacted, the way in which the Chinese are behaving goes to prove that they are as much in the cold war as the European nations are.



**Shri M. C. Jain (Kaithal):** More than that.

**Dr. P. Subbarayan:** Somebody said 'more than that' It may be more, but I am not going as far as that. I am only saying that they are as much in it...

**Acharya Kripalani:** They want to bring India also into it.

**Dr. P. Subbarayan:** The Chinese want to bring us? If the hon. Member say that, I agree with him. By 'they', I suppose the hon. Member means not the whole of the Asian Powers but only China. Of course, China is interested in the cold war because Russia is interested in the cold war, and naturally, they want to bring the cold war to our shores too. But I am glad to say that the Prime Minister has avoided this attempt to bring India into the cold war; he is still trying by whatever means he has in his possession to keep Asia out of the cold war.

**Shri Ranga:** As much of it as possible.

**Dr. P. Subbarayan:** As he has said himself: we still attach more importance to means than to ends. As long as we can say that we are looking at the means and not at the ends, we shall be going in the right direction. But as regards our friends on the opposite side, I think they do believe, whatever they may affirm, that ends justify means. That is what we want to get away from. The end can never justify the means. If you really go about in the right way and in the right direction, you would have accomplished what you want, and what you have accomplished will always remain, because the means you adopted to get the success you have had has been righteous means. As long as that policy is maintained. I do not think that even the Communist Party can quarrel with the foreign policy as followed by the Prime Minister. I think what has always influenced him is the question of means and not the ends at all.

Though the situation is most delicate, I would still like to ask our friends this question. There have been these Chinese maps published where the MacMohan Line has been entered into, if I may so put it in that manner. Of course, they have said that this was a map produced in the times of Chiang Kaishek. Have they tried to correct that position? Have they tried to admit the rights we have in the borders which have been there and which belong to us? Can at least the Communist friends who claim influence with their counter-parts in China not maintain the position that this country holds and at least claim the part of the county which belongs to us as ours? This is not doing anything wrong either to their conscience or to their policy or to their tenets. It is only maintaining our own position.

It has been said time and again that we do not want to interfere with the internal policy of any Government. Do they not realise that when the treaty was made between India and China, we gave up rights which we had at the time. We could have said if we wanted that we were the successors to the British Government, and we were entitled to the position we held in Tibet. And yet, because we felt that we should not follow the imperialist line, we on our own free will, gave up the position we held there. Is that not proof enough to say that we are no more expansionists? And yet this word 'expansionist' is being bandied about from day to day. Is this the way to create friendly relations? I would beg my Communist friends and the Chinese authorities not to talk of expansionism because there is no question of expansionism in this country at all. We want to maintain the territory which we have, and we want to live in terms of amity and friendship with all nations, no matter of what colour the nations are. Our position is one of friendly relations with all countries including our neighbour Pakistan. They are now coming out with the statement because this has happened, that there may be a mutual military pact. I am glad the Prime Minister has categorically said that we do not want to enter into any military alliances of any kind whatsoever. We maintain our position for peace, we maintained our position as a non-aligned nation, at the same time, acting as occasion demands provided we are on the path of righteousness.

**Shri S.A. Dange (Bombay City-Central):** The problem presented during this debate is a very complicated problem. It is not the problem of Tibet. It is the problem of our foreign policy. As far as that policy is concerned, it is well known that the Communist Party supports in general the foreign policy of the Government of India as enunciated by Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

While we are supporting that policy, it does not mean that either the Prime Minister or the other countries, whatever their governments, are quite infallible. I do not attribute infallibility either to the Prime Minister here or to the Prime Minister of China or to the Prime Minister of Russia or to the Prime Minister of America.

**Dr. P. Subbarayan:** There is no Prime Minister in America.

**S.A. Dange:** Therefore, while supporting the general foreign policy of Government, we can have points where here and there we might have differences of opinion.

So, if it comes to a question of policy, our policy stands as it was. There is general support to the Prime Minister's policy of peace. Now, he himself has stated that on this question of Tibet, what ultimately has happened is that a little crack has taken place in the feelings of friendliness between China and India and that *Panchsheel* has suffered a crack. Now, when a crack takes place, naturally two sides have to advance together to heal the crack. For us in India, it is our business to see how our side heals the crack. It is for the Chinese side to see how they advance on their side to heal the crack. Therefore, I am looking at the question from that point of view only.

Some speakers have asked us many questions. Unfortunately, I have not got the text of the questions here. Neither could I take them down as I am not shorthand writer.

**An Hon. Member:** You can remember them.

**Shri S.A. Dange:** Well, my memory is not so sharp as yours, sorry. Even then, I do not mind answering those questions as far as I can remember them, here if there is time, outside on the rally, if you want it. Yes.

So, let us have a debate, and let us have a friendly debate, and I think this question should be resolved through a friendly debate. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri A. K. Gopalan (Kasergod):** We were not interrupting them. What is this?

**Shri S.A. Dange:** Why do you interrupt, please?

It is a friendly debate as far as India and China are concerned. That is what I read in the press, and as far as the Prime Minister is concerned, he has taken his stand on that.

I do not think he has been accused of expansionism as a part of his policy, nor do we maintain that Prime Minister Nehru's policy is a policy of expansionism. We do not maintain it, we do not say it, and we do not even think it. But whether the speech that was heard here and some other speeches reflect expansionism or not? That is the point.

**Some Hon. Member:** No no. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri S.A. Dange:** Please. Do not interrupt at least on our side.

So, do not some of the political parties, when they make their statements, have some suggestions of expansionism? But that suggestion is rather made on the basis of either: Tibet and we have cultural links therefore we are culturally one, so, culturally Tibet is ours, but politically it is Chinese. The Chinese have committed aggression against Tibet which is culturally ours; therefore, we must defend it. Slowly it goes over to expansionism. This is where that 'culture' logic leads us.

**Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi):** Chinese logic!

**Shri S.A. Dange:** It is not that Acharya Kripalani is capable of expansionism or anything, that is not the suggestion at all, because to practice expansionism, two things are required: firstly, political guts and secondly, real hard guns.

**Acharya Kripalani:** The Chinese have got.

**S.A. Dange:** Fortunately, the PSP has not got either of them. So, I am not accusing them of expansionism though they may like to bask in the idea of being a greater and greater party and country and all that.

So, I am not taking up the question that they are raising just now here. Firstly, I am dealing with the position as it has been stated by the Prime Minister, that he has no ideas of expansionism. I agree with that.

The question is: certain statements have been made by the Chinese side, and certain statements of theirs have been denied by the Prime Minister, e.g. the Dalai Lama being held under duress. I do not think the first statement made was that the duress was practiced by the Government of India. The Dalai Lama escaped under duress by the rebels, and in fact, when the Prime Minister—he will excuse me—sometimes mentions that the Chinese do not observe the truth, may I ask him one question? At one time it was suggested by him also that perhaps the Dalai Lama's letters were not his own

at all. Later on, the Dalai Lama himself acknowledged that the letter were his. Now where was the propriety and the truth in this case?

Therefore, when the Prime Minister says that he feels hurt, I am sure he will also admit that the other side will also feel hurt. Therefore, the hurt is on either side, and therefore it should be healed only by friendship.

**Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal):** On which side do you stand?

**Shri S.A. Dange:** I stand here in the Parliament of India. I hope you understand that. So, when I am saying that I support the foreign policy of the Government of India and the Prime Minister particularly, I think you should know where I stand and where the party stands.

Therefore, the first part of the problem is like this. The Prime Minister and even many of his supporters in the Congress Party want this thing to be decided peacefully without any cold war being imported, and by friendly discussions and talks. But on the Chinese side, of course, there is a difficulty. The difficulty is simply this.

If China as acknowledged by the Prime Minister was to have suzerainty over Tibet, and if Tibet is acknowledged to be an autonomous region of the Chinese Republic, then naturally, diplomatically or in terms of international politics, the question does not rise why we should discuss the Tibetan problem in India or anywhere else, in UNO or some place. It is certainly the right of every country to decide the question of its own autonomous region. That is the only correct position, and that position was also conceded even by the Prime Minister, That the problem of an autonomous region should certainly be the responsibility of the suzerain Republic of China.

But, if we then try to tell them that they must do this and that, and if they consider that as an interference, then what is wrong? They themselves have asked the question-it has appeared in the press already and I will repeat it for the benefit of hon. Members. If they were to set up a committee on linguistic provinces of India, would that be right? Though these States are autonomous, they are within the Union of India. Therefore, the Chinese Government would not be correct in taking up the position that they should discuss and ask the Prime Minister as to what is happening in U.P which has a common boundary with Tibet, or in Assam which has a common boundary with Tibet. Since they have shown that much restraint, I think it would be right and friendly for us also to show some restraint, though some of us may sympathise with the Tibetans.

Now, the question is: what is this sympathy for the Tibetans? If it is a question of sympathy for the Dalai Lama as the head of the Buddhist religion, still he is the head of the Buddhist religion, then *Panchsheel* is not concerned with Buddhism, nor is the Government of this concerned with Buddhism, because it is a secular State. It is concerned with Buddhism as much as it is concerned with Hinduism, Christianity, Islam and so on. If it feels very much attracted towards the maintenance of the head of the Buddhist Panth in Mussoorie, it should equally feel interested in maintaining the heads of Islam or Hinduism or the other religions in India. If the poor among the Buddhists are to be maintained, to be helped-I have no objection-every religions group may also ask: what about our poor being maintained?

Now, the point may be raised that this is a question of law and order, defence and security and so no. If that much is the problem, I do not mind it. If 10,000 refugees got frightened in Tibet and they crossed over, I do not challenge the honesty of the Government of India on that account because they allowed asylum to certain refugees. Well, we are a very hospitable country since time immemorial and we give hospitality to both guests and invaders and every one. So, hospitality is in our blood. I only want that these groups do not create new centres of friction between us and the Chinese. That is all that I want to see, and that is exactly what the others do not wish to see.

So far as the Government of India are concerned, so far as words and theory are concerned, they are taking up the attitude more or less of maintenance of *Panchsheel*, maintenance of friendliness and so on. I would plead that this bitterness and challenging each other's honesty and statement of facts should stop, because, after all, the Prime Minister himself the other day in the Rajya Sabha, dealing with the Dalai Lama's coming here and so on, was not sure of his facts, because he cannot verify all the facts. Not that all the facts supplied to him by his officers are always wrong. No. But an officer can go wrong. Officers' facts can be wrong. Therefore, he said: I believe it is so, I am not sure etc. That is certainly the correct way to say.

So, I would say that the problem should be resolved on the basis of not importing cold war elements as far as the Prime Minister and his supporters are concerned. For example, his statement which was made on April 27, is very good:

but what do I find there? I do not think it was right to give currency to the idea in that statement that the Dalai Lama had fled-it was his statement that I am quoting, not that the Prime Minister, is maintaining it that way-because Buddhism was in danger and his religion to him was more precious than his life. If that was so, he should not have fled. That is another matter. But then, if it is so, are we supporting that system of Buddhism? Are we officially going to lend support to it? That would be a problem and that problem, as the Prime Minister stated in his statement, he has not resolved. Of course, there is a sort of sympathy towards him. In fact, in that statement he gave us the fact that the poor young man is just 24 years old. Certainly, a 70 year old statesman ought to feel a fatherly interest in a young man of 24. Certainly, the Lama is inexperienced and all that, and I am sure the Prime Minister will advise him properly. But nobody charges the Prime Minister with holding the Dalai Lama in duress. But then if you go round and tell the Indian people that he thinks he is fighting for Buddhism and the protection of his religion by coming here, then I think that statement should be verified and the Prime Minister should later on make that position clear.

As regards the questions which have been asked by these political parties, I think I have answered one or two questions about the duress, about expansionism and so many other things. But I am not prepared to believe that some of these gentlemen do not have expansionist words at least.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharya (West Dinajpur):** What about the map?

**Shri S.A. Dange:** If our territory is shown in the Chinese map as theirs, the Chinese should correct it.

**An Hon. Member:** 'If'.

**Shri S.A. Dange:** Yes. I have not seen the map, because I did not attend that Afro-Asian Conference which Congressmen and other parties and especially Shri Khadilkar attended with a magnifying glass!

**Shri Ansar Harvani (Fatehpur):** How long will it take the Chinese to correct the map? (*Interruptions*).

**S. A. Dange:** The Prime Minister himself has made a statement that he is taking up the question with the Chinese Government and that they are going to settle it by peaceful means.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** But he has also said that the replies are very unsatisfactory.

**Shri S.A. Dange:** We should be realistic enough to know that if a line in a map is removed, that part of the country does not go out of our hands. If people believe it will, they have a poor idea about maps and their values and a poor idea about India's own integrity also.

My hon. Friend, Acharya Kripalani, has given a very good advice to the Chinese. Of course, every one of us has to give advice to everybody else. He asked: if they are so minded, instead of going over to Tibet, why did they not go over to conquer Formosa and Quemoy? May I ask a separate question? Instead of going over to Tibet, why not ask the Government of India to invade Goa first? (*Interruptions*). Advice is very simple. It is easier to liberate Tibet, if it is being enslaved by China. But you dare not offend American imperialism because it will intervene. You know that China will never go to war with India, whatever you do. Therefore, you have the guts to fight about it, but you have not the guts to fight about Goa.

So, this advice about invading this territory and that territory is always useless. We know why we do not go to Goa, why we do not do it. Therefore, this question of Tibet, as it is being understood, by my hon. Friends of the P.S.P is, I think, a question which they more or less look at as a handle to fight the Communist Party.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Yes. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri S.A. Dange:** They are not worried about Tibet at all. They are not worried about anybody. Their whole problem is 'How can we fight the Communist Party?' Gentlemen, you can fight us. We are here in our country. Let us fight.

I am told Acharya Kripalani the other day asked-he will correct me if I am wrong; I was not present here....

**Acharya Kripalani:** All these things are excused.

**Shri S.A. Dange:** Thank you very much for your magnanimity. I hope you do the same thing with regard to others also.

I am told Acharya Kripalani made a statement and asked: If the Chinese armies invade India, where will the Communists be? Will they be with us?

**Acharya Kripalani:** I asked a question. Let him reply to it now.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** I will reply now. Now, the Communist Party is not in the habit of waiting for foreign armies to liberate India. We know these gentlemen who were waiting for Hitler to come through Stalingrad and to liberate them. We know that. They were waiting for the Japanese army to enter Calcutta to liberate them. We are not waiting for any army to come. We are not in the habit of waiting for foreign armies (*Interruptions*). At that time, it was claimed that they were the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi never debated the question of the Germans or the Japanese liberating them. But these gentlemen right in Yeravada, next door to me, were discussing that question, not the Acharya himself. They were discussing 'what would happen when Hitler would break through Stalingrad and we would just be out of Yeravada?'

These were the dreams. But we have not got that habit of waiting for foreign armies to do our job, because we can do it ourselves. We can die fighting for that job. We can either accomplish it or we can fail to accomplish it.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani (New Delhi):** You were collaborating with the British during that time.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** We know your collaboration, what it is.

Now, it has been denied by some of these friends that they do not talk of expansionism. In that case, here is a statement. I was just told that Shri Majumdar, Chairman of the Tibetan Conference-to be held in Calcutta-which is being inaugurated by Acharya Kripalani, which is being presided over by Shri Jaya Prakash Narain and the dear young lady who just now interrupted-said that they must fight for the independence of Tibet and end the suzerainty of China over Tibet.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** For your information, we may add that we are not attending that conference; we have nothing to do with that conference.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Very good. So they will not now fight for the independence of Tibet. That is a good thing.

Now, there are one or two points. I do not know if I have left any question unanswered.

**Acharya Kripalani:** You have covered everything.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** That is good. He was doubtful whether I would answer his questions. I think that he is satisfied that I have covered everything.

With regard to Tibet, there is one last point I want to make. What is the foundation of the whole thing? It is said that the Tibetan people have risen in revolt against imperialist invasion. On this point, we should at least, to some extent, believe the facts given by China. Just as we expect them to believe facts inside our country as given by us-as the Prime Minister asks, 'Why don't you accept the facts as we give about our country?'-similarly they would ask 'Why don't you believe facts as we give them for our country?' There should be mutual belief.

With regard to Tibet, it is well-known that there is a serf system. There were 200,000 lamas attended by 800,000 Tibetans. They have a system by which these 800,000 give thousands maunds of ghee and butter as *khand* or rent to the monasteries; the land is concentrated in the hands of the Bhikkus and there is a general feeling of revolt in the minds of the Tibetan peasantry. This is the relation that subsists in Tibet, and naturally we, as a progressive country, ought to side with the Tibetans. We as a progressive country, swearing by socialism, trying to carry out land reforms, trying to liberate serfs in our country-that type of serfdom does not now exist here-we should sympathise with those Tibetans who are trying to overthrow that system. Even the *Time* magazine, which represented the visit of Shri Morarji Desai so well in America, has written that this lama system, this monastic system in Tibet is a system based on serfdom.

Now, these gentlemen want to continue that system. The Chinese and Tibetan peasantry want to do away with it. Naturally, there was bound to be clash. I do not say there was clash. There was clash. But then stories told us as if there was mis-firing of guns and that was why the Lama could go away or was kidnapped. There was something of an uprising but the Chinese at first could not handle it-all these stories are funny stories. Will the Chinese who could put well-armed shells at Quemoy which prevented the Seventh Fleet from coming nearer, will they misfire a shell on the Dalai Lama's palace?

**An Hon. Member:** Why not?

**Shri S.A. Dange:** The Chinese guns were not manned by Acharya Kripalani. They would hit well; because they aim well, they hit well, which, of course, could not be understood by my friend and he believes in these stories.

It was not a war of aggression nor was it a national uprising. Therefore, when we sympathise with China, I will plead with the Prime Minister, please sympathise with the serfs first, with those who are rising against the Lama system, next, with those who want to protect the serfs, that is the Chinese system of Government and its system of laws and constitution and, if we have any quarrel with them with regard to certain accusations, let us sit down and argue about those accusations and settle them without bringing in the arguments put forth by these other political parties.

Therefore, I do make a distinction between the standpoint of the Prime Minister and the standpoint of the other parties, the use which the other parties are making of this happening and the way in which the Prime Minister wishes to resolve that deadlock. That deadlock should be resolved on the basis of *Panchsheel*; that crack must be healed. But the crack cannot be healed by simply saying: 'We sympathise with the Tibetans.' The crack can be healed by saying: 'Yes', as he himself has said, 'You have a right over Tibet; it is an autonomous region of yours and the Tibetan system of serfdom must be overthrown surely and you are trying to carry out the reforms'. Those who want to rebel against it, if they want to run away, let them run away.

**An Hon. Member:** Kill them.

**Shri S.A. Dange:** If they have come with arms, then, certainly they will be fought. It is not a question of killing.

After all, these refugees have come here. Well if it is a problem of their disturbing your economy, if you wish to assist them for a time, do. But, are we going to maintain them at State expense? Are they really refugees of our country, as we treated the refugees from Pakistan? In fact, the Pakistan refugees were treated worse than the refugees of Tibet in some respects. Surely, I want to know why there is so much love flowing towards these Tibetan refugees. The love for the other refugees is a little drying up and they are being thrown into Dandakaranya. Why are we very solicitous of the 7,000 ft. temperature for these Tibetan refugees which they require, for their health would suffer if they come down to the plains?

I am not an expert on Buddhism but I thought that the Great Buddha did not live in the palace of the Birlas in his own days. Neither did he eat from their plates. You know the story of the Buddha. When once a rich woman offered him rice in a gold plate, he ate the rice and threw the gold plate in the river.

**An Hon. Member:** Here is a Buddha!

**Shri S.A. Dange:** But the present inheritor of Buddhism will eat the rice and sell the gold plate in the black market. This is not the way in which we ought to show our sympathy... (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I never try to interrupt the hon. Member. But taking a particular point and then saying that the present Buddhists—the Buddhists all over the world and let nothing be said against them here—will eat the rice and sell the gold plate in the black market is not right. He need not depend upon this point for developing his argument. There are Buddhist and Buddhist; there are Hindus and Hindus. Shall we say that all Hindus are bad simply because one man is bad?

**Shri S.A. Dange:** I am not referring... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** Sir, this should be withdrawn.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri S.A. Dange:** I am not referring to the Buddhists as such at all. I am referring to the monasteries we have built; I am referring to the *muths* we have built. Even the Prime Minister and the Congress Party are moving a Bill in order to control the funds of *muths*. Does it mean that these *muths* have become bad and black-marketeers. But, a religion deteriorates from its pristine purity and becomes its own opposite when it tries to cultivate wealth, land and serf rights and so on. The system deteriorates. That is why I say this.

I am quite sure that the Dalai Lama is a good Buddhist. I am quite sure that the 10,000 Buddhist refugees who have come here are good Buddhists. Like good Buddhists, let them go round and live according to what Buddha preached. They should not compel us and ask funds from the Government of India.



Dr. Ambedkar when he wrote his book on Buddhist Sangha said few things are necessary for the Buddhist, viz., three pieces of cloth, a needle and thread and a bowl in order to take rice and drink water. They go begging and live on alms given and, for the rainy season, take shelter in a cottage. This is the original system. Therefore, I am just pleading that the really good democratic principles of Buddhism should be practiced by the present inheritors of Buddhist traditions. That is what I am pleading for. I am not charging that they have gone into the black market or anything like that. It is a misunderstanding which has been created (*Interruptions*). Therefore, I certainly accept...

**Mr. Speaker:** General remarks about a whole community may be resented.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** I am saying that the innate Buddhist instincts of these people will enable them to relieve the Prime Minister and the Treasury of the burden of looking after their health, looking after the questions of their shelter and after the question of law and order.

Finally, I would appeal to the Prime Minister not to get under the pressure of certain political parties to hustle up the question in such a way that the Panchsheel is more or less blown up in action. Though preserved in theory, it may be blown up in practice. That is what I would plead with him.

Certainly if there is a vendetta against the Communist party, let us fight it within the border; let us fight it out. But that is not the question. The question here is not of the Communist party and the other parties, the Communist Party of India or the P.S.P. The question here is of friendly relations between China and India.

I am quite sure that the Acharya is dead set that the Chinese can never be friendly with us. But I do not think that is the attitude either of the Government of India or of the whole of Congress Ministry. Therefore, I would again plead, let sober thoughts prevail and let this bitterness not increase.

As far as I know the Chinese themselves have tried to be sober (*Interruptions*). Let me cite one example. I may tell you from my own experience that in the Chinese Press and in the Soviet Press, since friendly relations were established with India and the Panchsheel declarations were signed, their Press has refused scrupulously to publish news of firing and strikes in India. I raised this question: 'Why did not these people publish these news?' They said, 'it might hurt the feelings of the Prime Minister. It might hurt the feelings and disturb Panchsheel. Therefore, we do not wish to publish the happenings about these things'. That Press has scrupulously kept away the news even when a hundred people were being shot dead in the streets of Bombay. Why have they done it? They have done it because they want to keep friendly relations with our country. If such a Press is a little bitter on this Tibetan question, let us understand that there is ground for being bitter. Therefore, let us overcome it and state facts as they are. I hope the whole thing will be resolved by mutual negotiations and the Panchsheel crack will be healed, though it may be to the disliking of Acharya Kripalani who wants to lead his Army into China.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Sivaraj.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura):** Sir, the atmosphere has become poisonous.

If you allow me then it will become clear. (*Interruptions*.) May I say a word, Sir?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Siva Raj (Chingleput-Reserved-Sch. Castes):** Sir, the Prime Minister's statement both in the Rajya Sabha and elsewhere has dealt with every aspect of the situation without fear or favour of China and in a sober and solemn manner, befitting his position as the Prime Minister of India and also as one of the world's great leaders. In fact, in...

**Mr. Speaker:** There is too much noise in the House. Will the hon. Member come forward?

Shall I call upon the Prime Minister at 2-30?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know when you may conclude this debate. By 2.30? There is other business at 2.30.

**Mr. Speaker:** It must be concluded by 2.45. The debate started at a quarter past 12. We have allotted 2 and half hours. If it is the desire of the House, this may go to some other day; I have no objection.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It is not my desire, of course; not at all.

**Mr. Speaker:** We must conclude it by 2.45.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** If necessity arises I shall speak only for five minutes!

**Some Hon. Member:** No, no.

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall request the hon. Prime Minister to speak at 2.30. He could go on for 15 minutes.

**Shri Siva Raj:** I was saying that the Prime Minister-both in the Rajya Sabha and elsewhere-has dealt with the problem in a very sober and a solemn manner and befitting his position. In that view, I feel that this discussion that we have today is somewhat superfluous, but I welcome this discussion. In the first place, because it affords yet another occasion for this House and the people of India to express their views and thereby to strengthen the hands of our Prime Minister in tackling what is undoubtedly a very delicate and difficult problem.

I also welcome this discussion because it gives me an opportunity on behalf of the Parliamentary group of the Republican Party of India to associate itself with the sentiments expressed by Shri Khadilkar and other Members who have dealt with this question.

I would like to take this opportunity to state the views of our party. In the first place I want to state that we fully endorse the views shared by the Prime Minister in this matter.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Secondly, we feel that in the final analysis this question should be left to be solved and settled by China and Tibet together. We also would like to see that the Prime Minister uses his good offices and his eminent position to bring them together for such a settlement. We feel that it is our moral obligation to make the Dalai Lama feel at home and to give all protection. We also feel that the Tibetans must be given the freedom of movement to carry on their lawful avocations and trade even as the Chinese had been enjoying and are enjoying in our land.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There ought not to be loud talks. We can presume that those who stay in this Hall do stay for the sake of listening and not of talking.

**Shri Siva Raj:** But what we could not understand is China's attitude towards India. We do not understand why China is so irritable. Its irritability is one which we cannot understand. It may be due to the fact that China thinks that India is a stumbling block to her career of red imperialism. Or does she think that India is really making great success of democracy and democratic planning? Or, does she understand our friendliness or rather misunderstands our friendliness for our weakness? Anyway, this question has touched and aroused the moral conscience of the world for whatever reason it may be.

One of the reasons why I was not happy about this debate so far is that there has never been that correct approach to the discussion of this situation. Some speeches were either political in their approach or they had an ideological approach. The real approach ought to be moral. The point is that we have always supported the idea of any people enjoying their own freedom and their own way of life. Rightly or wrongly, the Tibetans have chosen a way of life and I find that it is the most democratic way of life in the sense that they choosed their leader, the Dalai Lama, in a very democratic way and thereafter chose to worship him. We are of course accustomed here to put stones in temples and worship them, but there they choose a living human being and worship him. That is the set-up that they have got and the people willingly sacrifice and surrender whatever rights they have in devotion and worship of the Dalai Lama.

I think my friend Shri Dange was speaking without his books when he referred to the kind of Buddhism that exists in Tibet. There, it is the case of the whole population of Tibet sacrificing what little they have to see that the Dalai Lama is respected, worshipped and almost protected by their devotion.

Whatever may be the reason that had prompted this movement in Tibet, the fact remains that China as a suzerain power should have stood her words, namely, guaranteeing the autonomy of Tibet. It would not be proper for China to interfere with the internal life and internal affairs of Tibet. What they should be worried about was to see whether Tibet will by her action affect her security and their peace and their tranquility. The Chinese ought to be worried about their border. One will begin to doubt the sincerity of China when she says that she is for the autonomy of Tibet. Of late, she has changed her position and says Tibet is not a protectorate, it is not a country and so on and so forth. So far as we

are concerned, we have always expressed—not merely from the floor of this House but the people of India in different ways have expressed sympathy and concern over the sufferings of people who are agitated and struggling for liberation and freedom. If in Tibet, it happens that the people want to have their own way of life and practice it in their own country, it ought to be our concern to see that the country, namely, China, is approached in a manner so as to help those people to realise their ambition.

We feel that the Prime Minister should use, as I said, his good offices to get round China to his point of view. As the Prime Minister himself has pointed out, these feelings—not one of hostility actually but feelings of misunderstanding—towards India are temporary, and it is possible for the Prime Minister with his influence in world politics to bring about a settlement between Tibet and China. I do not want to take one side or the other. It is very unfortunate that the debate has so far proceeded on party lines. There is no room for party discussions at all on this question. Whatever we may do, let us not forget our mission, as a country which through the ages, more particularly during the period of Asoka, spread her message of peace and goodwill and human happiness.

**श्री ब्रजराज सिंह :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, तिब्बत का मामला एक बहुत नाजुक मामला है और मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि यहां पर जो कुछ कहा गया है वह बहुत ही रिस्ट्रेंट के साथ कहा गया है। मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि आज कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के प्रवक्ता ने भी अपने दृष्टिकोण में वह नरमी दिखाई है जो कि पहले प्राप्त नहीं थी। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि मूलक की राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं ने जो कुछ अपने को व्यक्त किया उससे हमारे कम्युनिस्ट मित्रों ने कुछ सबक सीखा है। लेकिन मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ जबकि कम्युनिस्ट प्रवक्ता ने यह कहा कि कि उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में केन्द्र की सरकार अगर कोई दखल दे तो सम्भवतः वह उसी तरह होगा जिस तरह की तिब्बत में चीन की सरकार का दखल है। मुझे तो यह बात सुन कर आश्चर्य ही हुआ और सम्भवतः कम्युनिस्ट प्रवक्ता महोदय ने वह एग्रीमेंट नहीं पढ़ा जिसमें यह कहा गया है।

*“The Tibetan regional government would voluntarily carry out the reforms, without interference from the Chinese Central Government and that latter would assist the Tibetan people.”*

अब जहां तक तिब्बत में रिफार्म्स करने का सवाल है, सुधार करने का सवाल है उसके लिए तो चीन की गवर्नमेंट भी यह मानती है कि तिब्बत की जो अन्दरूनी सरकार है तिब्बतन रीजनल गवर्नमेंट है उसका काम यह सुधार करना है और यह काम चीन की सरकार का नहीं है।

आज वहां पर लामाशाही के जो कुछ जुल्म होते हैं उन्हें खत्म करने के लिए चीन की सरकार यदि कुछ करे तो उसका समर्थन कहीं दूसरी जगह से हो, मैं समझता हूं कि यह एक ऐसी चीज है जिस पर कि गम्भीरता से विचार करने की जरूरत है। असल में मामला कुछ और ही है। सन् १९५१ में चीन और तिब्बत में जो करार हुआ था उसमें तो तिब्बत को तिब्बत ही कहा गया था। उसकी पहली ही धारा कहती है।

*“Tibet would enjoy regional autonomy”*

लेकिन सन् १९५४ में जो एग्रीमेंट हुआ वह यह था।

*“The Republic of India and the People’s Republic of China on trade and intercourse between the Tibetan region of China and India.”*

चार साल के बाद हम देखते हैं कि तिब्बत का नाम तिब्बत से हट कर तिब्बत रीजन् बन जाता है। अब ४, ५ साल के बाद एक दूसरी स्थिति पैदा होती है और वह यह कि चीन की सरकार को सम्भवतः यह अधिकार प्राप्त हो गया है कि वह तिब्बत के अन्दर अपनी फौजें लेकर घुस जाय और वहां पर आन्तरिक सुधारों को करें, यह नई स्थिति जो पैदा हो गई है इस को हमें गम्भीरतापूर्वक अध्ययन करना पड़ेगा। मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार को अथवा हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिकों को यह हक हासिल नहीं है कि वह चीन के अन्दरूनी मामलों में कोई दखल दें, यह ठीक है कि हम तिब्बत के अन्दरूनी मामलों में कोई दखल न दें लेकिन एक बात अवश्य स्वीकार करनी पड़ेगी कि हमारा जो नज़दीकी मुल्क है, नैबर है उसमें जो कुछ घटनाएं होती हैं उनका असर हमारे ऊपर पड़े बिना नहीं रह सकता और यही नहीं कि हमारा उससे सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध है और उन घटनाओं का असर हमारे ऊपर भी पड़ने वाला है बल्कि इसलिये भी कि कहीं वहां घटित होने वाली घटनाओं से हमारी अपनी आजादी पर तो कोई आंच अथवा खतरा आने वाला अथवा पैदा होने वाला नहीं है। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के प्रवक्ता ने कहा है कि चीन से कभी हिन्दुस्तान को खतरा नहीं होगा। मैं आशा करूंगा कि यह बात हमेशा कायम रहे। हमारे

देश के नागरिक कभी यह नहीं चाहेंगे कि चीन से हमें कोई खतरा हो या चीन को हम से कोई खतरा हो। हम सदा से शान्ति प्रिय रहे हैं और हम चाहते हैं कि चीन से हमारे सम्बन्ध मित्रतापूर्ण बने रहें और वह देश अपने दर्शन और फिलासफी के मुताबिक अपना विकास करे और उन्नति करे लेकिन जहां हम यह चाहते हैं वहां हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि हम जिस तरह से अपने जीवन को व्यतीत करना चाहें और अपनी जीवन को व्यतीत करने दिया जाय।

लेकिन इसी के साथ-साथ जब चीन के नक्शों में कुछ इस तरह की बातें छपती हैं और उनके नक्शों में हमारे देश की टैरिटोरीज़ को चीन का हिस्सा दर्शाया जाता है तो हमें ज़रा दुःख होता है। हमें दुःख होता है जब चीन की तथाकथित पार्लियामेंट के अन्दर कुछ इस तरह की बातें कही जाती हैं कि चीन मैक मोहन लाइन को भारत और चीन को बांटने वाली लाइन नहीं मानता और उनकी ओर से यह कहा जाता है कि वह इस विषय को भारत से तय करना चाहते हैं। यह तो ठीक है कि वह इस मामले का हल भारत से शान्तिमय तरीकों पर चल कर करेंगे, ऐसा उन्होंने कहा है लेकिन जो इच्छाएं उन्होंने व्यक्त की हैं उन इच्छाओं की पूर्ति कोई आसान पूर्ति नहीं है। इस तरह का ख्याल रखना और यह कहना कि हिन्दुस्तान का कोई नागरिक इक्सपैशियनिस्ट पॉलिसी पर चलना चाहता है या इम्पीरियलिस्ट पॉलिसी पर चलना चाहता है ठीक नहीं है क्योंकि अगर कोई ऐसी बात रही होती तो तिब्बत में आज हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार का अधिकार हो सकता था और वह अपने अधिकार को तिब्बत में खत्म करने की बात नहीं सोचती। हमने उसे खत्म किया और सही तौर पर खत्म किया लेकिन यह मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जब हमने अपने अधिकार को खत्म किया तब हमने इस बात की ज़िद नहीं कि कि चीन सरकार को भी यह चाहिये कि वह अपनी प्रभुसत्ता तिब्बत पर थोपने की कोशिश न करें। सन् १९५१ में जो करार हुआ उसे हम कह सकते हैं कि वह एक तरह से बेबी मर्डर हुआ और सन् १९५१ का करार शिशु हत्या कही जा सकती है जिसके कि अन्तर्गत तिब्बत की आज़ादी का हनन किया गया। आज जब हम यह मानते हैं कि तिब्बत एक आटोनोमस रीजन है, इसे हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार मानती है और चीन की भी सरकार वहां पर अपनी फौजें यह कह कर भेज रही है कि वहां पर दलाई लामा जो कुछ करना चाहते हैं उसे वहां की जनता नहीं चाहती या कोई दूसरी बात है, मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि यह चीजें कह कर आज तिब्बत के अन्दर जो चीनी फौजें घुसेड़ी गई हैं वह चीन की सरकार कोई अच्छा काम नहीं कर रही है।

इस पृष्ठभूमि में उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमें यह जान लेना चाहिये कि यह पंचेन लामा कौन साहब हैं। यह साहब पहले जो चीन के कुमितांग सरकार थी उसके साथ होते थे आज वही पंचेन लामा चीन की वर्तमान साम्यवादी सरकार की भावनाओं को व्यक्त करते हैं और उनकी आवाज मैं अपनी आवाज मिला रहे हैं। आज चीन सरकार ने तिब्बत का प्रतिनिधित्व करने के लिए उनको मान्यता दी है। अब मैं दलाई लामा और पंचेन लामा के मामले में ज्यादा नहीं जाना चाहता और न ही मुझे इसका कोई अधिकार है कि मैं उनके बारे में कुछ और अपनी भावनाएं व्यक्त करूं लेकिन इतना जरूर है कि जहां तक कि हिन्दुस्तान के अपने फ्रंटियर्स की सुरक्षा का सवाल है उसमें हिन्दुस्तान का एक-एक नागरिक बहुत दिलचस्पी रखता है और हमारे देश की सुरक्षा की और उसकी भूमि पर किसी भी विदेशी द्वारा किसी प्रकार का इनक्रोचमेंट किया जाना उसे सहा नहीं जायेगा। अब जैसे कि चीन में छपे नक्शों में हमारे भारतवर्ष के कुछ हिस्से को चीन का भाग दिखलाया गया है और अगर कभी इस तरह की कोई हमारे हिस्से पर इनक्रोचमेंट होने वाली बात हो तो उसमें तो हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक नागरिक और बच्चे-बच्चे को गहरी दिलचस्पी लेनी पड़ेगी और यह स्पष्ट रूप से कहना पड़ेगा कि हम इसको कभी और किसी हालात में बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकेंगे।

आज हम पर यह दोशारोपण किया जा रहा है कि हम लोग इक्सपैशियनिस्ट पॉलिसी पर चल रहे हैं और उसके लिये किन्हीं पार्टियों और व्यक्तियों पर उनके द्वारा आक्षेप लगाया जा रहा है और दूसरी ओर हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधानमंत्री की प्रशंसा की जाती है लेकिन मैं अपने उन मित्रों को यह बतलाना चाहता हूं कि इसमें उनको क्या ऐतराज है अगर कुछ दूसरी पार्टियां अपनी नीति के मुताबिक सही बात कहना चाहती हैं। जहां तक कि चीन की अपनी प्रभुसत्ता का सम्बन्ध है हमने कभी भी चीन की तरफ आंख उठा कर नहीं देखा है। हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक नागरिक ने चीन की सरकार को यू०एन०ओ० में मान्यता दिलाने के लिए अपनी आवाज उठाई है लेकिन अगर चीन किसी दूसरे मूलक पर अतिक्रमण करने लगे और कोई ऐसी बात करने लगे जो कि उचित और न्यायसंगत न हो तो सिर्फ इसलिये कि चूंकि चीन हमारा मित्र है इसलिये उसके विरुद्ध हम कोई आवाज़ न उठाएँ और अपना विरोध प्रकट न करें, मैं समझता हूं कि यह एक ऐसी बात है जिस पर कि गम्भीरता से विचार करने की जरूरत है।

कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के वक्ता महोदय ने यह कहा कि देश की कुछ राजनैतिक पार्टियां तिब्बत की घटना को लेकर जो कुछ कह रही हैं वह वास्तव में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को नीचा दिखाने, उससे लड़ने के लिये और उससे फायदा उठाने के लिये कह रही हैं। मेरा कहना यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान की उन राजनैतिक पार्टियों को जिनकी अपनी नीति हिन्दुस्तान की सरज़मीन से ही बनती है उनको किसी दूसरे को खत्म करने के लिये किसी दूसरे की मदद लेने की जरूरत नहीं है। इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि सन् १९४२ के स्वाधीनता संग्राम के दौरान हमारे इन भारतीय साम्यवादी मित्रों ने क्या किया और इसके लिए उन्हें किसी दूसरी राजनैतिक पार्टी ने राय नहीं दी

थी। इस देश में वही पार्टी शक्तिशाली बनेगी और उन्नति करेगी जिसकी नीति देश के हित में होगी और जिसका लक्ष्य जनता की सेवा करना होगा। इसलिये हमारे भारतीय साम्यवादी मित्रों की यह शिकायत है कि अन्य राजनैतिक पार्टियां तिब्बत के सवाल को लेकर उन्हें इसलिए दबाने की कोशिश कर रही हैं कि उनकी शक्ति निरन्तर बढ़ती जा रही है, सही नहीं है और मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक माने में समस्या को पीछे ले जाना है और सही समस्या की तरफ ध्यान देना नहीं है। मैं मानता हूँ कि तिब्बत का मसला हिन्दुस्तान की विदेश नीति से गहरा सम्बन्ध रखता है। मैं तो भारत सरकार से इस बात की आशा करता कि १९५१ का जो करार हुआ उसे वह अस्वीकार करे और वह यह कहे कि जिस तरह हम अपनी प्रभुसत्ता को खत्म करते हैं उसी तरह चीन की सरकार भी तिब्बत पर से अपनी प्रभुसत्ता को खत्म करे। आखिर यह प्रभुसत्ता किस से प्राप्त हुई? तिब्बत के ऊपर चीन की प्रभुसत्ता की जो बात कही जाती है तो वह सुजरैन्टी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की नीति से नहीं मिली है बल्कि वह तो उन करारों से मिली थी जो कि उनके बीच हुए थे। अब चूँकि चीन की प्रभुसत्ता तिब्बत पर कायम है इसलिये हम वहां पर फौजें भेज सकते हैं और जो कुछ वहां पर चीन सरकार द्वारा किया जा रहा है ठीक है, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह इस समस्या को देखने का सही दृष्टिकोण नहीं है।

अब दलाई लामा ने जो भारत में आकर शरण ली और दूसरे तिब्बती शरणार्थी यहां भारत में आ रहे हैं तो उनको शरण देना यह तो भारत की अपनी परम्पराओं के सर्वथा अनुकूल है।

अब अगर वहां तिब्बत में कोई गड़बड़ हो और वहां पर किन्हीं लोगों के द्वारा जनता का शोषण हो रहा हो तो उस शोषण को दूर करने के लिये यह कहां तक उचित होगा कि हम या चीन वहां पर उनके बीच में दखल अंदाज करे। इस शोषण का अन्त करना तो स्वयं वहां की जनता का काम है। इसके अतिरिक्त क्या हमारे लिए यह मान लेना सही होगा कि उस मुल्क में जिसकी कि एक तिहाई आबादी मार्क्स की हैं, वहां पर चारों ओर शोषण और गड़बड़ चल रही है? लेकिन अगर शोषण वहां पर हो भी रहा हो तो शोषण का कौन समर्थन करता है। शोषण को तो खत्म ही किया जाना चाहिये। शोषण का समर्थन करने का तो कोई सवाल ही नहीं उठता है लेकिन सवाल यह है कि वह किसी एजेंसी के द्वारा हो किस साधन से हो यह सोचने की चीज है। चीन की कम्युनिस्ट सरकार करे या कोई और करे यह सवाल नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, पीकिंग के पीपल्स डेली ने, चीन सरकार ने और रूस की जो समाचार एजेंसी है इस सबने एक तरह की बातें कही हैं। इन बातों के पीछे क्या राज है? हम यह मान लेते हैं कि चीन हमारे ऊपर हमला नहीं करेगा। लेकिन आज नहीं पचास साल बाद ऐसी स्थिति आ सकती है। तो हमको अभी से यह देखना होगा कि हमें भविष्य में चीन से या किसी दूसरे मुल्क से तो खतरा पैदा नहीं होगा। उससे हमको आगाह होना चाहिये हमें यह देखना चाहिये कि तिब्बत में जो कुछ हो रहा है वह सही है या नहीं, और अगर सही नहीं है तो उस पर हमको अपनी राय व्यक्त करनी होगी। हमें यह कहना होगा कि हम चीन के मित्र हैं और उसे सदा फलता-फूलता देखना चाहते हैं लेकिन अगर चीन की तरफ से हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिए भविष्य में भी खतरा पैदा होने की सम्भावना हो सकती है तो हम चुप नहीं करेंगे, हम उस स्थिति का विरोध करेंगे। आज हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने यह साफ तौर से दिखला दिया है कि तिब्बत में जो कुछ हुआ है उसे हिन्दुस्तान की जनता पसन्द नहीं करती। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि यह हिन्दुस्तान के लिए एक नजदीकी सवाल है। अगर आज नैपाल, भूटान या सिक्किम में कुछ ऐसा हो कि वहां का बफर टूटता हो, और उसे हमारी आजादी के लिए भविष्य में खतरा पैदा हो सकता है तो हमें उस तरफ ध्यान देना होगा। हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधानमंत्री और कांग्रेस पार्टी और दूसरी राजनीतिक पार्टियां जो इसका विरोध करती हैं, तो इस बारे में उनका अपना दृष्टिकोण हो सकता है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि किसी राजनीतिक पार्टी पर यह आरोप लगाना कि वह इसका अमरीका से प्रभाव के कारण या उनके इंस्पिरेशन के कारण विरोध कर रही है अनुचित होगा। ऐसा तो वही लोग कह सकते हैं जो कि दूसरों से इंस्पिरेशन लेते हैं। यहां के तो ज्यादातर लोग ऐसे हैं जो कि किसी दूसरे से इंस्पिरेशन नहीं लेते। हम तो परिस्थितियों के अनुसार अपनी नीति निर्धारित करते हैं। हमारे लिए किसी दूसरे से आदेश लेने का सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता। कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके बारे में यह सवाल उठ सकता है क्योंकि वह दूसरों से इंस्पिरेशन लेते हैं।

तो मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि तिब्बत का मसला एक नाजुक मसला है लेकिन इस सवाल पर हिन्दुस्तान की जनता अपना स्पष्ट मत न दे अपने विचार व्यक्त न करे इसलिये कि यह कहा जायेगा कि वहां हम एक्सप्लायटेशन कायम रखना चाहते हैं, यह कहना ठीक नहीं होगा। मैं आशा करूंगा कि हमारे कम्युनिस्ट मित्रों के दृष्टिकोण में परिवर्तन होगा। और वह इस तरीके से रहेंगे और सोचेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरजमीन का हित उनके मन में किसी भी दूसरे देश के हित से ऊपर होगा। हमारे आपस में मतभेद हो सकते हैं, और हम भिन्न-भिन्न तरीके से सोच सकते हैं। हो सकता है कि हममें कोई गलत सोचता हो लेकिन अपने देश के प्रति तो हमारा सबसे पहले

कर्तव्य होना चाहिये। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारे प्रधानमंत्री हिन्दुस्तान की भावनाओं का आदर करते हुए ऐसा प्रयास करेंगे कि जिससे तिब्बत की अन्दरूनी स्वतन्त्रता कायम रखी जा सके।

मैं इसके साथ ही यह निवेदन भी करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हमने सन् १९५१ का समझौता न माना होता तो आज यह सवाल पैदा ही न होता। सन् १९५१ में इस प्रदेश को तिब्बत कहा गया, सन् १९५४ में इसको तिब्बत रीजन् कहा गया और अब सन् १९५६ में हम देखते हैं कि चीनी सेनायें उसमें प्रवेश कर रही हैं। यह चीजें हमारे सामने भविष्य की घटनाओं को अंकित करती हैं। हमें भविष्य के लिए अगाह रहना चाहिये और सोचना चाहिए कि हमको क्या खतरा पैदा हो सकता है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं चाहूँगा कि तिब्बत के मसले पर हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार कोई सही रुख ले और कहे कि हम हमेशा चीन के मित्र रहना चाहते हैं, लेकिन हमें यह स्पष्ट कर देना चाहिए कि इस मित्रता के नाम पर अगर हमसे यह कहा जायेगा कि हम एक्सपेंशनिस्ट पॉलिसी बरत रहे हैं या अमरीका के कहने पर हम इस तरह की नीति अपना रहे हैं, तो हम इसको बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Vajpayee.**

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** I have been in China, I have lived in China...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have called Shri Vajpayee.

**श्री वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बात से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि तिब्बत की घटनाओं के कारण भारत और चीन के सम्बन्ध में तनाव पैदा हो गया है। लेकिन इस तनाव का उत्तरदायित्व भारत के ऊपर नहीं है।

जब से चीन में कम्युनिस्ट शासन आया, च्यांगकाईशेक के साथ बड़े मैत्रीपूर्ण : सम्बन्ध होते हुए भी भारत ने नये चीन का स्वागत किया और संसार के राष्ट्रों में उसे सम्मान का स्थान मिले इस के लिये हम ने उन से बढ़ कर प्रयत्न किया। हमारे प्रयत्नों को देख कर कभी-कभी ऐसा लगा कि मुदई सुस्त है और गवाह चुस्त है। हमने चीन की वकालत की क्योंकि हम समझते थे कि कम्युनिज्म से हमारा मतभेद होते हुए भी यदि चीन की जनता उस मार्ग का अवलम्बन करती है तो यह उस का प्रश्न है, और भिन्न-भिन्न जीवन पद्धतियों के होते हुए भी भारत और चीन मित्रता के साथ रह सकते हैं। लेकिन इस मित्रता को पहला आघात लगा उस दिन जब तिब्बत को चीन की सेनाओं ने मुक्त किया। हमारे प्रधानमंत्री ने उसी समय पूछा था कि तिब्बत को किस से मुक्त किया जा रहा है, तिब्बत पर किसी देश की गुलामी नहीं थी। भारत तिब्बत का निकटतम पड़ोसी है। अतीत के इतिहास में अगर हम चाहते तो तिब्बत को अपने साथ मिलाने का प्रयत्न कर सकते थे, लेकिन आज जो चीन के नेता भारत पर विस्तारवादी होने का आरोप लगाते हैं, वे यह भूल जाते हैं कि हम ने कभी भी तिब्बत को अपने साथ मिलाने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया। तिब्बत छोटा है। लेकिन हम ने उस के पथक अस्तित्व का समादर किया। हम ने तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता का सम्मान किया, और हम आशा करते थे कि चीन भी ऐसा ही करेगा। लेकिन कम्युनिस्टों के तरीके अलग होते हैं। उनके शब्दों की परिभाषायें अलग होती हैं। जब वह गुलाम बनाना चाहते हैं तो कहते हैं कि हम मुक्त करने जा रहे हैं, आज जब वह दमन कर रहे हैं तो कहते हैं कि सुधार करने जा रहे हैं। अगर कहीं सुधार करना है तो जिन्हें सुधरा बनाना है उन में सुधार की प्रवृत्ति पैदा होना चाहिये। सुधार ऊपर से नहीं लादा जा सकता। लेकिन तिब्बत में जो कुछ हो रहा है वह सुधार नहीं है। १९५० के समझौते के अन्तर्गत तिब्बत की स्वायत्तता का चीन द्वारा समादर किया जाना चाहिये था, लेकिन चीन ने तिब्बत के अन्दरूनी मामलों में दखल दिया, चीन से लाखों की संख्या में चीनी तिब्बत में ला कर बसाये गये जिस से तिब्बत वासी अपने ही देश में अल्प संख्या में हो जायें और आगे जा कर तिब्बत चीन का अभिन्न अंग बन जाये। तिब्बत से हजारों नौजवानों को चीन में भेजा गया नये मजहब की शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिये, लेकिन जब वह लौट कर आये और चीनी नेताओं ने देखा कि उन पर असर नहीं हो रहा है, और उन का उत्साह अमिट रहता है, तो उन के कान खड़े हुए और उन्होंने तिब्बत की जीवन पद्धति को मिटाने का प्रयत्न किया। वर्तमान संघर्ष एक बड़े राष्ट्र द्वारा एक छोटे राष्ट्र को निगलने की इच्छा के कारण उत्पन्न हुआ है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है कि, हम ने जब तिब्बत पर चीन की प्रभुसत्ता स्वीकार की तो हम ने बड़ी गलती की। वह दिन बड़े दुर्भाग्य का दिन था। लेकिन गलती हो गयी। और हम शायद यह समझते थे कि यह मामला हल हो जायेगा, नया संघर्ष पैदा नहीं होगा, और हम दूसरों को मौका नहीं देना चाहते थे कि हमारे और चीन के मतभेदों का लाभ उठायें। लेकिन परिणाम क्या हुआ? चीन ने केवल तिब्बत के ही साथ हुए समझौते को नहीं तोड़ा, मगर उस समझौते की पष्ठभूमि में भारत के साथ जो समझौता हुआ उस का भी उल्लंघन किया। पंचशील की घोषणा कहाँ गयी? जो पंचशील के दावे करते हैं उन का कहना है कि पंचशील के अन्तर्गत लोकतंत्र और अधिनायक वाद साथ-साथ जीवति रह सकते हैं। अगर कम्युनिस्ट साम्राज्य के अन्तर्गत तिब्बत के धर्मप्रिय और शान्तिप्रिय लोग अपनी विशिष्ट जीवन



पद्धति की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते, तो यह कहना कि इतने बड़े संसार में कम्युनिज्म और डिमाक्रेसी साथ-साथ रह सकते हैं इस का कोई अर्थ नहीं होता। हम चीन के अन्दरूनी मामलों में दखल नहीं देना चाहते। मगर तिब्बत चीन का अन्दरूनी मामला नहीं है। चीन बन्धा हुआ है तिब्बत की स्वायत्तता का समादर करने के लिये, तिब्बत के अन्दरूनी मामलों में दखल न देने के लिये। लेकिन वह समझौता टूट गया और मैं समझता हूँ कि अब भारत को भी—भारत सरकार को भी अपनी स्थिति पर पुनर्विचार करना चाहिये। समझौते दोनों तरफ से चलते हैं, दोनों तरफ से पालन होते हैं। अगर चीन ने समझौता तोड़ दिया, तो हमें अधिकार है कि हम अपनी परिस्थिति पर फिर से विचार करें। क्या कारण है कि तिब्बत की जनता को उस की स्वतंत्रता से वंचित किया जा रहा है? तिब्बत क्यों स्वतंत्र नहीं रह सकता? कहते हैं कि वह पहले स्वतंत्र नहीं था, तो क्या जो देश पहले स्वतंत्र नहीं था, उसको स्वतंत्र होने का अधिकार नहीं हो सकता? क्या जहाँ पहले गुलामी थी, वहाँ अब भी गुलामी रहनी चाहिये? अगर अल्जीरिया की स्वतंत्रता की आवाज का हम समर्थन कर सकते हैं और वह समर्थन करना फ्रांस के अन्दरूनी मामलों में दखल देना नहीं है, तो तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता का समर्थन चीन के अन्दरूनी मामलों में दखल कैसे हो सकता है? अभी मेरे मित्र श्री खडिलकर ने कहा कि देश में कोई भी ऐसी पार्टी नहीं है, जो तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता का समर्थन करती है। मैं उन से अपना मत—भेद प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ। मैं एक छोटी पार्टी का प्रतिनिधि हूँ, लेकिन हमारी पार्टी तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता की हिमायत करती है। और तिब्बत की आजादी की आवाज कितने लोग उठाते हैं, इस से वह आवाज सही है या गलत, इस का निर्णय नहीं हो सकता है। चीनी साम्राज्यवादी अपने पशुबल के द्वारा तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता की आवाज को आज दबा सकते हैं, मगर स्वतंत्रता की पिपासा को मिटाया नहीं जा सकता। दमन की उस आन्दोलन के आग में आंधी का काम करेगा और आज नहीं तो कल तिब्बत की जनता अपनी स्वतंत्रता को प्राप्त कर के रहेगी। मगर प्रश्न यह है कि हम उस के लिये क्या कर सकते हैं। मैं ने निवेदन किया कि हम ने १९५० में गलती की। अब हमें उस का दण्ड भुगतना पड़ रहा है। लेकिन समय है प्रायश्चित्त करने का, गलती को पहचानने का और मैं प्रधानमंत्री जी से इस बात की आशा करता हूँ कि वह इस अवसर पर देश की करोड़ों जनता का सही प्रतिनिधित्व करेंगे। मुट्ठी भर हमारे मित्रों को छोड़ कर सारा भारत इस प्रश्न पर एकमत है कि तिब्बत में जो कुछ हो रहा है, वह नहीं होना चाहिये। लेकिन क्या यह सम्भव है कि तिब्बत चीनी राज्य के अन्तर्गत अपनी स्वायत्तता का उपभोग कर सके? मुझे तो लगता है कि कम्युनिस्ट पद्धति और स्वायत्तता दोनों परस्पर—विरोधी बातें हैं। कम्युनिस्ट राज्य में स्वायत्तता नहीं हो सकती। माओ—त्से तुंग ने १९३० में कहा था कि हम ने ऐसा संविधान बनाया है कि अगर कोई हम से बाहर जाना चाहेगा, तो बाहर जा सकेगा। तिब्बती तो बाहर जाने की बात नहीं करते थे। वे तो अपना पथक अस्तित्व रखना चाहते थे, मगर उन्हें इस की भी इजाज़त नहीं दी गई। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि हम ऐसे फूल को खिलता हुआ देखना चाहते हैं, जिस में हजारों पंखुड़ियाँ होंगी। हजारों की तो बात अलग रही, तिब्बत की कोमल कली को भी कुचला जा रहा है। जो तिब्बत में साम्राज्यवादी बन कर बैठे हैं, वे हम पर आरोप लगा रहे हैं। हम ने कभी तिब्बत को भारत में मिलाने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया। हम ने जहाँ चीन को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में स्थान देने की वकालत की थी, वहाँ हम तिब्बत को भी स्थान देने की वकालत कर सकते थे। युक्रेन सोवियत संघ में अलग स्थान पर बैठा है। तो क्या तिब्बत चीन के साथ होते हुए भी संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में अलग स्थान नहीं भर सकता था? मगर हम ने चीन की मित्रता के लिये ऐसा नहीं किया। और उस मित्रता का क्या प्रतिदान मिला? हम मित्रता आज भी चाहते हैं, मगर उस मित्रता का महल तिब्बत की आजादी की लाश पर नहीं खड़ा किया जा सकता। अन्याय को देख कर हम आंखें बन्द नहीं कर सकते। यह भारत की परम्परा रही है और इसी परम्परा में हमारे प्रधानमंत्री ने देश की विदेश नीति का संचालन किया है कि जहाँ कहीं अन्याय होगा, मानवता का हनन होगा, अत्याचार होगा, हम अपनी आवाज़ उठाएँगे, हम सत्य की भाषा को बोलेंगे और निर्भीक हो कर हम पद—दलित होने वाले के अधिकारों का संरक्षण करेंगे। आज तिब्बत कसौटी है नेहरूजी की नीतिमत्ता की, तिब्बत कसौटी है भारत सरकार की दृढ़ता की, तिब्बत कसौटी है चीन की पंचशील—प्रियता की। पंचशील की घोषणायें करने से, पंचशील की जो भावना है, उस का आदर नहीं होगा। पंचशील की कसौटी आचारण है। हमारे प्रधानमंत्री कितने भी संयम से काम लें, लेकिन अगर उस से तिब्बत की समस्या हल नहीं होती, तो हमें मानना पड़ेगा कि उस नीति में थोड़ी सी दृढ़ता, थोड़ी सी सक्रियता लाने की आवश्यकता है।

दलाई लामा तिब्बत में रहें, या जायें, यह कोई बड़ा सवाल नहीं है। यह तो तिब्बती आपस में तय करेंगे। लेकिन तिब्बत एक कसौटी है बड़े राष्ट्र द्वारा छोटे राष्ट्र को निगलने की। अगर छोटे देश इस तरह से निगले जायेंगे, तो संसार की शांति कायम नहीं रह सकती है। दक्षिण पूर्वी एशिया में अनेक देश ऐसे हैं, जिन में चीनी बहु—संख्या में निवास करते हैं और तिब्बत के कारण उन सब देशों में एक आशंका की लहर उत्पन्न हो गई है। जहाँ तक भारत का सवाल है, हम पर तो चीन की शनि दृष्टि दिखाई देती है। चीन के नक्शों में हमारा प्रदेश बताया गया है। चीन के कम्युनिस्टों ने च्यांग—काई—शेक को तो निकाल दिया, मगर उन के नक्शों को रख लिया। अगर

वे चाहते, तो नक्शों को भी निकाल सकते थे। और हमारे कम्युनिस्ट दोस्तों ने तो वे नक्शे देखे ही नहीं हैं। मुझे उनकी बात पर विश्वास नहीं होता। लेकिन यह चीन की अप्रत्यक्ष आक्रमण है भारत के ऊपर। उत्तर प्रदेश के दो स्थानों पर चीनी कब्जा जमा कर बैठे हैं। ये घटनायें आने वाले संकट की ओर संकेत करती हैं। हमें आतंकित होने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। मगर हमें दृढ़ नीति अपनानी चाहिये।

एक बात मैं और निवेदन करूंगा। दलाई लामा भारत में आये हैं। वे स्वतंत्रता के लड़ाकू हैं, अपने देश की स्वतंत्रता के लिये संघर्ष कर रहे हैं, जिस के कारण उन को अपना देश छोड़कर भारत में आना पड़ा है। मैं चाहता हूं कि उन्हें अपने देश की स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई भारत में चलाने का अधिकार होना चाहिये। उनके ऊपर जो बन्धन लगाये गये हैं, वे यद्यपि सुरक्षा के लिये हैं, लेकिन उन बन्धनों को ढीला करने की आवश्यकता है। अगर हमारे देशभक्त अंग्रेजी राज्य के दिनों में दूसरे देशों में जा कर भारत की स्वतंत्रता के लिये प्रयत्न कर सकते थे और हमारी आंखों में सम्मान का स्थान प्राप्त कर सकते थे, तो कोई कारण नहीं है कि दलाई लामा को भी इस बात की छूट न दी जाये। दलाई लामा अगर चीन के साथ समझौता करने में सफल हों, और हमारे प्रधानमंत्री इस सम्बन्ध में कोई मध्यस्थता कर सकें, तो इस से बढ़कर देश की जानता को कोई और आनन्द नहीं होगा। लेकिन अगर चीन के नेताओं को सीधी राह पर नहीं लाया जा सकता, राजनैतिक या कूटनीतिक दबाव से उन्हें नहीं समझाया जा सकता और वह बर्मा, लंका और इंडोनेशिया के जनमत को जाग्रत कर के, संगठित कर के प्रभावी रूप से उस का प्रकटीकरण कर के अगर चीन पर असर नहीं डाला जा सकता, तो भारत के सामने इस के सिवा कोई विकल्प नहीं रहेगा कि हम दलाई लामा को छूट दे दें कि वह अपनी देश की आजादी के लिये प्रयत्न करें और भारत के जो नौजवान तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता को अमूल्य समझते हैं— इसलिये नहीं कि तिब्बत के साथ उन के घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध हैं, अपितु इसलिये कि हम गुलामी में रह चुके हैं, हम गुलामी का दुख और दर्द जानते हैं, हम आजादी की कीमत जानते हैं—उन्हें कार्य करने की स्वतंत्रता दी जाये। तिब्बत की जनता अगर आजादी के लिये संघर्ष करती है, तो भारत की जनता उस के साथ होगी हम अपनी सहानुभूति उन को देंगे और हम चीन से भी आशा करें कि वह साम्राज्यवाद की बातें न करे। साम्राज्यवाद के दिन लद गये। किन्तु यह नया साम्राज्यवाद है। इस का खतरा यह है कि यह एक क्रान्ति के अवरण में आता है, यह इन्कलाब की पोशाक पहन कर आता है, यह नई व्यवस्था का नारा लगाता हुआ आता है मगर है यह उपनिवेशवाद, है यह साम्राज्यवाद। अतीत के इतिहास में हम गोरों के साम्राज्य से लड़ते रहे लेकिन अब यह पीलों का साम्राज्यवाद भी प्रकट हो रहा है विश्व की छत पर। हमें दृढ़ता के साथ उस का भी मुकाबला करना चाहिये।

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this matter concerning the developments in Tibet has come up before this House as well as before the other House on several occasions in the course of the last few weeks and I have had occasions to make many statements on the situation arising from these developments. I should have thought that enough had been said for the time being about the basic facts. So those facts as known were challenged, in statements from China. Some of the statements from China in so far as they relate to India were not accepted as facts by us. And I wondered at one time whether it would serve any useful purpose for us to carry on this argument which could only mean really a repetition of what had been said. Nevertheless, it is perhaps a good thing for us to have this brief discussion here. But in the course of this discussion so many basic facts have been challenged, or basic ideas have been challenged, that it raises much wider issues than what has happened in Tibet.

The hon. Member who just spoke before me with warmth said many things which challenged all the basic assumptions of our policy which have been accepted by this House and I think by the country as a whole with remarkable unanimity. Nevertheless, we challenged all those basic assumptions. Either he has never believed in those basic assumptions or what has happened in Tibet has made him change his opinion.

Now, I do not propose in these few minutes to discuss all the basic assumptions of our policy. All I would like to say now is that I do not hold with the hon. Member who has spoken. I do not agree with much that he has said and so far as Government is concerned, we are not going to follow the policy that he has suggested that we should follow. I should like to make that perfectly clear.

I may said in passing remarks that we have laid no limitations on the Dalai Lama, except the limitations of good sense and propriety of which he himself is the judge. But for the hon. Member to suggest that we should allow him to do something which he has not himself suggested, that is, making India the headquarters of some kind of a campaign and that we should allow the hon. Member and his party to join in this campaign is something which seems to be so odd. I cannot imagine how even he could have made it if he had thought about it. I need not say much about it, because it has no relation to facts, no relation to what is happening in the world, or in India, or in Tibet, or in China or anywhere.

He also laid stress on the 1954 Agreement, the agreement with China in regard to Tibet. He said we should never have done it. Again I do not quite understand what is meant by this-kind of statement or this kind of view-point. What exactly he expects us to do is not clear except may be perhaps to hold public meeting in Ramlila Maidan and deliver speeches. That is not the way that foreign policy of a country is conducted, by public meetings held in various places in India. Public meeting are important no doubt. But we have to come up against not only basic policies and assumptions, but hard facts in regard to foreign policy.

I have no doubt in my mind that the agreement we made with China with regard to Tibet was a right agreement. It was a correct agreement and we shall stand by it and it is not correct even for him to say that that agreement has been broken. It may be said that he thinks that certain implications of that agreement have not been, according to him, or according to anybody else, carried out. That is a different matter. But there is no question of that agreement having been broken. It lasts; it functions.

I do not know how many people here know the background of all these problems. We have been moved naturally, we have had a kind of emotional upheaval, by recent happenings and it is quite understandable that that should be so because of certain intimate emotional and other bonds with Tibet, with the people of Tibet or the mountains of Tibet; or Kailash or Manasarovar and so on, a mixture. We can understand that. And we can respect this emotional response. Nevertheless any policy that we lay down or attempt to follow cannot be based on an emotional upheaval. They have to bear some relation to facts.

I do not know how many hon. Members here know the history, the background of Tibet, of China, of Mongolia, of Bhutan and Sikkim and Nepal in the last few hundred years. I wonder how many have cared to look into them. I do not know whether the hon. Member who just spoke knows anything about it at all. I happen to know something about it and I have taken the trouble to read quite a number of books of history, Chinese chronicles, Indian reports, etc. Here is the history of six or seven hundred years, or more, from the moment when Chengiz Khan invaded Tibet, when Kublai Khan also held Tibet in a peculiar way, considering the then Dalai Lama as a spiritual guru. It is a curious combination. Politically he was dominant in Tibet, but Kublai Khan considered the Dalai Lama as his spiritual leader. So that you see a curious combination coming up. And in fact for a considerable period the relationship of Tibet with China was very peculiar; in a sense, I believe I am not wrong in saying, the Chinese rather looked down upon the Tibetans from the Mongol times. The Chinese rather look down upon every country other than their own. They consider themselves as the middle kingdom, as the celestial race, a great country, whether it was the Tang kingdom, or the Ming kingdom or ultimately the Manchus for a long period. The relations between China and Tibet varied from sovereignty or suzerainty, or half-sovereignty or semi-independence for a long periods till the Manchu dynasty right up to the beginning of the twentieth century held full sway over Tibet, quite a considerable sway. Even in the last days of the Manchu dynasty, when it fell, it held some considerable influence in Tibet.

When the Manchu dynasty fell round about forty or fifty years ago it weakened. It weakened, but whoever held China, whether it was the Emperor, or whether it was President Yuan Shih Kai, whether it was the war lords after them or whether it was Marshal Chiang Kai Shek's regime, or whether it was the Peoples' Government, they had one consistent policy from Emperor to the communists, of considering themselves as overlords of Tibet. No doubt, when Tibet was strong, it resisted that from time to time. There have been occasions when, twice at least, Tibetan armies reached the capital of China-it is rather old history-as the Chinese armies came repeatedly into Tibet. There have been occasions when Nepalese army went into Tibet and Tibetan army came into Nepal. There was one occasion at least when a certain General from Kashmir, Zoravar Singh, who carried out a brilliant campaign across the Himalayas in Tibet only, of course, to meet a stouter enemy than Tibetan or anybody, the cold of Tibet. The temperature of Tibet put an end to him and his army there. All this is history, mixed history. There is no doubt that the countries with whom Tibet has been most intimately connected in the past have been Mongolia and China, naturally for historical and other reasons, religious reasons, cultural reasons.

But all these do not count. In considering the present day situation, we have to take things as they are and have been recently. We cannot think of Changiz Khan's time or Kublai Khan's time or the Manchu Emperors or Chiang Kaishek or anybody else. In regard to the present situation, what exactly are we after? If we accept the hon. Member Shri Vajpayee's statement, we should, more or less, prepare for an armed conflict on this issue. We cannot pat somebody on the back and tell him to fight and say, we will cheer you from the background. That is an absurd situation. We must be clear in our

mind what we are saying or aiming it. I take it that we aim at, whatever problems may arise first of all, a peaceful solution for those problems. Peaceful solutions are not brought about by warlike speeches and warlike approaches. It is obvious that if some people in China think that by threats and strong speeches, they can frighten India, that is wrong. It is equally obvious that if some people in India think that by threats and warlike speeches, they can frighten China, that is equally wrong. Obviously not. Great countries, India or China, are not pushed about in this way. They react in the opposite direction.

So far as China is concerned, not with us, but with other countries, we know very well; with USA, with other countries- China herself is a part of a military bloc system on that one side and China herself is intimately concerned with cold war. Not with us; but because of this bloc system. They have got used to ways of expressing their opinion which, personally, I find, is not the right way in international parlance.

And now about the cold war technique, we have recently had some experience of that in regard to India. It is true, we have reacted against it. We did not like it. The question arises whether we should adopt that technique or not. It is an important thing, because it concerns our policy too. I think that neither that policy nor that way of expression which may be called cold war expression is right for any country: certainly not for us, unless we want to change our policy completely. We do not want to change it. We think it would be harmful from every point of view to change this policy. We should pursue that policy. That policy is based not so much on what the other country does, but on its inherent rightness in so far as we can understand it. We may be swept away now and then. It is a different matter. We are human beings. But, if we think coolly and calmly, we must realise that we must adhere to that policy. If so, our expression of opinions, our challenges, our threats, etc., should not be made if they do not fit in with that particular policy.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

That, I would submit to this House, is not a sign of weakness. I do not think any country in the world thinks that India, in the past few years, has adopted a policy of weakness. Some have accused us of bending backwards and of siding with this side or that side. I think they have begun to realise that if we are sometimes short of speech, friendly in speech, it does not denote weakness, but a certain conviction that that is the only right way to deal with international problems or, for that matter of national problems. Therefore, I submit that we must not talk about these warlike approaches and threats. We must not be overcome by anger even though, sometimes, we may feel a little angry about events that are happening. We must show by our firm policy, and calm demeanour that we will continue that friendly effort that we have always made even when it comes right up to our borders.

There is a great deal of sympathy for the people of Tibet, undoubtedly. Certainly not because the people of Tibet have a feudal regime. They have been cut off and have had a static social system which may have existed in other parts of the world some hundreds of years ago, but has ceased to exist elsewhere. Nobody wants that here. As a matter of fact, I am quite sure, even the Dalai Lama does not want it in Tibet. Here, we see a strange thing, a society which had been isolated completely for hundreds of years suddenly coming out into the open, events throwing out into the mad world of ours, cold wars and all kinds of things happening, dynamic policies and ferocious policies and authoritarian policies. Imagine the contrast in these two. There is a vast gulf. It is inevitable that painful consequences flow from this type of thing. You can learn lessons from them. You can try to moderate the effect of that impact. You cannot simply wish it away. It was the policy, I believe, of the People's Government of China, who realized that a country like this cannot be treated in a sudden way, to go slowly about the so-called reforms or whatever it may be. Whether that policy has changed or not, I cannot say. May be, it has changed somewhat. That is quite possible. Whether other changes are taking place in China, I cannot say. It was definitely a policy and they stated it publicly and privately that they realized this.

There is another difficulty in my or our dealing with these matters and that is, that the words we use have a different meaning for other people. For instance, we talk of the autonomy of Tibet. So do the Chinese. But, a doubt creeps into my mind as to whether the meaning I attach to it is the same as they attach to it. I do not think so. There are so many other words. I am not talking of any deliberate distortion. Quite apart from any distortion, the ways of thinking have changed. They have changed anyhow and the cold war methods have made them change even more. It is frightfully difficult really to talk the same language, the same language of the mind, I mean. Difficulty arises because of that also, and tremendous misunderstandings arise. However, I cannot go into all these matters.

One thing, I may say is that some reference was made, I think by Shri S.A. Dange to some convention on Tibet by a

certain Mazumdar. I have not heard of it except today. In fact, just when I came, I heard something about it. Whatever I have seen till now and whatever that convention appears to aim at or whatever it seems to represent, to me it seems to be very wrong. It is a wrong approach, an approach which will do no good to anybody at all, and may do a good deal of harm if really it was the approach of any responsible people in India. For, we must realise first of all one common thing. What do we want? What are we aiming at? How can we get there? What can we do about it?

I take it that we are sad, we are distressed at events in Tibet. Why are we distressed? Presumably because we feel that a certain people are being sat upon, are being oppressed. Whether those certain people, according to Shri S. A. Dange, are feudal landlords or some people like that or according to others, they are common people of Tibet. Whatever it may be, there it is. I have no doubt in my mind that it is difficult to draw the line in such cases between the top feudal elements and others. They all can be mixed together. And as a result, for the moment, they are all uprooted.

Now, where a society has existed for hundred and hundreds of years—it may have outlasted its utility but the fact of their uprooting is a terribly painful process. It can be uprooted slowly, it can be changed even with rapidity, but with a measure of co-operation. But any kind of a forcible uprooting of that must necessarily be painful, whether it is a good society or a bad society. If we have to deal with such societies anywhere in the world, which as a social group may be called primitive, it is not an easy matter on how to deal with it. All these difficult things are happening. They should have happened; they would have happened, may be a little more slowly but with a greater measure of co-operation, because only such a change can take place effectively and with least harm to those people concerned. They may be helped by others, may be advised by others. Every good thing that is done by imposition becomes a bad thing. It produces a different reactions. I cannot judge what is happening in Tibet. I do not have facts, neither does anybody in this House, except broadly some odd fact are here and there. But I am merely venturing to say that all these complicated systems are not so easy to disentangle. Anyhow, whatever it may be, it has undoubtedly brought a great deal of suffering to the people of Tibet. And I should have liked to avoid it. But what can I do?

People talk in a strange way. The representatives of a number of countries are being summoned and orders being issued asking them to do this and that. I am surprised that they should think on those lines, as if this can be done.

Here is, after years of effort, going to be, possibly what is called a summit conference somewhere in Europe, where the great powers of the earth, Russia, America, England and France and may be somebody else Italy, Italy or whatever it may be, would be summoned to decide the fate of the world. What they will decide, I do not know. I wish them well. I wish they will come to some understanding. But the way hon. Members here say casually that we should issue orders and decrees and get together and decide or it will be the worst of you seems almost really a comic opera approach; it has no relation to reality.

It is a basic fact that China is a great country, and India is a great country, great in extent, great in background, great in many things. I am not talking so much about military power, although from the point of view of defence or offence, no doubt, their potentials are considerable.

Now, looking at the subject from any long perspective, or even in the short perspective, it is a matter of considerable consequence that China and India should be friends, should be co-operative. It does not mean that they should go the same path, but they should not come in each other's way; they should not be hostile to each other; it is neither good for India nor for China. And China may be a very strong country as it is, and is growing stronger, but even from the Chinese point of view, it is not a good thing to have a hostile India. It makes a great deal of difference to have that kind of thing—I am not talking in military terms but otherwise. It is to the interest of both these countries, even though they function in different and in many ways not to be hostile to each other. If China starts telling me what to do, I am likely to be irritated. If I go about telling China what to do, China is likely to be irritated, even more than I am, because I am supposed to be a soft person and the Chinese are not supposed to be very soft about these matters; may be; so, there it is.

Now, maintaining our dignity, maintaining our rights, maintaining our self-respect, and yet not allowing ourselves to drift into wrong attitudes and hostile attitudes and trying to help in removing or in solving such problems as arise, we may help a little. They cannot be solved quickly—that is the very utmost that one can do in the circumstances, or at any rate, creating an atmosphere which may help in doing this. How far it will go, I do not know.

So, I venture to say that this should be our broad approach to this matter. We cannot go any further. We might possibly help in that approach there.



After all, this House and the country have expressed in fairly effective language their reactions to Tibet development and events in Tibet. Nobody doubts them. But I might say that our going on talking in fiery and hostile language will not carry conviction to any; it will only lead to greater gulf being created and less possibility of any help being rendered in understanding or in finding a solution.

Therefore, I would beg to suggest that we should not allow ourselves to be swept away in these matters.

One thing which was referred to by two or three Members was the question of maps. Now, there is now doubt about it that this continuance of what are called old maps by China, which show certain, fairly large areas of Indian territory, as if they belong to the Chinese State, has been a factor creating continual irritation in the minds of people in this country. It is not some crisis that has arisen, but it has been difficult for our people, naturally, to understand why this kind of thing continues indefinitely year after year. It is not, mind you, a question of some old little pocket here and there which may be in dispute on which we can argue - there are two or three pockets about which we have had, and we are going to have discussions - but this business of issuing these maps which are not true to fact, which can hardly be justified on the ground of history, of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's regime or any previous regime.

I shall just say one word more. I think Shri S. A. Dange talked about the palace of the Dalai Lama and all that. I think that is an exaggeration. First of all, it is not his choice. It is our choice. And it is rather slightly bigger than a normal house in Mussoorie. We had to find a biggest house because of the number of people involved.

As I have said, there is no question of surveillance on him except for security reasons, and we have not prevented him from meeting anybody if he wants to meet. He has met, in fact, large numbers of people; some people go for *darshan* to him, and some individuals, often Buddhist representatives from Ceylon and other places are coming to see him. Nobody prevents anyone. Certainly, as for the odd newspaper man, especially from foreign countries, who comes here in search of sensation, we even don't prevent such persons but at the same time we do not welcome him, because such persons reduce everything to high sensationalism.

The other day, I said in the other place that all this business of God King etc. is not to my liking. He is the Dalai Lama, referred to as the Dalai Lama; and it creates sensation-mongering, saying God-King all the time. I may say that the Dalai Lama himself does not like this business.

Therefore, we do not want this whole occurrence to be reduced or kept up to the sensational level. That was why we were not at all anxious that so many correspondents should go there and beseech him; and then there will always be difficulties, interpreters and all that; and confusion will arise and contradictions and all that.

**Acharya Kripalani:** You may allow some Communist friends to go and see him.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We shall allow both our Communist friends and our PSP friends, both of them. It is not really question of our allowing, we do not give permits. It is for him.

**Acharya Kripalani:** You may give them some extra facilities.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Now, we have to face the large problem of these refugees. It is a difficult problem, and it has been thrust upon us.

If I may say just one word, before the 11<sup>th</sup> March-that is not so long ago, about seven weeks ago? We had no inkling of what might happen in Tibet. On the 11<sup>th</sup> March, we got the first word of some demonstration in Lhasa by Tibetans, and on the 17<sup>th</sup>, six days later, came this business of, so it is said shelling the Dalai Lama's palace. Shri Dange said something about bad marksmanship. I am only saying what he said. It is not bad marksmanship, but deliberately they were sent there as a kind of warning. Anyhow, then the situation developed on the 20<sup>th</sup>; fighting took place there. The situation developed so rapidly after that, and the House knows what happened afterwards. The Dalai Lama left on the 17<sup>th</sup> evening, and arrived here at the end of the month, so that we really were rather overtaken by events. We did not know that the Dalai Lama was coming here till about two days before he actually entered India. We had imagined when we knew he was traveling south that he might come, but it was only two days before that, that we heard that he would like to come, so that we were overtaken by events.

We had decided to accept him. Later, when others came, we decided to allow them to come too, and there they are all these refugees, apart from the Dalai Lama. The present estimates are about 10,000-and all kinds of refugees- the old,



the aged, some young people, some women, and it is obviously going to be a bit of a problem for us. We are not going to keep them in barbed wire enclosures forever. For the present, we are keeping them in two or three camps.

**Shri M. P. Mishra (Begusarai):** Are all of them fed and lodged?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** But the sooner we spread them out, the better it is. May be some one will have to remain for some time; I do not know.

**Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri (Berhampore):** I have one question to ask, only one small question.

One thing has intrigued many observers greatly, that is that the Dalai Lama has been elected by the People's Congress in China as one of the Vice-Chairmen.

**An Hon. Member:** The Panchen Lama.

**Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:** The Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama. I am sure of my facts. That is correct.

Because he is also a part of that State, has our Government received any request from the Chinese Embassy here that the Chinese Ambassador or any of his representatives should see the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No, Sir. We have received no such request. I stated, as you might remember, that the Chinese Ambassador would be welcome to see him if he so wishes.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** Only one question I have to ask you.

Is it not a fact that what has happened in Tibet is only an extension of the war between the U.S. and USSR? They want to have a hold on Tibet so that India would not go together with America and England in case of war between U.S. and USSR. What has happened in Tibet is that they want Tibet to come entirely under the USSR and China, because I was in Tibet, I was traveling in China, I was helped by Soviet Russia and by China to go to Tibet. I know what they are thinking; I know their psychology. So, I beg you to consider this Tibetan question from the standpoint that it is a war move between U.S. and USSR.

**Mr. Speaker:** How long ago was the hon. Member there?

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** I was staying in Peking and Nanking and traveling all over China, and I took one year to go from Peking to Tibet and back. I went by the northern route and came back by the southern route to China. I specially studied it because Soviet Russia and China helped me. I may tell you one thing more. In 1925 Soviet Russia and China were rivals in connection with Tibet.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House is satisfied with what he has already said.

**Dr. Sushila Nayar (Jhansi):** I want to ask the hon. Prime Minister if these 10,000 refugees that have come from Tibet are all well-to-do feudal lords, or are they the common people of Tibet.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I cannot give any description of all of them. They have not reached, they are on the way, but it is hardly likely that Tibet will produce 10,000 lords.

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**3 August 1959**

**Written Answers to Questions**

## **DALAI LAMA**

**\*34. Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:**

**Shri A. M. Tariq:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to his statement made in Lok Sabha on the 27<sup>th</sup> April, 1959 and state:

- (a) whether Government have received any request from Panchen Lama, the Chinese Ambassador or any other emissary of the Chinese Government to meet the Dalai Lama; and
- (b) if so, whether leave for meeting him has been granted?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) and (b). No, Sir.

## CHINESE ARMY PERSONNEL FROM TIBET

**Shri Radha Raman:**

**Shrimati Ila Palachoudhuri:**

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:**

**Shri Shivananjappa:**

\* 286. **Shri Ansar Harvani:**

**Shri Raghunath Singh:**

**Shri Mahanty:**

**Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:**

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:**

**Shri S.A. Mehdi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that along with Tibetans who have crossed into India and taken refuge during the recent months, a certain number of Chinese Army personnel who have deserted their Units have also crossed into India and sought refugee;
- (b) if so, their actual number; and
- (c) the action taken in regard to them?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) to (c). Among the refugees from Tibet, there are about 40 persons who appear to be of non-Tibetan origin. Their identity and antecedents are difficult to say at present whether any of them belong to the Chinese army.

**Shri Radha Raman:** May I know whether this personnel which have not so far been identified with the Chinese army belong to any of the religious order?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** When we say that they are not identified, how can we say whether they belong to some religious order or something else?

**Shri Shivananjappa:** May I know whether the Nepalese Government have apprehended some deserters from the Chinese army along the Indo-Nepalese border and also whether the Government has any information to this effect?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** We have no information.

**Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:** May I know whether any arms and ammunitions have been recovered from them— non-Tibetan soldiers?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I cannot give a precise reply.

**श्री रघुनाथ सिंह:** मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो 40 चीनी लोग आये हैं वे च्यांग काई शेक की आर्मी के हैं या उस जगह जो हुकूमत है उसकी आर्मी के हैं?

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** जाहिर हैं कि हमें उनके बारे में ठीक से मालूम नहीं । कुछ लोग आये हैं जो कि तिब्बती नहीं मालूम होते । अब वह क्या है वह खालिस उनके चेहरों से नहीं मालूम कर सकते कि उन लोगों से च्यांग-काई-शेक साहब का ताल्लुक है वह वहां से कई हजार मील के फासले पर है जहां से ज़रा मुश्किल से उनकी पहुंच हो सकती होगी ।

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether the attention of the Government was drawn to newspaper reports that 15 personnel of the Chinese army who were in the army division were deserted? May I know whether there is any enquiry or investigation made into the *bona fides* and motives of these peoples?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We have already stated that we are going into this matter and find out who they are, whether they are *bona fide* people or *mala fide* people. That is being investigated.

**श्री ब्रजराज सिंह:** क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि यह 40 लोग जिनको कि कहा जाता है कि तिब्बती ओरिजन के नहीं हैं यह कहीं किसी एक स्थान पर रखे गये है या यह भी तिब्बती रेफ्यूजीज़ के साथ अलग अलग सब जगह रखे गये है ।

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** यह जो हमारे तिब्बतन केम्पस है गालिबन उनके साथ तो रखे गये नहीं है, अलग रखे गये है और जब कोई जांच पडताल एनबैस्टिगेशन होती है तो वह 40 आदमियों की एक साथ तो होती नहीं, अलग अलग हुआ करती है जहां इनसे अलग अलग मिला जाता होगा।

**Shri Jaganatha Rao:** May I know whether these unidentified persons are allowed to remain with the Tibetan refugees?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No, they are not with them. As to what will happen to them in the future is a matter to be considered later.

**Shrimati Mafida Ahmed:** May I know whether the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi has made any approach to the Government of India in regard to the Chinese nationals that have crossed over to India?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We do not yet know whether there are any Chinese nationals or not. Anyhow, there has been no such approach.

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**11 August 1959**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:**

**Shri Rajendra Singh:**

**Shri Vajpayee:**

**Shri U. L. Patil:**

**Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:**

**Shri Radha Raman:**

**Shri Sadhan Gupta:**

**Shri Supakar:**

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:**

**Shri Punnoose:**

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:**

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:**

**Shri Nagi Reddy:**

**Shri Khushwaqt Rai:**

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:**

**Shri Raghunath Singh:**

**Shri A. K. Gopalan:**

**Shri Kunhan:**

**\*287. Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:**

**Shrimati Mafida Ahmed:**

**Shri Sarju Pandey:**

**Shri Bibhuti Mishra:**

**Shri N. R. Munisamy:**

**Shri Bhakt Darshan:**

**Shri Assar:**

**Pandit Munishwar Dutt Upadhyay:**

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:**

**Shri Daljit Singh:**

**Shri Hem Raj:**

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:**

**Shri Damar:**

**Shri Pahadia:**

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:**

**Shri Achar:**

**Shri Mohan Swarup:**

**Shri Panigrahi:**

**Shri Bishwanath Roy:**

**Shri P. C. Borooah:**

**Shri P. G. Deb:**

**Shri S. A. Mehdi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) how many Tibetans have crossed into India so far;
- (b) what facilities have been provided by the Government of India to rehabilitate them;
- (c) the expenditure incurred monthly on the rehabilitation of these refugees;
- (d) the names of the countries from which contributions have been received for their relief and rehabilitation stating the amount in respect of each;
- (e) the names of the agencies entrusted with the relief work; and
- (f) whether Government have received any communication from the Tibetan Government expressing their willingness to take them back?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) to (f). A statement giving the information required is placed on the Table of the House.

#### STATEMENT

The total number of Tibetan refugees who have come to India is 12,396.

Arrangements have been made for the employment of unskilled refugees on road-works in Sikkim and NEFA. Those who are old and infirm have been sent to Dalhousie and will be maintained at the expense of the Government. A number of refugees having relations in India have been permitted to join their families in the Darjeeling district.

Student Lamas are being accommodated at Buxa, where they will pursue their religious studies. Children below the age of 16 years will be sent to schools.

Refugees who are not being maintained by Government and who are being dispersed for road works are being given resettlement grant of Rs. 50 in addition to the cost of transportation and shelter at the work-sites. Arrangements have also been made to give instruction in Hindi in Camps and on the work-sites so that refugees can adjust themselves to the conditions in India. It is also intended to select some refugees for training in crafts and vocations after careful appraisal has been made of their aptitudes.

Since dispersal from Camps has begun recently, it is not possible to indicate monthly expenditure on the rehabilitation of refugees.

All voluntary relief activities are being co-ordinated by the Central Relief Committee for Tibetan refugees presided over by Acharya J. B. Kripalani. The Indian Red Cross Society has associated itself with the Central Committee.

All contributions coming from India or foreign voluntary agencies are received by the Central Committee. It is understood that contributions have been received from the American Tibetan Relief Committee, the Catholic Relief Committee, the Indian National Christian Council and the Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere. As most of the contributions are in kind, it has not been possible to estimate their value.

The Government have received no communication regarding the return of these refugees to Tibet.

**Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** May I know if there is any long range policy about the resettlement of the refugees and if there has been any talk with the Dalai Lama on the subject?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** In the statement the hon. Member will see the steps that have been taken. Gradually, one evolves a policy and one cannot lay down a firm and fixed long range policy; much depends upon the circumstances. It would appear that a considerable number of them will remain in India and we have to fashion our policy accordingly. Almost everything that is being done about them, the steps to be taken in regard to the refugees, etc. had been done after consultation with the Dalai Lama.

**Shri Tangamani:** May I know how much money has so far been spent by the Government of India on these 12,396 refugees who have crossed over to India?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I cannot give any kind of an accurate figure. I believe that the Finance Minister agreed primarily to allot about Rs. 10 lakhs for this purpose but the actual expenditure is being met partly by the External Affairs Ministry and partly by the State Ministries concerned. We do not know how much the State Ministries have spent and we will get their accounts later.

**Shri Supakar:** May I know whether the present scheme is to permanently rehabilitate the refugees? How many persons will permanently resettled here?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I have said that the likelihood of these refugees going back to Tibet in the foreseeable future is very small. We cannot speak of individuals but only of groups. Therefore, we must expect a great majority of them to remain here. Now, there are various types. Some are young men and boys for whom we arrange normal education. Some are young Lamas for whom also we arrange for that type of education. Then there are old Lamas and a number of them have been provided for in various places in their own profession of lamahood-if I may say so-in Sikkim, a few in Darjeeling. Some have gone to their friends or relatives round about Darjeeling or Kalimpong. The main body of them, young persons, have, for the present, been given work to do: road-making and that type of thing. Some again are being taught handicrafts.

**Shri Nath Pai:** We should like to have an idea as to the daily cost of maintenance of these 12,000 refugees and secondly whether the Government is contemplating making any approach to the United Nations refugee section because there is a section which contributes for this purpose and also whether the Dalai Lama is contributing to the maintenance of them and what part of the expenditure is coming by way of public contributions?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We have not thought of appealing to the U.N in regard to this matter. Some moneys have been received from foreign sources, not by the Government, but by the Central Relief Committee here, of which Acharya Kripalani is the Chairman. There is collaboration between the Government and Acharya Kripalani's committee in this matter. I cannot say what funds are at their disposal and how much they have got from foreign sources, etc. But much of it is in the shape of goods and medicines, this and that-a good deal of it, in medicines. I do not know about the cash; perhaps not too much. I am sorry I cannot give any figure as to how much is spent.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Is the Dalai Lama contributing anything to their maintenance?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** So far as I know he has not contributed anything to these people's maintenance but to some extent he has met his own expenditure: not, I mean, the housing and the rest, but the odd expenditure, I believe.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या तिब्बत से शरणार्थियों का आना समाप्त हो गया है, या अभी भी यह क्रम जारी है?

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** वह तो करीब करीब रुक गया था । लेकिन कुछ दिन हुए कोई एक हफ्ता हुआ, हम ने सुना कि 100 शरणार्थी भूटान आये थे । भूटान की हुकूमत ने कहा कि मेहरबानी करके आप इनको ले लीजिये, तो हमने कहा, बहुत खूब, हम ले लेंगे, क्योंकि वह इस बोझ को उठाना नहीं चाहते थे ।

**श्री विभूति मिश्र:** मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो शरणार्थी तिब्बत से नेपाल आये हैं उन्हें यह सेंट्रल रिलीफ कमेटी कुछ सहायता करती है या नहीं?

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** जी नहीं, मेरा खयाल है कि उनकी सहायता का कोई सवाल उठा नहीं है, न किसी ने कुछ मांगा, न जहां तक मैं जानता हूँ वहां की गवर्मेंट ने कुछ किया है । जो थोड़े बहुत आये हैं वह अपने दोस्तों और रिश्तेदारों के साथ फैल गये हैं । यहां से कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं हुआ है ।

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** May I know whether the Government have taken any decision to extend the same type of relief to a large number of Indian nationals repatriated from Malaya and Ceylon, who are still unemployed and are wandering as refugees in the South Indian States?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No, Sir; the conditions are entirely different.

**Shri Assar:** Have our Government enquired from Dalai Lama or his officials about the *bona fides* of the Tibetan refugees to ensure that there are no Chinese spies?

**Mr. Speaker:** That is what he has already answered.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** How can the Dalai Lama tell us about 12,000 people who have come from various parts of Tibet? But, apart from that, naturally, we are interested in finding out who and what these 12,000 odd persons are. We try to make such enquiries from such sources as are available to us to get that information.

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** From the statement it is found that most of the contributions were in kind. May I know whether any exemption from custom duty in respect of gifts received from abroad or exemption from excise duty in respect of goods received from within India was given; if so the total amount for which exemptions were allowed?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** Exemptions from customs and also free passage for these goods are allowed. But there is no possibility of knowing how much by the way of money it amounts to.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** In the statement it is said that those who are old and infirm have been sent to Dalhousie and will be maintained at the expense of the Government. May I know what is the number of such old and infirm refugees who have been sent over to Dalhousie, and what is the monthly expenditure incurred by the Government to maintain them?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The figure I have got thus far is that 320 persons have been sent to Dalhousie. It is not a question of old and infirm so much as the old senior Lamas who cannot be put to work; that is to say, it is practically a Lama Centre, where they can carry on their Buddhist vocations and studies in life, which has been, in a sense, created in Dalhousie, and these people have been sent there.

**Shrimati Mafida Ahmed:** Is it not a fact that permits were issued to the Tibetan refugees to stay at Mismari Camp only for three months; if so, may I know whether it has been extended and if so, what is the extension period?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** The Mismari Camp is only a transit camp. As soon as they are found fit to be sent to any of these recognized places, work sites or other places where they can settle down, then they will be sent away and the camp will be wound up.

**Shri N. R. Munisamy:** As a result of our having afforded asylum to Dalai Lama and Tibetan refugees there is a good deal of anti-Indian feelings against the Indians residing in Tibet at the instance of the Chinese. May I know whether any steps have been taken by Government to clear this misunderstanding?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I have mentioned, Sir, the other day that the Indian nationals there are mostly traders, apart from our own Mission folk and some few others. A number of difficulties have been placed in the way of Indian trade which is gradually vanishing, and we have drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to this matter.

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**11 August 1959**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **ADMISSION OF CHINA TO U.N**

**\*312. Shri Pahadia:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Government have decided to submit an item about the admission of China to the U.N for inclusion in the agenda of the next meeting of the General Assembly; and
- (b) whether the happenings of last year and deeds of China were kept in view while taking this decision?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) and (b). The Government of India have suggested the inclusion of an item entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations" for discussion in the forthcoming session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. China is already a member of the United Nations and the only question is who should represent China. In our opinion it is totally unrealistic and wrong to have China represented by some people from Formosa. We are convinced that the main objectives of the United Nations would be more and more difficult to achieve if the true representatives of a vast country like China are not allowed to participate in this world organisation. Our decision, therefore, to seek proper representation of China in the United Nations has no relevance to the developments in China.

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**MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT****Reported Chinese Statement Re: Liberation of Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan**

**Mr. Speaker:** I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Sarvashri Vajpayee and U. L. Patil: "The grave threat to India's security and territorial integrity emanating from the offensive propaganda campaign let loose by the Chinese Communists for the 'Liberation' of Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan".

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** What about the other motion about the crisis in U.P?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am coming to that. Crisis in U.P is a domestic matter.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** It is very important, Sir. All people...

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I have disallowed it.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad):** Sir, in a House of only 431 if 97 are.....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. If he is more interested then let him go and sit there (*Interruptions*). Order, order. I am not going to allow this indulgence of discussing matters which I have disallowed, which according to me are domestic matters.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Sir, there was another adjournment motion on the subject of Tibet in my name also.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes. Shri Braj Raj Singh also has give notice of the same adjournment motion.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** It was not the same motion, Sir; there were some other matters. My point is, some time back there was a news items in the papers, which has not been contradicted to my knowledge at least that there was some plan of forming a Himalayan Federation consisting of Ladakh, Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim and parts of our NEFA area. There had been rumours of a news in the Press that there had been exhortations in Tibet- exhorting Tibetans to liberate these areas. This is a very serious matter. Insecurity may prevail all over India on account of this.

**Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur):** Sir, there is news in the papers that on the 17<sup>th</sup> July there was a mass meeting in Lhasa in which Communist leaders in Tibet made speeches calling for the liberation of Ladakh, Bhutan and Sikkim. Secondly, there is a news that huge Chinese forces are being concentrated on the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan. I would like to know what is the position. My adjournment motion is not in the nature of a censure motion against the Government. The only thing we want is that the security of India must be safeguarded and any threat that is coming from any quarter must be met.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Sir, I submit that my adjournment motion may be read in the House so that hon. Member may know what it is.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member has explained it in a much better way than what is contained in the adjournment motion.

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

Sir, I entirely agree with the hon. Member that the integrity of India should be safeguarded at all costs. There can be no doubt about it; every Member in this House agrees.

Now, coming to this particular motion, it is based apparently on a news item today which itself is based on some dispatch to a London newspaper. In this newspaper, reference is made to a speech that Mr. Chiang ko-Hua is supposed to have delivered on a certain day. I have not seen that report of the speech-I do not know. A report of that speech was given in the official Chinese paper called *China Today*. I have read that report. This particular passage is not there. That of course does not lead us to believe that it is not possible, but it is not there. Anyhow, it would be a very exceedingly foolish person who would say the remarks attributed to this gentleman about Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan. We shall try to find out whether any speech was delivered on that date and, in so far as we can, what the contents of that speech were. We have had no information from any reliable source of such statements being made by any person who can be considered reliable. Therefore, it is rather difficult for me to deal with something in the air.

As for the report that there are large Chinese forces. I believe that there is a pretty large Chinese forces in Tibet. It might even be called 'very large forces' all over Tibet, who came there when this rebellion started there. We have no exact information as to the extent of those forces. I do not think that any large forces are concentrated on our frontiers. Some are there, no doubt. Anyhow, we are quite awake and alert over this matter, and if we get any reliable information I shall place it before the House. I may say that in one of our last notes to the Chinese Government, which was sent I think on the 23<sup>rd</sup> July where we protested *inter alia* against the propaganda in the Chinese official organ describing Indians as imperialists.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Sir, the Prime Minister may be asked to say something about the Himalayan Federation also. We just want to get some information about it.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Prime Minister has placed all the available information before the House.

**Shri Ham Barua (Gauhati):** May I know whether it is a fact that the Chinese Government have sent some communications to our Government, recently, suggesting that the McMahon Line no longer prescribes or describes the international boundary as it was not ratified by the Chinese Government. It was only a British creation. There should be some sort of redrawing of the line?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No, Sir; we have received no such communication now or at any earlier stage. So far as we are concerned, the McMahon Line is the firm frontier- firm by treaty, firm by usage, firm by geography. There are minor pockets, small areas in the McMahon Line or elsewhere on the frontier where some arguments have occasionally arisen, where questions, sometimes of a mile or two this way or that way have arisen in the past. So discussions have taken place and will continue, no doubt. So, sometimes we have these arguments about these matters. In fact, we are having, I think, about one or two matters even now, but they do not effect the major frontier line called the McMahon Line.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know from the Prime Minister that when Mr. Chou En-Lai made a reference to their undefined frontiers with their southern neighbours-when he said like that-did he include India with the Southern neighbours? Did he have that in mind?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I cannot say or interpret Premier Chou En-Lai's speech and what he had in mind. But the impression that was given to us by Mr. Chou En-Lai some years back was, having regard to all the circumstances, they accepted this, what is called McMahon line-unfortunately we might have a better name for it; but still they accepted that as the international frontier.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** Has any map been published showing some portions of India in the Chinese territory?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No new maps have published; I do not know.

**Shri Vajpayee:** May I know whether it is a fact that as many as 20 divisions of Chinese troops are stationed in Tibet at present?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I could not say; I do not know that exactly.

**Mr. Speaker:** In the circumstances, I do not think it necessary to give my consent to this adjournment motion.



**4 September 1959**

**Answers to Questions**

### **RESOLUTION RE: REFERENCE OF THE TIBET ISSUE TO THE UN**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now resume further discussion of the Resolution moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee on the 21<sup>st</sup> August, 1959 regarding reference of Tibet issue to the UNO.

Out of 2 hours allotted for the discussion of the Resolution, 28 minutes have already been taken up and 1 hour and 32 minutes are left for its further discussion today.

Shri Braj Raj Singh may continue his speech.

But there is one thing that I might say in the beginning. There is such a large number of hon. Members who have expressed their desire to speak that the time they take should be limited to the minimum. I think ten minutes each might be enough.

**Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi):** Sir you promised that the time would be extended by say, one hour.

That is within the discretion of the Chair.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will look into it if I have given any promise. But even then the time-limit would be ten minutes.

**Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga):** There are some amendments of which notice has been given.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry that I forgot them. But the reason for that was that they were all beyond the scope of this Resolution. Shri P. K. Deo's amendment says that for the word 'refer' substitute 're-open'. That would not be covered. Then he says that after the words 'Tibetan issue' add the words 'and refer the Chinese aggressive inroads to India'. That would be out of order as it is beyond the scope of the Resolution. We cannot refer to a friendly country in such a manner. Then there is Shri Shree Narayan Das' amendment. That also refers to a certain matters that ought not to be brought in this Resolution. I will give them an opportunity to speak and I think that is all that they want.

**Dr. Gohokar (Yeotmal):** My amendment is also there.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** Time could be extended a little, say, by another half-an-hour or an hour, if you like.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** At least by one hour.

**Dr. Gohokar:** My amendment is there. I think it is perfectly in order.

**An Hon. Member:** There are other amendments also.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Which amendment.

**Dr. Gohokar:** The one in my name. It is in list No. 3.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Kalika Singh's amendment is there. That is very argumentative and it touches...

**Shri Kalika Singh (Azamgarh):** Taken as a whole it is in order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have seen it. It says:

"This House is of opinion that Tibet is an integral part of China, and as such, it is within the domestic jurisdiction of the People's Republic China to solve the Tibetan tangle in the best possible manner. Failure of China to solve the tangle may result into mass genocide and breach of international peace which may attract the provisions of U.N. Charter for intervention..."

I do not think it would be advisable to discuss all these things here or bring them up here thus. Shri Gohokar's amendment...

**Shri Radha Raman (Chandni Chowk):** My amendment is there in list No. 2.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Gohokar's amendment says, for the words 'refer the Tibetan issue to the United Nation', substitute 'support the Tibetan issue if brought in the United Nations.' That is in order.

**Shri Radha Raman:** My amendment is in list No. 2. It is amendment No. 4.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Radha Raman's amendment says, for the original Resolution, substitute—

'This House approves of all the steps which Central Government has taken so far in respect of the Tibetan issue and is further of the opinion that suitable steps such as would lead to a Conference of Bandung Powers at an early date be taken to consider and resolve this question in the larger interest of Asia and maintenance of peace in it.'

Things like convening of Bandung Conference and others cannot be covered by this Resolution.

**श्री ब्रजराज सिंह (फिरोज़ाबाद):** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय इस प्रस्ताव पर जब से बहस शुरू हुई है उसके बीच में भारत की राजधानी में महामहिम दलाई लामा पधारे हैं और मैं उनका स्वागत करता हूँ ।

तिब्बत में जो घटनायें घटी हैं उन से हर देशवासी का, जिसकी जड़े इस देश में हैं, चिन्तित होना स्वाभाविक है । यह बात दूसरी है कि इस देश में पैदा होने के बाद कुछ लोग ऐसा महसूस करते हैं कि उनकी जड़े इस देश में नहीं हैं और वे भले ही इस सब घटनाचक्र से चिन्तित न हों । तिब्बत में न सिर्फ़ नरहत्यायें हुई हैं बल्कि एक तरह से हम कह सकते हैं कि उसकी आज़ादी की ही हत्या कर दी गई है । जब तिब्बत की आज़ादी की हत्या का प्रश्न उठता है तो हमें कुछ थोड़ा सा पीछे की ओर जाना पड़ता है ।

सन 1950 में भी इस तरह का एक प्रश्न उठा था और तब भी संयुक्त राष्ट्र संगठन में तिब्बत का प्रश्न उठाया गया था भारत द्वारा नहीं बल्कि किसी अन्य राष्ट्र द्वारा । उसके बाद यह आशा व्यक्त की गई कि यह प्रश्न शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से हल हो जायेगा ! इस तरह से उसको हल करने का कुछ प्रयत्न किया गया और मालूम पड़ा कि इस दिशा में कुछ प्रगति भी हुई है । लेकिन जिस तरह से वह हल होना चाहिये था उस तरह से उस वक्त नहीं हो सका और लगता है कि अब भी सम्भवतः वह होने वाला नहीं है । उसमें एक प्रारम्भिक गलती हुई है और वह यह कि जब हम ने यह माना कि हिन्दुस्तान की प्रभुसत्ता तिब्बत पर नहीं रही हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ाद होने के बाद, उस वक्त यह नहीं माना कि चीन की प्रभुसत्ता भी तिब्बत पर नहीं है । आज भी अगर लोग इस तरह की बात कहें कि तिब्बत चीन का एक हिस्सा है तो वह दिखाता है कि हम मान लेते हैं कि चीन की जो आक्रमणवादी प्रवृत्ति है उसको हम स्वीकार करते हैं, या उसका हम समर्थन करते हैं । आखिर कोई भी राष्ट्र हो चाहे वह आज की चीन का पीपल्स गवर्नमेंट जो कही जाती है, जनतंत्री सरकार जो कही जाती है वह हो तथा उसने जो उत्तराधिकार इम्पीरियलिस्ट गवर्नमेंट से सम्राज्यवादी सरकार से पाये हैं, उन अधिकारों की रक्षा के लिये यदि वह यह कहे कि क्योंकि तिब्बत पर पिछली सरकार की प्रभुसत्ता रही है, चाहे आप यह कहें कि पिछले बादशाहों की रही है, उनका वह कैसे त्याग कर सकती है, तो यह भी सोचने वाली बात है । लेकिन दलील के लिये यह मान भी लिया जाय कि चीन की जो पहली सरकार थी उसकी प्रभुसत्ता तिब्बत पर रही है, तो भी यह कहना पड़ेगा कि चीन में जन सरकार बनने के बाद उसको यह मान लेना चाहिये था कि क्योंकि तिब्बत की संस्कृति उससे अलग है । तिब्बत की राष्ट्रीयता उससे अलग है, तिब्बत का रहन सहन उससे अलग है, इसलिये अगर तिब्बत आज़ाद होना चाहता है, तो आज़ाद रह सकता है । उससे कहना चाहिये था कि हम उस पर अपनी प्रभुसत्ता को नहीं मानते हैं । मैं भारत सरकार के उस कदम का स्वागत करता हूँ जो उसने तिब्बत पर से अपनी प्रभुसत्ता हटाकर उठाया । लेकिन उसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार को उस वक्त यह कहना चाहिये था कि जिस तरह से हम अपनी प्रभुसत्ता को हटा रहे हैं उसी तरह से चीन की सरकार को कहना चाहिये कि तुम भी अपनी प्रभुसत्ता को हटा लो ।

अब उसी गलती के कुछ नतीजे चल रहे हैं ! नतीजे के तौर पर उस गलती को हम सुधार नहीं पा रहे हैं ! लेकिन जो प्रस्ताव हमारे सम्मुख है उस प्रस्ताव से मुझे लगता है कि यह समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है ! मैं यह इसलिये नहीं कहता हूँ कि चूंकि प्रधानमंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि क्योंकि चीन संयुक्त राष्ट्र संगठन का सदस्य नहीं है, इसलिये तिब्बत के सवाल को वहां उठाया नहीं जा सकता है या ले जाया नहीं सकता है और एक पक्षीय बात कैसे की जा सकती है । इस प्रश्न को वहां ले जाने के बारे में मेरे मित्र श्री वाजपेयी ने कुछ दलीलें दी थी और कहा था कि उत्तरी कोरिया का प्रश्न वहां उठाया गया था और इस तरह दूसरे प्रश्न भी वहां उठाये जा चुके हैं ! वह कोई ऐसी दलील नहीं है जो महत्व की दलील हो । लेकिन मैं दूसरे आधार पर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रश्न को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ का जो वर्तमान स्वरूप है, उसमें कुछ होने वाला नहीं है या सम्भवतः कुछ कर नहीं सकता है । कश्मीर का प्रश्न वहां पड़ा है । साथ ही साथ यह भी एक बात है कि जिस तरह से हम एक विश्व की सरकार चाहते हैं जिस तरह से हम एक विश्व का एक संगठन चाहते हैं क्या उस तरह का संगठन संयुक्त राष्ट्र बन सका है ? संयुक्त राष्ट्र संगठन विश्व के दो लड़ने वाले गुटों का एक संगठन बन गया है जहां पर हर प्रश्न पर इस पहलू से विचार किया जाता है कि आखिर यह जो बात लाई जा रही है यहां पर वह किस गुट की बात है, दुनिया के कौन से राष्ट्र को फायदा पहुंचाने वाली बात है ! कौन से राष्ट्र के खिलाफ जाने वाला बात है भले ही इस वक्त हमें लगता हो कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र में जाने से दुनिया के बहुत से राष्ट्र ऐसे हो सकते हैं जो तिब्बत के प्रश्न पर हमारे साथ हों, लेकिन हो सकता है कि जिस तरह से दुनिया को राजनीति चल रही है, उसमें यह और भी उलझ जाये ।

हम देख रहे हैं कि राष्ट्रपति आईज़नहावर और श्री निकिता ख़्रुश्चेव की मुलाकात होने वाली है, हो सकती है कि उसमें फिर इस तरह की कोशिश की जाये कि दुनिया को अपने अपने प्रभाव क्षेत्र में बांटा जायें, इस तरह से बांटा जाये कि दुनिया के जो दो बड़े जायंटज़ हैं, दो बड़े शेर हैं, वे मिल जाये और कमज़ोर ताकतें हैं, शक्तिहीन राष्ट्र हैं उनको फिर हडपने की कोशिश करें । लेकिन अगर इनकी मुलाकात से दुनिया में शान्ति स्थापित करने में योग मिल सके तो उसका स्वागत करना होगा । इसका कारण यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिक चाहते हैं कि दुनिया में शान्ति

बनी रहे और यदि लड़ाई होती है तो उससे विनाश होता है, शान्ति से ही दुनिया का निर्माण हो सकता है। हिन्दुस्तान एक गरीब मुल्क है, पिछड़ा हुआ मुल्क है, अविकासित मुल्क है और इसलिये उसका भला इसी में है कि लड़ाई न हो। लेकिन हमारे चाहने मात्र से, हमारी ऐसी इच्छा होने मात्र से यह चीज़ होनी संभव नहीं मालूम देती है। उसके लिये शक्ति चाहिये जोकि आज हमारे पास नहीं है! इसलिये हम क्या करें, यह सोचने वाली बात हो जाती है। इस वास्ते दोनों नेताओं में जो मुलाकात होने जा रही है उसके फलस्वरूप अगर शक्तिहीन राष्ट्रों को हड़पने की कोशिश की जाती है या यह शंकायें ठीक निकलती हैं तब फिर इस तरह का प्रश्न संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में उठाने से कोई फायदा नहीं होता है और जिस तरह से काश्मीर का प्रश्न उलझा पड़ा है उसी तरह से यह प्रश्न भी उलझ सकता है।

समस्या का हल क्या है? मैं मानता हूँ कि बहुत विकट समस्या पैदा हो गई है। एक राष्ट्र के नष्ट होने का प्रश्न है। मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि 65-70 हज़ार आदिमियों को कत्ल कर दिया गया है। वहाँ पर लाखों चीनियों को बसाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। एक नये तरह के साम्राज्यवाद को लादने की कोशिश की जा रही है। यह एक भयंकर प्रकार का साम्राज्यवाद है। अब तक तो लोग विदेशों से आकर किसी देश पर अपना राज्य कायम करते थे, वहाँ पर शोषण करते थे। लेकिन अब एक नये प्रकार का साम्राज्य यह है कि अपनी देश के नागरिकों को ले जा कर दूसरों देश में बसा दो और जनतंत्र की दुहाई देकर यह कह कर कि वहाँ की जनता का बहुमत यह चाहता है कि चीन के साथ उस देश का हमेशा के लिये सम्बन्ध रहे, जनता की भावनाओं को दबाया जाये। चीनी नागरिकों को तिब्बत में बसाया जा रहा है और जो तिब्बती जनता है, जो वहाँ की हमेशा से रहने वाली जनता है, उस जनता को आउट नम्बर किया जा रहा है, उसको अल्पमत में परिणत करने की कोशिश की जा रही है और यह कोशिश की जा रही है कि चीन वासियों का वहाँ पर बहुमत हो जाये। इस तरह की कोशिश होने से मैं मानता हूँ कि एक बहुत ही विकट प्रश्न उठ खड़ा होता है।

### Shri Barman in the Chair

संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ उसको हल नहीं कर सकेगा। ऐसी सूरत में क्या किया जाये। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार इस विषय में कुछ सक्रिय कदम उठाये, इतना ही काफी नहीं है। इसका कारण यह है कि आज चीन यूटू एनटू ओटू का सदस्य नहीं है और इस वास्ते हम इस प्रश्न को वहाँ नहीं उठा सकते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार चीन को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में जगह दिलवाने की, उसको उसका सदस्य बनवाने की कोशिश कर रही है और मैं उसको स्वागत करता हूँ। हमें मानना होगा कि कोई भी सरकार हो, उसका कोई भी कलर हो, उसका कुछ भी कारेक्टर हो, किसी प्रकार का भी चरित्र हो, अगर उस सरकार का अपने देश पर कब्ज़ा है, तो उस सरकार को मान्यता मिलनी ही चाहिये! इस आधार पर हम चीन को मान्यता दिलवाना चाहते हैं।

लेकिन इसी के साथ साथ हमें यह भी देखना होगा कि तिब्बत का जो प्रश्न है वह न सिर्फ तिब्बत की नैशनैलिटी के नष्ट होने का प्रश्न बन गया है, न सिर्फ उसकी राष्ट्रीयता खत्म होने का प्रश्न बन गया है बल्कि हमारी अपनी भी राष्ट्रीयता को बचाने का प्रश्न आज हमारे सामने उपस्थित हो गया है, हमारी अपनी सुरक्षा का प्रश्न भी बन गया है। तिब्बत में चीन के घुसने के बाद हम देखते हैं कि मेकमोहन जो लाइन है उसके बारे में बार बार यह कहा जा रहा है कि यह ऐसी रेखा नहीं है जिस पर हमारी सीमा बनती है! हमारी सीमा पर ही नहीं, हमारे अपने क्षेत्र में घुस कर आज चीन कोशिश कर रहा है कि वह टेरिटरी पर हमारे क्षेत्र पर कब्ज़ा कर लें। अब यह प्रश्न ऐसा हो गया है जो केवल तिब्बत की राष्ट्रीयता की रक्षा का ही नहीं बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान की अपनी रक्षा का भी सवाल बन गया है! तिब्बत में आने के बाद हमारी अपनी जो बफर लाइन है, भूटान, सिक्किम, नेपाल और लद्दाख इत्यादि की, उस सब पर खतरा छा गया है, खतरा आ चुका है और वह खतरा हिन्दुस्तान पर आ रहा है। ऐसी सूरत में हमें क्या करना चाहिये? हमें दुनिया में ऐसे राष्ट्रों का संगठन करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये जो कभी लड़ाई न चाहते हों!

मैं मानता हूँ कि वे कमज़ोर राष्ट्र होंगे। जिस तरह से कुछ सबस्टीट्यूट मोशंस रखी गई है कि वांडुंग पावर्स की कांफ्रेंस हो, या साउथ ईस्ट एशिया के देशों की हो या मध्य एशिया की नेशंस जो कि लड़ाई नहीं चाहती है, उनकी हो, या जो किसी गुट में नहीं रहना चाहती, उनकी हो, जो यह चाहती है कि दुनिया में कमज़ोर राष्ट्र भी रहें, उनको इकट्ठा करके दुनिया में एक इस तरह का जनमत तैयार किया जाए कि जो यह समझे कि तिब्बत में जो कुछ हुआ है वह न सिर्फ किसी मुल्क की राष्ट्रीयता का को हनन करने का प्रश्न है बल्कि मानवता को ही खत्म करने की वह एक कोशिश है। इस तरह से हम कोशिश करें दुनिया में एक जनमत बनाने की! अगर किसी तरह से संयुक्त राष्ट्र असेम्बली में जाने से यह प्रश्न हल हो सकता तो हम सोचते इस प्रश्न को वहाँ भेजना चाहिये या नहीं और सम्भवतः मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ। लेकिन आज दुनिया की जो परिस्थिति है उसे देखते हुए मैं सोचता हूँ कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र असेम्बली में जाने से सम्भवतः यह समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती। इसलिये हमें दुनिया में एक प्रबल जनमत कायम करना चाहिये, दुनिया की अधिक से अधिक राष्ट्रों को अपने साथ लाना चाहिये, इस प्रश्न पर कि तिब्बत में जो कुछ

हुआ है वह गलत हुआ है । तिब्बत की राष्ट्रीयता की रक्षा के लिये हमें दुनिया के जो भी दूसरे कमज़ोर राष्ट्र हैं, या मजबूत राष्ट्र भी जो कि इकट्ठा हो सकते हैं, उनको इकट्ठा करना चाहिये और इस बात के लिये चीन को मजबूर करना चाहिये कि उसने तिब्बत में जो कुछ किया है उससे उसे हटना पड़ेगा तिब्बत में जो अन्याय उसने किया है उससे उस को पीछे हटना पड़ेगा और तिब्बत की राष्ट्रीयता को मंजूर करना पड़ेगा । अब समय आ गया है कि हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिक बार बार यह कहें हालांकि अब तक चीन का तिब्बत एक इंटीगरल पार्ट रहा है, लेकिन तिब्बत में अब वह कायम नहीं रह सकता है । तिब्बत एक स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र है और हम चीन से यह आशा करते हैं कि जब वह यह मानता है कि अगर कोई भी देश स्वतन्त्र रहना चाहता है, किसी देश का कोई हिस्सा स्वतन्त्र रहना चाहता है तो उसे इस तरह से रहने का अधिकार है तो वह तिब्बत की स्वतन्त्रता को भी मानेगा क्योंकि जिस देश को इम्पीरियलिज्म उत्तराधिकार में मिला है उन्होंने उस को उससे आज़ाद करने की कोशिश की है ।

चीन के बारे में कहा जाता है, रूस के बारे में कहा जाता है कि वह दुनिया में शान्ति चाहते हैं, लेकिन जो इस बारे में चीन का कदम है उससे उल्टा ले जाने वाला कदम है, वह ऐसा कदम है जिससे दुनिया में अशान्ति फैल सकती है । अगर चीन वाकई दुनिया में शान्ति चाहता है तो हम यह आशा करेंगे कि वह अपने कदम को वापस लेगा । तिब्बत में या दूसरी तरफ हिन्दुस्तान में जो कदम उसने उठाया है, उसे वापस ले क्योंकि उससे चीन और हिन्दुस्तान की दोस्ती, जिसे कि हिन्दुस्तान का हर नागरिक चाहता है, खत्म हो सकती है । हमारे देश के लोग चीन की दोस्ती की कद्र करते हैं, लेकिन चीन से दोस्ती हम उसे अपने सिर पर बिठा कर नहीं कर सकते हैं ।

हम चीन से दोस्ती बराबरी के लिहाज़ से कर सकते हैं । इसलिये मैं आशा करता हूँ कि चीन अपने कदमों को वापस लेगा और आगे कोई ऐसा कदम नहीं उठायेगा जिससे दुनिया की शांति के भंग होने का अन्देश हो ।

**Shri P. K. Deo:** I wholeheartedly support the resolution, which has been so ably moved by my hon. Friend Shri Vajpayee on this Tibetan issue. The whole purpose of my tabling the amendment was this, that I thought since the issue is already pending consideration in the United Nations, and so, there would be no question of referring the issue to them; the appropriate thing would be to reopen the Tibetan question in the United Nations forum.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> November, 1959, we learnt from an announcement from Lake Success that the question of Chinese aggression and invasion on Tibet had been referred to the United Nations by the then Tibetan Government. Formally, it was raised in the Steering Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations by Mr. Castro, the representative of El Salvador. He very correctly pointed out that under article I, Paragraph I of the Charter of the United Nations, the United Nations must maintain international peace and security, even though Tibet was not a member of the United Nations, because the U.N.O must not only maintain peace among the member-States, but the main obligation of the U.N.O was to maintain international peace throughout the world.

It was only on the firm assurance of India that the Tibetan question could be peacefully solved and that Tibetan autonomy would be safely safeguarded by peaceful negotiations. That this adjournment was done on this Tibetan question; and there has been no final decision on the Tibetan question; there has been no *resjudicata*. It has been pending consideration since then, and it could be reopened at any time by any member of the U.N. General Assembly.

While taking part in the discussion, India's representative, the Jamsaheb of Nawanagar had said that:

"The Chinese forces have ceased to advance after the fall of Chamdo, that is, 480 kilometers from Lhasa. Indian Government are certain that the Tibetan question could be settled by peaceful means and such a settlement can safeguard the autonomy which Tibet has enjoyed for several decades, while maintaining its historical association with China".

He further said:

"My delegation considers that the best way of attaining that objective would be to abandon for the time being the idea of including the question in the agenda of the General Assembly."

Sir, I would request you to mark the words 'for the time being'. The whole question was shelved for the time being. From the recent occurrences, you will notice how disillusioned the Jamsaheb was at that time when he suggested such a measure. The Chinese forces did not stop at Chamdo; they forcibly occupied Tibet; they massed their troops along the Indian border and invaded and occupied certain portions of the Indian territory.



Sir, Tibet is of considerable strategic importance to India. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama declared the complete independence of Tibet just as Nepal broke away all sorts of allegiance with China for all time. Tibet is an autonomous government, and has never permitted—any interference in its internal administration by the Chinese. Further, in the Second World War, Tibet did not compromise by throwing her forces on the side of China. So, you can very well see that Tibet has all along maintained an independent status so far as her internal administration is concerned.

In 1950, it was on the assurance of India that even the U.S.A. voted for the adjournment of the Tibetan question. Mr. Gross of the U.S.A. at that time pointed out that he had voted for the adjournment motion on the fact that “the Government of India most directly concerned in the subject matter and whose territory borders on Tibet hoped that the Tibetan question could be peacefully and honourably settled.”

I beg to submit that in 1950 the Tibetan question was not rejected; it was simply adjourned.

Lately, we find that the Chinese dragon has been spreading its fangs from the roof of the world on India. It was possible because of the latitude that we have shown to the Chinese for so long, and because of our traditional good behaviour towards our neighbours.

I most respectfully submit that it was on the initiative of India that the Tibetan question was shelved, and it is now the sacred duty of India to reopen the Tibetan question in the United Nations, especially when the Chinese have not only crossed and penetrated into Indian territory but have thrown a challenge to India's integrity and sovereignty.

The Sino-Tibetan agreement of 1951 which was possible because of the goodwill of our Government, and which recognized Tibetan autonomy under Chinese suzerainty has been thrown to the winds, and Tibetan autonomy and Chinese suzerainty have not been reconciled by peaceful means.

The people of Tibet have been denied the fundamental rights of liberty and security of life. We have seen that freedom to live and freedom of movement have been denied to the Tibetan people. Freedom of worship and religion has been completely violated. Thousands have been butchered, and thousands have been put to torturously cruel methods and forced labour. There is an organised and planned attempt to annihilate the personality and the individuality of Tibet and to completely wipe it out from the map of the world.

I most respectfully submit that all that has been done in Tibet amounts to genocide which has been resorted to by the Chinese on the helpless, the unarmed and the peace-loving Tibetan people; and this has surpassed even the outrages of Hitler in the Belsen camp.

It was on the initiative of India, Cuba and Panama that a resolution on genocide was passed. India has been championing such cases all along. It was on India's initiative that the resolution of genocide was passed. It said that genocide is a matter of international concern as it is a crime against humanity. The convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide was passed by 55 votes to 0. That was passed just one day prior to the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights by the United Nations. These two conventions were passed without a single note of dissent from any member. So, you can very well imagine the amount of goodwill from the whole world was there behind those two conventions or resolutions.

Now, what is genocide? It is said in that resolution that genocide, according to that convention, means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, namely (i) killing members of the group, (ii) causing serious bodily and mental harm, etc. It provided that the crime should be punished, and the trial should be by an international tribunal.

I most respectfully submit that the misdeeds of China are clearly proved, that China has committed genocide and should stand trial by an international tribunal and should be punished. By ‘China’, I mean the People's Republic of China, regarding whose admission into the United Nations, we have been advocating so much. Further, China has denied the Tibetans the right of self determination.

In this connection, I may draw your attention to the famous resolution on the right of self-determination. As I had pointed out previously, this time also, India along with six powers initiated the resolution in the U.N.O. on the right of self-determination which clearly suggested the appointment of a commission which at the request of any ten members of the U.N.O. would examine any situation resulting from alleged denial or inadequate realization of the right of self-determination. In this case, India was the prime mover behind the resolution.

In the case of Tibet, we have found that the right of self-determination has been denied to the Tibetans, genocide has been committed on Tibet, and the integrity of Tibet has been violated. The aggressive attitude of the Chinese has proved that imperialism is not the monopoly of European countries. It can spread even to Asia and it can be utilized to suppress and to victimize weaker nations.

Tibet has completely unmasked China as a wolf in sheep's clothing. Communist imperialism is worse than western imperialism, because they claim themselves as the liberators of the down-trodden countries. We have seen what 'liberation' has meant to the Tibetans recently. India has no political axe to grind, but in view of the historical role that India has played for the right cause and in view of the manner in which India has championed the cause of the down-trodden, dependent and weak countries, it is just right that India should rise to the occasion and reopen the Tibetan question in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

In the case of Morocco, Algeria, Indonesia and in the Anglo-French action against Egypt, India has all along sided with the weaker nations, nations which have been subjected to the imperialism of aggressive bigger powers. Even the stand taken by the United Nations in the case of Korea has clearly proved...

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Deputy-Speaker had said in the very beginning that there are a large number of Members who wish to speak. So if any one Member speaks beyond the time-limit, it will curtail the opportunity of others.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** I will not speak beyond the time-limit. I will just take five minutes more.

**Mr. Chairman:** By my watch he has already taken 12 minutes.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** Let me have three minutes more.

**Mr. Chairman:** I hope he will conclude within that time.

**Shri C. R. Narasimhan (Krishnagiri):** On a point of order. Of course, I do not want to disturb the hon. Member who is on his legs.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** He is taking up my time.

**Shri C. R. Narasimhan:** I am apologizing for raising the point of order. Can we have the debate in a manner which spoil our friendship with other nations?

**Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur):** What is the point of order? There is no point of order.

**Shri C. R. Narasimhan:** According to our rules, we should not in our debates offend friendly countries.

**Mr. Chairman:** Here mention is made of relations of Tibet with China and in that connection, it was said that the Government of India had sided with the weaker nations. As far as that goes, anything relating to Tibet can come in. But the only thing is that the time-limit should be adhered to.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** If you examine the stand India took in the case of Korea, you will find that India approved of the enforcement of collective measures against armed attack on the Republic of Korea by North Korea.

I submit that India has always played that historical role. In this connection, I would crave the indulgence of the Prime Minister to repeat a few words from his famous speech on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1948 in the United Nations. This is what our beloved Prime Minister said then:

"It was an astonishing thing that any country could still venture to cling to that doctrine of colonialism, whether by direct or indirect rule. After all that happened there, there will be not mere objection to that situation but an active struggle against *any and every* form of colonialism in any part of the world".

I request the Prime Minister to remember these famous words he spoke there and act accordingly.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> June, 1959, the International Commission of Jurists...

**Mr. Chairman:** If he goes on quoting like this, there is no time available.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** This is the last one.

**Shri Kalika Singh:** This is Chinese attitude!

**Speaker: Shri P. K. Deo:** On the 5<sup>th</sup> of June, 1959, the International Committee of Jurists at Geneva have clearly stated after going into the evidence that deliberate violations of the fundamental human rights have taken place and there has been *prima facie* case that the Chinese have made an attempt to destroy the national, ethnical, racial and religious activities of a group, by killing the members of the group and by causing serious bodily harm to the members of the group.

In these circumstances, I do not think that there can be a better case and better cause for India to raise in the United Nations and for the United Nations to intervene and act.

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri Shree Narayan Das. I think those who have tabled amendments should be given a chance first. Shri Shree Narayan Das.

**Dr. Gohokar:** Sir, my amendment has been allowed.

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri Shree Narayan Das.

**Dr. Gohokar:** Sir, I beg to move:

In the resolution,—

For the words “refer the Tibetan issue to the United Nations”

Substitute “support the Tibetan issue if brought in the United Nations Organisation.”(6)

**श्री श्रीनारायण दास:** सभापति महोदय, जिस प्रस्ताव के बारे में अभी विचार हो रहा है, उस का जो विषय है वह बड़ा ही महत्वपूर्ण है तिब्बत में हाल में जो घटनायें घटी हैं और जिस तरह की रिपोर्टें हमारे पास आ रही हैं, उनसे मैं समझता हूँ कि जो भी स्वदेश से प्रेम रखने वाले लोग हैं, स्वतंत्रता से प्रेम रखने वाले लोग हैं व दुखी है। तिब्बत के साथ चीन की सरकार का कैसा भी सम्बन्ध रहा हो, जिस तरीके से उस ने वहाँ काम शुरू किया है, वह दुख का विषय है। तिब्बत कोई स्वतंत्र देश रहा हो, ऐसा कोई प्रमाण हमारे सामने नहीं है! यह मानी हुई बात है और इतिहास से भी यहीं प्रकट होता है कि बराबर तिब्बत चीन की प्रभुसत्ता मानता रहा है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य:** यह बात गलत है।

**श्री श्रीनारायण दास:** यह मेरा ख्याल हो सकता है, कि गलत हो। फिर भी यह बात सब जानते हैं कि प्रभुसत्ता के बावजूद भी तिब्बत अपने सभी मामलों में स्वतंत्र था। जैसा एक माननीय सदस्य अभी कह रहे थे कि तिब्बत एक स्वतंत्र देश था तो क्या कारण था कि इतने दिनों से संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ कायम है। तिब्बत एक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र के रूप में संयुक्त राष्ट्र का सदस्य नहीं हुआ जिसमें आज अपने मामले को भारत के जरिये भेजना चाहता है। जबकि 60 राष्ट्र उस में शामिल है, तो तिब्बत एक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र के रूप में उस में क्यों सम्मिलित नहीं है। इसलिये यह एक विवादास्पद प्रश्न है कि तिब्बत एक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र है या नहीं है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य:** यह विवाद खुद चीन का बनाया हुआ है।

**श्री श्रीनारायण दास:** आज इस प्रश्न को तय करने का मौका नहीं है और तय करने का अधिकार भी इस संसद को नहीं है। इस में हर एक सदस्य को स्वतंत्रता है कि जो कुछ भी सामान उसके पास हो, चाहे वह ऐतिहासिक हो चाहे किसी और प्रकार का हो, उस को मद्देनज़र रख कर अपना विचार प्रकट करें। जहाँ तक मेने अपने अध्ययन से समझा है, जब से संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ कायम हुआ है और उस के पहले भी लोग आफ नेशन्स कायम थी। उसमें भी मैंने देखा कि तिब्बत कभी स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र के रूप में वहाँ पर नहीं था। न उसने लोग आफ नेशन्स में भाग लिया और न संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में किसी रूप में भाग लिया। जो भी माननीय सदस्य यहाँ मौजूद हैं स्पष्ट रूप से यह जानते हैं, इसलिये मेरे ख्याल से यह विवादास्पद विषय है, लेकिन फिर भी.....

**एक माननीय सदस्य:** इंडिया था लीग आफ नेशन्स में?

**श्री श्रीनारायण दास:** आज हम इसे मानने के लिये तैयार हैं कि जिस तरह की कारवाइयां तिब्बत में हो रही हैं, उन से भारत की जनता को बहुत

ही कष्ट हैं, दुख है और हमारी तमाम सहानुभूति उस के साथ है । तिब्बत में रहने वाले जो लोग हैं, अपने देश के अन्दर उन के जो अधिकार हैं, उन अधिकारों को वे प्राप्त करें और उन अधिकारों को प्राप्त करने के लिये जो भी आन्दोलन वे करेंगे उस आन्दोलन के साथ भले ही हम त्रिआत्मक रूप से सहायक न हो सकते हों । लेकिन हमारी पूरी सहानुभूति उन के साथ है । साथ ही साथ यहां के एक सदस्य की हैसियत से मैं समझता हूं कि चीन ने जो रूख अख्तियार किया है, यद्यपि तिब्बत के ऊपर चीन की प्रभुसत्ता है, उस प्रभुसत्ता के रहते हुए भी उन्होंने तिब्बत के साथ जो मोआहदा किया है, जो इकारनामा किया है । उन्होंने उस इकारनामे के विरुद्ध काम किया है । इस लिये आज जो विषय है वह न केवल भारत के लिये वरन मैं समझता हूं कि स्वतंत्रता से प्रेम रखने वाले जितने भी देश दुनिया में हैं, उन सब के लिये यह दुख की बात है ।

अब सवाल यह है कि तिब्बत के इश्यू को जिसे हम चाहते हैं कि भारत सरकार संयुक्त राष्ट्र में ले जाये, वह सवाल क्या है । इश्यू यह होता है कि एक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र ने दूसरे स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र को दबा दिया तो बात दूसरी थी । लेकिन जहां तक प्रभुसत्ता का ताल्लुक है, गलत या सही, हम ने चीन की प्रभुसत्ता को कई रूप में मान लिया है । जो इकारनामा हाल में भारत ने चीन के साथ किया है, वह व्यापार का इकारनामा हमारे सामने है, उस में हमने ने कबुल किया है कि तिब्बत जो है वह चीन का एक भाग है तिब्बत एक स्वतंत्र देश नहीं है ! जब हम ने तिब्बत को चीन का एक भाग मान लिया तब फिर यह सवाल उठाना कि साहब, तिब्बत जो है वह चीन का अंश नहीं है, एक गलत बात होगी । लेकिन तिब्बत का जो एक रीज़न है, जिसे अधिकार प्राप्त थे, उसके अधिकारों पर आघात हुआ है, यह मैं मानता हूं । इस लिये अब सवाल यह है कि इस इश्यू को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में ले जाया जाये तो इश्यू क्या होगा ? अगर यह है कि चीन सरकार ने जो इकारनामा तिब्बत के साथ किया है उस के विरुद्ध काम किया है तो एक इश्यू तो यह हो सकता है, दूसरा इश्यू यह हो सकता है कि तिब्बत में जो घटना घटी है उससे दुनिया की शांति में खलल पड़ने वाला है । संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के बहुत से उद्देश्य हैं, जिनमें से एक उद्देश्य यह भी है कि अगर संयुक्त राष्ट्र यह समझे कि किसी देश में या दुनिया के किसी भाग में इस तरह की घटना घटी है जिस से दुनिया में लड़ाई फैलने की सम्भावना है, तो उस को भी वह अपनी बहस में ले सकता है । इस लिये मैं यह समझाना चाहता हूं - इस प्रश्न पर विवाद करने का जो मौका मिला है वह बहुत अच्छा मौका है - कि इस मामले को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में किस प्रकार से लाया जा सकता है । यह चीज़ मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रही है ! इस प्रस्ताव से साफ नहीं मालूम पड़ता है कि इस को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के किस भाग में ले जाया जाये या इसे सिक्थोरिटी कौंसिल में ले जाया जाये युनाइटेड नेशन्स जनरल असेम्बली के अजेन्डे में इन्क्लूड कराने की कोशिश की जाये !

जहां तक मेरा खयाल है यह इश्यू विवादस्पद है, अभी जो इस का कानूनी पहलू है, चीन के मुकाबले तिब्बत की जो स्थिति है वह ठीक से साफ नहीं हुई है । इस लिये इस बात में जल्द बाजी करने की कोई खास आवश्यकता मुझे नहीं मालूम पड़ती है । जहां तक हिन्दुस्तान का प्रश्न है कि वह इस तिब्बत के प्रश्न को संयुक्त राष्ट्र में उठाये तो मैं समझता हूं कि इस प्रश्न का इस दृष्टिकोण से देखा जाना चाहिये । और जैसा कि अभी माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान जो कालोनीज़ है उपनिवेश है, उन उपनिवेशों की स्वतंत्रता के लिये बराबर से लड़ता आया है और यह बात सही भी है कि जब से हिन्दुस्तान स्वतंत्र हुआ है तब से हमने उन कालोनीज़ के हक में आवाज़ बुलन्द की है जो कि किन्हीं दूसरे देशों के अधीन है । उन कालोनीज़ के हक की बात हमने रखी है लेकिन सवाल तो यह है कि तिब्बत कोई चीन की कालोनी नहीं है और अगर तिब्बत को चीन की कालोनी की स्थिति प्राप्त हुई होती तो आज हिन्दुस्तान के लिये दरवाजा खुला हुआ था कि हम तिब्बत का मामला संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के सामने ले जाते लेकिन तिब्बत चीन का उपनिवेश नहीं है.....

**श्री प्र० के० देव:** अब भारत जिस प्रकार से दक्षिण अफ्रिका में भारतीयों के साथ जो रंगभेद की नीति बर्ती जाती है और उनके साथ बुरा बर्ताव किया जाता है और हालांकि वह दक्षिण अफ्रिका का इन्टरनल और डोमेस्टिक मामला है लेकिन उसको संयुक्त राष्ट्र में ले गया वैसे ही तिब्बत के मामले को भी ले जा सकता है ।

**श्री श्रीनारायण दास:** मेने कहा कि बहुत से ऐसे देश हैं कि जहां पर किसी दूसरे स्वतंत्र देश का अधिकार है और इस सम्बन्ध में यह सवाल उठता है कि क्या तिब्बत चीन का उपनिवेश है कि नहीं और चूंकि वह चीन का उपनिवेश नहीं है तो उस हालत में हमें यह विचार करना होगा कि इस सवाल को संयुक्त राष्ट्र में उठाया जाय कि नहीं बहरहाल मैं समझता हूं कि इस सवाल पर भी अभी विचार करने की जरूरत है कि हिन्दुस्तान को इस मामले में पड़ना चाहिये कि नहीं ।

जहां तक मेरी निजी मत का सम्बन्ध है मैं यह स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूं कि हमारी सहानुभूति तिब्बत की जनता के साथ पूरी है और उनके साथ चीन की सरकार ने जो व्यवहार किया है मैं उसका समर्थन नहीं कर सकता । अब पूरी पूरी जानकारी हमें नहीं है कि तिब्बत में स्थिति और

किस स्थिति में चीन की सरकार ने वहां यह कार्यवाही की या वहां की जनता ने क्या किया इसकी ठीक ठीक जानकारी हमें नहीं है.....

**एक माननीय सदस्य:** आप वहां स्वयं जा कर देखिये ।

**श्री श्रीनारायण दास:** वहां की जनता को बलपूर्वक दबाने की कोशिश की गई है और हो सकता है कि इस सिलसिले में माननीय सदस्य ने ज़िन्न किया हो कि बहुत से आदमी वहां पर मारे गये लेकिन इतना स्पष्ट है कि वहां के जो धर्माध्यक्ष हैं और तिब्बती सरकार के प्रमुख हैं वह माननीय दलाई लामा हमारे देश में आ गये हैं और मैं हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को इसके लिये बधाई देना चाहता हूं कि बावजूद इसके कि हमारे और चीन के जो मैत्री सम्बन्ध हैं उसमें दलाई लामा भारत द्वारा शरण देने से धक्का पहुंचा है तो भी भारत सरकार ने उसका भारत में स्वागत किया । अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में एक राष्ट्र को दूसरे राष्ट्र के एक धर्माध्यक्ष के साथ वर्ताव रखना चाहिये इस बात को मद्देनज़र रख कर उनको हमने अपने देश में रहने की सुविधा प्रदान की है और हम इसके लिये भारत सरकार को बधाई देते हैं ।

दलाई लामा के साथ जो और बहुत से तिब्बती शरणार्थी हमारे देश में आ गये हैं उनको की और अन्य सुविधायें दे कर भारत सरकार ने जनता के मन के मुताबिक काम किया है बावजूद इसके कि हमने सिर्फ गलत फहमी से या किसी वजह से चीन के साथ कुछ बिगाड़ सा कर लिया है । लेकिन फिर भी हम उचित और सही पथ से विचलित नहीं हुए और हमने अपने कर्तव्य को निभाया और एक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र के धर्माध्यक्ष हमारे देश में आये और उन्हें हमने अपने देश में रहने का मौका दिया और अन्य भी आवश्यक सुविधायें प्रदान की । मैं समझता हूं कि ऐसी कर के हमने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है लेकिन इन सब चीजों के होते हुए भी हम चाहते हैं तिब्बत की जो स्थिति है उसकी कुछ छानबीन की जाये और उस सम्बन्ध में कुछ जानकारी हासिल की जाये कि तिब्बत की जनता की क्या हालत है और तिब्बत की जनता क्या चाहती है इस बात की भी कुछ छानबीन की जाये । केवल अगर संयुक्त राष्ट्र में ही इस तिब्बत के प्रश्न को ले जाने से इस समस्या का समाधान सम्भव हो सकता था तो हम समझते हैं कि उस हालत में हिन्दुस्तान को कुछ सोचने विचारने की ज़रूरत नहीं थी और वह जल्दी से जल्दी यह तिब्बत का मामला संयुक्त राष्ट्र में रख सकता था लेकिन बात ऐसी नहीं है और क्या केवल संयुक्त राष्ट्र में यह प्रश्न ले जाने से तिब्बती जनता का जो प्रश्न है उसका कोई हल होने वाला है और अगर हल होने वाला नहीं है तो मैं समझता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान को पूरी गम्भीरता से इस पर विचार करना चाहिये, कानूनी दृष्टि से इस पर विचार करना चाहिये और फायदे की दृष्टि से इस पर विचार करना चाहिये ! जल्दबाज़ी में आ कर या किसी तरह की भावना से प्रेरित हो कर इस तरह का प्रश्न उठाना मैं समझता हूं कि अभी उचित नहीं हैं और समयानुकूल नहीं है ! इसलिये कानूनी दृष्टि से वहां की स्थिति की दृष्टि से और चूंकि यह एशिया का प्रश्न है और एशिया के और भी स्वतंत्र देश हैं और खास कर मैं ने अपने संशोधन में जिसे मैं मूव नहीं कर सका उसका भी ध्यान में रखते हुए और यह कि हिन्दुस्तान ने इस बात में अग्रिम भाग लिया है और एशिया से सम्बन्धित जब कभी कोई प्रश्न आये तो यह उचित होगा कि एशिया के जो दूसरे स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र हैं उनमें आपस में विचार विमर्श हो और इस बात को जानने का प्रयत्न किया जाये कि आखिर उनकी भावना क्या है और उनका खयाल क्या है और मैं समझता हूं कि इसके लिये डिप्लोमेटिक स्तर पर कोशिश होना चाहिये और मैं समझता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान का सरकार और खास कर के हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय इस बात की ज़रूर कोशिश में होंगे कि इसको पीसफुली और शान्तिमय तरीके से हल किया जाये और यदि ऐसा हो सके तो वह अच्छा ही होगा ! यूनाइटेड नेशन्स में जा कर और वहां पर इस को ले कर लम्बी बहस छिड़ने से इस समस्या का समाधान होने वाला नहीं है ! इस लिये तिब्बत की जो समस्या है उसका समाधान करने के लिये शान्तिमय उपायों द्वारा और विशेष कर एशिया के जो अन्य स्वतंत्र देश हैं उनमें आपस में इस सम्बन्ध में विचार विमर्श करा जाये और यह देखा जाये कि हिन्दुस्तान को इस बारे में आगे कदम बढ़ाने चाहिये कि नहीं ! जल्दबाज़ी में कोई कदम उठा लेना उचित नहीं होगा और इसलिये अभी मैं इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूं !

**Dr. Gohokar:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, so far as the resolution moved by Shri Vajpayee and the amendment that has been allowed by you are concerned. I do not think that Shri Vajpayee will be against my amendment. Because his main object in moving this resolution is to get this issue discussed in the United Nations General Assembly. So, whether Government wants to take this issue themselves or not, when it comes up in the United Nations, I wish the Government should support this issue in the Assembly.

We have to look at this issue from quite a different point of view, because so many facts have come out now. The Dalai Lama is presently in our country and he has explained so many facts. If you remember, in his statement of June 20<sup>th</sup>, he said that the 1951 agreement which was signed between Tibet and China was signed under duress and was signed at the point of the bayonet. The Tibetan representatives were compelled to sign it and they were threatened to if they did not sign it the Tibetan territory would be violated. Again, the seal which they used on this agreement was not a real seal.

It was fabricated one. So we have to look at this agreement from all these different points of view. The very fact that China thought it necessary to conclude an agreement with Tibet shows that China herself recognized the political position of Tibet. So, the agreement which was concluded in 1951, as has been shown by the Dalai Lama, was under duress and at the point of the bayonet. So, I feel that the agreement cannot stand any more.

Our Government which concluded an agreement in 1954 did not know all these facts. We took the 1951 agreement between Tibet and China to be true and at its face value we concluded the 1954 agreement. When we now know from the Dalai Lama that the 1951 agreement was under duress, we must look at our 1954 agreement from this point of view also. We have to review all our past positions taking into consideration these new facts. If the agreements of 1951 and 1954 do not stand and if we go to the historical background, then we find that as far back as 1906 when an Anglo-Chinese convention was held in Peking. In 1906, in this convention, the Chinese Government withdrew the suzerain right over Tibet and gave all those rights to the British Government who were then the rulers in India. This shows that China did not claim any sovereign rights even in 1906. They only transferred the suzerain rights. They did not have the sovereign rights even in 1906. Whether any nation is existing or not, the test that could be applied to see whether it exists or not is the *de jure* and *de facto* aspects. Whatever *de jure* rights China had, were transferred in 1906. If we look to the position of the Government of Tibet, we find that it was generally self-governing. Or at the most, if somebody says some other power had suzerain rights over it, I might even say that it was autonomous to some extent, but we find that after 1906, China was never in possession of this Tibetan territory. So, the Chinese claim that they held some sort of claim over Tibet is wrong. I feel that from 1906 at least, Chinese cannot claim any sovereignty or suzerainty over Tibet.

It was from this convention of 1906 that India claimed some sort of concessions over Tibet. Even India did not claim any sovereignty; only certain concessions were given. You will find that a treaty between India and Tibet was ratified in 1914, when China was never consulted. If China had any claims over Tibet, China would have been consulted then. But this never happened. This also shows that China did not object to the 1914 ratification, which was about the McMahon line.

With the Dalai Lama's statement, everything is clear. We must review our relations with Tibet in the light of these circumstances. In my amendment to the resolution of Shri Vajpayee, I have requested the Government to support this issue in the U.N. Assembly. Our Government, I learn, feel that it will be a sort of interference in the internal affairs of China. But I feel quite differently, because if we take all these facts and our relations and China's relations with Tibet from 1906, it is a question of Chinese intervention in the internal affairs of Tibet since 1951 and not otherwise. So when this issue is brought before the United Nations Assembly, I want our Government to support this issue.

If we do not take this issue to the U.N. Assembly, I am sure some other country, which is a member of the U.N., will surely bring this issue. Another point which I want to stress here is that we have been supporting China's membership in the U.N.O. I feel in the present circumstances, we must review the situation, because up till now we were friendly with China, but now our relations have been strained. So, we must look at this from a different point of view. It is said that if we take this issue and make China a member in the U.N. then China will act with some responsibility. But I feel that it is generally not so. We have found that in the case of South Africa, Russia and France also, though they are members of the U.N.O., they have not acted many times in accordance with the spirit of the U.N. Charter. So, I feel that even if China becomes a member in the U.N., it will be of no use to us. I think with the position she will get in the U.N., she will try to wield her influence and carry propaganda against democratic countries. So, I feel that we should not any more champion this cause. With these words, I request the Government to support the Tibetan issue, if it comes before the United Nations General Assembly in the coming session.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair.*]

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** I oppose the motion moved by my esteemed friend, Shri Vajpayee, with so many emotion and passion, though with sincerity. We are in a very crucial stage in the history of the world and right in our own land we have been conquered by many countries of the world-the British, the French, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Moghuls, the Japanese and now even perhaps the Chinese may be threatening to invade our territory. China and India have been friends down the centuries. Chinese have come down here as travelers and I have heard from Chinese that they have read the stories of Chinese travelers about our great past. But the speech delivered by my hon. friend. His Highness, if it were to be implemented-unfortunately he is not in his seat-if, unfortunately, whatever he said is implemented, we shall make a bonfire of our friendship with China and we shall throw India into danger and every line of our frontiers



will be in extreme danger. Today we had very reactionary speeches in this House. Just when the China lobby is being eliminated in the Congress of the United States of America, unwittingly a Chinese lobby is being built up in this very House. That we shall resolutely oppose. We shall also resolutely oppose if ever China were to touch an inch of our territory.

**An Hon. Member:** They have already done it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** The Prime Minister has stated that the MacMohan line is by usage, by historical precedents and by agreement, our border line. And we shall fight for that border line, whether it is the Chinese, the Russians, or the British, or the Americans. We shall not agree to have an inch of foreign domination in our land. We shall live and die for our country and only when we die shall we preserve our hard-won freedom. This Parliament shall fall to pieces if our freedom is gone. Gone are the days when we went to jail and when going to jail was an easy thing or not so difficult. Now it is a very difficult thing to keep our freedom going, and the world has become so small. And yet His Highness, the Maharaja, whose adherents are partners in our administration of Orissa, makes a written speech on that question which is reactionary and which, if accepted, our border will crumble down to bits.

I ask my Chinese friends: are they prepared to invade India? I am sure in their hearts they do not want to invade India. I ask my own people: are you prepared to go for a war with China? There are lobbies, whispers, suspicions and mistrust and so it is time that we take a full view, of the great policy enunciated by our Prime Minister, a policy which has been born down the ages for 2,000 years. We have tolerated every kind of man, whether they are Britishers or other foreigners. But if there is any incursion we will be up against it. As I said, I am also one of those who will not allow an inch of our land to be taken by any country.

But we must take note of another factor and that factor is that the Chinese people are also very inscrutable people. During the last two years I have been to London and Moscow. I have visited all the borders like the German-Polish border and the Turkish-Soviet border so much so when I met Mr. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister and Mr. Adnan Menderes, the Turkish Prime Minister, they said they do not generally permit others to speak about the rival countries: "we allow you to talk of Turkey" "we allow you to talk about Russia", because they felt that I was hailing from the land of the great Mahatma who brought peoples together.

When General Ayub Khan was here yesterday the whole event was over-shadowed, though it was a historical event. When he came here I was the only Indian M.P. who was at the Palam Airport. I went there as a journalist. And I may tell you frankly that General Ayub Khan is a different type of man, a man of few words, a man who nobly said: "forget and forgive" in one line.

Are you going to war against the Chinese? What is China? Let us have a background of China. There was Manchu China and Sun Yat Sen's China. Then came the Red China. Then came the untouchable China that you know. Lastly came the rebellious China. You know what was Manchu China and Sun Yat Sen's China. Manchu China was exploited by the nations of Europe in a manner that the Chinese were worse than dogs. A few millionaires of ours in Bombay, made money when the Opium War was waged. Have you any idea as to how many rich men became richer in Bombay and are still millionaires in their mansions because they made money out of the Opium War when the Western powers thrust opium on the helpless Chinese? The Chinese were treated as dogs, were worse than Indians and worse than what we were under the British. Let us not forget that background. They are gallant and inscrutable race.

Through the kindness...*(Interruption)*. I am explaining their background. I am coming now...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** At least some time...

**Shri Joachim Alva:** Through the kindness of...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** At least some times at certain intervals he should look towards the Chair also.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** I shall not look towards anybody else.

Through the kindness of an esteemed ambassador of ours, Dr. Khosla, one of India's most popular ambassadors abroad, I had a long chat with one of America's ablest ambassadors, Mr. Leslie Johnson in Prague sitting down at two o'clock in the morning in October, 1957. Mr. Leslie Johnson and Mr. Wang, the Secretaries-General of the American and

Chinese Delegation respectively at the Geneva Conference carried on negotiations for the release of American prisoners. After hearing Mr. Leslie Johnson, who is now U.S.A. Ambassador in Thailand, I do not understand why the Chinese threw away the chance of releasing just five or six American prisoners. The Americans, as I heard from Mr. Johnson-I do not think I am giving away any secret-were ready to go for a second stage and the second stage might have ended in the recognition of China by the United States. But lo, the Chinese built an iron wall and said, "We shall not release these five or six prisoners". For the sake of five or six prisoners, world tension had been kept up. When I heard the story from the mouth of Mr. Leslie Johnson as early as two o'clock in the morning in Prague, I wondered where India came, why India did not interfere and brought the Chinese and the Americans together and got those five prisoners released. That was human consideration.

But today we do not need peddlers. We do not need intermediaries to bring China and us together. Today we have to talk it round the table. If you want to go to arms, by all means go to arms, though we have never been. But we are not going to throw our precious liberty into the dustbin by sudden freaks of anger and take away what we have given by the right hand. Seven times we have moved it in the forum of the United Nations. It does not matter if the resolution that is moved may be thrown to wolves. But seven times we have moved in the United Nations that China be admitted. I say, China is still considered an untouchable in the U.N.O. Would you not feel it as a nation if you are the masters of this land and if you are not admitted to the club of the United Nations? If you are not admitted would you not feel it? There are rules of the club and if you are admitted to the club you are bound by the rules. To keep the Chinese out of it is an injustice and the sooner this is mended the better it is. Here we stand and sponsor a resolution that Nations but with the left hand we say that the Tibetan issue be taken up.

I was looking at the map of the world for El Salvador. I have nothing to say against El Salvador. El Salvador I could not locate in the map. I took the aid of my esteemed friend Dr. Ram Subhag Singh. I could not find El Salvador on the map. But in the year in 1950 or so, a year after Red China declared independence. El Salvador moved that Tibet be discussed. I do not know anything about what His Highness the Jam Saheb said. I hope the hon. Prime Minister will say about it. But be assured that even though I am a practicing Roman Catholic, I say that the record of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches in China has not been altogether creditable. They have been peddlers. They have been the casinos. They have run even insurance company and what not-these missionaries. This is the way China was treated and that is how they became rebellious against everything. If they are coming down to our borders and if they are showing their strength we shall take it calmly and firmly. We have been the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. We have been brought up during the last 50 years in the spirit of non-violence. I have seen effect of that spirit of non-violence in the Chanceries of Europe and in the Capitals of Europe where people honour you for your foreign policy. If you are going to throw your foreign policy in the dustbin we shall not be honoured.

And what is it that Kingsley Martin say?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** I want to take three or four minutes more. It is very important.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Two Minutes.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** Sir Kingsley Martin, Editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*, who visited Bhutan and Sikkim barely two years ago, wrote a long article on Tibet. If any body wants I will hand over a copy of it to him. I bought a dozen copies of the *New Statesman*. Do you know what he said at the end of that article?

"They are fools indeed, whether in this country, America or in India who would be glad to see Nehru compelled to abandon Indian neutralism and come forth as a champion in the cold war."

These are the last lines in his article.

What do the Egyptians say? *Al Ghamouria*, the Government organ at Cairo, whose Editor had come to India recently, in its issue of April 20<sup>th</sup> says:

"China must respect the right of India to accept (Tibetan) refugees and India should prevent the Dalai Lama from making any statements insulting to China... India is the biggest country following a policy of positive neutrality. Nothing will force her to change her position. It is better for China to win her than to push her into a bloc she does not wish to be in... India and China are neighbours and should live like good neighbours."

Lost of advices have come to us. Our army has moved on. They know their business. After all, you and I cannot take arms. We may talk as much as we like. We have entrusted the defence of our country to our Defence Forces. The major business of our defence forces is to help the civil authority in distress and also to guard our frontiers and they are doing their job. But, the time will come when we will have to sit around a Table and discuss what is the effect. Remember, we in India are also disturbed that the Chinese have not said a word about Kashmir. Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, when they were in Kashmir, made an unequivocal declaration that Kashmir belongs to India. We have not heard anything from the Chinese. If we are the friends of the Chinese, let us tell them that we expect the Chinese, like the Russians to say that Kashmir belongs to us. If they have been nibbling Ladakh little by little, let us not forget that we are the inheritors of power from the British. What did the British do in Tibet? My hon. Friend His Highness the Maharaja could not... (*The time bell rings*)... Only two more lines, Sir.

What did the British do in Tibet, just in this century?

"We killed several thousands of the brave ill-armed men; and as the story of the fighting is not always pleasant reading, I think it right, before describing the punitive side of the expedition, to make it quite clear that military operations were unavoidable that we were drawn into the vortex of war against our will by the folly and obstinacy of the Tibetans."

This is by Mr. Candler in his book, *Unveiling of Lhasa*. He participated in the Young husband Expedition into Lhasa. He also described his horror at the squalor, the dirt and the cruelty that the British found in Tibet. No doubt, he says, the Lamas employed "spiritual terrorism" to maintain their system of rule and justified it by their own dread of an age of materialism and reason...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member must resume his seat now.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** One more sentence:

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order; I have rung the bell three times. Shri Hem Barua.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** With these few words, I oppose the motion that the matter be referred to the United Nations General Assembly.

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** Sir, this Resolution purports to refer the Tibetan issue to the United Nations and I welcome this Resolution whole-heartedly.

In the context of this, the question that is naturally asked is, under what provision we refer this Tibetan issue to the U.N.O. A very wide issue is involved in it. We find there is a flagrant violation of the human rights enunciated in the Universal Declaration adopted by the U.N.O. on the 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1948. The basic human rights constitute the Bible of the civilized world. China, by adopting the law of the jungle, subjugating the people of Tibet to a reign of blood and terror, has not only violated the fundamental principles of the Declaration, but has also outraged the conscience of the civilized world. At the same time, I feel there is a violation of the Bandung spirit, a spirit that tried to create an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and understanding among the nations of the world and a spirit that has been so carefully nurtured by our Prime Minister into a positive philosophy.

There are 30 articles in the Declaration. I do not want to analyse each one of them against the background of the Chinese action in Tibet. But, I take a particular article of it, that is article 3 which says:

"Everybody has the right to life, liberty and security of person."

Events today under Chinese authority in Tibet of murder and naked barbarism in that country only prove it to the hilt that this very human right is soaked in blood and this is the blood of innocent people in that small country. I can substantiate what I have said elaborately from the report of the International Commission of Jurists that was recently published in Geneva. I can just tell you that there is unabashed gangsterism stalking the land from one end to the other. And with the invasion of the country by Chinese forces, the debacle is complete. Tibet today appears to me to be vast slaughter-house.

I would just refer you to the press conference at Mussoorie on the 20<sup>th</sup> June 1959. where a question was asked by a journalist in the following terms:

"An Indian report filed with the International Commission of Jurists says that 65,000 Tibetans have been killed in

fighting with Chinese occupation forces since 1956. Is that correct?"

And the Dalai Lama said:

"The number of Tibetans killed in fighting the Chinese occupation forces since 1956 is actually more than the Indian report."

This shows that more than 65,000 people were killed in Tibet since 1956.

It is on this specific issue, namely the violation, the naked violation of the human rights enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UNO that we can bring this matter before them or refer Tibetan issue to the UNO and thus justify the moral heights that we have attained today in the eyes of the world.

It is not that alone; there is a *prima facie* case of genocide against China. There are positive instances to prove that there has been indiscriminate air attack on the innocent people not actually engaged in hostilities.

Now, may I draw your attention to the fact that the contracting parties to the genocide convention of 1948 undertook to prevent and punish genocide, a crime against the law of nations? This makes it obligatory on all the nations who participated in that convention that whenever there is a case of genocide in the world: they should bring it to the notice of the parent organisation, that is, the United Nations Organisation. A moral responsibility devolves on India as well, which was a clear case of genocide in Tibet, it devolves on India as well, which was a party to that convention. When there is a clear case of genocide in Tibet, it devolves on us to bring this to the notice of the UNO.

In this connection, I would just like to quote the appeal made by the International Commission of Jurists, which says:

"The Commission, therefore, earnestly hopes that this matter will be taken up by the United Nations. For, what at the moment appears to be attempted genocide may become the full act of genocide."

There can be another argument also, and this is very often advanced. People say that this is an internal problem of China, and we should not have anything to do with it. *The People's Daily* of China also claims it; that also claims sovereign rights over Tibet. It says:

"The People's Republic of China enjoys full sovereignty over the Tibetan region...there can be no doubt whatever about this, and no interference by any foreign country or by the United Nations under whatever pretext or in whatever form will be tolerated."

This claim to sovereign rights is an anachronism; it is historically untenable, and it does not have any historical foundation whatsoever.

During centuries of relation between China and Tibet, whether relations of peace or of war, no Chinese Government have ever claimed the right to sovereignty over Tibet. That is also a fact. Now, the very fact that China was forced to enter into an agreement with Tibet shows that Tibet was independent; it shows positively that China did not enjoy sovereign rights over Tibet.

The preamble of the agreement states:

"The Central People's Government appointed representatives with full powers to conduct talks on a friendly basis with the delegates with full powers of the local Government of Tibet."

The very words of the preamble prove that it is an agreement not between a paramount country and a subordinate country but between two sovereign States.

After the Second World War started after the Far Eastern debacle in 1943. China wanted to establish means of communication through Tibet, but Tibet denied those rights to China and maintained her autonomy or rather independence.

I want to quote a dispatch sent by the Head of the Far Eastern Department of the British Foreign Office to the Counsellor of the American Embassy in London. That was on 7<sup>th</sup> August 1942, It says:

"In fact, the Tibetans not only claim to be but actually are an independent people, and they have in recent years fought successfully to maintain this freedom against Chinese attempts at domination".

I can justify it by reference to Shri Nehru's book *Glimpses of World History*. There he says about China:

"So China lost Manchuria and much else, and Japan continued to threaten the rest of the country. Tibet was independent".

This is on page 842 of that book.

The sovereign right of China over Tibet and the subsequent agreement of 1951 were effected under the threat of bayonets and bullets. Therefore, it cannot be an internal problem of China alone. It is an international problem. I feel that China has to be contained because of the recent border incidents. There is some design on their part. I know there is a booklet by Mao Tse-Tung where he says that there should be a Federation of the Mongoloid people who are on the periphery of China; people who live on this periphery of the Himalayas all belong to the Mongoloid group of people. There is a pointed reference made by Chou En-Lai when he said in April Last that there are 'undetermined frontiers with our southern neighbours. At the same time, they have not yet ratified the agreement under which the MacMohan Line was drawn up in 1914.

All these facts show that they have certain designs here. I would say that there was recently at the Inter-Parliamentary Union's Conference in Warsaw- a reference by a Russian representative, Govkin, in which he said positively that the fault lay with India, and did not lie with China.

These are the things. We have to view the entire problem in the context of these developments, we feel that liberty is butchered, freedom is slaughtered-Tibet is a vast slaughter house, as I have already said-and all sense of human values are sacrificed at the altar of expansionism, and there is a threat to the security and solidarity of our borders as well.

All these things call for a ready reference of the Tibetan issue to the UNO and such action will be justified.

**Shri Brajeswar Prasad (Gaya):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, The Government of India can neither raise the question of Tibet nor support it if it is raised by someone else in the United Nations. The agreement between China and Tibet has no validity in the eyes of international law, because Tibet is not an international personality.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** It is an independent country.

**Shri Brajeswar Prasad:** We have also endorsed this position by saying that Tibet is an integral part of China and that China's sovereignty exists over Tibet.

The division between North Korea and South Korea was recognized by the United Nations. Tibetan autonomy, on the other hand, has never been recognized by either the United Nations the League of Nations or by any other international organisation. Tibet can become independent if Russia and America invade China. As long as this condition is not fulfilled, Tibet can never become free.

Therefore, it is futile to raise the question of Tibet in the United Nations. An anti-Communist front cannot be formed by raising the question of Tibet in the United Nations. Any new anti-Communist front, if formed, will go the way of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Russia and America have started embracing each other. Any conflict between India and China will jeopardize the interests of the black and the coloured races in general, and of India and China in particular. It will affect India more than of China, because China has become a nuclear power. Any conflict between India and China will facilitate a political settlement between Russia and America on terms advantageous to the latter. Similarly, any collaboration between India and America will lead to the same result.

If we antagonize China on the question of Tibet, Russia will support Pakistan on the question of Kashmir. Let us try to liberate Kashmir first before we talk of Tibet. For Heaven's sake stop talking about Tibet. The threat of the establishment of the Karachi-Peking-Moscow axis looms large on the horizon. Russia is with China on the question of Tibet. Let there be no mistake about it. There are people who think that Russia is giving only routine support to China on the question of Tibet. I differ from this view. It will be a political blunder of the gravest magnitude to antagonize China at this hour when the threat of the political settlement between Russia and America leading to the establishment of white hegemony over the black and coloured races looms large on the horizon.

The central problem of international politics is not that of a conflict either between Russia and America or between communism and democracy. It is one of conflict between the black and coloured races on the one side and the white

racess on the other. The menace of white hegemony can be liquidated by the integration of Russia with the Afro-Asian land mass. Russia can be integrated with the Afro-Asian land mass if India and China are integrated into one political unit. The alternative to the integration of India and China into one political unit is the division of the world either between Russia and America or between Russia and China.

**An Hon. Member:** In case of integration who will be the Prime Minister?

**Feroze Gandhi (Rai Bareilly):** Raja Mahendra Pratap.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** Sovereign nation states have become obsolete. The *status quo* cannot be maintained by any strategem whatsoever. I do not give my support to the cult of self-determination. It led to the outbreak of the Second World War (*Interruptions*). The Second World War was fought at the altar of Polish independence. Where is Poland now? And, was the independence of Poland worth the price paid? Poland led to the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**An Hon. Member:** What about Tibet?

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** One thing leads to another. A war between India and China may be the result of our championing the cause of Tibetan autonomy. A war between India and China may lead to the outbreak of a nuclear war on a global scale.

President Wilson championed the cause of self-determination. The result was the outbreak of the Second World War. We also championed the cause of self-determination. The result was the vivisection of India.

Military security is not possible in a world of sovereign Nation States. India, China, Russia, America, England, France and Germany feel threatened by one another. All nation States are enemies of one another by virtue of the imperatives of power politics in a world of anarchy. There are no permanent friend or enemies. All big nation States are gangsters and small nation States are just like prostitutes. They either go with the highest bidder... (*Interruptions*) or are liquidated by force of arms. A full-fledged settlement between India, China and Russia will facilitate the achievement of the goal of (*Interruptions*) a world government which is the only solution of the problems of insecurity.

**Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Aurangabad):** On a point of order, Sir. Issues of high international importance are being discussed and the manner in which the hon. Speaker is speaking is most reprehensible... (*Interruptions*)

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** I am sorry that my friend has not been able to follow me.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He has finished his speech, I suppose.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** Let me have a few minutes more, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. I have called the Prime Minister.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, The Resolution moved by the hon. Member appears to be a fairly simple one, simply-worded. But as the course of this debate has shown, behind that Resolution lie high international issues and big problems with big consequences. Now, I suppose everyone in this House has a feeling of the deepest sympathy to the sufferings of the Tibetan people. There is no doubt about that. As everyone knows, we have given refuge and asylum not only to the Dalai Lama but to nearly 13,000 others. In fact we have given refuge to everyone who came. I cannot remember the case of a single person whom we denied refuge in this case, in regard to Tibet. That itself was evidence of our feelings in this matter.

But feeling apart, our sympathy for the Tibetans apart, what exactly should we do about it? What exactly should we do even, let us say to give expression to those feelings of sympathy? Some hon. Members have delivered rather brave speeches as to the evil deeds perpetrated by other countries. It is easy enough to talk about them and it is easy enough to find many faults in the ways the countries behave. But, if a country like India has to function, we have to function in a mature way, in a considered way, in a way which at least promises some kind of results. It is absolutely-I should say respectfully-pointless for us to make brave gestures and it is worse than pointless if these brave gestures react and rebound on us and injure us or injure the cause which we seek to promote.

So far as this question of Tibet is concerned, we may look at it from many points of view: historical, cultural and other contacts with India, China, etc. It is a long and chequered history and one need not go into it. When a country has



had a long and chequered history, it supplies enough material for any party to support any claim. The Chinese claim that Tibet was subject to their sovereignty or suzerainty-I do not know what word they use-for hundreds of years. The Tibetans claim that they were independent for many periods except when they were forced into some kind of subservience. Now, really this may be interesting to the historical students, but it does not help us. It is fact, of course, that for a period of 40 years or so, for all practical purposes, ever since the Manchu Dynasty fell or a little after that, Tibet was practically independent; even so not hundred per cent, even so China never gave up her claim. But in effect it was independent.

As I said, it does not help us very much. Of course, if this question arose in the International Court of Justice at the Hague (of course, it will not) such questions do not arise there because nation States do not take them there. China, anyhow, has nothing to do with the International Court of Justice at the Hague-they might consider all these questions irrelevant.

The two or three main considerations are that internationally considered, Tibet has not been considered as an independent country. It has been considered an autonomous country but under the suzerainty or sovereignty of China. That was the case before India became independent, with the United Kingdom, with Russia-not only the Soviet Union but the Czarist Russia previous to that-and these were the main countries concerned. The rest of the world did not pay the slightest attention to Tibet except that it was some kind of a land of mystery.

That being so, when India became independent and we inherited more or less the position as it was in British days. We carried on both the advantages and the disadvantages of it. We did not like many things there-I mean to say the extra-territorial privileges that we have there which certainly were relics of British Imperialism in Tibet. We did not like that particularly, but we were too busy for the first year or two to interfere with anything.

Then came this Chinese incursion or invasion into Tibet. At no time had we denied Chinese overlordship of Tibet, you might call it what you like. That has been the position all along. Even in recent years we have not denied it. Even after independence, even before the People's Government of China came there we had not denied it. In fact, we had somewhat functioned as if we accepted it.

Now, when this came we had to face a difficult situation in law, and constitutionally speaking we could not say anything because of the positions we had accepted and the world had accepted. Nevertheless, we were rather pained and upset at the way things were happening- armies marching, and what appeared to be a forcible conquest and occupation of Tibet. We sent some notes in those days, some one or two notes politely worded, expressing the hope that this question would be peacefully solved. I am afraid, the replies we got from the Chinese Government were not equally politely worded at that time. I am speaking from memory...

**An Hon. Member:** That is a fact.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** That is a fact. I am talking about the sequence of events; that I am speaking from memory.

Then, a country, El Salvador, a member of the United Nations sponsored some kind of a motion on Tibet in the United Nations. It was a motion for the inclusion of the item on the agenda of the General Assembly and with it was a draft resolution condemning, what they called, the unprovoked aggression in Tibet and suggesting the appointment of a committee to study the appropriate measures to be taken.

Now, there was some discussion on this question of the inclusion of the item on the agenda. The representative of India, and I believe the representative in this particular case was the Jamsaheb of Nawanagar, pleaded that this matter might be settled peacefully and it would be better not to take it up in this way. He added, "I believe, that we had received some assurances from the Chinese Government that they wanted to settle it peacefully by negotiation, and therefore the inclusion of this item on the agenda be adjourned". This suggestion was supported by the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Australia, Soviet Union, and for its own reasons no doubt, even by what might be called Kuomintang China in Formosa. The item was postponed. The postponement was agreed to.

On what basis did the Jamsaheb say that we had received assurances from the Chinese Government? I am sorry I have not got the exact papers with me, but so far as I can remember, we had received a message from the Chinese Government in answer to our requests to the effect that they wanted to settle it by negotiation and in a peaceful way. In fact, I think they had stopped the march of their army somewhere near the eastern borders of Tibet.

Also, some representatives of the Tibetan Government sent by the Dalai Lama were to proceed to Peking to discuss this matter. In those days, until quite recently, the easiest and simplest way for a person going from Lhasa to Peking was *via* India. It was much more difficult to go *via* the Gobi desert and all that. In fact, even after the People's Government of China came into power, on several occasions they sent their representatives or their other people *via* India to Tibet. It was simpler: from Calcutta right up to Gangtok in Sikkim and through Nathu La onwards. The Tibetan representatives, on their way to Peking, came to Delhi. It was more or less natural. Also, I suppose, they wanted to consult us. This happened ten years ago, and I have no very clear recollection of the sequence of events. I know they remained in Delhi for rather a long time; why exactly it was not clear to me. Anyhow they did. It was this sequence of events that led us to make that suggestion in the United Nations, and the matter was not discussed.

Afterwards, as a matter of fact, there was no proper negotiation with the team that the Tibetans sent. Long before they reached Peking, the other developments took place in Tibet. I think the Chinese army started marching again and the Dalai Lama and his representatives came to an agreement with them. May be, of course, the agreement might have been under compulsion of events, under pressure, but it was an agreement signed on behalf of the Dalai Lama etc.

May I say this in this connection? The hon. Member Shri Vajpayee stated that the Dalai Lama came to the 17-point agreement with China because of certain assurances that I gave him and further that this was after the Chinese Prime Minister's visit to India. He has got these things rather mixed up. There was no question of my giving any assurance, and the Chinese Prime Minister had not come to India and I had not gone to China. I had not met the Chinese Prime Minister at the time of this so-called 17-point agreement between the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama's Government, whatever it was. So, the question of any assurances from us does not come in at all. The only thing that we accepted was based on the message received from the Chinese Government-what the Jamsaheb said in the United Nations Security Council, namely, that the Chinese said they wanted a peaceful settlement of this question and on the basis of that, it was not considered.

After that, there was this 17-point agreement in which some stress was laid on the autonomy of Tibet. Again it would be wrong to say that this stress on autonomy was included there because of our pressure and our desire. Certainly, it was our desire undoubtedly, but when the agreement was concluded, we were not there; we were not asked to express our opinion. It was between the Chinese Government and the Tibetans. So, it is not correct to say that they had given us any assurance which they broke later.

What happened was that, several years afterwards when Premier Chou En-Lai came here, we had talks about Tibet and the Dalai Lama too was here at that time. The talks, I believe, were really initiated by Premier Chou En-Lai and he wanted to explain to me-he did explain-what their position was in regard to Tibet, not because he was answering some charge made by me or because he thought that it was incumbent on him to do so, but because he felt-I take it-that we had friendly relations and he had to try to convince me of China's position and case.

He began by telling me that Tibet had always been a part of the Chinese State, 'always' meaning for hundreds and hundreds of years. Occasionally, when China was weak, that sovereignty was not exercised properly, but he said Tibet had always been a part of Chinese State. That was his case. He further added: but Tibet is not China proper. It is a part of the Chinese State. There is no Han people there. Chinese are the Han people, but there are the Mongols, Manchus, Tibetans, etc. Tibet, he said is not a province of China. It is an autonomous region of the Chinese State and we want to respect that autonomy. That is what he told me. In fact, he went on to say that some people imagined that we want to thrust communism on Tibet. That is absurd, because the Tibetans, socially speaking, are so backward that communism is very far from the Tibetan state of affairs now. But, he said, certainly it is a very backward State and we want to make them progress socially, economically, etc.

Even then, that is, three years ago, some trouble had started internally in Tibet or rather on the eastern border of Tibet, particularly in an area which was not in Tibet proper. It was Tibetan inhabited area called Kham, which was on the eastern border of Tibet. The portion had been incorporated in China a little while ago; I forget when-not now anyway, but previous to all this. The Tibetans there, the Khampas, did not take kindly to certain Chinese measures, because although the Chinese Government left Tibet proper more or less untouched in the sense of any so-called land reforms or any other reforms-politically they held Tibet firmly. But they did not interfere-that is what Premier Chou En-Lai told me: "We do not wish to interfere; let them gradually develop themselves". But in this eastern part which was considered a part of China-they treated it as part of China-this ultimately led to the Khampa rebellion there, a kind of guerilla

rebellion, which had already lasted for a fair time, a year or more, when Premier Chou En-Lai came here three years ago. We did not discuss that. But he referred to it and said: we do not wish to interfere with the Tibetans, with their internal structure, internal autonomy, social custom, religion or anything; but we would not, of course, tolerate rebellion and foreign interference, etc. Well, I do not know what he meant or thought when he said foreign interference or imperialist interference, but I find that they had some kind of a kink in their minds, not so much, I think, of India having anything to do with it, but of foreign countries, United Kingdom or America somehow making incursions into Tibet, because they had got those countries in their mind. They have not quite realized that the United Kingdom has absolutely no interest in Tibet since they left India. They just cannot reach it. They have no means, no representative there; they have nobody there even to give them any news. And, to my knowledge, neither has the United States, in fact. The only representative in Tibet of any other country is that of India, the Consul-General; probably the Soviet Union also; possibly also Mongolia. But what I meant to say was there were no Europeans or Americans. Anyhow this is what he told me: the rebellion is going on. So, we had this talk and you may call it what you like. But it was more an explanation to me. It was not some kind of assurance extracted by me from Premier Chou En-Lai. I say this because people might say: oh, you did this because of that guarantee given to you. It was not a guarantee in that sense. It was certainly something which, when I heard, pleased me, about the autonomy of Tibet etc. But I have no business to call him to account saying: "you guaranteed and you are not doing it", in that sense, though I must say that I was pained when, because of other developments, the structure of the autonomy broke down completely.

Well, this internal revolt in Tibet gradually spread month after month, year after year. It spread slowly from the east to westwards. And I have personally little doubt that the great majority of Tibetans, even though they did not participate during this period, sympathized with it; I have no doubt about it. And that is for obvious reasons, not on any high grounds but for the simple reason that the Tibetans, like others, have a strong nationalist sense, and they resented those whom they considered outsiders coming in and upsetting their life and all the structure in which they lived. So, this spread and then other things happened.

One need not go into the detailed history but the trouble in Lhasa itself, partly of course, I think, may have been caused by various activities of the Chinese governors. Where a ruler, an outsider, an alien ruler has to deal with the population which is not friendly, well, the relationship can well be imagined. It is not a healthy relationship. The ruler is afraid, the people are afraid, both for each other. And when fear governs the relations of two parties, it is likely to lead to bad results. In fact, wherever a country is a subject country, that is an unhealthy relationship. Well, that led to this upheaval in Tibet and the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa, coming to India and so on and so forth. After that I have no accurate news of what has happened.

I think we may broadly say that there has been strong military pressure on several parts of Tibet and the Tibetans enjoy far from autonomy under the military government there. It may be that the stories that we hear about happenings inside Tibet are exaggerated, because most of the stories inevitably come from refugees, and refugees, however good they may be, having suffered themselves, are apt to give rather a coloured picture and not what they have seen or what they have heard. So, it goes on increasing. So, it may be that the stories are exaggerated. But as a responsible person, I cannot repeat those stories till I have some kind of a proof. But whether they are exaggerated or not there can be little doubt that a great deal has happened in Tibet which is deplorable and that the people of Tibet have suffered much and that it can certainly not be said that it is a happy family living together.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Previously when this matter came up before this House I said that our approach to these problems was governed by two or three factors. Among these mentioned two—our sympathy for the Tibetan people and our desire to maintain friendly relations with China. Now that may appear to be something contradictory and it does in the present context slightly contradict each other. That is the difficulty of the situation. But that does not get away from our basic approach which is governed by these two factors. The third factor, of course, is and always will be the integrity of India and the freedom of India. It is our first duty to protect that.

Why do I say that? Because I want to repeat that any step that we may take now cannot be taken in a huff, if I may say so, because we are angry and we do something regardless of the consequences of that step. We work not only in the present but for the future—for the distant future. I have always thought that it is important, even essential if you like, that these two countries of Asia, India and China, should have friendly and as far as possible co-operative relations. It is a

remarkable fact of history- and I do not think you will find it duplicated elsewhere at any time- that during these two thousands years of relationship between India and China they have not had any kind of military conflict. It has been a cultural relationship. It has been to some extent a trade relationship. It has been a religious association. Throughout these long periods, they were not passive countries. They were active, positive countries. They went in those days, not like the later days in India when we did become a passive, inert country, tied down by caste and do not cross the seas and do not touch this man and do not see that man-that type of country we developed-our people went to adventures. They went all over the south eastern seas. They established, not imperialist colonies, but independent colonies. In fact, the effect of India all over the south eastern region was tremendous. You see it today. So also was the effect of China there. So these two great big powerful countries were constantly meeting and yet there was no conflict. It is a remarkable fact of history. Certainly nowhere in Europe will you find such a thing or, for the matter of that, in Asia.

Now it seemed to me that in the future it would be a tragedy not only for India, and for China, but for Asia and the world if we develop some kind of permanent hostility. Naturally friendship does not exist if you are weak and if you are looked down upon as a weak country. Friendship cannot exist between the weak and the strong, between a country that is trying to bully and the other who accepts to be bullied. Whether it is an individual or a group or a country that does not happen. It is only when people are more or less equal, when people respect each other that they are friends. So also nations. But subject to that we did work for the friendship of India and China. May I say that in spite of all that has happened today, that is still our objective and we shall continue to work for it. That does not mean that we should surrender in anything that we consider right or that we should hand over bits of territory of India to China to please them. That is not the way to be friends with anybody or to maintain our dignity or self-respect. But, in the long run, it is of importance for these two great countries, whatever their internal structures and policies might be, to be friends.

I know that, sometimes, it is difficult to feel friendly when one hears things that irritate, that anger, when we see that our people have not been treated even courteously, when we receive communications from the Chinese Government, which are singularly lacking in even ordinary politeness. All that is irritating. But, then, it is easy enough for any one to get angry and irritated. It is necessary for people who hold responsible position not to allow themselves to be irritated, certainly to maintain the dignity of the country and the continuity of our policy too.

Many people charge us: "What about your famous Panch Sheel, where are those five principles; dead and gone and buried or cremated?" Call it whatever you like. That indicates a completely wrong approach to this question. What is Panch Sheel? Panch Sheel or the five principles, -they did not become principles because they were embodied in a treaty between India and China-they stand by themselves, principles of international relationship which we hold to be correct and we shall hold to them even if all the world says 'no' to them. Of course, it is obvious that if the other party does not agree to them, that relationship does not subsist. The principles remain true all the same. When people are wise enough, they come back to them. Therefore, there is no question of Panch Sheel failing. It may be, if you like, the question of India failing or China failing. But, the principles remain. This is the outlook.

If you will permit me to go slightly outside the purview of this Resolution, we have to face certain difficult situations on our borders and elsewhere: the treatment accorded to our people in Tibet by the Chinese authorities. I may inform the House that the first thing that I do every morning is to open a bunch of telegrams, a pretty big bunch. I should imagine that in every bunch there are at least five or six dealing with this affair either from Peking or Lhasa or Gyantse or Yatung, just the latest happenings, the latest developments. Of course, the telegrams we get from Gyantse, Yatung and Lhasa cannot tell us about the happenings in Tibet, because they have no communication with the rest of Tibet. They can only see more or less round about the Consulate or the Trade agency and tell us what are the happenings today. There are petty problems arising. Almost every morning, usually, at least, I start the day not in a too pleasant mood, because of these messages. I try to overcome that. I am getting accustomed to some extent to do that.

We have got to deal with these difficult problems, these border incidents. If anyone asks me, as they sometimes do, what do the border incidents indicate. Frankly, I do not know what might be in the minds of the other party: whether it is just local aggressiveness or just to show us our place, if I may use a colloquial phrase, so that we may not get uppish, or whether it is something deeper. I do not know.

I might inform the House that only last evening, we received a fairly long reply from the Chinese Government. That is a reply to the protest I had sent a few days ago about these incidents on the North East Frontier border. It is a fairly long reply. It will, naturally, require very careful consideration. But, broadly speaking, the reply is a repudiation of our

charge that they had come on our territory, that they had started firing on our patrol there and charging us with having come on their territory and having opened fire on them: that is, complete conflict in the facts, reversal of the facts here.

**An Hon. Member:** Reversal of the MacMohan Line.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Of course, we shall examine that reply carefully because it is a long and more or less argued note, with lots of places mentioned and other things. And we shall send them a reply fairly soon, that is, in the next two or three days.

May I also repeat what I said here that before this House rises in this session, I hope to place a White Paper before the House containing correspondence between the Chinese Government and our Government ever since the treaty between India and China in regard to Tibet was signed, that is, during the last five years, so that the House may have the background of what has been happening?

Now, all this is there. We have, on the one hand, naturally to protect our borders. And when I say that, I want to hold myself, and somewhat restrain my powerful reactions so as not to go too far, in, let us say, military measures and the like; because, when nations get excited and all their prestige is involved; then, step by step, they are driven often in wrong directions. So, we try, at any rate, to balance, balance in the sense of a firm policy where we think we are in the right, nevertheless, with always a door open to accommodation, a door open to a settlement, wherever this is possible.

Broadly speaking, in regard to this border, that is, the border incidents, as I have just mentioned, they say that we have committed aggression. Now, it is a question of fact, whether this village or that village or this little strip of territory is on their side or on our side. Normally, wherever these are relatively petty disputes, well, it does seem to me rather absurd for two great countries or two small countries immediately to rush at each other's throat and to decide whether two miles of territory are on this side or on that side, and especially, two miles of territory in the high mountains, where nobody lives. But where national prestige and dignity is involved, it is not the nation's dignity and self-respect that become involved in it. And, therefore, this happens. But I do not wish, in so far as I can, to press the issue so far that there is no escape for either country, because their national dignities are involved, except a re-course to arms. That is not, I hope...

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** What is the boundary, according to the latest report? What is the boundary which they have indicated according to the latest reply that we have received from them?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** How can I say that without a large map, all kinds of little things about villages and all that? The present dispute about that matter is relatively a small matter: whether it may be two miles this side or that side is not a very big thing; but I do not know what their map is, here, there and else where. So far as I am concerned, I have often stated how our frontier from the Burma border right up to the Bhutan border is the MacMohan Line; we hold by that.

**Shri Achar (Mangalore):** Do they...

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Please allow me to continue. Please do not attach too much importance to what appears in the newspapers. I speak with a little greater authority on this subject.

That is the MacMohan line, and we hold by it, and we think it is highly objectionable, highly improper for the Chinese Government to go on issuing maps colouring half of the North Eastern Frontier Agency, one-third Assam and one-third of Bhutan as if they belong to China. That is really an affront. I can understand something happening for a little while, and some mistake; but a continuing thing, to be told year after year for ten years that 'Oh, well, we shall look into it when we have leisure' is not a good enough answer. That is so.

But having accepted broadly the MacMohan line, I am prepared to discuss any interpretation of the MacMohan line, minor interpretation here and there; that is a different matter—not these big chunks but the minor interpretation whether this hill is there or this little bit is on that side or this side, on the facts, on the maps, on the evidence available. That I am prepared to discuss with the Chinese Government. I am prepared to have any kind of conciliatory, mediatory process to consider this. I am prepared to have arbitration of any authority agreed to by the two parties about those minor rectifications, where they are challenged by them or by us, whichever the case may be. That is a different matter. I say this because I do not take up that kind of narrow attitude that whatever I say is right and whatever the other person says is wrong. But the broad MacMohan Line has to be accepted and so far as we are concerned, it is there and we accept it.



The position about Ladakh is somewhat different. The MacMohan Line does not go there. That is governed by ancient treaties over a hundred years old between the then ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Gulab Singh, who was a feudatory of the Sikh ruler of the Punjab at the time-this was in the thirties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century-on the one side, there was the treaty of 1842 and on the other side, the ruler of Lhasa and the representative of the Emperor of China, which resulted in Ladakh being recognized as a part of Kashmir State.

Now, nobody has challenged that. Nobody challenges it now. But the actual boundary of Ladakh with Tibet was not very carefully defined. It was defined to some extent by British officers who went there. But I rather doubt if they did any careful survey. They marked the line. It has been marked all along in our maps. They did it. As people do not live there, by and large, it does not make any difference. It did not make any difference. At that time nobody cared about it.

Now, the question arises. We are prepared to sit down and discuss those minor things. But discuss it on what terms? First, treaties, existing maps etc secondly, usage, what has been the usage all these years and thirdly, geography. By geography, I mean physical features like water-sheds, ridge of a mountain, not a bit of plain divided up. Those are convenient features for international boundaries.

I have gone out of my way to refer to these various matters in connection with this Resolution which deals with a simpler issue. Coming back to this particular Resolution, quite apart from the sympathy which the hon. Mover and some other hon. Members feel for the Tibetans, if we take an action, it should be justifiable in law and in constitution and we should hope for some results, some results which will help us to achieve the objective aimed at.

Looking at it from the point of view of justification, the United Nations may come into the picture for two reasons. One is, violation of human rights and the other, aggression. Now, violation of human rights applies to those who have accepted the Charter of the United Nations, in other words, those members of the United Nations who have accepted the Charter. Strictly speaking, you cannot apply the Charter to people who have not been allowed to come into the United Nations.

Secondly, if you talk about aggression, aggression is by one sovereign independent State on another. As I told you, in so far as world affairs are concerned, Tibet has not been acknowledged as an independent State for a considerable time, even long before this happened-much less after. Therefore, it is difficult to justify aggression.

Now, you may say that these may be rather legal pleas. But I am merely pointing out a constitutional aspect of and difficulties and the procedures involved.

Then, I come to a certain practical aspect. And that is what good will it achieve? Suppose we get over the legal quibbles and legal difficulties. It may lead to a debate in the General Assembly or the Security Council wherever it is taken up, a debate which will be an acrimonious debate, an angry debate, a debate which will be after the fashion of cold war. Having had the debate what then will the promoters of that debate and that motion do? Nothing more. They will return home. After having brought matters to a higher temperature, fever heat, they will go home. They have done their duty because they can do nothing else.

Obviously, nobody is going to send an army to Tibet or China. If that was not done in the case of Hungary which is in the heart of Europe and which is more allied to European nations, it is fantastic to think they will move in that way in Tibet. Obviously not. So, all that will happen is an expression of strong opinion by some other countries denying it and the matter being raised to the level of cold war-brought into the domain of cold war-and probably producing reactions on the Chinese Government which are more adverse to Tibet and the Tibetan people than even now. So, the ultimate result is no relief to the Tibetan people but something the reverse of it.

The question, both from the constitutional and the legal point of view, is not clear. In fact, persons who have examined it think that it is difficult to bring it there. And, from the practical point of view also there is no good result. Then, what exactly is the purpose of taking that subject, except maybe to satisfy some kind of urge to show sympathy or to show that we are angry. I can understand that urge certainly. But we must not allow the urge to take the reins into its hands and take us away with it to unknown regions and dangerous regions. Therefore, I am unable to accept this resolution and I would suggest to the House also not to accept it.

**श्री वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में सदन में जो कुछ भी कहा गया है उसे मैं ने गौर से देखा है! जिन सदस्यों



ने उसका समर्थन किया है मैं उन्हें धन्यवाद देता हूँ लेकिन जिन्होंने उसका विरोध किया है उनको धन्यवाद देते हुए भी मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि मैं उनका दृष्टिकोण को ठीक तरीके से समझ नहीं सका !

तिब्बत की समस्या हमारे सामने है ! पहली बार जब तिब्बत का प्रश्न संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में उठा तो जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा है हमारे प्रतिनिधि ने उस समय यह आशा प्रकट की थी कि तिब्बत की समस्या शान्ति के साथ चीन के द्वारा वार्ता से हल हो जायेगी लेकिन पिछले नौ साल का इतिहास इस बात का प्रमाण है कि तिब्बत की समस्या को शान्ति से हल करने का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया गया ! चीन ने तिब्बत में बल प्रयोग किया ! चीन ने तिब्बत के स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व को मिटाने की कोशिश की और अपने पिछले भाषण में मैं ने कहा था कि आज प्रश्न केवल तिब्बत की स्वायत्ता का या स्वतंत्रता का नहीं है बल्कि प्रश्न यह है कि क्या तिब्बत एक प्रथक देश के नाते, अपनी सम्पूर्ण विशेषताओं के साथ जीवित रहेगा ! यदि भारत सरकार की यह आशा कि तिब्बत का प्रश्न शान्ति से हल होगा पूरी हो जाती, तो भारत को ओर इस सदन को बड़ी प्रसन्नता होती ! लेकिन अभी तक के जो आसार दिखायी देते हैं उनसे इस बात की आशा नहीं है कि आपस की वार्ता द्वारा अब इसको हल किया जा सकता है, और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी अपने भाषण में इस तरह की आशा प्रकट नहीं की हैं ! हमने दलाई लामा को और उनके साथियों को भारत में स्थान दिया, बहुत अच्छा काम किया और सब इसका स्वागत करते हैं ! किन्तु क्या दलाई लामा को आश्रय देने के साथ ही तिब्बत के सम्बन्ध में भारत का कर्तव्य पूरा हो जाता है ! क्या दलाई लामा और उनके साथी कभी सम्मान के साथ तिब्बत वापस लौट सकेंगे ? क्या तिब्बत को आटोनमी जिसकी चीन ने गरंटी दी थी ! फिर से वापस आ सकेगी ? क्या तिब्बत अपने अस्तित्व की रक्षा कर सकेगा ? इन प्रश्नों का कोई उत्तर नहीं दिया गया !

प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा कि उनकी नीति चीन के साथ मित्रता रखने की है उनकी इस नीति से सारा देश सहमत है ! चीन से क्या हम पकिस्तान से भी मित्रता चाहते हैं ! दुनिया के सारे देशों से दोस्ती चाहते हैं, किन्तु सवाल यह है, उस मित्रता का आधार क्या होगा ? किस कीमत पर वह दोस्ती की जाएगी ? हम फ्रांस से दोस्ती चाहते हैं मगर इसके लिए हम अल्जीरिया की आज़ादी का समर्थन करने से इन्कार नहीं कर सकते ! हमें पुर्तगल की भी दोस्ती चाहते हैं मगर इसके लिए हम गोआ की स्वतंत्रता की मांग को बन्द नहीं कर सकते ! हम दक्षिण अफ्रीका से भी मित्रता चाहते हैं, मगर इस कारण हमने दक्षिण अफ्रीका के गैर श्वेतों का सवाल संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में उठाने से मना नहीं कर दिया ! हर साल हम संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में अफ्रीका में भारतीयों का प्रश्न उठाते हैं ! हर साल दक्षिण अफ्रीका संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के निर्णय को नहीं मानता, मगर हम इस प्रश्न को उठाते हैं क्योंकि हम समझते हैं कि विश्व के जनमत को जाग्रत करने के अलावा इन सवालों को हल करने का और कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं है !

मैं ने जब तिब्बत के प्रश्न को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में ले जाने का प्रस्ताव किया तो मेरा उद्देश्य स्पष्ट था कि हम संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में विश्वास करते हैं इसलिए हमें तिब्बत के सवाल को वहां ले जाना चाहिये ! और तिब्बत की शिकायत के ओचित्य में भी हम विश्वास करते हैं इसलिए भी हमें तिब्बत के सवाल को वहां ले जाना चाहिए ! अब तिब्बत के सवाल को वहां ले जाने से फायदा होगा या नहीं होगा ? मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका निर्णय अगर हम न करें और तिब्बत के सर्वोच्च नेता श्री दलाई लामा के फैसले के अनुसार चलें तो मैं समझता हूँ वह ज्यादा अच्छा होगा ! तिब्बत का भला किस में है, क्या श्री दलाई लामा से अधिक और कोई इस बात का फैसला कर सकता है ? श्री दलाई लामा ने 30 अगस्त को अपील की है दुनिया की सभी सिविलाइज़्ड नेशन्स के नाम, जिनमें भारत भी आता है, कि तिब्बत के सवाल को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में ले जाना चाहिए !

प्रधान मंत्री जी अब मेरे प्रस्ताव को मानने से इन्कार करते हैं ! अगर श्री दलाई लामा समझते हैं कि तिब्बत की समस्या को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में ले जाने से कुछ लाभ होगा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत को उस प्रश्न को उठाना चाहिए ! प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह भी स्पष्ट नहीं किया कि अगर और कोई देश तिब्बत के सवाल को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में लाएगा तो उस समय यह कहेंगे कि यह सवाल नहीं लाया जाना चाहिए ? इस सम्बन्ध में हमें हमारा जो प्रतिनिधि मंडल जनरल असेम्बली में भाग लेने जा रहा है उसको स्पष्ट निर्देश देना चाहिए ! मुझे भय होता है कि हमारे प्रतिनिधि मंडल के जो नेता जनरल असेम्बली में भाग लेने जा रहे हैं वे वहां भारत की भावनाओं का सही प्रतिनिधित्व कर सकेंगे ! एक बार पहले भी वह हंगरी के सवाल पर भारत की जनता की भावनाओं को सही रूप से प्रकट नहीं कर सके थे ! प्रधान मंत्री कुछ कहते थे और हमारे प्रतिनिधि मंडल के नेता कुछ कहते थे ! मुझे डर है तिब्बत के सवाल पर यह इतिहास न दुहराया जाए ! इसलिए अगर भारत सरकार स्वयं तिब्बत के प्रश्न को नहीं उठाती है, तो जैसा कि कांग्रेस के सदस्य डा. गोहोकर ने संशोधन रखा है, अगर कोई और देश इस प्रश्न को उठाता है तो भारत को उसका समर्थन करना चाहिए ! पिछली बार हमने समर्थन नहीं किया इसलिए दुनिया का कोई भी देश आगे नहीं बढ़ा ! आखिर तिब्बत में हमारी सबसे अधिक रूचि है, हम तिब्बत से सबसे अधिक सहानुभूति रखते हैं, तिब्बत हमारा पड़ोसी देश है !

**एक माननीय सदस्य:** च्यांगकाई शेक क्यों नहीं उठाते इस प्रश्न को?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. This is not the first time that the hon. Member is moving his motion. He has moved his motion and spoken on it. If any explanation has to be given to what has arisen out of the speeches that have been made for or against, he can do so by explaining a few points. He cannot make a second speech as the one which he made at the time of moving motion.

**Shri Vajpayee:** I am only explaining a few points.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member is not doing that. He has reopened the whole thing.

**श्री वाजपेयी:** मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर तिब्बत के सवाल को किसी और देश ने उठाया तो भारत की नीति क्या होगी? मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस के सदस्य ने जो संशोधन रखा है उस के सम्बन्ध में सरकार का क्या मत है? वह मेरा संशोधन नहीं है! और प्रधानमंत्री जी ने उस सम्बन्ध में सरकार के दृष्टिकोण का कोई स्पष्टीकरण नहीं किया है !

तिब्बत के सवाल पर व्यावहारिक कठिनाइयाँ हैं यह ठीक है लेकिन संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में ले जाने के अलावा तिब्बत की समस्या का ओर कोई हल दिखायी नहीं देता ! वहाँ गरमा गरम भाषण होंगे यह ठीक है ! लेकिन अगर हम संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में विश्वास करते हैं और चीन संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में जाना चाहता है तो फिर विश्व के जनमत का चीन पर ज़रूर कुछ प्रभाव होना चाहिए ! अब भारत के सामने एक ही रास्ता है कि हम विश्व की आत्मा को अपील करें, हम विश्व की चेतना को जगाएं ! तिब्बत में होने वाले मानव अधिकारों के हनन के प्रति विश्व के जनमत को जाग्रत करें ! और यदि कम्युनिस्ट चीन पर उसका असर नहीं होता तो हमें यह तो संतोष होगा कि हमने अपना कर्तव्य पालन किया ! हम जानना चाहते हैं कि भारत सरकार की तिब्बत के प्रति नीति क्या है? क्या अनिश्चय की नीति है, असहायता की नीति है? आखिर तिब्बत की समस्या को शान्तिपूर्वक हल करने के लिए हम कौन सा कदम उठा रहे हैं? मैंने निवेदन किया कि दलाई लामा को जगह देने मात्र से तिब्बत की समस्या हल नहीं होती !

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ अभी भारत ने फैसला किया है कि हम चीन को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में लाने के प्रस्ताव को इस बार फिर से उठाएँगे ! पिछले सात सालों से हम इस प्रश्न को उठा रहे हैं ! लेकिन क्या आज की परिस्थिति में इस प्रस्ताव को हम उठाएँ इस बात की आवश्यकता है ! चीन संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में आना चाहे, मगर जो कुछ हो रहा है हमारे और चीन के बीच में, क्या उसको देखते हुए हमें पहल करना चाहिए चीन को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में जगह देने की ? मैं समझता हूँ कि समय आ गया है कि भारत सरकार संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में चीन को प्रवेश दिलाने के प्रस्ताव को ड्राप कर दे ! अगर दुनिया को कोई भी देश उस सवाल को उठाए तो हम उसका समर्थन कर दें ! यदि हम तिब्बत के सवाल को उठाने को तैयार नहीं तो फिर चीन जो कुछ हमारे साथ कर रहा है उसको देखते हुए चीन को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में प्रवेश दिलाने के लिए पहल क्यों करें ! आखिर, जैसा मैं ने कहा, चीन से मित्रता का यह अर्थ नहीं है कि वह लातें मारते जाएँ और हम उनके चरणों को चूमते जाएँ ! मित्रता आत्म सम्मान के आधार पर हो सकती है ! चीन आक्रमणकारी है, चीन हमारी सीमा पर प्रवेश करने आया है ! हमारे दरवाज़े खटखटा रहे हैं ! और प्रधान मंत्री जी कहते हैं हम सीमा के सम्बन्ध में बात करने को तैयार नहीं हैं ! मैं समझता हूँ हमें अब चीन के सवाल को उठाना नहीं चाहिए ! और मैं इस सदन से अपील करूँगा कि वह मेरे प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करे और यह सिद्ध करे कि शायद कुछ अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कठिनाइयों से भारत सरकार तिब्बत के सवाल को भले ही न उठा सके, मगर भारत की जनता की भावनाएँ तिब्बत की जनता के साथ हैं, दलाई लामा के साथ हैं और इसका एक ही रास्ता है कि हम इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करें !

**Mr. Speaker:** There is an amendment moved to this motion.

**Shri Gohokar:** I beg leave to withdraw my amendment.

*The Amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.*

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

“This House is of opinion that Government should refer the Tibetan issue to the United Nations”.

*The motion was negative.*

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**INDIANS ARRESTED BY CHINESE FORCES**

**S.N.Q. 12. Shri P. C. Boorah:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Chinese forces have arrested 14 Indians belonging to Ladakh recently;
- (b) if so, the action taken in the matter; and
- (c) whether there is any information about the whereabouts of the Head Lamas of Hemis and Phiang Monasteries of Ladhak?

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

- (a) to (c). According to the information received from our Consulate at Lhasa, five Indians are held in custody by the Chinese authorities in Lhasa. It is not clear whether they come from Ladakh. Our Consulate has protested to the Chinese authorities about the arrest of these persons.

We have also received some information about fourteen Ladakhi Lamas being in custody in various prisons in Tibet. But we have received no precise information about them. We have approached the Chinese authorities to permit Muslims from Kashmir as well as Ladakhi Lamas and to contact our consulate in Lhasa and to allow them to return to India if they so wish.

**Shri P. C. Boorah:** May I know whether Government have any information about the number of Indians returning to Ladakh by Lhasa just prior to the starting of the trouble in Tibet? If so, what was the number and how many of them have been permitted to go back home?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We have no definite information. We have some reports about them. I say we have no definite information because people used to go from Ladakh without any formal papers being taken from us-passports. It is an old practice. Two types of Indians went there; the one were the Lamas and they went for study there; the other were Ladakhi Muslims who used to go there for trade. According to our old practice nobody need get the papers and most of them did not. So, we had no record. Subsequently, when we tried to find out we were told that about 400 Lamas from Ladakh were studying in the various monasteries in Tibet and about 124 families of Kashmiris, that is Ladakhi Muslims, were there. We have not verified these figures. The Chinese authorities have raised the point that these people are no longer Indian citizens if ever they were because many of the Kashmiris-Ladakhi Muslims-have been there for a long time. That is a matter on which we are conferring with them.

**Shri P. C. Boorah:** Is it a fact that many of the Lamas and Indian traders while fleeing from Lhasa to Ladakh by the incoming route were machine-gunned by the Chinese forces?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We have had no information about that.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether these 14 Ladakhi Lamas who are in custody of the Chinese authorities in Lhasa are so because of mistaken identity? If so, may I know whether Government have taken any steps so establish their identity so that they might be released?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** There is no question of mistaken identity. It is a question of a person establishing his nationality, not identity. Nationality is normally established by papers, passports etc. Now, they have no papers and passports except such oral or other evidence they might give. Immediately it becomes a little less definite although it might be established. It depends upon the authorities taking a strict view or a flexible view about it. They have said quite definitely that they are Indian nationals from Kashmir. It is true that in the past, sometimes to get over preliminary difficulties they have signed papers which, probably, go against them because they got some things done quickly. That comes up against them now.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Have Government received any definite information either through the Chinese authorities or through our own Consulate in Lhasa about the charges under which these Lamas are being held up in Lhasa and elsewhere?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** What charges! I do not know whom the hon. Member is referring to. I do not know who these persons are who it is alleged are in prison. I have no definite information about them. I cannot even definitely say whether they are there or not. Complaints have reached us from their friends or other people taking interest in them.

We are enquiring.

But the other case is a general case of their nationality; and, at the present moment, I do not suppose it is necessary to have a precise legal charge to put a person in prison.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** The Prime Minister just now said that persons other than the 14 Lamas are held up there. May I know what action the Government of India are taking to secure the release of these persons and whether any charge has been under which they have been held up there? May I also know whether we may expect that they shall be released?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I said it is denied that they are Indian nationals.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** I ask about the 5 persons except the Lamas.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We do not know. I have not got the detailed facts about them.

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):** Sir, the matter has been taken up with the authorities but we have not heard from them. Of these 5 Indians, who are registered with our Consul General and the 3 others are not registered. They are held in custody by the Chinese authorities.

**Shri Vajpayee:** In view of the fact that the MacMohan line does not extend to Ladakh, may I know what steps are being taken to demarcate the border and to liberate the Indian territory that is now occupied by the Chinese?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That would be a different question.

**Shri Vajpayee:** May I submit, the hon. Prime Minister...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Boundary cannot be demarcated here in this question which is only a question of certain persons being taken into custody. Order, order. It may be very important but it cannot be the subject matter of a supplementary question here.

**Shri Vajpayee:** If we give notice of an adjournment motion it is rejected on the ground that it is a continuing matter.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** All that is not relevant here.

**Shri Goray:** Just now the Prime Minister said that there are certain individuals about whose nationality there is some doubt but there are others about whose nationality there is no doubt. We have made representations about these two categories of people and we have not, so far, heard anything from the Chinese authorities. Is it to be taken that the Chinese Government will behave in this pattern always?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Who can say that?

**Shri Goray:** What do we do? We make representations about people about whose nationality we have no doubt. And we make representations about other people also and they do not give us an answer. What do we do?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Well, it is rather difficult for me to answer not on my own behalf but on behalf of other people that is, the Chinese authorities in Tibet. How can I answer on their behalf as to what they might do or might not do? They have done many things which I thoroughly disapprove of.

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**9 September 1959**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **CHINESE MAP SHOWING INDIAN TERRITORY**

**S.N.Q. 14. Shri P. C. Boorah:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have seen the latest wall map of China in which Indian territory is shown as belonging to China;
- (b) whether Government will issue the correct map and draw the attention of the Chinese Government towards the inaccuracies regarding the Indian territory; and
- (c) what is the exact area in terms of mileage shown or claimed by Chinese Government?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) No recent wall map of China has come to the Government's attention.
- (b) Government have drawn the attention of the Chinese authorities to the inaccuracies of their maps.
- (c) This is not known.

**Shri P. C. Boorah:** May I know whether Government are aware of the fact that in spite of the Prime Minister's protest against incursions into our territory and his strong assertion that we are bound by the MacMohan Line and it is firm by agreement, firm by custom, firm by usage and firm by geography, the Chinese Embassy in India in their magazine...

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member is making a speech. What is the question?

**Shri P. C. Boorah:** Are the Chinese Embassy in India in their magazine *New China* publishing these maps for circulation in India itself? If so, do Government propose to have a survey of the boundary or to stick to the MacMohan Line itself?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** The hon. Member is raising a matter which has been referred to in this House many times and will be referred to many more times.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have allowed a full-dress discussion on this.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** In the letter of Mr. Chou En-Lai dated January 23, 1959, it is mentioned that certain border questions as to which side certain border questions as to which side certain areas on the Sino-Indian border belong, were on more than one occasion taken up between the Chinese and the Indian sides through diplomatic channels. Perhaps this was also done when the Sinkiang-Tibet highway was built in 1956. It is mentioned in this letter that they have always been doing patrol duties there. This means that this matter was discussed through diplomatic channels. May I know what is the position now because in our Prime Minister's letter, a specific reply has not been given to them?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am afraid I fail to understand these questions now. There is going to be a discussion on this matter.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** May I know whether the attention of Government has been drawn to press reports saying that more than 39,000 square miles of our territory have been shown in Chinese map as their territory? If so, what action is being proposed to be taken to retake that territory?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not understand all this-going round and over the same thing. How can I answer these questions?

**Shri Taygi:** My hon. Friend has asked a question whether the Chinese Embassy in India are issuing certain maps or not. The Prime Minister has rejected it as if it were no question. I want to know whether they are issuing any maps in India and publicizing them showing our territory as a part of their territory.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** So far as I know, no maps as such have been issued. But sometimes in picture magazines, a kind of small map is shown.

**Mr. Speaker:** Are they published here?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** They may be published; I cannot say. Some may be published here; may not be, some may come from China. This was sometime ago. This is not normally done. This happened once or twice.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** They are in circulation.

**Shri Ranga:** If they have been published in India by the Chinese Embassy here, what steps have been taken to protest against that procedure and that behaviour, in view of that fact that Government have been saying that there has been some kind of a dispute about these areas and these maps were published a long time ago and, therefore, they did not attach much importance to them?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** That is why I have placed a White Paper on the Table of the House showing such steps as we have taken. Till that date, I have given the information there.

**Some Hon. Members:** rose—

**Mr. Speaker:** I have fixed a discussion on this matter.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** May I just say a word?

**Shri Goray:** You have been pleased to fix a date for a discussion of this matter. May I submit that in order to understand the discussion better and to appreciate the whole position, the External Affairs Ministry should place some maps here, showing the places belonging to us and the territories that have been claimed by the Chinese as theirs.

**Shri Tyagi:** The House must be allowed to have the information.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Prime Minister will consider that.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The normal maps of India are well known. The hon. Member presumably wants a reproduction of the Chinese maps. The Chinese maps, so far as I have seen, are small, magazine-cover maps. Am I to make enlargements of them and hand them here?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The disputed areas which they have occupied must be shown.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not think that it will at all be proper for me to go about re-producing such wrong maps to be displayed here. There may be one or two copies available here with some difficulty. If hon. Members like, I shall get one map, small magazine cover size.

**Mr. Speaker:** All right.

**Shri Goray:** There are very many Passes mentioned in the White Paper. For example, there is a pass called Niti Pass. There are so many of them. We do not know where exactly they are.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Would it be proper for our Government to publicise the wrong map in which the Chinese Government have been making claims on our territory?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Next question.

**Acharya Kripalani:** The maps should be Indian maps. We want to know what territories have been occupied by the Chinese up to this time. We do not want Chinese maps. We want our own maps showing the MacMohan line and how many encroachments have taken place.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** I want to say this. I know from my personal experience that the Chinese are very reasonable and if we approach them rightly they would listen to us and accede to our demands. That is my experience. I have been in Tibet also and I know there are many Chinese and Tibetans who want to be friends with each other. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** He should be sent as the Ambassador to China.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** I beg to state that I volunteer myself and I think better arrangements can be made. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Next question, Shri Sharma.

**Some Hon. Members:** *rose*—

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member has made a suggestion and the hon. Minister is physically present here. I leave it at this stage. As he has, of his own accord, placed before the House a White Paper, if he thinks that it will be conducive to better discussion and it is necessary, he will certainly do so. (*Interruptions*). A suggestion has been made and I cannot ask him to produce it here and now.

**Shri Ranga:** Not now; but place it in the Library.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** The Chinese Prime Minister has said that he wants to maintain the *status quo*. We do not know what the *status quo* is. Therefore, it is necessary to have the maps.

**Shri Kasliwal:** May I be permitted to say that there are already Russian maps which are alleged to be copies of the Chinese maps which show portions of our territory as Chinese territory?

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us have no discussion today.

**Shri P. C. Boorah:** One question more, Sir. I am the questioner.



**Shri Ranga:** You have given no directions to the Government, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members go on making speeches. Next question.

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**26 November 1959**

**Answers to Questions**

### **MOTION RE : INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS**

**Shri Dinesh Singh (Banda):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the problem, which we are discussing today, is not merely a problem of a border violation but a much deeper problem of conflict of ideologies. For the first time we have on our borders another big country following an entirely different ideology and this conflict of ideology will not be resolved so easily.

On this vast border of 2,600 miles that we have, we have suddenly seen a new situation. This situation has to be studied deeply. To be able to understand what is really happening there and what is likely to happen there we must try to understand what the motives of the Chinese are on that side.

Many of us here have been told and there are interested parties who want to believe that all this is happening because the Chinese are angry with us for having given asylum to the Dalai Lama or to some Tibetan refugees. That is not the case. It is an over-simplification of the matter and, if I may say so, a rather naïve one. Because, all this trouble has started much before the Dalai Lama ever thought of coming here or any Tibetan refugee came here.

The coming of the Chinese has already raised many problems. They may have come there to claim the territory which they consider to be legitimately their own, or they may have come there to extend their occupation of Tibet, or they may have come there and created this trouble to give some sort of force to their economic reforms. We all know that there has been a considerable leap backward from the leap forward that they are supposed to have taken. Whatever may be the reason, there can be no doubt that in the minds of the Chinese there is a definite feeling of expansionism, and we shall have to learn to live with it.

**Shri. Karni Singhji (Bikaner):** The only language that a communist country understands is that of strength. Unfortunately, our Prime Minister's hand-shake of friendship was misunderstood by them for weakness. If you study the plan of Chinese expansionism, you will see how perfectly it is planned. They first plan their communications and then build their roads. Everything is done methodically and then they strike. They first struck at Tibet and now they go further and strike India. Everybody in this country will I hope now wake up and see that we defend our borders gallantly. The Chinese assurances of autonomy to Tibet and also their make-believe in the theory of Panchsheel lulled India into a false sense of security and I hope that the Prime Minister and everybody will now wake up to the reality and see that no matter what happens we will not make the same mistake again.

The question now is this. Can't a neutral India like us withstand cold war and—God forbid—even a hot war, entirely on our own strength. As a soldier, I would say “yes”. As a practical man, I am not so sure. If the answer of the Prime Minister is “yes” well and good. If the answer is “no”, India may not be quite so strong to face this colossus of China with the 600 and odd million population, all ruthless and armed. Then my answer to that is that we should consider in terms of looking out to find friends who think like us, other countries who are prepared to help us in our time of emergency if a show-down became imminent, with arms, men and material, provided no strings were attached to such aid. I support the Prime Minister's policy of non-alignment and I also believe that India should not go into any power blocs, but as practical men we are going to defend our country. We should not lose our territory just because we are stubbornly following a particular theory or are refusing all help. The practical aspect of this question cannot be denied. While I am subject to correction about the exact number of forces that China has, I may mention the following. I am told that they have anything from 30 lakh to 50 lakh men under arms and approximately a crore of men or more as home guards. As against that, India has an army of approximately 7 lakh to 10 lakhs. Of course, I am again subject to correction about the figure.

**M. S. Aney (Nagpur):** Though more than once the Chinese Premier has referred to our Prime Minister as the author of Panchsheel and described himself as strictly observing the tenets of Panchsheel, the correspondence leaves the reader in no doubt that the writer is not keen in ascertaining the truth about the boundaries and his loyalty to Panchsheel is only some kind of lip service. I am not at all surprised at this. My surprise is that it took the Government

of India so much time, nay, so many years to find it out. Sir, this leads me to another important point. We became an independent nation in the year 1947. In August last year, we have finished twelve years and celebrated the twelfth anniversary of our Indian Independence Day. Soon after our independence, we announced our recognition of the Communist Chinese Government as the de facto government of China, and since then we have been championing the cause of that nation and pressing on the U.N. In all this we have been following the path of justice, equity and international fairness. But we have done something more than that for China. We have recognized China's suzerainty over Tibet, our immediate neighbour in the north. By this recognition, we have in a way invited China to be our next-door neighbour. In doing that we tried to get an assurance from China that this suzerainty over Tibet was not to interfere with the autonomous status of Tibet and its Lamaik Buddhist culture. But we find that the Chinese Government, for reasons best known to them, have occupied Tibet and virtually ended the rule of the Lamas in that State. The hospitality which we have shown to the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet who migrated from Tibet to India has infuriated the Chinese Government and the Chinese people also. The various incidents of aggression on Indian territory in the Himalayas as well as the anti-Indian propaganda of a very virulent nature that is being carried on in China are indicative of an attitude of active hostility of China to India. On reading the notes, I feel convinced that the Government of India never suspected till very recently that there would be such a terrible change in the attitude of China towards India. It treated all symptoms of this change as insignificant. The publication of maps by the Chinese Government showing large tracts of our country as Chinese territory elicited only a mild protest from us. And any explanation of the cock-and-bull story type given by the Chinese Government was thought of by us, for the time being at least, as satisfactory.

As against this conduct of the Chinese Government, our government has tried to be consistent in its attitude towards China. One example of this is that in the map of India and China which has been published and circulated to the Members along with the White Paper, we have shown the whole territory to the north of India beyond the Himalayas as China, omitting all reference to the existence of Tibet. We have taken up this attitude.

Apart from the solicitude we are showing, we are showing to the feelings and susceptibilities of the Chinese nation, there is another mistake which we have committed in all these twelve years of our independence. We were not able to take a proper view of our frontiers from the point of view of our defence. Let me say here that the Defence Minister just now made a statement, and I heard the explanation given by him. I think there is good reason in what he has stated. But notwithstanding that, the remarks which I propose to make still hold good. It is admitted and clearly seen from the white papers that we did not regard our northern frontier as a matter of any concern at all. And that is what he has stated also. A few outposts for patrols in aid of the pilgrims and traders were all that was tough to be necessary. That was probably the arrangement in the British days. And our Independent India simply continued the same arrangement.

I am told—and I speak subject to correction—that the part of Ladakh in occupation of the Pakistan Government bordering on the Chinese borders is well protected. I do not know whether this information is correct or not. But that our border was not at all protected is clear from the white papers themselves.

During the British rule, China had not the courage even to assert its suzerainty over Tibet, much less to invade that territory. Therefore they had never cared to make any effective arrangements for the protection of that border. But independent India, should have been able to foresee the consequences of leaving the border altogether unprotected, particularly in view of the several changes that have been taking place during this period. That means a danger to India. An unprotected border of India means a danger not only to India but to Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim.

Vigilance is the price of liberty, they say. Non-vigilance is likely to endanger liberty itself. In this connection, I do say that the reduction of our military budget by Rs. 25 crores last year is certainly an indication of the fact that our Defence Ministry was not sufficiently strong to meet the menace to India which has arisen by the eradication of Tibet and bringing China closer and making it our next-door neighbour.

**Shri J. B. S. Bist (Almora):** While the initiative now rests with the Chinese, I would call the attention of the Government to the need for a complete reorientation in the border policy. During the British days, the then Government of India was not particularly perturbed about the security of the border for two reasons. Firstly, Tibet formed a kind of buffer state, and secondly they thought that the bleak and inaccessible mountains which separate Tibet and India were the best protection. Despite this, from the administrative point of view, they kept a close watch on border developments.

After independence, our Government, taking into consideration the traditional friendship between the two countries, gave up the concessions it enjoyed in Tibet, and believing in the friendly intentions of the Chinese, did not strengthen its

borders. Thus, while the Chinese, even in the old Dalai Lama regime, were constructing a network of roadways on their side of the border and building up their defence potential, we on our side did not pay any particular or special attention to this area, and proceeded in the ordinary way.

Take my own district of Almora which is lying quite contiguous to our boundary with Tibet. Three passes in that district, namely the Lipulake, Kungri-bingri and Darma, provide access to India. While the Chinese in their part of the border have constructed motorable roads up to Takulakote and Gyanimandi, our villages in the border are still difficult to reach. This not only creates a defence problem, but also hampers the growth of this area whose economy was so far dependent on trade with Tibet. With the establishment of Communist rule in Tibet, unless the economic development of the border people is promoted, the Chinese agents will find good ground for sowing seeds of disaffection.

I may also suggest that since road construction has now essentially become a defence requirement in the border areas, this may be entrusted to the military authorities. We have a plan to construct roadways there, that is, motorable roads, but this work has been taking years and years, and the progress is very slow, and I at least do not know when they will reach any important village on the border.

I would also take this opportunity to inform the Government—possibly they have the information already—that Garbyang is the last village towards the Lipulake pass. It is a flat piece of land which is fit for an airfield. It would be for the military authorities to enquire into this matter and see whether it could be put to any use for any purpose, and I have nothing to say on that; I don't know that the village has a flat stretch of land, and aeroplanes could land there very easily, but it is for the military authorities to see the site and consider whether it is in their interest and in the interest of the nation to use that area.

As revival of trade with Tibet is a remote possibility, Government would have to consider alternative means of livelihood for the people in these areas. Sheep-rearing and wool industry on a scientific basis would be a success, and I think there is a genuine need, for, in these areas, every family is connected with wool; as the hon. Members of this House possibly know, the Pashmina and similar kinds of wool are manufactured by the Bhottas who live on the frontiers and who trade with Tibet. Also, other avenues of livelihood will have to be explored. I would suggest that an economic survey should be carried out, and I think, just as some speakers have remarked before, that this survey will provide the Government with many facilities which they might need; of course, I might say here that Government will have to improve communications, if these facilities are to be enjoyed. The time as come now when these matters cannot be delayed any longer. I think a sound economy and good economy is a good defence.

**Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar):** We give our whole-hearted support for what the Government under the dynamic personality of our Prime Minister have done so far in this matter. But, Sir, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention about the doubt and the distress which the people, particularly those in my part of country, are feeling in one matter, viz., the question of our declaring China's suzerainty over Tibet, which we feel has brought all these troubles for us. If the early history is gone into, it will be found that in 741 A.D. China used to pay tribute to Tibet. In 1244, Tibet was ruled completely independent of China. Of course, there were occasions when supremacy was exercised over one another amongst the Mongolians, Manchurians, Tibetans and the Chinese at different times. Though Tibet was long free from Chinese domination, the rising of the communist Government in China, reversed the situation. The Tibetans fearing the expansionist urge of China, wanted to send missions to England, America, India and Nepal. This the Tibetans could not do for fear of the Chinese. The Indian Government advised the Tibetan Government to send their mission to Peking. The day the Tibetan mission left for Peking, the Chinese liberation army marched into Tibet.

In November, 1949, our Prime Minister declared in a Press conference in England that India recognizes Chinese suzerainty on Tibet. Two days after, the Chinese government declared the liberation of Tibet by 1950. So, the liberation of Tibet has taken place and we have seen the suzerainty in action in the killing of 80,000 Lamas, indoctrination and naming Lord Buddha as a reactionary. Having brought all the trouble in the Tibetan front', the Chinese are now indulging in violation of the Indian border. I may be permitted to mention here, Sir, that the then Chairman Mao Tse Tung, in one of his communications to Shri Ranadive, the then Secretary of the Communist Party of India, wrote that the Chinese liberation forces are always ready to liberate the people of India. This was in the year 1948, and now in the year 1959 we have seen what is going on in our Himalaya borders.



### तिब्बती शरणार्थी

#### 8. श्री भक्त दर्शन:

श्री दी० च० शर्मा:

श्री रामेश्वर टांटिया: क्या प्रधान मंत्री 24 नवम्बर, 1959 के तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 261 के उत्तर के समबन्ध में एक ऐसा विवरण सभा पटल पर रखने की कृपा करेंगे कि जिस में निम्न जानकारी दी गई हो:

- (क) १ नवम्बर, १९५९ के बाद कुल कितने नये तिब्बती शरणार्थियों ने भारत में प्रवेश किया ;
- (ख) उत्तरी सीमा के किन किन दरों से वे भारत में प्रविष्ट हुए ;
- (ग) प्रत्येक दरें से कितनी-कितनी संख्या में वे आये;
- (घ) उन्हें किन स्थानों पर बसाया गया है ; और
- (ङ) उन्हें सहायता देने पर सरकार का व गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं का कुल कितना धन व्यय हो चुका है?

प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू):

- (क) से (ङ) आवश्यक सूचना का ब्योरा सदन की मेज पर रख दिया गया है (देखिये परिशिष्ट 1, अनुबन्ध संख्या 4)

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17 February 1960

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN REFUGEES

#### \* 188. Shrimati Mafida Ahmed:

Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:

Shri P. K. Deo: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have formulated any scheme for rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees, at present lodged in Missamari Camp; and
- (b) if so, the details of the Plan?

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

- (a) and (b). A statement giving the information required is given below:

#### Statement

The scheme is intended to settle 1,000 families of Tibetan refugees on 2,000 acres of land at Bhaluckpung in North-East Frontier Agency and near the foothills of Assam. The total number of settlers is likely to be 1,500. The thick jungles covering the site will be cleared by refugees themselves with the help of bulldozers and tractors. Timber and other material obtained from jungle clearance will be utilized, as far as possible, in the construction of houses for the refugees. Arrangements will be made to provide rations to the settlers for a period of one year at the end of which the first cycle of the crops will be completed and it is hoped that the refugees will become self-sufficient in the matter of food supplies. It is proposed to provide a limited number of livestock for which necessary veterinary aid will also be available. Care has been taken to provide for the medical needs and the education of the refugees. During off-season, when the settlers will be free from agricultural operations, they would receive training in handicrafts and small scale cottage industries.

The total cost of the scheme is estimated to be Rs. 12 lakhs. It is hoped that some of the relief organizations will make donations of (a) food and (b) agricultural implements.

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## AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE ON TIBET

**\*388. Shri H. N. Mukerjee:**

**Shri Prabhat Kar:**

**Shri Raghunath Singh:**

**Shri Rameshwar Tantia:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there is any truth in press reports that a three-day convention of Afro-Asian countries on Tibet is to be held at New Delhi in April 1960;
- (b) if so, who are the sponsors and what are the terms of reference of the said convention; and
- (c) whether Government have given approval to the idea of the convention?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) to (c) In pursuance of the resolution passed at the All India Tibetan Convention held at Calcutta in May, 1959 it is understood that an Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet is proposed to be held in India. The Convention which was due to begin in February 1960 has since been postponed and may be held later in this year. The convention is being organized entirely under non-official initiative and the Government of India are in no way associated with its arrangement, nor are they required to accord their approval to the holding of such a Convention.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** In view of certain widely circulated reports in the Press about a leading public figure, Shri Jaya Prakash Narain, contacting representatives of African and Asian States and also the Prime Minister for interview, may I know whether the Prime Minister and his Government have made it clear to the sponsors like Shri Jaya Prakash Narain that such activities are not approved by the Government of this country?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** It is true that Shri Jaya Prakash Narain came to see me twice, I think, about this and I told him that I did not wish to come in his way, but we were not happy about this development.

**Shri Chintamani Panigrahi:** May I know whether the Prime Minister is aware that after meeting him, Shri Jaya Prakash Narain also met the various ambassadors now residing in India, so far as the Afro-Asian countries are concerned, and if so, whether the Prime Minister is aware that the Afro-Asian countries were influenced by Shri Jaya Prakash Narain to co-operate in holding this conference in India?

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is, whether he has been taking further steps in this regard.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I?

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Jaya Prakash Narain.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am not aware of what steps he has taken. I think it is true that he met some ambassadors of the Afro-Asian countries here. Also, I believe, he sent some representatives to their countries to meet people there.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** I presume an assurance has been given that visas will be given to the foreign delegates who will be attending this conference.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** In such cases, no general assurance is ever given. The most that we can say is that each case should be examined in respect of each applicant. There may be, of course, a general refusal when necessity arises, but generally we consider the applications for visas on an individual basis.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** May I know whether this organization is sponsored by any political party of India?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know. So far as I know, it is an organization *sui generis*. A political party may support it, but it is a different matter. I am not sufficiently acquainted with this organization to be able to give a proper answer really.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** There are some persons who belong neither to Asia nor to Africa, but who have come as visitors to this country and they overstay here. When asked, they say that they work for Tibetan refugees. How do they overstay here?

**Mr. Speaker:** What has that to do with this conference?

**Shri P. R. Patel:** The people of different countries of Asia and Africa are agitated over the question of Tibet. So, if they meet here, in India, why should not the Government have a friendly attitude towards that conference?

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is, why the Government of India should not have a friendly attitude towards this conference which is intended to settle the Tibetan question here.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We have a friendly attitude to any conference which intends to do that or likely to do that. What the function of this conference is, it is not for me to say. But the results of their efforts are not likely to settle any question.

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**4 March 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETANS IN DARJEELING**

**\*621. Shri C. K. Bhattacharya:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there has been an influx of a large number of Tibetans in different disguises in various parts of Darjeeling;
- (b) whether some Tibetans have purchased houses at Darjeeling; and
- (c) whether any steps have been taken to find out about the identity of these Tibetans?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) No case of Tibetans arriving in disguise in the Darjeeling District has come to the notice of the Government;
- (b) No, Sir, not in Darjeeling but 19 have bought houses in Kalimpong.
- (c) All Tibetans are closely interrogated on their arrival in the district and thereafter registered with the local authorities

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**4 March 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TREASURES OF DALAI LAMA**

**\*634. Shri U. C. Patnaik:**

**Shri A. M. Tariq:**

**Shrimati Mafida Ahmed:**

**Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:**

**Shri Raghunath Singh:**

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:**

**Shri Hem Barua:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a news item in the *Statesman* dated the 17<sup>th</sup> February, 1960 to the effect that the Dalai Lama brought along with him into India large quantities of gold and silver and other valuables has come to the notice of Government;
- (b) if so, how much; and
- (c) whether the permission of Government of India was taken?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) to (c). Yes Sir. A statement on this subject has already been made in the House.

At the end of 1950, the Dalai Lama, under an arrangement with the Sikkim Durbar, sent a number of packages for safe custody. These packages were kept by the Sikkim Durbar. The question of asking the permission of the Government of India did not arise.

In the December 1959, the Dalai Lama wished to send these packages to Calcutta. On a request being made for arrangements for their transport and security, the West Bengal Government provided an escort and the packages were sent to Calcutta.

The Government of India have no knowledge of the exact value of the treasure. But it has been stated to be about eighty lakhs of rupees.

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### तिब्बत में भारतीय व्यापारी

**1477. श्री भक्त दर्शन:** क्या प्रधान मंत्री 7 दिसम्बर 1959 के अतारंकित प्रश्न संख्या 1043 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या उत्तर प्रदेश के वे सब भारतीय व्यापारी जो १९५९ के मौसम में तिब्बत गये थे वापस आ गये हैं;
- (ख) यदि हां, तो उनकी कुल संख्या कितनी थी; और
- (ग) वे किन किन दरों से वापस आये और प्रत्येक दर से कितने व्यक्ति वापस आये?

**प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू):** (क) और (ख) 1959 में 1796 साधारण (कस्टमरी) और 1132 छोटे मोटे (पैटी) व्यापारी लोग उत्तर प्रदेश से तिब्बत गए थे, इनमें से तीन साधारण व्यापारियों को छोड़ कर जिनके बारे में यह खबर है कि प्रकृतिक कारणों से तिब्बत में मर गए, बाकी सभी भारत वापस आ गए हैं

(ग) साधारण और छोटे मोटे व्यापारियों तथा उन दरों की संख्या, जिनसे होकर वे लोग वापस आए इस प्रकार है:

दरों का नाम	व्यापारियों की संख्या
लिपु लेख दर्रा	640
लिम्पिया दर्रा	70
उन्ताधुरा दर्रा	925
दारमा दर्रा	524
माना दर्रा	77
निति दर्रा	682
झेलुखागा	7
	—
	2925

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### TAX ON GOLD AND BULLION BROUGHT BY DALAI LAMA

**1482. Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria:**

**Shri S. A. Mehdi:**

**Shri Yajnik:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) how much tax was levied on the gold and bullion brought by Dalai Lama from Tibet to India; and
- (b) if not, the reasons therefore?

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

- (a) and (b). Gold imported from Tibet is not liable to duty and as levy of duty on import of silver coins etc. has been temporarily waived in the case of bonafide Tibetan refugees coming into India, no duty was chargeable from the Dalai Lama.

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## NON-TIBETAN REFUGEES FROM TIBET

\*1184. Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:

Shri A. M. Tariq:

Shri Bakht Darshan: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 29 on the 16<sup>th</sup> November, 1959 and state:

- (a) whether the investigation conducted regarding the identity and antecedents of the 40 non-Tibetans found amongst the refugees from Tibet has been completed; and
- (b) if so, the result thereof?

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

- (a) and (b). Yes; about fifty persons have been identified as of Chinese origin.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know whether any restrictions have been placed upon their movement; if so, the nature of those restrictions?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, the first obvious restriction was that they were kept more or less in custody to know what they are. At present all these Tibetan refugees have been kept in camps, they do not normally wander about all over India. Some of these Chinese people are in Calcutta, I understand, but they have to keep in touch with us or we have to keep in touch with them. It is intended, so far as this particular lot is concerned, to gradually send them out of India.

श्री अ०म० तारिक: मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो लोग पकड़े गये और उन से पूछताछ की गई तो क्या उससे हुकूमत का यह विचार हुआ कि कुछ लोग कुमिन्तांग गवर्मेन्ट को रिप्रेजेंट करते हैं और वहाँ के जासूस हैं ।

श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू: यह तो एक ऐसा मामला है कि मेरे लिए इन सवालों का जवाब देना मुनासिब नहीं मालूम होता । बहुत सी बातें मालूम हुई, कहीं कहीं कुछ मालूम हुआ लेकिन अब एक दो टुकड़ों का जवाब दे दूँ तो ठीक नहीं होगा ।

श्री भक्त दर्शन: श्रीमान क्या इस बात का पता लगाया गया है कि आखिर इन लोगों का तिब्बतियों के साथ आने में उद्देश्य क्या था?

श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू: यह वहीं सवाल हो गया । अब अलग अलग आदमियों के अलग अलग उद्देश्य होते हैं ।

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9 March 1960

Written Answers to Questions

## DALAI LAMA

1087. Shri Raghunath Singh:

Shri Chintamoni Panigrahi:

Shri Aurobindo Ghosal: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the amount spent on Dalai Lama and his party for their maintenance in 1959 and for his tour program in India during January-February, 1960?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): A sum of Rs. 4,41,151.46 (Rs. Four lakhs forty-one thousand one hundred fifty one and forty six paise) has been spent on the maintenance of the Dalai Lama and his party from April to December, 1959.

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9 March 1960

Written Answers to Questions

## DALAI LAMA

\*735. Shri P. C. Borooah:

Shri P. K. Deo:

Shri S. A. Mehdi:

**Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the residence of Dalai Lama is going to be shifted from Mussoorie to Dharamsala in Punjab;
- (b) if so, when; and
- (c) the reasons for such decision?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) to (c). The Dalai Lama's present accommodation at Mussoorie had to be arranged at very short notice and has always been regarded as temporary. Since the Dalai Lama's arrival in India, the Government have been considering the question of a more permanent arrangement for him and it has now been possible to find suitable accommodation at Dharamsala. It is expected that the Dalai Lama will move into his new residence in Dharamsala in April this year.

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**4 April 1960**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*1267. Shri P. G. Deb:**

**Shri Assar:**

**Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria:**

**Shri Vajpayee:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that five Tibetan refugees are reported to have died while in transit by rail from Missamari camp to Pathankot on the way to Dharamsala;
- (b) whether it is also a fact that thirty other Tibetans have been found missing at the end of the journey; and
- (c) if so, the details of the incident?

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

- (a) Four infants died during the train journey from Missamari to Pathankot. They had been in a poor state of health on arrival from Tibet.
- (b) and (c). No. All the refugee passengers have been accounted for. Nine refugees had run away from the Missamari Station before the train left but subsequently they returned to the Missamari Camp.

**Shri P. G. Deb:** May I know how many Tibetan refugees have been given permission so far to visit religious places in India?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** What has that to do with this?

**Shri Vajpayee:** May I know if any medical arrangements were made on the train carrying the refugees to Dharamsala?

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** At every junction and important station, qualified railway doctors attended the passengers of the train on requisition by the Camp Commander.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** May I know whether it was ascertained why nine of the refugees ran away from the Missamari camp, and why it was that they returned later?

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** The reason is not known as yet, but they have come back to the camp.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether it is a fact that the refugees in the Missamari camp do not want to leave for work in other places, and that is the reason why these nine refugees returned?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He does not know what the reason was. How can he confirm or deny it?

**Shri Hem Barua:** But that it is a fact; they were sent to work and they have come back.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member wants to give some information. That has been received by the hon. Minister.

**Shri Vajpayee:** Is it a fact that no interpreter accompanied the refugees on the train.

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** Notice.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** This has nothing to do with the death or the flight of the refugees.

**Shri Vajpayee:** May I make a sub-mission? As there was no interpreter on the train, they could not inform the railway authorities that some of their friends were seriously ill. It was for the Government to make arrangements for the interpreters.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** What has that to do with this particular question?

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** No medical help was asked in respect of the sick children.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He is not asking for medical help, now he is asking for interpreters, whether interpreters accompanied that party.

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** They must have been there.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether the refugees that were sent from the Missamari camp to Pathankot were sent for medical check-up before they were asked to undertake the journey?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** They were not being sent for military operations.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know the number of refugees who have been taken to Dharamsala from Missamari, and whether the facilities for providing work to them have been arranged?

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** Seven hundred and fifty-four refugees were brought by the train to Pathankot.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** He has not answered the latter part of the question, whether facilities for providing work to them have been arranged.

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** Yes, it was arranged in consultation with the Home Ministry.

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**4 April 1960**

**Written Answers for Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**1749. Shrimati Manjula Devi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 188 on the 17<sup>th</sup> February, 1960 regarding Government's scheme to settle 1,000 families of Tibetan refugees on land at Bhaluckpung in NEFA and state:

- (a) how far is the land at Bhaluckpung from the Chinese occupied Indian territory; and
- (b) whether this area falls within the demarcated land as shown in Chinese map?

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

- (a) Bhaluckpung is about 12 days march from the nearest point on the Indo-Chinese border. It is in fact on the edge of the Assam Plains and is not far from Missamari.
- (b) The place is only just within the area claimed by the Chinese in their maps.

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**1 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INDIANS DETAINED IN TIBET**

**\*11. Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 5 on the 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1960 and state the extent of success achieved in getting the release of about twenty three Indian citizens or Indian protected persons who are still detained by the Chinese authorities in Tibet?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):** According to our information, of the 23 persons arrested earlier, 19 still continue to be under detention. It is possible that some of them may have been released but authentic information in this respect is not available. Since then 11 Indian nationals have been arrested. Of these 9 are Kashmiri Muslims and 2 are Indian protected persons; of the Kashmiri Muslims, 2 were sentenced to 15 years imprisonment and one to 11 years imprisonment.

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**1 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**EXPENDITURE ON DALAI LAMA AND TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**37. Shri Chinatamoni Panigrahi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the amount of money which has been spent so far on Dalai Lama and his party in India; and
- (b) the amount of money which has been spent so far for the rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees in the different camps in India?

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

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

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**4 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBET LADAKH BORDER**

**261. Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:**

**Sardar Iqbal Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

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

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

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

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**4 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**EXPENDITURE ON ACCOMMODATION FOR DALAI LAMA**

**270. Shri Chintamoni Panigrahi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state the amount of money which has been spent in providing accommodation to Dalai Lama and party at Dharamsala?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** The amounts spent on accommodation are:-

Rs. 57770 — Non-recurring; and  
Rs. 6400 — Per annum-recurring.

The latter figure is provisional.

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**9 August 1960**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

**REHABILITATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*241. Shri Chintamoni Panigrahi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Dalai Lama has offered some money for the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees in India out of his treasures which came to Calcutta from Sikkim; and
- (b) if so, whether he had any correspondence with the Dalai Lama to this effect?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) As far as we know, the Dalai Lama has distributed over Rs. 50,000 among Tibetan refugees India. He has also offered Rs. 50,000 towards the establishment of a school for Tibetan children.
- (b) No, Sir.

**Shri Chintamoni Panigrahi:** May I know whether Government have been able to assess the actual amount of the treasures which is now in the name of Dalai Lama; if so, may I know how much of these treasures has been sold out and how much money he has drawn from this amount?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** No, Sir. We have not got exact figures, but speaking from memory, that came to him is somewhere between Rs. 80 lakhs and Rs. 1 crore. Much of it I understand is invested.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** May I know the amount which is spent monthly on the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** That, Sir, has been stated in answer to a number of questions.

**Mr. Speaker:** That does not arise out of this.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether it is a fact that of late there has been an increase in the inflow of Tibetan refugees to this country because China has kept the Tibetan border open, even though the inflow is strictly restricted. If so, may I know whether it is not a fact that it is going to affect adversely our economy? If the answer is in the affirmative, may I know whether our Government is going to ban or seal the border so that there is no more inflow of refugees?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** There has been an increased inflow of refugees from Tibet and, to some extent, they continue coming in small groups. I think their total number now is over 20,000.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** May I know whether any help, international or national, officially or non-officially, was received by India for these refugees?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Yes, sir. So far as we are concerned, the responsibility for rehabilitating these refugees has been undertaken by the Government of India completely. We have asked for no help. But, as a matter of fact, we have received help from two or three countries, for instance, from New Zealand, from Australia and U.S.A. This money that they have sent we are utilizing not in general help but for specific schemes for rehabilitation.

**Shri Hem Raj:** May I know whether these refugees will be given Indian citizenship rights or not?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** This question does not arise; they have neither asked for it nor have we considered it.

**Shri Hem Raj:** There are certain refugees who are just on the border line. They have some lands on the Indian soil and some on the Tibetan side. Will those persons who have certain lands on the Indian soil be treated as Indian citizens?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** That is a question for individual consideration.

**Shri Hem Raj:** May I know whether it is fact that the West Bengal State Government has banned the border migration of refugees into the district of Darjeeling because there is the problem of law and order; if so, how far it is true?

**Mr. Speaker:** That does not arise out of this question. We are here dealing with Dalai Lama's expenditure.

**Shri Jaipal Singh:** May I know whether the Government is completely satisfied that no fifth-columnists are coming in the guise of refugees?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I did not follow the question.

**Mr. Speaker:** He wants to know whether a number of spies are coming in the form of refugees?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** They do not carry papers stating the fact. The result is that we try to screen them to the best of our ability.





### PRESS INTERVIEW WITH DALAI LAMA

**\*244. Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that journalists are not allowed to interview the Dalai Lama or other important Tibetans except through official interpreters; and
- (b) what is the procedure which has to be allowed before an interview can be arranged with the Dalai Lama and the other Tibetans?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) Any person including journalists desirous of interviewing the Dalai Lama may seek an appointment with him. The Dalai Lama alone decides whether to grant or refuse the request. During interviews, the Dalai Lama uses an interpreter, as his knowledge of languages other than Tibetan is not adequate enough to conduct interviews without the interpreter.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** May I know if the request for interviews with the Dalai Lama can be made directly to him or whether it has to be made through some other channel?

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:** It is done through the Dalai Lama's Secretary.

**Shri Ansar Harvani:** Is the Government aware that certain American papers have published certain faked interviews with the Dalai Lama?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I do not know, Sir. It might have been done; I do not know.

**Mr. Speaker:** If all are allowed to talk to him, what is the objection?

**Shri Hem Barua:** Ma I know whether it is not a fact that the Dalai Lama is insisting on isolation and, if so, whether this isolation is due to spiritual reasons or political reasons? He does not want to give interviews.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know whether he is insisting on isolation or what the reasons may be.

**Shri Hem Barua:** He has refused interviews.

**Shri Punnoose:** When the Dalai Lama wants to give an interview, do the Government give him an interpreter or does he have his own interpreter?

**Mr. Speaker:** Is the interpreter that the Dalai Lama uses is the Government interpreter or his own?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Both, Sir. I mean to say, either. The Government have an interpreter. Indeed to deal with him we have an interpreter there, a competent person. He is a Tibetan himself in Government service; and the Dalai Lama has his own personal interpreter. Sometimes one is used and sometimes the other.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** May I know if at any time any journalist has been prevented from meeting the Dalai Lama, Indian or foreign journalist?

**Mr. Speaker:** By the Government?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** Yes.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Not that I know of. Right at the beginning, that is, over a year ago, when he had just come, there were some limitations. Of course, there were special circumstances, but then, I am not aware of anyone being prevented.



**12 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBETANS IN SIKKIM**

**\*355. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:**

**Shri P. G. Deb:**

**Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria:**

**Shri Rameshwar Tantia:**

**Shri Achar:** Will the **Prime Minister** be please to state:

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

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

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

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**12 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**INDIANS TRADERS IN TIBET**

**691. Shri Hem Raj:**

**Shri Rameshwar Tantia:**

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

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

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

- (a) According to information so far available 358 traders had left for Tibet from different routes of Sikkim, U.P, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir during the months of May, June and July, 1960.
- (b) As would be evident from White Papers on relations with China, the Government of India have repeatedly impressed on the Chinese authorities for the need to respect the provisions of 1954 Agreement which envisages that customary traders will be afforded due protection and be given necessary facilities to pursue their trade and repatriate their earnings.

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**18 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**INDIANS IN TIBET**

**\*528. Shri P. G. Deb:**

**Shri J. B. S. Bist:**

**Shri S.A. Mehdi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government has seen the statement of eight Ladakhis as reported in the Statesman of the 19<sup>th</sup> July, 1960 that Indian nationals in Tibet are in concentration camps for 'brain washing'; and
- (b) if so, the action taken in the matter?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) Yes Sir.
- (b) Representations have been made both at Peking and Delhi but no satisfactory reply has been received so far from the Chinese Government; nor is there reported amelioration of their difficulties.

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**18 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **LADAKHIS IN TIBET**

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

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** According to information available with us, only 5 families of Ladakhi Muslims, consisting of 25 members have returned to India. Besides, about 100 Ladakhis, which include some Muslims, are reported to be held up at Shigatse.

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**25 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **DESTRUCTION OF TOMB OF ZORAWAR SINGH IN TIBET**

**\*786. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether it is fact that the Chinese troops have destroyed the tomb of the Dogra General Zorawar Singh, conqueror of Ladakh at Taklakot, near Mansarovar?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):** Government is not in a position to confirm or deny the reports that Chinese troops have destroyed the tomb of General Zorawar Singh.

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**25 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INDIAN TRADE AGENCY BUILDING IN GYANTSE**

**\*789. Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:**  
**Shri Rameshwar Tantia:**  
**Sardar Iqbal Singh:**

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question no. 637 on the 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1960 and state:

- (a) whether discussions and correspondence with Chinese Government regarding the construction of Indian Trade Agency building in Gyantse, Tibet, have concluded; and
- (b) if so, the result thereof?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) and (b). No Sir. We are still negotiating with the Chinese authorities for the conclusion of a lease deed for the land. It is proposed to start construction of the Agency building after the lease is concluded.

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**25 August 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*793. Shri Raghunath Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Tibetan refugees have been employed to work on Kargil-Leh Road in Ladakh?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):** Yes, Sir. About 700 Tibetan refugees are employed on the Kargil-Leh Road.

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**INDIAN MERCHANTS IN TIBET**

**\*795. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Indian merchants whose stocks are locked up in their trade establishments in Tibet;
- (b) the approximate value of their stock and immovable properties owned by them in Tibet; and
- (c) what action has been or is being taken by Government for providing facilities to them for the disposal of their stocks, assets and immovable properties?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) and (b). Latest statistics in this regard are not available with the Government.
- (b) Since these facilities are required in the Tibet region of China, it is mainly for the Chinese authorities to render official assistance in this respect. The Government of India have represented to the Chinese Government but our attempts have so far secured no amelioration of the difficulties of our traders.

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**AFRO-ASIAN CONVENTION REGARDING TIBETAN ISSUE IN U.N.O.**

**\*366. Shri Goray:**

**Shri P. K. Deo:**

**Shri Rameshwar Tantia:**

**Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:**

**Shri Hem Barua:**

**Shri A. M. Tariq:**

**Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have received a memorandum from the Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet recently held in New Delhi requesting the Government of India to make a move to place the Tibetan issue on the agenda of the current session of the U.N. General Assembly;
- (b) if so, Government's reaction thereto; and
- (c) the stand taken by India in the United Nations on the question of Tibet?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) and (b). No note or memorandum was received from the Afro-Asian Council, but a letter was received from a member of the Council. The Government of India were, however, of opinion that they should not support the proposal made therein.
- (c) This question has not yet come up for discussion in the General Assembly.

**Shri Goray:** I would like to know, when this question comes up in the United Nations what will be our directive to our representatives there.

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** It will depend upon the wording of the draft resolution. If we think we could support it, we will support it. Otherwise we will have to take whatever action is appropriate; the delegation is asked to consult the Government of India regarding the final decision.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** May I know if the International Commission of Jurists submitted a report saying that there has been a clear case of genocide and violation of human rights in Tibet; and, if so, what action Government propose to take on that report, and how do they propose to utilize that report in the United Nations?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** The international organisation of jurists that the hon. Member was referring to is not a governmental body...

**Shri P. K. Deo:** It is not.

**Shirmati Lakshmi Menon:** Therefore, what action could Government take on the recommendations of a non-governmental organisation?

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14 November 1960

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN REFUGEES

**\*39. Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri:**

**Shri Subiman Ghose:**

**Shri Hem Barua:**

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:**

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:**

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that about 600 Tibetans fled recently with their flocks of sheep numbering about 1500 from the Chinese-occupied area of Ladakh into Indian territory;
- (b) if so, full facts about the matter; and
- (c) the steps taken by the Government in connection with these Tibetan refugees?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) and (b) The total number of refugees who have entered Ladakh from Tibet between March-April, 1959 and September, 1960 is 648. Most of them have brought their livestock with them.
- (c) Some of them have found employment on road construction work in Ladakh. Others have been moved away from the border and settled with their livestock on land in Ladakh itself.

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14 November 1960

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN REFUGEES

**4. Shri Panigrahi:**

**Shri Hem Raj:**

**Shri Madhusudan Rao:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the amount of money which has been spent up to date on Dalai Lama and his party in India;
- (b) the amount of money which has been spent up to date for the rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees in the different camps in India; and
- (c) the total number of Tibetan refugees who have left the camps by now?

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

- (a) Rs. 5,80,368 has been spent on the Dalai Lama and his party upto the end of September, 1960.
- (b) Rs. 51,87,196 has been spent on the relief and rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees.
- (c) 17,012 Tibetan refugees have left Transit Camps for employment purposes.

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14 November 1960

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN REFUGEE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION, MUSSOORIE

**6. Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred question no. 1751 on the 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1960 and state:

- (a) the progress made by the Tibetan Refugees Educational Institution set up at Mussoorie; and
- (b) whether it is sufficient to meet their needs?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:**

- (a) and (b). From 50, a few months ago the number of Tibetan students in the School has increased to 252.

## तिब्बती शरणार्थी

श्री भक्त दर्शन:

श्री प्र० गं० देव:

श्री हरिश्चन्द्र माथुर:

श्री प्र० के० देव:

श्री अजित सिंह सरहदी:

श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी:

21 श्री हेम राज:

श्री वोडयार:

श्री खीमजी:

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह:

श्री डामर:

श्री मधुसूदन राव:

श्री कोरटकर:

डा. राम सुभग सिंह: क्या प्रधानमंत्री एक ऐसा विवरण रखने की कृपा करेंगे जिसमें निम्नलिखित बातें बताई गई हो:

- (क) १ जून १९६० से अब तक कितने तिब्बतियों ने भारत में शरण ली है;
- (ख) कितने तिब्बती प्रतिमास उत्तरी सीमा पर स्थित किन-किन दरों से होकर भारत आये;
- (ग) कितने तिब्बती किन किन दरों से होकर अब तक तिब्बत वापस जा चुके हैं;
- (घ) तिब्बती शरणार्थी कहां कहां रखे गये हैं और प्रत्येक स्थान पर उनकी संख्या कितनी हैं;
- (ङ.) तिब्बत में विधि तथा व्यवस्था बिगड़ने के पश्चात अब तक कुल कितने तिब्बतियों ने भारत में शरण ली है; और
- (च) इनमें से कितने तिब्बतीयों को अब तक फिर से बसाये जा चुके हैं?

प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू): (क) 1 जून से 15 अक्तूबर 1960 तक 7654 तिब्बती लोगों ने भारत में शरण ली है ।

(ख)	जून	जुलाई	अगस्त	सितम्बर	अक्तूबर (15 तारीख तक)
नेफा	380	120	205	247	52
उत्तर प्रदेश	161	347	212	130	—
लद्दाख	22	73	73	79	10
हिमाचल प्रदेश	604	386	—	4	31
पंजाब	427	—	—	—	—
सिक्किम	435	53	102	3325	76

जिन जिन दरों से उन्होंने प्रवेश किया है, उनके नाम इस प्रकार हैं:

नेफा	कारपोतसांग, ल्हाला, तुलुंग, निलाकाला ।
उत्तर प्रदेश	लिपलेख, लिम्पिया, नेलंग ।



लद्दाख	जराला, चारदिंगला, छांगला ।
सिक्किम	नथुला, जेलेपला, कॉंगराला, डोंगक्याला, थांकारला ।
हिमाचल प्रदेश	शिपकिला, नेसांग ।

यह कहना संभव नहीं है कि प्रत्येक दर्रा से होकर आने वाले शरणार्थियों की संख्या कितनी कितनी है ।

(ग) जो तिब्बती शरणार्थी तिब्बत को वापस चले गये हैं, उनकी संख्या के बारे में कोई सूचना सुलभ नहीं हैं ।

(घ) फिलहाल तिब्बती शरणार्थी इस प्रकार बंटे हुये हैं:

पंजाब	2548
हिमाचल प्रदेश	1113
सिक्किम	4221
पश्चिम बंगाल	3383
नेफा	1558
जम्मू और कश्मीर	800
उत्तर प्रदेश	700
बिहार	631
लद्दाख	1325

(ड.) मार्च, 1959 से अक्टूबर, 1960 तक 24,480 तिब्बती भारत में आये हैं ।

(च) भालुकपुंग, नेफा में लगभग 1000 शरणार्थी बसाये जा रहे हैं । 3000 और शरणार्थी मैसूर राज्य की भूमि पर बसाये जायेगे ! शेष सड़क निर्माण, जंगलात और दस्तकारी का काम कर रहे हैं ।

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**14 November 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**51. Shri Daljit Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state the number of Tibetan refugees who entered Punjab and Himachal Pradesh during April-October, 1960?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The number of Tibetan refugees who entered the Punjab and the Himachal Pradesh during April to October, 1960, are as follows:-

<b>Months</b>	<b>Punjab</b>	<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>
April, 60	Nil	Nil
May, 60	Nil	145
June, 60	427	604
July, 60	Nil	386
August, 60	Nil	Nil
September, 60	Nil	4
October, 60	Nil	31

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17 November 1960

Written Answers to Questions

### CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR TIBETAN

**301. Shri Hem Raj:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of properties purchased by Tibetans in Punjab during 1960 and the value thereof; and
- (b) whether those Tibetans have obtained the citizenship rights in India?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:**

- (a) No immoveable property has been purchased by any Tibetan in the Punjab during 1960.
- (b) No Tibetan refugee has been granted Indian citizenship so far.

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22 November 1960

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN REFUGEES

**\*338. Shri Bishwanath Roy:**

**Shrimati Renuka Ray:**

**Shri Hem Barua:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Tibetan refugees have begun to come to India from Nepal through Nautanwa and Sunauli, the border towns in district Gorakhpur (U.P);
- (b) if so, whether many of them are suspected to be spies; and
- (c) whether proper arrangements have been made for strict watch over them?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) 474 refugees have entered India through this route during the period February-October, 1960.
- (b) No, Sir.
- (c) Yes, Sir.

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25 November 1960

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN REFUGEES

**779. Shri Chintamani Panigrahi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question no.490 on the 18<sup>th</sup> August, 1960 and state:

- (a) whether the proposal to allot agricultural land to the Tibetan refugees has been finalized by now;
- (b) the acres of land which are proposed to be allotted to each Tibetan refugee; and
- (c) the number of Tibetan refugees who have expressed their willingness to settle permanently in India?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:**

- (a) to (c). It is proposed to settle 500 Tibetan refugees on land in Bhalukpung in NEFA, and 3000 in Periyapatna Taluk in Mysore State. The refugees have already arrived at Bhalukpung. There 5 acres of land will be allotted to each family in Bhalukpung. In Mysore 5 acres of land will be provided to each family of five. The refugees will arrive at Mysore early in December. There is also a proposal to settle about 1200 Tibetan refugees on land in Ladakh. Details of this scheme are being worked out.

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30 November 1960

Written Answers to Questions

### CHINESE ARRESTED IN GANGTOK

**594. Shri Rajendra Singh:**

**Shri P. G. Deb:**

**Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri:**

**Shri S.A. Mehdi:**

**Shri Amjad Ali:**

**Shri Mohan Swarup:**

**Shri P. K. Deo:** Will the **Prime Minister** be please to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a Chinese army officer has been taken under custody in Gangtok;
- (b) if so, whether he has been interrogated by the Indian intelligence; and
- (c) what are the findings so far?

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) and (c). Do not arise.

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**30 November 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### ग्यान्तसे में भारतीय व्यापार एजेंसी का भवन

श्री भक्त दर्शन

**\*595 श्री राम कृष्ण गुप्त:**

श्री दी. चं. शर्मा: क्या प्रधानमंत्री 25 अगस्त 1960 के तारांतिक प्रश्न संख्या 789 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि ग्यान्तसे (तिब्बत) में भारतीय व्यापार एजेंसी का भवन बनाने के बारे में चर्चा तथा पत्र व्यवहार का क्या परिणाम निकला है? वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री का सभा-सचिव (श्री सादत अली खां): पट्टे की शर्तों पर बातचीत समाप्त हो गई है! क्षेत्र की चहार दीवारी का निर्णय हो जाने के बाद, पट्टेनामे पर हस्ताक्षर किये जायेंगे और निर्माण का काम शुरू कर दिया जायेगा ।

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**30 November 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### TIBETAN REFUGEES IN BHUTAN

**\*597. Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:**

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:**

**Shri Hem Barua:**

**Shri Tangamani:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Bhutan Government is pressing the Government of India to take over 3 to 4 thousand Tibetans who are in Bhutan; and
- (b) what is the Government of India's reaction?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) and (b). The Government of Bhutan informed us some time ago that because of their limited resources they would find it difficult to undertake the resettlement of any large numbers of Tibetan refugees in Bhutan. There are at present only about 1800 refugees in Bhutan.

The Government of Bhutan have however offered employment for about 3000 refugees on road construction projects in Bhutan which would take a few years to be completed. The Government of India have agreed to give financial assistance towards their maintenance.

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**30 November 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### TRADE WITH CHINA

**\*598. Shri Indrajit Gupta:**

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:**

**Shri P. G. Deb:**

**Shri Wodeyar:** Will the **Minister of Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

- (a) the value of exports and imports between India and China during the first half of 1960; and
- (b) whether there is any proposal to renew the India-China Trade Agreement?

**The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Satish Chandra):**

- (a) Exports to China is Rs. 440 lakhs and imports from China Rs. 197 lakhs.
- (b) None at present.

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**5 December 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INDIANS IN TIBET**

**1304. Shri Daljit Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state the number of Indian Nationals in Tibet at present?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** According to reports available with Government, about 200 Indian nationals are still residing in Tibet.

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**8 December 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **JAMMING OF RADIO BROADCAST BY CHINA**

**\*797. Shri P. G. Deb:**

**Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria:**

**Shri S.A. Mehdi:** Will the **Minister of Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether powerful radio stations of the Chinese Government all over the Himalayas are jamming radio broadcasts of India; and
- (b) if so, the steps taken to counteract the same?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar):**

- (a) and (b). In July last, reports were received to the effect that Cantonese and Kuoyo broadcasts of All India Radio were not audible in China due to strong interference caused apparently by jamming. The origin of these disturbances has not been precisely ascertained. It is possible to take steps to clear interference only when the origin has been located. We have recently changed the frequencies of our Cantonese and Kuoyo broadcasts. No reports of disturbances have of late been received, however, inquiries are being made.

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**15 December 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **REST HOUSE FOR TIBETANS IN NEW DELHI**

**1857. Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:** Will the Minister of **Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs** be pleased to state the nature of progress made so far in planning of the construction of the double-storeyed rest house for Tibetans at Bela Road in New Delhi?

**The Deputy Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (Dr. M. M. Das):** The extent of the progress is as follows:

- (i) 75 percent of the work on the construction of the 16 living rooms (8 in the ground floor and 8 in the first floor), Library, Reading room with lavatories and Kitchen has been finished.
- (ii) 80 percent of the work on the foundations and the plinth of Sabha Mandap, 20 living rooms, 10 in the ground floor and 10 in the first floor, two halls for the Sarai with necessary lavatories and kitchen has been finished.
- (iii) Tenders have been received for the construction of the superstructure of portion of the building at the above. There are under scrutiny.

- (iv) The work on sanitary installations has also been taken up.

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**15 December 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### तिब्बत में भारतीय सहित्य

1898. श्री पद्म देव: क्या वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान और सांस्कृतिक कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या उन्हें मालूम है कि तिब्बत के विभिन्न पुस्तकालयों में भारतीय साहित्य की अमूल्य कृतियां तिब्बती लिपि में पड़ी हुई हैं;
- (ख) क्या उन्हें यह भी मालूम है कि कुछ साहित्य भारत में भी बोद्ध पुस्तकालयों में पड़ा हुआ है;
- (ग) क्या इस साहित्य के अनुसंधान और उसकी रक्षा के लिये कोई योजना सरकार के विचारधीन है; और
- (घ) यदि हां, तो उसकी रूपरेखा क्या है?

वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान और सांस्कृतिक कार्य उपमंत्री (डा० मो० दास):

- (क) जी हां
- (ख) जी हां
- (ग) और (घ) लामाओं के लिये दस फेलोशिप (अधि-छात्रवृत्तियां) रखी गई है। ये फेलो अनुसंधान और अध्ययन कार्य के लिये विभिन्न केन्द्रों में रखे जायेंगे।

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**21 December 1960**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### SETTLEMENT OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN N.E.F.A.

2135. Shri D. C. Sharma: Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1709 on the 30<sup>th</sup> August, 1960 and state:

- (a) the further progress in the work of settlement of the Tibetan refugees in Bhaluckung in North-East Frontier Agency;
- (b) the amount spent so far for general development of that area; and
- (c) when the work is likely to be completed?

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

- (a) the approach road to the land settlement area has been reconditioned, and construction of accommodation for the refugees has been completed. A hospital for 60 patients is being built. Cultivation of vegetables and fruits has begun and jungle clearance is proceeding. Teaching of Tibetan and Hindi to the refugees has commenced and a school for 700 students is being set up. A Co-operative shop has been established at the Transit Camp.
- (b) Rs. 5,43,000 upto the end of November, 1960.
- (c) Progress of work has been hampered by the heavy monsoon this year, but it is likely to be completed as originally planned during 1962-63.

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**15 February 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### FRESH CHINESE INCURSIONS INTO INDIAN TERRITORY

- \*38. **Shri P. G. Deb:**  
**Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria:**  
**Shri S. A. Mehdi:**

Shri Sampath:  
 Shri D. C. Sharma:  
 Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:  
 Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:  
 Shri Khushwaqt Rai:  
 Shri Pangarkar:

Shri Balmiki: Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there have been any incursions into Indian territory by China since November, 1960; and
- (b) if so, the action taken in the matter?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) No.
- (b) Does not arise.

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**20 February 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### INDO-TIBETAN TRADE

**253. Shri D. C Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state the position in regard to Indo-Tibetan Trade on the Kalimpong-Gangtok-Nathula Pass-Yathung caravan route during the last three months?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** The Indo-Tibetan Trade on this route has shown a marked decline as will be seen from the comparative figures for the last three months of 1959 and 1960 as shown below:

(Value in lakhs of rupees)

		October	November	December
<b>Exports</b>				
1959	—	3.84	1.04	1.41
1960	—	.45	.46	.69
<b>Imports</b>				
1959	—	2.52	2.60	1.37
1960	—	.16	.21	.61

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**22 February 1961**

**Answers to Questions**

### MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT Alleged Danger of Chinese Attack

**Mr. Speaker:** I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Shri Khushwaqt Rai on the following subject:

“The gathering of troops by the Chinese in Tibet just near the border of Bhutan and Sikkim and the northern border of India, conscription of thousands of men from prisons and monasteries, continuous pouring of Chinese troops equipped with anti-aircraft guns into the Loka area and building of roads and laying a railway line from Lhasa to Lanchow by working day and night. Due to all these activities grave danger of military attack on Bhutan and Sikkim, with whom we have entered into special defence pacts, and on the border of India, has arisen. To consider this.”

The hon. Member has produced *The Hindustan Times* of today in which an article entitled “China Prepares for Fight” has appeared. What is the position?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** *The Hindustan Times’* sources of



information are much greater than mine!

**Mr. Speaker:** Anyhow, it is alarming.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It is not only alarming but it is largely untrue. So far as we are concerned, I cannot, of course, definitely say what is happening inside Tibet here and there, but we have absolutely no report of this kind. And so far as we are concerned, our borders are well protected.

**Shri Khushwaqt Rai (Kheri):** This report comes from Darjeeling and, as such, Government must have some information.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** How can we have any information on something which perhaps does not exist at all?

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** Whenever there is any report of this kind in the newspapers, involving the security of the country, will the Prime Minister take the trouble of contradicting it, or enlightening the public and the House about such reports?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It is obvious that here is an Adjournment Motion and the hon. Member has put a question, and here I am, making a statement. What greater publicity can we give? As a matter of fact, it so happened that in the last few days, the Maharaja of Bhutan has been here, his Prime Minister has been here; the Maharaja of Sikkim and the Maharajkumar and his Dewan had been here. None of these persons knew anything about it. I do not know how the correspondent of that paper got to know it in Darjeeling.

**Mr. Speaker:** I do not give my consent to this Adjournment Motion.

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23 February 1961

Written Answers to Questions

### FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR DALAI LAMA

**\*260. Shri Warior:**

**Shri Kodiyan:**

**Shri Punnoose:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Government has been approached by the Dalai Lama for release of foreign exchange to send some of his men abroad, especially to the United States of America; and
- (b) if so, whether Government have released any amount since the said Lama came to India?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) and (b). Yes Sir. A total of Rs. 60,000 foreign exchange was released in the last two years on four different occasions, including for the Dalai Lama's mother to proceed to Europe for medical treatment.

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28 February 1961

Written Answers to Questions

### तिब्बत में भूटानी बस्तियों के बारे में चीन को पत्र

**662. श्री जगन्नाथ पहाडिया:** क्या प्रधानमंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि चीन सरकार ने भारत सरकार के उस पत्र का कोई उत्तर नहीं दिया है जिसमें तिब्बत में भूटान की आठ बस्तियों का प्रश्न भूटान द्वारा प्राथना करने पर उठाया गया था : और
- (ख) यदि हां, तो इस सम्बन्ध में और क्या कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं?

**प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक - कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू):**

- (क) और (ख) जी हां । जवाब का इन्तज़ार है ! भारतीय अधिकारी दल ने चीनी अधिकारियों से बातचीत करने के दौरान में उनका ध्यान फिर से इस और आकर्षित किया था ।

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## INDIAN BUSINESSMAN IN TIBET

**\*666. Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question no. 16 on the 14<sup>th</sup> November, 1960 and state:

- (a) whether the Chinese Government have responded to the representation about the hardships of the Indian businessmen in Tibet who have been burdened with extraordinary taxes with retrospective effect;
- (b) if so, with what results; and
- (c) if not, what steps Government propose to take in this connection?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) to (c). No Sir. Our representations have not so far produced any material improvements since the Chinese Government continue to maintain that the new measures introduced by them in Tibet are their internal matter. Our mission in Tibet continue to bring to the notice of the local authorities about the difficulties faced by Indian traders so that the customary pattern of trade guaranteed under the 1954 Agreement, does not suffer further setbacks.

**Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** May I know if it is not a fact that the declared policy of the Chinese government is to discourage Indian businessmen from staying there and to see that they go out?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** Certainly, if these hardships continue, it will not be possible for our traders to pursue their trade there.

**Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** In view of the fact that such is the policy of the Chinese Government, has the Government considered the proposal to eliminate the trade agency there and not to construct on the area which they have taken?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** This is a suggestion for action.

**Mr. Speaker:** I thought the hon. Member would suggest retaliatory measures.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** श्रीमान, अगला व्यापार का सीज़न इसी अप्रैल, या मई से प्रारम्भ होने वाला है तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या गवर्नमेंट इस बात का निश्चय कर रही है कि भारतीय व्यापारियों को इस सम्बन्ध में क्या सलाह दी जाये कि उनका क्या रवैया होना चाहिये?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** I have stated in the original answer that these matters are taken up with the Chinese authorities there. They say that whatever laws or taxes they impose are a matter of their internal administration and we have no business to interfere with it. All the same, we try to bring it to their notice because under the agreement of 1954, the pattern of trade is not to be disturbed; but they do not seem to take any notice of it.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** What was the number of Indian traders during the time of the Dalai Lama and what is the number of traders at present?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** I want notice to answer that.

**Shri Ranga:** How many Chinese traders are there in this country who are enjoying certain privileges under the 1954 treaty? What steps are sought to be taken in order to bring pressure to bear upon the Chinese Government by the Government of India's activities under the agreement of 1954 vis-à-vis the Chinese traders in India?

**Mr. Speaker:** He only wants to know whether that agreement is sought to be enforced here also as it is sought to be enforced in Tibet.

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** We have to abide by that agreement.

**Shri Ranga:** Does that mean that we are offering all the privileges that are said to accrue to the Chinese traders in India while the Chinese Government is not giving these facilities to our own citizens according to that agreement?

**Mr. Speaker:** This is going on like this.

**Shri Narasimhan:** There is no mutuality about it.

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** There is mutuality because it is an agreement between the two Governments, but unfortunately the Chinese Government is not implementing it in the way they promised. In the 1954 agreement, they said that the pattern of trade will not be disturbed, but it is disturbed by various other measures. We have been bringing this to their notice, but they do not pay any attention to it...*(Interruption)*.

**Mr. Speaker:** Naturally, hon. Members would expect an answer as to why this should continue for long.

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** It is a policy matter, namely, whether the Government should take any retaliatory action in this matter...*(Interruption)*.

**Shri A. M. Tariq:** What is the policy in dealing with these matters? Where does policy come in?

**Mr. Speaker:** I agree that we do not allow a discussion of policy here, but naturally the question arises that if there are two parties to any agreement and one party breaks it, how it is necessary that the other party alone should carry out the agreement.

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** We have protested many times. Hon. Members know it. They were printed in the white papers.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is the very reason why hon. Members want that we ought not to stop with mere protests...*(Interruptions)*.

**Shri Vajpayee:** Let us wait for the hon. Prime Minister to come back...*(Interruption)*.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Apart from protesting, what are they going to do?

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** How are they going to protect Indian traders there?

**Shri Bishwanath Roy:** Has the Government any idea of the loss to Indian businessmen in Tibet owing to the imposition of new restrictions and taxes?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** According to figures so far available with us, the volume of trade during 1960 came down to Rs. 58 lakhs. It was Rs. 363 lakhs in 1958 and Rs. 198 lakhs in 1959.

**श्री विभूति मिश्र:** मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस ट्रेड रेजिस्ट्रेशन से कितने हमारे व्यापारी लोगों के व्यापार को धक्का लगा है और सरकार उनके लिये क्या कर रही है?

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Minister said that she has not got the figure.

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** This matter has been discussed in the House and the hon. Prime Minister has told the House that it has become very difficult for our traders to pursue their trade. I have given the figures to show how trade has fallen. As for the rehabilitation of these traders, they do not need any kind of Government aid because they have got enough resources in order to rehabilitate themselves.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Can we at least know...

**Mr. Speaker:** Next question.

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**8 March 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **SETTLEMENT OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN NEFA**

**\*663. Shri R. C. Majhi:**

**Shri Subodh Hansda:**

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the progress made so far in setting the Tibetan refugees in NEFA;
- (b) whether the local feelings have been assessed about the settlement of Tibetan refugees in NEFA; and

- (c) the total amount so far invested in settling them in NEFA?

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

- (a) After a detailed survey of the Bhalukpong area where 1500 Tibetan refugees were proposed to be settled on land, the scheme has been modified and so far permanent settlement of 200 refugees in the southern part of Bhalukpong area has been finally decided upon. Another 500 are proposed to be settled in the northern part of this area and the scheme is under examination. In South Bhalukpong, roads, houses, a school and hospital have already been constructed. The whole area has been cleared and 20 acres of land have been actually brought under cultivation.
- (b) There has been no opposition to the settlement in the foothill areas that have been selected for the settlement of Tibetan refugees.
- (c) Necessary information has been called for from the NEFA authorities.

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**8 March 1961**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

**KASHMIRI MUSLIMS IN TIBET**

**\*995. Shri M. B. Thakore:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Chinese offered inhuman treatment to Kashmiri Muslims in Tibet though they were political prisoners;
- (b) if so, the details thereof; and
- (c) whether the Government of India protested and sent a strongly worded note to the Chinese Government?

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:**

- (a) to (c). The Government have no authentic information on the subject and, therefore, no note has been sent to the Chinese Government.

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**21 March 1961**

**Oral Answers**

**तिब्बत में भारतीय**

**1009 श्री भक्त दर्शन:**

**श्री राम कृष्ण गुप्त:**

**श्री दी० चं० शर्मा:** क्या प्रधान मंत्री 14 नवम्बर 1960 के अतारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 29 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि जो भारतीय नागरिक अथवा भारतीय रक्षित व्यक्ति तिब्बत में चीनी अधिकारियों द्वारा गिरफ्तार कर लिए गए थे, उन्हें रिहा कराने में कहां तक सफलता मिली है?

**वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री के सभा-सचिव (जो. ना. हज़ारिका):** हमारी सूचना के अनुसार, तबसे 5 भारतीय राष्ट्रियों को मुक्त किया गया है और वे भारत में पुनर्देशावर्तित (रिपेट्रिएट) होने की प्रतीक्षा कर रहे हैं ।

According to our information 5 Indian nationals have since been released and they are awaiting repatriation to India.

**Shri M. B. Thakore:** May I know the total number of such Kashmiri Muslims who are residing in Tibet and the total number who have migrated to India, their main occupation and the difficulties experienced by them?

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** It is our information that about 1000 Kashmiris had been residing in Tibet and about 700 had already returned to India and 9 families, consisting of 35 members, are awaiting repatriation. At the moment the number of those who are residing in Tibet is not very large.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** श्रीमान, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि इस समय कितने भारतीय चीनीयों के कैद में हैं, और चीन सरकार ने क्या कुछ बतलाया है कि कब तक उनको रिहा कर दिया जायेगा?

**Shri M. B. Thakore:** Sir, he had not replied to my question about their difficulties.

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** I have already enumerated the difficulties in reply to a previous question.

**Mr. Speaker:** He stated the difficulties in reply to a previous question. They are 6-7 in number.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** श्रीमान मेरे प्रश्न का जवाब नहीं दिया गया । मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन लोगों को छुड़ाने के लिये चीन सरकार से कोई पत्र व्यवहार किया गया है और क्या उन्होंने कुछ बतलाया है कि कब तक उन को रिहा किया जायेगा ?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** क्या करें ?

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** We had stated in August last that 30 Indian nationals and protected persons were under arrest in Tibet. Out of them 25 are still under arrest.

**Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri:** Is it a fact that the Muslims in Tibet have been prevented from pursuing their religious practices or attending religious congregations?

**Shri J. N. Harika:** We have no information about that.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** What are the charges against the Indians who are still held by the Chinese in Tibet?

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** The charges differ from person to person. There are a number of them. I can enumerate them, if you like.

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):** Against each one of them, there is a different charge.

**Mr. Speaker:** Are there any common charges? Hon. Members feel that these are all political charges: they are not charged in the ordinary course of events under the general law. That is all.

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:** Some are charged for inciting Kashmiri Muslims to accept the Indian nationality which they consider as foreign nationality and some for refusing to furnish papers regarding ownership of property, etc. There are different charges.

**Shri M. B. Thakore:** What steps have been taken by the Government to settle those refugees from Tibet?

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** Every possible step through our diplomatic channels and through our trade agencies in Tibet have been taken.

**Shri Vajpayee:** May I know whether any efforts have been made to contact the Indian nationals who are in custody there and whether we have any information in regard to the treatment that is being meted out to them?

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:** The Indian Consul General at Lhasa has been repeatedly requesting the Foreign Bureau for the release of the Kashmiris who are still in detention and also facilitate their return to India. But the Foreign Bureau is a very difficult nut to crack. This has been going on for a long time and I have answered several questions on this subject.

**Mr. Speaker:** He wants to know whether the Consul General or any other officer has contacted them and went to them and saw their conditions.

**Shri J. N. Hazarika:** We will continue to keep an eye on this and shall get information.

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:** I am speaking subject to correction but I believe there are a lot of difficulties in the way of our Consul General personally going and contacting these prisoners. I shall have to find out whether he had been allowed to contact them

**Shri Vajpayee:** There are reports to the effect that these Indian nationals are not being treated well in the prison. May I know whether the Government has any information in regard to this?

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:** That is quite true. They are not being treated well.

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## EXPORT OF ARTICLES OF STRATEGIC VALUES TO TIBET

2030. Shri L. Achaw Singh:

Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that certain Marwari firms in Kalimpong exported to Tibet articles of strategic value in collusion with the officials of the Political Officer of Sikkim; and
- (b) if so, the steps taken to punish the officials and stop the transactions?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:

- (a) and (b). Certain allegations in this respect have come to the notice of the Government which have so far not been confirmed but investigations are continuing.

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22 March 1961

Written Answers to Questions

## हिन्दुस्तान तिब्बत सडक

2123 श्री पद्म देव: क्या परिवहन तथा संचार मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत हिन्दुस्तान- तिब्बत सडक के कितने भाग का निर्माण हुआ और निर्मित भाग में कितना मोटर यातायात के लिये, कितना जीप यातायात के लिये तथा कितना केवल पैदल चलने योग्य है;
- (ख) क्या लक्ष्य की पूर्ति निर्धारित अवधि में हुई;
- (ग) यदि नहीं, तो इस के क्या कारण हैं; और
- (घ) पांच वर्षों में इस सडक पर कितना व्यय हुआ?

परिवहन तथा संचार मंत्रालय में राज्यमंत्री (श्री राज बहादुर): (क) से (घ) हिन्दुस्तान तिब्बत मार्ग के निर्माण कार्य में प्रगति आयोजना के अनुसार है! इस निर्माण कार्य के सम्बन्ध में और अधिक सूचना देना सार्वजनिक हित में नहीं है!

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22 March 1961

Written Answers to Questions

## हिन्दुस्तान-तिब्बत सडक पर लगे मजदूर

2124 श्री पद्म देव: क्या परिवहन तथा संचार मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि

- क) द्वितीय पांच वर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत हिन्दुस्तान-तिब्बत सडक का निर्माण करने वाले कितने मजदूर दुर्घटनाग्रस्त हुए और उनमें से कितने मरे और कितने अपाहिज हो गये;
- ख) दुर्घटनाग्रस्त लोगों में से कितने ऐसे हैं जिन के प्रतिकार के बारे में अभी तक कोई निर्णय नहीं हुआ है; और
- ग) अपाहिज व्यक्तियों को पुनः बसाने के बारे में सरकार कौन सी योजना कार्यान्वित करने का विचार कर रही है?

परिवहन तथा संचार मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री राज बहादुर):

- क) उपलब्ध सूचना के आधार पर दुर्घटनाग्रस्त ३६ व्यक्तियों में से ११ की मृत्यु हुई और ३ अपाहिज हुए।
- ख) २७ व्यक्ति।
- ग) ऐसी कोई योजना नहीं है।

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### हिन्दुस्तान-तिब्बत सड़क को सभी मौसमों में काम आने वाली सड़क बनाना

**2125 श्री पद्म देव:** क्या परिवहन तथा संचार मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या हिन्दुस्तान तिब्बत सड़क को सभी मौसमों में काम आने वाली सड़क बनाने के लिये कोई योजना तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत तैयार की गयी है; और
- (ख) यदि हां, तो उसकी रूपरेखा क्या है, और यदि नहीं, तो इसके क्या कारण हैं?

**परिवहन तथा संचार मंत्रालय में राज्यमंत्री (श्री राज बहादुर):**

- क) हिन्दुस्तान तिब्बत मार्ग का विकास कार्य शुरू कर दिया गया है।
- ख) इस प्रायोजना के विषय में और अधिक सूचना देना सार्वजनिक हित में नहीं होगा।

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### TIBET ISSUE BEFORE THE U.N.O.

**\*1097. Shri Hem Barua:**

**Shri P. C. Borooah:**

**Shrimati Maimoona Sultan:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the statement made by the Dalai Lama, published on the 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1961 in newspapers, asking the Members of the U.N.O to support the vacation of China from Tibet—a question which is to be discussed in the World Body on a resolution jointly sponsored by some member nations; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of the Government of India in this matter?

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

- (a) The Government has seen the reported statement of the Dalai Lama.
- (b) The Government of India's attitude, to the proposed resolution will be decided as and when the question comes up again before the U.N General Assembly.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether Government consider this occupation of Tibet by China as a normal extension of the Chinese administrative jurisdiction to that area or as a conquest of Tibet by China? If it is the latter, why is it that Government have not been able to make up its mind as yet?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Government has all along considered that Tibet was in the past an autonomous part of Chinese State. It was a part of it. It had autonomy, but internationally speaking it is part of the Chinese State. That is the basic position. At some periods that autonomous part even had the right and exercised that right to make treaties. Nevertheless, it was a part of the larger Chinese State. From that the various policies of the Government of India flow in relation to this matter.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I draw the attention of the hon. The Prime Minister to his glimpses of world history where he writes categorically that Tibet is independent? And may I know what are the specific grounds for the hon. The Prime Minister to withdraw from that position?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know to what part of my book the hon. Member is referring.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The hon. Member is referring to my book which is dealing chiefly with other matters, not with Tibet. I do not know in what connection it came up; and if I have made any such remark there it was due to absence of full knowledge.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I recall that when the Dalai Lama was given asylum in the country, he had given an assurance to

Government that as long as he was on Indian soil he would not take part in propaganda of a political sort. May I know if this kind of statement issued from Indian soil is not contradictory to that understanding, particularly in view of the fact that this might lead to an unnecessary acerbation of this business?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The kind of assurance we asked for was that India should not be made a base for activities outside. But it is rather difficult to draw a line between making a statement about one's views and making it a base for activities. On the whole, in these matters we take a fairly liberal line.

**Some Hon. Members** rose—

**Mr. Speaker:** The question hour is over.

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24 March 1961

Written Answers to Questions

### TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN INDIA AND TIBET

**2226. Shrimati Ila Palchoudhari:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Government of India's attention has been drawn to recent newspaper reports that Tibetan traders have discovered a new trade route from Tibet to India through west Nepal border area and Nautanwa on the border of Gorakhpur District in U.P;
- (b) if so, what is the actual fact of the matter;
- (c) how many Tibetans have entered India during this winter so far through the new route; and
- (d) the details of trade transaction done?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:**

- (a) to (d). Between Nepal and Tibet there are a number of traditional routes but these routes are not the concern or within control of the Government of India. As regards trade between Nepal and India there are no restrictions on movement.

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29 March 1961

Written Answers to Questions

### REFUGEES FROM TIBET IN N.E.F.A.

**2488. Shri P. C. Boorah:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a large number of Tibetan refugees have entered the N.E.F.A. region recently;
- (b) if so, the reasons therefore; and
- (c) the steps taken to give asylum to them?

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

- (a) The number of Tibetan refugees who entered N.E.F.A. during the month of December 1960 and upto 14<sup>th</sup> January 1961, upto which date figures are available, is 861 and 463 respectively.
- (b) and (c). The Tibetan refugees have been coming to India in view of the disturbed conditions in their own country. On entry into N.E.F.A. the refugees are dis-armed and given essential medical aid. They are provided with rations and shelter and are evacuated to a central location in the Division for dispersal to a selected rehabilitation site or camp. Those among them who are skilled workers and craftsman found suitable employment to pursue their trade. Unskilled workers are found employment on road projects as a muleteers. A small number is being settled on land.

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29 March 1961

Written Answers to Questions

### SETTLEMENT OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN LADAKH

**2503. Shrimati Maimoona Sultan:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have finalized a scheme to settle about 1,000 Tibetan refugees in Ladakh; and

- (b) if so, what are the outlines of the scheme?

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

- (a) and (b). It is proposed to settle on land in Ladakh about 700 Tibetan refugees who were working on Leh-Kargil road till November 1960. The area where they are to be settled has still to be surveyed and a proper scheme formulated.

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**6 April 1961**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **AID FOR TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*1369. Shri P. C. Boorah:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the quantity of food and medical supplies received so far separately from CARE, the unofficial American Relief Organisation, for Tibetan refugees; and  
(b) how much of such relief is expected from that organisation during the forthcoming year?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) The value of food and medical supplies received from CARE (Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere Inc.) for Tibetan refugees so far has been Rs. 44,17,500 and Rs. 19,475, respectively.  
(b) This organisation has a future programme for distribution of 14,270 maunds of rice during the first half of 1961 of the total value of Rs. 8,33,625 and of tools and equipment of the value of Rs. 13,000.

**Shri P. C. Boorah:** May I know how many Tibetan refugees are being fed and given medical aid through the aid received from CARE and whether this aid is being intensified proportionately with the increase in the influx of Tibetan here?

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:** I require notice to give the number of refugees who are being fed and looked after.

**Shri P. C. Boorah:** May I know through which agencies this aid has been distributed?

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:** The assistance given to Tibetan refugees by various voluntary organizations is channeled through the Central Relief Committee for Tibetan refugees, which co-ordinates the work of receipt and distribution of all gift supplies among the Tibetan refugees in various places in India.

**Shri Sadath Gupta:** Some years ago when the Soviet trade unions sent some relief to be distributed through the All Indian Trade Union Congress, it was decided that relief should be distributed through Government and not through private agencies. May I know whether any similar procedure will be adopted in this case also?

**Sadath Ali Khan:** I cannot say; I have just said all this aid is channeled through a particular association and that is the present position.

**Shri B. K. Gaikwad:** May I know how much our Government have spent on Tibetan refugees?

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:** The expenditure incurred by the Government of India from May 1959 till the end of 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1960 was roughly Rs. 47 lakhs and voluntary non-official organizations spent almost an equivalent amount for the relief of Tibetan refugees in India. The figures for the financial year ending 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1961 are not available, though the initial expenditure by Government is about Rs. 55 lakhs.

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**6 April 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN LEADERS' ENTRY INTO DARJEELING DISTRICT**

**2884. Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether any representations have been received from various Tibetan institutions, monasteries and representatives of Tibetan refugees in Darjeeling and Kalimpong requesting to withdraw orders prohibiting three Tibetan leaders from entering Darjeeling district; and  
(b) if so, the action taken thereon?

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

- (a) and (b). Yes, three Tibetans were asked to remove themselves from the Darjeeling district as it was stated that they had caused disaffections among Tibetan refugees. As representations were received in regard to this matter, it was given further consideration. In the event of their giving assurance of good behaviour, they may be allowed to return.

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**11 April 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**तिब्बती शरणार्थी**

श्री भक्त दर्शन:

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री:

श्रीमती मफीदा अहमद:

**1457 श्रीमती अजीत सिंह सरहदी**

श्री प्र० के० देव:

श्री दी० चं० शर्मा:

श्रीमती मैमूना सुल्तान:

श्री प्र० च० बरूआ: क्या प्रधान मंत्री एक ऐसा विवरण सभा पटल पर रखने की कृपा करेंगे कि जिस में निम्नलिखित जानकारी दी गई हो:

- (क) १६ अक्टूबर १९६० से अब तक कितने तिब्बतियों ने भारत में शरण ली है;  
(ख) कितने तिब्बती प्रति मास उत्तरी सीमा पर स्थित विभिन्न दरों से होकर भारत आये हैं, और  
(ग) उनके व उन से पहले आये हुए भारत में तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के पुनर्वास में अब तक कहां तक सफलता मिली है?

**वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री के सभा सचिव (श्री सादत अली खां)**

- (क) भारत सरकार के पास जो सूचना सुलभ है उस के अनुसार १६ अक्टूबर १९६० से १४ जनवरी, १९६१ तक जो तिब्बती शरणार्थी भारत आये हैं उनकी कुल संख्या ३९९७ है! यह सूचना उक्त तारीख तक की है।  
(ख) तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के पहुंचने की महीनेवार सूचना इस प्रकार है:

	अक्टूबर	नवंबर	दिसंबर	जनवरी (14 तारिक तक)	जोड़
1) नेफा	65	288	259	463	1065
2) हिमांचल	....	21	.....	.....	21
3) उत्तर प्रदेश	11	39	98	.....	148
4) पंजाब	....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5) जम्मू कश्मीर	52	364	106	64	586
6) सिक्किम	141	319	449	258	2167
					3997

- ग) जो तिब्बती शरणार्थी भारत में अब तक आये हैं वे सभी अस्थायी अथवा अर्द्ध-स्थायी आधार पर रोजगार पाने के लिये विभिन्न स्थानों में भेज दिये गये हैं; इनमें निम्नलिखित शरणार्थी शामिल नहीं हैं:

- 1) नेफा के कामोंग प्रभाग (डिवीजन) में भालुकपुंग नामक स्थान के नये मार्ग-शिविर में रहने वाले 4000 तिब्बती शरणार्थी ।
- 2) उत्तर प्रदेश में पौड़ी, सानदेव और खेरी के तीन छोटे-छोटे शिविरों में रहने वाले 1374 शरणार्थी ।
- 3) पश्चिमी भूटान में टाला नामक स्थान पर एक शिविर में बसे हुए 314 तिब्बती शरणार्थी ।

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**14 April 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### REHABILITATION OF KASHMIRI MUSLIMS FROM TIBET

**3344. Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Kashmiri Muslims repatriated from Tibet so far;
- (b) whether they have all been rehabilitated; and
- (c) the steps taken or proposed to be taken in this direction?

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

- (a) about 700 Kashmiri Muslims have been repatriated so far.
- (b) and (c). In consultation with Jammu and Kashmir Government it has been decided to disperse the Kashmiri Muslims who are at present in Kalimpong to that State. So far 292 people including minors have already been sent to Srinagar and the rest will follow shortly. The Jammu and Kashmir Government have made necessary arrangements for their temporary stay for the present in tents and serais. They have been requested to assist in the rehabilitation of these Kashmiri Muslim evacuees from Tibet in that State. Schemes for their rehabilitation will now be considered by that Government.

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**19 April 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### INDIAN MUSLIMS IN TIBET

**\*1619. Shri Rameshwar Tantia:**

**Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that large number of Muslims in Lhasa have declared themselves that they are Indian citizens and have demanded that they may be repatriated to India;
- (b) if so, the attitude of the Chinese Government in this regard; and
- (c) the efforts made by Indian Government for their return to India?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) to (c). It is understood that some Muslims of Chinese origin have requested for permission to proceed to India. Since there is no information to suggest that this group of persons is of Indian origin and entitled to Indian citizenship, the Government of India have not represented to the Chinese Government on their behalf. On the other hand, as the House is aware, Government of India took up the question of the right of repatriation of Muslims of Kashmiri origin. Most of the Kashmiri Muslim have now come out to India.

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**24 April 1961**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### SEALING OF BHUTAN TIBET BORDER

**\*1708. Shri P. C. Borooah:**

**Shri Raghunath Singh:**

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:**

**Shri Radha Mohan Singh:**

**Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:**

**Shrimati Maimoona Sultan:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Bhutan is sealing her border with Tibet?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):** The reference is presumably to the entry of Tibetan refugees. The Government of Bhutan may desire to prevent further influx of refugees into Bhutan, as they are finding it difficult to settle those refugees who are already in Bhutan. So far as the Government of India are concerned, there has been no change in our attitude towards the grant of asylum to Tibetan refugees.

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** May I know whether Government have decided to screen Tibetan refugees crossing the border to determine whether they are genuine refugees coming to India? If so, what is the screening method envisaged?

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan:** Strict screening is being done of fresh arrivals.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know the number of refugees who came via Bhutan—I mean the Tibetan refugees who have been received by the Government of India and who came via Bhutan?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not think, I would be able to give the number of those who came from Bhutan. But, broadly speaking, the total number of those who have come to India is about 30,000.

**Shri Tyagi:** Are the Government sure that among these Tibetan refugees there are no fifth columnists—of Chinese communists? Is there any method by which they could judge whether a refugee is a genuine refugee or not?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Attempts are made to screen them fairly thoroughly. But, if, in spite of this, there is failure to discover such persons—it may so happen—it cannot be absolutely guaranteed. But, one tries one's best to do it.

**श्री राधामोहन सिंह:** मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या भूटान गवर्नमेंट ने गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की सलाह से बार्डर को सील किया है ?

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** मुझे मालूम नहीं कि भूटान गवर्नमेंट ने उसको सील किया है । वह खाली कुछ झिझकते हैं उन्हें लेने में, क्योंकि वे ज्यादा बढ़ जाते हैं।

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** What is the present inflow of refugees during these months? Has it decreased or increased; how does it stand?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not think there has been any marked change. The inflow continues to be on a relatively small scale.

**Shri Yadav Narayan Jadhav:** May I know whether it is a fact that the Bhutan Government had expressed that they have not got any proper machinery to screen these refugees? What steps are being taken by our Government to screen them?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We screen them when they come to India.

**Shri Yadav Narayan Jadhav:** What about Bhutan saying that they have not got the proper machinery?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know whether they do or do not. But, we screen them when they come to India, but not although as they enter Bhutan, as far as I know.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Now that the Tibet-Bhutan border has been finally sealed, may I know whether suitable steps have been taken by the Government of Bhutan, in consultation with the Government of India, to dispose of the produce which they wish to sell in Tibet and also to make the supply, they wish to get from the Tibetan side?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I did not hear the last part of the hon. Member's question. Suitable steps for what?

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** The agricultural and other produce which they wish to dispose of in the Tibetan markets and also to get the supply which they wish to get from the Tibetan side.

**Mr. Speaker:** What steps have Government taken?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not think there is very much trade between Bhutan and there, at the present moment. It is rather standstill. I do not think they have taken any particular steps. That is the position. That is, naturally, rather injurious to the interests of the traders in the border. That is true. But, on the whole, the Bhutan Government has preferred not to encourage this trade.



**Shri Yadav Narayan Jadhav:** May I know whether the Bhutan Government has promised these agriculturists of the border land that the Bhutan Government will purchase the surplus of corn? What sort of help is our Government extending in this respect?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know what the Bhutan Government has informed their agriculturists. We have not been called upon to give them any help in this respect. We are helping them in many other ways.

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**24 April 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **KHAMPA REFUGEES IN LADAKH**

**3776. Shri P. C. Borooah:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether some more Khampa refugees have recently crossed into Ladakh;
- (b) if so, how many have entered since the beginning of this year; and
- (c) whether they have been properly sheltered??

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

- (a) and (b). 67 Khampa refugees entered Ladakh directly from Tibet during this year till 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1961.
- (c) The J&K Government have been requested to formulate a scheme for the rehabilitation of these refugees including those who arrived earlier in Ladakh.

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**2 May 1961**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **NEHRU-DALAI LAMA TALKS**

**\*1843. Shrimati Maimoona Sultan:**

**Shri D. C. Sharma:**

**Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Dalai Lama visited New Delhi on the 15<sup>th</sup> April, this year for having some discussions with him; and
- (b) if so, what were the subjects discussed?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):**

- (a) Yes.
- (b) Arrangements for the education of the Tibetan Refugee Children in particular and the problem of rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees in general.

**Shrimati Maimoona Sultan:** May I know, Sir, if there has been any precedent in history or any other country which granted asylum to political refugees on the conditions that they do not engage themselves in political activities? If not, may I know, what are the reasons that influenced the Government to make this departure from this international practice?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I do not know if the hon. Member is referring to some general principle in these matters or she wants me to quote instances. It is the normal practice that when asylum is granted, it is done so subject to many conditions that the country may think it necessary. The condition is that the soil of their country should not be used for any purposes opposed to them, which might get the country into trouble. It is a normal practice.

**Shri Ranga:** Does it mean that we have imposed any conditions on the Dalai Lama and if so, what are those conditions?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We informed the Dalai Lama when he first came here and subsequently that we would not like him to use the soil of India to carry on any operations in regard to Tibet. We just left him to his discretion to function and broadly speaking he has functioned in that way. Occasionally, of course, it is rather difficult always in regard to border line cases. Sometimes something might have been done by him, which he would have been wiser if he had not done. But broadly speaking, he has been good enough to abide by these. I would not call conditions, but certain matters which we expect him to do when he is here.

**Shri Ranga:** Am I to understand that the Dalai Lama is not in any way prevented from carrying on his correspondence with the United Nations and other nations also, without indulging—as he has not been indulging—in any offensive activities either against India or in any violent activities against any other nation.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The question is whether he can carry on correspondence. He can carry on correspondence with any person or organisation.

**Mr. Speaker:** All these are not relevant to the question that has been tabled, viz, what are the subjects that have been discussed.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** May I know whether the question of investment of funds by the Dalai Lama in Indian business was also considered at these talks?

**Mr. Speaker:** He wants to know whether the matter of his investing funds in India was one of the matters discussed?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Discussed here? No, Sir. There was nothing to discuss about it. The information we had, we had previously. It might have been mentioned previously. There is not much to discuss about it. We discussed, as I stated, chiefly Tibetan children's education and the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees here.

**Shrimati Maimoona Sultan:** In view of the fact that economic assistance has been given to political refugees by the international organisation, say, to Arab refugees, may I know if the Government of India propose to seek economic assistance from the UN or other agencies for the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees and if not, what are the reasons for not doing so?

**Mr. Speaker:** It does not arise out of this question. The hon. Member wanted to know the subjects discussed and the hon. Prime Minister said broadly two questions were discussed—the education of Tibetan children and one other matter.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether the attention of the Prime Minister is drawn to a statement made by the Dalai Lama and the purport of it is that he left the Prime Minister a much wiser man, that he become a much wiser man after he left the Prime Minister? If that is so, on what point was he wised up?

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member will refer to the newspaperman.

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**2 May 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **KASHMIRI MUSLIMS FROM TIBET IN GANGTOK**

**4287. Shri Raghunath Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether a fresh batch of Kashmiri Muslims have arrived in Gangtok from Tibet?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** A batch of 14 Kashmiri Muslims (5 males, 7 females and 2 minors) arrived in Gangtok during this month.

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**5 May 1961**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **REFUGEES FROM TIBET**

**4633. Shri Chintamoni Panigrahi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the total number of Tibetan refugees in India till March, 1961;
- (b) the number of Khampa rebels who disappeared from Sikkim last year; and
- (c) whether it is a fact that they disappeared with their arms?

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

- (a) The total number of Tibetan refugees who have entered India till the 25<sup>th</sup> March 1961 was approximately 30,409.
- (b) About 2,000 Tibetan Refugees mostly Khampas left Sikkim between May and November 1960.

- (c) None of these refugees carried any arms with them. In fact such arms as they brought when entering India were taken away from them at the check-posts.

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**13 March 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*16. Shri P.C. Borooah:**

**Shri Bhakt Darshan:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the total number of Tibetans who migrated into India during 1961;
- (b) how many of them have been settled and where; and
- (c) whether Government propose to impose any restriction on Tibetan immigration in view of the increasing number of Tibetans in India and the limited rehabilitation potential in the country?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) 5,421
- (b) Altogether 8,900 Tibetan refugees have been settled or are in process of being settled on land. Their break up is:-

Mysore	—	3,000
NEFA	—	5,000
J & K	—	<u>900</u>
		8,900

In addition, about 9,000 refugees are employed on road works and about 800 have or are receiving training in various crafts and trades.

- (c) No, Sir.

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**13 March 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INDIAN TRADE AGENCY BUILDING AT GYANTSE (TIBET)**

**9. Shri Agadi:**

**Shri D.C. Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1022 on the 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 1961 and state:

- (a) whether the hurdles put in the way of construction of the Indian Trade Agency Building at Gyantse (Tibet) by Chinese have been removed and construction work started;
- (b) if not, the details of the objections;
- (c) when they are likely to be settled; and
- (d) the total amount estimated to be spent for the construction of this building?

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

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) No progress has been made with the construction of the Indian Trade Agency at Gyantse for reasons given in an answer to Unstarred Question No. 1022 in the House on 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1961. Since then although the lease for rented accommodation has been finalized, the Chinese have not taken any steps to fix the physical boundaries of the land to be leased though this had earlier been settled to the apparent satisfaction of both sides.
- (c) As the difficulties in proceeding with the construction of the Trade Agency have been created entirely by the Chinese, the Government of India are not in a position to indicate when these obstacles will be removed to enable work to proceed.
- (d) As detailed estimates of expenditure on construction are to be worked out at prices prevailing after the finalisation of the lease deed, no precise amount can be indicated at this stage.

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### तिब्बत में पकड़े गए भारतीय राष्ट्रजन

**69. श्री भक्त दर्शन:** क्या प्रधान मंत्री 6 दिसम्बर 1961 के तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 638 के उत्तर के संबंध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि तिब्बत में चीनी अधिकारियों द्वारा पकड़े गए भारतीय राष्ट्रजनों अथवा भारतीय संरक्षणधीन व्यक्तियों को छुड़ाने के लिए किए गए प्रयत्नों का क्या परिणाम निकला है?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):** There has been no change from the position stated in our reply to Starred Question No. 638-A.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि इस समय कितने भारतीय नागरिक तिब्बत के जेलों में बन्द हैं?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** There are six people there. But the Chinese are asserting that they are Tibetan nationals and not Indian Nationals. There are five Kashmiri Muslims and one Sikkim national.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** क्या चीन सरकार ने या तिब्बत में स्थित चीनी अधिकारियों ने किसी प्रकार का कोई आशवासन दिया है कि इन भारतीय नागरिकों को कब तक रिहा किया जा सकेगा?

**प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू):** वह इन्कार करते हैं इस बात को तसलीम करने से कि वह भारतीय नागरिक हैं। वह कहते हैं कि वह तिब्बती हैं या चीनी हैं। बहस तो इस प्रात की है।

**Mr. Speaker:** Next Question.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I put another question?

**Mr. Speaker:** Now the dispute is whether they are our nationals or their nationals and that has not yet been settled. What further information is needed?

**Shri Hem Barua:** On a previous occasion it was stated that the identity of their citizenship was not established. Now we are told that it has been established and China claims them to be their nationals. May I know how they have come to this conclusion?

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Prime Minister only said that they are claiming that they are their nationals; we are saying that they are Kashmiris.

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23 March 1962

Oral Answers to Questions

### INDO-TIBETAN TREATY

**\*144. Shri P.G. Deb:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- whether Government have received any reply from China about a fresh treaty on Tibet; and
- if so, the details of the same?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- Yes, Sir.
- Copies of the original Chinese note dated 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1961, proposing to negotiate a fresh treaty to replace the 1954 Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibet Region of China, as well as our reply thereto dated 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1961, have already been placed on the table of the House. The latest Chinese note on the subject which has just arrived from Peking is under study. This note together with our reply will be placed on the table of House in due course.

**Shri P.G. Deb:** May I know what steps the Government is taking to bring about a stop to, or do something regarding, the trade between India and Tibet in view of the continuing loggerheads-situation with China?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Stop? There is not much of it to stop.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** अभी बतलाया गया कि चीन की सरकार ने एक नया पत्र भेजा है। क्या कम से कम यह बतलाने की कृपा की जायेगी कि उस का सारांश क्या है, वे किस तरह की सन्धि चाहते हैं और कब तक चाहते हैं?

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** उसका सारांश यह है कि यह दो अलग अलग मामले हैं, यानी तिजारत के बारे में कोई समझौता होना और जो हमारी सीमा के ऊपर झगडे हैं वे! और कोई वजह नहीं है कि हम क्यों न उन पर अलग अलग विचार करें और ट्रेड एग्रीमेंट करें। जहां तक मुझे याद है वह मैं बतला रहा हूं।

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** चूंकि तिब्बत से व्यापार का सीजन शुरू ही होने वाला है और जैसी की आशांका है शायद इस बीच कोई समझौता न हो सके, इसलिये क्या भारत सरकार भारत के व्यापारियों को कोई निश्चित आदेश देगी कि इस हालत में उन्हें क्या करना चाहिये, तिब्बत जाना चाहिये या नहीं?

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** जाहिर है कि हम उन को कोई आश्वासन नहीं दे सकते उनकी हिफाजत का या यह कि उनके साथ कोई ऐसी कार्रवाई न होगी जो कि नुकसानदेह हो, लेकिन हम उन को रोकेंगे नहीं, जो जाना चाहते हैं अपनी जिम्मेदारी पर जायें।

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether it is not a fact that the renewal of the 1954 Indo-Tibetan Agreement would approximate to a mute acceptance of the controversial political developments in Tibet?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It does not necessarily follow, but to some extent that indirect inference might be drawn. That is why we have kept that two together.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Why is it that China appears to be more interested more than we are in achieving this treaty, or rather renewing it? What are the specific reasons?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am sorry I have not got that letter before me, and that will be placed on the Table of the House together with our reply, but they have said that this is a separate matter, and that it might be dealt with. Why they are interested in it I suppose is because it is advantageous to them to have this trade.

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**23 March 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **AMOUNT HELD UP BY CHINESE IN TIBET**

**\*136. Shri Agadi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that large sums of money belonging to Indian traders in Tibet have been held-up by the Chinese Government;
- (b) if so, the total estimated amounts thus held up in Tibet; and
- (c) the action Government of India have taken in this regard?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) Yes, Sir. It is a fact that large sums of money mainly in the form of unpaid debts owing to Indian Traders have been held up in Tibet due to the unhelpful and obstructive attitude of the Chinese Government.
- (b) The amount held up is Rs. 20 lakhs on a rough estimate.
- (c) The Government of India have made a series of representations to the Chinese Government requesting for help in the recovery of these debts but there has so far been no response.

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**19 April 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **REHABILITATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*18. Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 406 on the 24<sup>th</sup> November, 1961 and state:

- (a) whether possibilities for the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees in Madhya Pradesh have since been explored;
- (b) if so, who many refugees are proposed to be sent there; and
- (c) what arrangements have been made for giving them work in the State?

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

- (a) Yes.
- (b) It is proposed to settle 3000 Tibetan refugees in Madhya Pradesh provided the second site in Sarguja District is also finally approved.
- (c) They will be rehabilitated as agriculturists.

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**19 April 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### भारत तिब्बत व्यापार

श्री मं० ला०. द्वेवेदी:

श्री स० चं० सामन्त:

**24 श्री भक्त दर्शन:**

श्री श्रीनारायण दास:

श्री बासपा:

श्री नाथ पाई: क्या प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि चीन सरकार ने भारतीय व्यापारियों को किसी भी प्रकार के माल लाने ले जाने के आज्ञा पत्र देने से इन्कार कर दिया है जब कि नेपाली व्यापारियों को ये सुविधायें खुले रूप में दी जा रही है यद्यपि वे पूरा माल उठाने में असमर्थ है;
- (ख) भारत- तिब्बत व्यापार की अब क्या स्थिति है और इस सम्बन्ध में क्या कोई सुधार होने की संभावना है?

**वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्यमंत्री (श्रीमती लक्ष्मी मेनन):**

- (क) जी हां! यह सच है कि तिब्बत में चीनी अधिकारियों ने भारतीय व्यापारियों पर बहुत सी पाबंदियां लगा दी हैं। हमारे कुछ व्यापारी जो अस्थायी रूप से अपनी दुकानें बंद करने के बाद याटुंग लौट चुके हैं, उन्हें व्यापार शुरू करने के लिए अनुमति पत्र नहीं दिये गये हैं। दूसरे जिन व्यापारियों ने तिब्बत में माल ले लिया था, वे उस माल का निर्यात करने के लिए अभी अनुमति पत्र पाने का इंतज़ार कर रहे हैं। इसके विपरीत ऐसे सभी मामलों में नेपाली होती है और उन्हें बिना किसी रोक टोक के तिब्बत से माल तथा सोना, चांदी और बहुमूल्य जवाहरात बाहर भेजने की अनुमति है। संभव है कि कुछ नेपाली व्यापारियों को जितनी की मात्रा सौंपी गई है उसे निभा सकने में उनकी क्षमता सीमित हो, लेकिन सच्चाई यह है कि उनके साथ जो नीति बरती जा रही है उसके द्वारा जानबूझ कर भारत-तिब्बत व्यापार उनके हाथों में रखा जा रहा है।
- (ख) तिब्बत में चीनी अधिकारियों ने रूकावट डालने और सहयोग न करने का जो रवैया अपनाया है, उसका यह नतीजा हुआ है कि पिछले तीन वर्षों में भारत-तिब्बत व्यापार धीरे-धीरे कम होता गया है। आजकल व्यापार बहुत सीमित मात्रा में हैं! यदि चीनी अधिकारी उन रूकावटों को हटाने के लिए सहमत हो जाये जो उन्होंने हमारे व्यापार और हमारे व्यापारियों पर लगाई है और हाल की उन भारत विरोधी नीतियों को बदल दे जो १९५४ के करार की भावना के विरुद्ध है तो इस व्यापार में फिर प्रगति होगी! लेकिन इसकी कोई संकेत नहीं है कि भारत के प्रति चीन कोई ऐसा रवैया अपनायेगा।

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**2 May 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### TIBETAN REFUGEES IN MYSORE

**485. Shri Basappa:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Tibetan Refugees Camp Maintained at Periyapatna in Mysore State is going on well; and



- (b) whether Dalai Lama who visited this Camp recently has given any suggestions for improvement?

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

- (a) Yes, Sir.  
(b) No, Sir. No particular suggestions were made by him. The Dalai Lama was on the whole pleased with the camp.

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**2 May 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### INDIAN TRADERS IN TIBET

**489. Shrimati Maimoona Sultan:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a number of Indian traders have come to India recently after having wound up their business in Tibet;  
(b) if so, how many; and  
(c) how many Indian traders still remain in Tibet?

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

- (a) and (b). As far as Government are aware, five Indian firms have wound up their business in Tibet and returned to India in recent months.  
(c) There are 45 Indian traders including those who returned after having earlier wound up business in Tibet. However of this number, only 22 are at present allowed to carry on business by the Chinese authorities.

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**2 May 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### तिब्बती शरणार्थी

**585. श्री पु.ला.बारूपाल:**

**श्री मुहम्मद इलियास:** क्या प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि भारत में आये तिब्बतियों को बसाने पर कितना रूपया खर्च किया गया है?

**प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री तथा अणु शक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू):** तिब्बती शरणार्थियों को फिर से बसाने पर, 31 जुलाई 1961 तक कुल 68,72,309 रुपये खर्च हुए थे। उसके बाद की अवधि के लिये आंकड़े इकट्ठे किये जा रहे हैं और यथा समय सदन को मेज पर रख दिये जायेंगे।

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**9 May 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### तिब्बती शरणार्थियों को नाट्य-मंडली

**655. श्री बालमीकी :** क्या वैज्ञानिक अनुसन्धान और सांस्कृतिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) तिब्बत से आए हुए शरणार्थियों की नाट्य-मंडली कितने दिनों से देश का भ्रमण कर रही है; और  
(ख) क्या सरकार उन्हें कोई सहायता दे रही है?

**वैज्ञानिक अनुसन्धान और सांस्कृतिक कार्य मंत्री (श्री हुमायून कबिर):**

- (क) 1961-62 के दौरान दो नाट्य मंडलियों ने देश का दौरा किया अम्दो-तिब्बतन कल्चरल ड्रामा ग्रुप, मसूरी ने करीब छः महीने तक और तिब्बतन रिफ्यूजिज़ कल्चरल एंड ड्रामेटिक-इंस्टिट्यूट, धर्मशाला ने करीब चार महीने तक।  
(ख) पहली नाट्य मंडली को 9000 रुपये और दूसरी को 5000 रुपयों का अनुदान दिया गया।

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**24 May 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INDIAN TRADERS IN TIBET**

**\*1032. Shri Raghunath Singh:**

**Shri Bishwanath Ray:**

**Shri D.C. Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Chinese Officials in Tibet are dissuading the local Tibetan traders not to purchase unsold goods of Indian merchants in Tibet?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):** Yes, Sir. Various pressures are being exercised on Tibetans to stop them from trading with Indian merchants.

According to our information, the Chinese authorities in Tibet have warned Tibetans not to barter essential goods for Indian merchandise. For sometime now they have also been dissuading Tibetans from bartering or selling wool or other traditional items of export to India to Indian traders. There is thus not much prospect of Indian traders being able to dispose of their accumulated stocks in Tibet.

Trade prospects have worsened lately because of new tax impositions and controls including a strict ban on all transactions in Indian currency instituted by the Chinese.

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**29 May 1962**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **REHABILITATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN ORISSA**

**\*1134. Shri Maheswar Naik:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether an official of the Central Government visited Orissa to explore the possibilities of rehabilitating the Tibetan refugees there;
- (b) the outcome of his visit;
- (c) how many such refugees are expected to be settled there; and
- (d) whether the original plan for settling the Tibetan refugees at Dharamsala has undergone a change?

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

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) and (c). The Orissa Government are exploring possibilities of rehabilitating some 5000 Tibetan refugees in Ganjam district of Orissa.
- (d) There was no plan to settle Tibetan refugees in Dharamsala.

**Shri Maheswar Naik:** May I know whether the Government have considered the desirability of rehabilitating the Tibetan refugees in hotter regions and whether it will be convenient for them to settle them in hotter regions?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** The matter has been explained. Our deputy secretary visited the place and had consultation with the Orissa Government, who have agreed to provide enough land to settle 5,000 Tibetan refugees.

**Shri Maheswar Naik:** May I know whether the attention of the minister has been drawn to the news report published today in the Hindustan Times to the effect that Tibetan refugees are sneaking into West Bengal in large numbers, whether it is a fact and what action is being taken?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** I have seen the report, but I do not know anything more about it.

**Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Has the Dalai Lama, in his capacity as the former head of the Tibetan State made any substantial contribution towards the cost of rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees in India and if so, how much he has contributed approximately or at least what proportion does his contribution bear to the total cost of the rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees in India?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** The Dalai Lama has contributed to some extent to the rehabilitation of the Tibetan children and in Dharamsala or wherever he is at the present moment, a large number of children are accumulated. In fact, they are thinking of opening a children's village to some extent after the lines of the famous children's village in Switzerland-Pestalozzi. But

I could not possibly say what proportion his contribution bears to the total cost; I should imagine that the proportion is relatively a small one.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** क्या महामान्य दलाई लामा अथवा उनके प्रतिनिधियों ने उस स्थान का स्वयं निरीक्षण किया है, ताकि कहीं ऐसा हो कि तिब्बती शरणार्थी उसे पसन्द न करें?

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** जब कोई स्थान चुनने की सिफारिश होती है, तो वहां दलाई लामा जी के कोई न कोई प्रतिनिधि जाते हैं और देखते हैं और उनकी सलाह से स्थान चुना जाता है।

**श्री सरजू पाण्डेय:** इस समय तिब्बत के कितने शरणार्थी भारत में मौजूद हैं और उन पर भारत सरकार कितना पैसा खर्च कर रही है।

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** मैं इस समय तो नहीं बता सकता, लेकिन उनको बताने की पूरी जिम्मेदारी हमारी है। इस सिलसिले में जो कुछ उचित समझा जाता है खर्च किया गया है और खर्च किया जायेगा।

जैसा कि अभी कहा गया है, उसमें दलाई लामा जी ने खुद ही कुछ सहायता दी है। कुछ और देशों से आस्ट्रेलिया, न्यूजीलैण्ड और अमरीका से भी हमें सहायता मिली है।

**Shri P.K. Deo:** May I know if the cost of the rehabilitation of the 5,000 refugees in my State will be borne by the Government of India, or by the State Government?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** By us completely, Sir.

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**29 May 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

#### **TIBETAN REFUGEE AT KALIMPONG**

**\*I 158. Shri Hem Barua:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Lhasa Radio broadcast on the 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1962 accused India of encouraging Tibetan refugees in Kalimpong, West Bengal to indulge in political activities against Tibet and China; and
- (b) if so, whether this allegation is corroborated by facts?

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

- (a) Yes, Sir. Lhasa Radio repeating a Peking Radio broadcast on the 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1962, is reported to have said that "the Indian Government has allowed a batch of Tibetan fugitives to carry out subversive activities against China's Tibet in Kalimpong and other places in India."
- (b) The allegation has no relation to facts and is just part of baseless Chinese propaganda against India. Tibetans who fled from their homes and sought asylum in India have unpleasant memories of happenings in Tibet, but, wherever they are settled in India, they have been discouraged by Government from indulging in political activities. Tibetan refugees in this country have been peaceful and law-abiding and have not indulged in subversive activities of any kind.

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**6 June 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

#### **REHABILITATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN LADAKH**

**2685. Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there is a proposal to rehabilitate some Tibetan refugees in Ladakh;
- (b) if so, the details of the scheme;
- (c) the number of families likely to be sent there in the first instance?

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

- (a) Yes, Sir.

- (b) There are some 4000 Tibetan refugees in Ladakh. A majority of them brought along with them a large number of cattle. The J&K Government are exploring possibilities of settling as many of these refugees in Ladakh itself. A beginning has been made with a modest scheme at Stakna, some 15 miles from Leh, where it is proposed to settle 50-100 families on 150 acres of land.
- (c) It is not proposed to send Tibetan refugees from outside the State of J&K for settlement in Ladakh.

## 6 June 1962

## CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTERS OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

**Shri Mohsin (Dharwar South):** Sir, under rule 197, I beg to call the attention of the hon. Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** As the House is aware, we have, since the beginning of December 1961, been in correspondence with the Government of People's Republic of China to find a dependable basis for negotiations between the two Governments in order to reach a new agreement in place of the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954 which was due to expire on the 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1962. In our correspondence, we urged upon the Chinese Government for the necessity of laying a proper foundation and creating a favourable atmosphere for fresh negotiations between the two countries and suggested that, as a first step, the Chinese Government should, with a view to creating the proper atmosphere, withdraw their forces from Indian territory and restore the territorial status quo as it existed at the time of the signing of the 1954 Agreement. While these exchanges were continuing, the Chinese Government informed us on the 23<sup>rd</sup> May, through their Charge d' Affaires in Delhi, of their decision to recall their Trade Agencies in Calcutta and Kalimpong and asked for requisite facilities for the withdrawal of these Agencies. The Foreign Secretary assured the Chinese Charge d' Affaires that necessary facilities will be accorded. Foreign Secretary also added that the Government of India will be taking a decision on the winding up of Indian Trade Agencies in Tibet on a reciprocal basis and will request the Chinese Government to give necessary facilities.

We informed the Chinese Charge d' Affaires on the 30<sup>th</sup> May, of our decision on withdrawal of our Trade Agency at Gyantse by 10<sup>th</sup> June and our Trade Agency at Yatung by the 15<sup>th</sup> June, and asked for facilities for the Trade Agencies to pack, crate and transfer records and stores. As regard to the third Trade Agent who used to visit Gartok, we asked for facilities for him to visit Western Tibet as soon as the Lipulekh Pass was open so that he could wind up his Mission. We told the Charge d' Affaires that none of our Trade Agents will be functioning as such with effect from the 3<sup>rd</sup> June, but they will take some time to move out with their records and stores and asked that certain administrative facilities be given to the Trade Agents till the date of withdrawal. We also informed the Chinese Charge d' Affaires that we intended to place our property and buildings at Yatung in charge of our Consul General at Lhasa who would keep a small maintenance staff there and convert the place into a hostel for the use of our countries and officials proceeding to or returning from Lhasa. The Chinese government have asked that the withdrawal of the Indian Trade Agencies in Tibet should be completed within a month. They have also stated that reasonable facilities will be guaranteed for such withdrawal. They have, however, regretted their inability to grant certain administrative facilities, like communications in cipher, with the Government of India until the date of the withdrawal of the Trade Agencies.

the Agreement for trade and intercourse between India and the Tibet region of China. Such trade and intercourse in future will, to the extent permitted by each side, be regulated by national laws and regulations of the countries concerned.

**Shri Mohsin:** What will be the effect of the closure of these trade agencies in both the countries on our trade and commerce specially in regard to exports and imports of our country?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Obviously, the effect will be that such small trade as was carried on will be reduced still further.

**Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi):** Consequent upon the expiry of the Indo-Tibetan Agreement of 1954, it is learnt that Indian traders in Tibet are winding up their business. May I know if the Government are taking steps for the transfer of their assets to this country?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** There has been some correspondence about that. The House would have noticed, when I read out, certain facilities for withdrawal etc. That will be part of those facilities that we have asked for.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** In view of the fact that the 1954 Agreement had an Appendix embodying what has since come to be known as the doctrine of *Panchsheel* in international relations, it having been enunciated for the first time in that context in modern history, may I ask whether the scrapping of this 1954 Trade Agreement will entail, as a regrettable consequence thereof, the snapping of the *Panchsheel* tie between India and China as well?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Those principles embodied in what is called the *Panchsheel* agreement are basic principles which remain, whether anybody breaks them or not. So far as we are concerned, we shall try to abide by them in the changed circumstances. I do not know how far it will be possible altogether to act up to them. But we do not propose to contravene them unless we are compelled to do so.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Unilaterally we will stick to them?

**Mr. Speaker:** Papers to be laid on the Table.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It is bilateral, it is a two-way traffic.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Papers to be laid on the Table.

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11 June 1962

Oral Answers to Questions

### TRADE WITH TIBET

\*1398. **Shri P.K. Deo:**

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:**

**Shri D.C. Sharma:**

**Shri Sarjoo Pandey:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the total value of trade between India and Tibet has actually increased in the first quarter of 1962 as compared with 1961; and
- (b) if so, whether this was due to some relaxation of the earlier restrictions imposed on such trade?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir. The total value of trade between India and Tibet did increase in the first quarter of 1962 relative to the value of trade in the first quarter of 1961.
- (b) This was not due to any relaxation of earlier restrictions imposed on this trade. The increase in exports was almost entirely due to the anxiety on the part of traders on both sides to complete as many transactions as possible before the expiry on the 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 1962 of the 1954 Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibet region of China.

**Shri P.K. Deo:** The other day in reply to an earlier question on the subject the hon. Prime Minister said that attempts were being made for the transfer of the assets of the Indian traders who were winding up their business in Tibet. May I know what steps have been taken in this regard in the mean time?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** All their assets are being wound up and arrangements are being made with the Chinese Government to allow them to bring their assets back to India.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether it is a fact that the Indian businessmen had to sell their goods that were lying unsold for a long time even by sustaining losses because of this trade agreement being withdrawn and all that?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I do not know; it may have been so. When we have to sell suddenly, there is a risk of losing.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Is it a fact that in recent months the Chinese authorities in Tibet have warned not only Tibetans but also Nepalese against any trade dealings with Indians there?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Do not know?

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** May I know if wool and *pashmina* happen to be two commodities that began pouring into India from Tibet in this trade?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** We used to import wool.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** Pashmina also?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** Yes, pashmina also.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** श्रीमान माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अभी कुछ दिन पहले वक्तव्य देते हुए यह बताया था कि हमने चीन सरकार से यह कहा है कि गंतोक स्थित हमारे वाणिज्यदूत ट्रेड एजेंट को कुछ दिनों के लिये पश्चिमी तिब्बत में जाने की इजाजत दी जाय, ताकि वह वहां से सामान और रिकार्डज को लाने की व्यवस्था कर सकें। अतः मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या चीन सरकार ने उनकी पेशकश को स्वीकार कर लिया है।

**श्री दिनेश सिंह:** इस बारे में अभी चीन सरकार से बातचीत चल रही है।

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** Does Government propose to give any relief to the Indian traders who are affected by this closure of trade with Tibet?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No, Sir, I think they have done rather well in the past.

**Shri P.K. Deo:** May I know whether consequent to the closure of our trade missions the Indian officials are finding it difficult to transport their Tibetan wives with whom they got married there?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** They are not Indian officers but local Tibetans who serve us. There is some difficulty about the wives.

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11 June 1962

Written Answers to Questions

### INFLUX OF TIBETAN REFUGEES INTO DARJEELING

\*1403. **Shri P.C. Borooah:**

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:**

**Shri D.C. Sharma:**

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- whether it is a fact that a considerable number of Tibetan refugees have lately sneaked into Darjeeling;
- if so, whether State Government concerned have sought the advice of the Central Government to tackle the situation in view of the impending heavy influx of refugees; and
- action taken by the Center?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- No, Sir.
- and (c). Do not arise.

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## DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY THE INDIAN TRADERS IN TIBET

**Shri Niranjan Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware that the Indian traders who were disposing of their merchandise before the expiry of the trade agreement with Tibet experienced difficulties; and
- (b) if so, what steps Government took to help these traders?

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

- (a) Yes, Sir. The Chinese authorities in Tibet have imposed additional restrictions, on the eve of the expiry of the Trade Agreement to make it difficult for Indian traders to dispose of their merchandise. They have warned local Tibetans not to enter into barter agreements with Indian traders, and have further dissuaded them from bartering or selling wool and other traditional items to Indian traders. A month before the expiry of the trade Agreement, the Chinese authorities announced a new Customs Regulations imposing fresh duties on the trade. They have also prohibited all transactions in Indian currency and have severely restricted trade remittances.
- (b) The Government of India have always urged the rights of Indian traders under the terms of the 1954 Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and Tibet region of China. The Chinese authorities have, however, continued throughout to maintain an uncooperative attitude in this regard. Moreover, the protection of the 1954 Agreement is no longer available to our traders from the date of its expiry, viz, the 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 1962.



19 June 1962

Oral Answers to Questions

## TIBETAN REFUGEES

**\*1540. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:**

**Shri Krishna Deo Tripathi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the total number of Tibetan refugees in India at present;
- (b) the efforts and arrangements made by Government for providing them relief, employment and educational facilities; and
- (c) the contribution, financial and otherwise made by the Dalai Lama himself towards the rehabilitation of these refugees?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) Approximately 32,300.
- (b) Government of India is providing food, clothing, accommodation and other necessities to all Tibetan refugees. About 8,000 persons have been or are in the process of being permanently rehabilitated on land. Majority of the remaining able-bodied workers are employed on road works. Residential and Day schools have been opened for the children according to requirements.
- (c) The Dalai Lama has made some contribution towards some of the welfare activities for Tibetan refugees.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** How many refugee camps are there all over the country, and could we know the names of the places where they are situated?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I could not give all the names of the camps, but the permanent rehabilitations are in Mysore—a camp of about 3,000 now but it is expected to have more. That is a regular colony of Tibetan refugees established there. It is proposed to have some more colonies, perhaps one in Orissa, perhaps one in Uttar Pradesh. We have to be careful about the climate of the place because a very hot climate will not suit the Tibetans. Then in NEFA there is a camp. The Dalai Lama himself lives in Dalhousie, and a fairly large number of Tibetan children have gathered round him, that is, the parents leave them there feeling rather assured that the Dalai Lama would look after them. The burden is rather heavy. It is now proposed to have a children's village somewhat after the fashion of the Swiss children's village which they had after the War, Pestalozzi I think. That is being thought of. And then there are a number of people in Ladakh, and there are people working, young Tibetans working on roads in various places.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Have any reports reached Government that in the past some Chinese spies or agents have infiltrated along with the Tibetan refugees into India, and if so, has there been any screening on the part of Government before refugees are admitted into India?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** There is some attempted screening. I am not sure it is always wholly successful, but there has been screening and some people have been separated from others.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** On grounds stated by me?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Yes.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** Is it the intention of the Government that these rehabilitation measures should be carried out in such a way that these refugees are to gradually become Indian citizens?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** There is no attempt to make them Indian citizens. They may, of course, if they fulfill the qualifications, become Indian citizens, but the main object is to treat them as Tibetans with Tibetan language, Tibetan culture, Tibetan religion etc. In addition, of course, they learn Hindi, and sometimes, may be, a little English.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** Are they required to live in specified colonies, or are they permitted to go anywhere there like?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not quite know. In a sense it is open to them to go anywhere they like, but it is very difficult for them to do so because of the difficulty of language and other things. They just can't do it.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the fact of China launching a systematic campaign through cinema slides, lectures, radio broadcasts....

**Mr. Speaker:** He ought to come to the question.

**Shri Hem Barua:** ....depicting the so-called horrid conditions of life and the hard work to which the Tibetan refugees in the country are supposed to subjected to and....

**Mr. Speaker:** He should come straight to the question.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Yes, Sir: if so whether the Government have launched a counter-campaign to nail this Chinese lie to the coffin?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am sorry it is difficult to grasp the hon. Member's questions; the preamble is too long. We have started no such campaign here.

**Shri Hem Barua:** My question was whether Government was aware of it.

**Mr. Speaker:** No counter-campaign has been launched; answer has been given.

**Shri Bade:** Is there any autonomous society by which education is given to the Tibetan students and of which the President is the Education Minister and if so, what is the amount spent by the society for the Tibetan students?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** What society?

**Shri Bade:** It is a non-Government institution. It is said here that an autonomous society registered under the societies registration act has been formed to arrange for the provision of educational facilities for the children of displaced Tibetans. I am asking: what is the amount spent and what is the grant to the society?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I know only of one society: Tibetan Refugees Aid Society, of which, I think, Acharya Kripalani is the Chairman; I do not know of any other.

**Shri Bade:** It is written here that Education Minister is the Chairman of the Society. Dalai Lama is a member.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** In regard to students we have been particularly anxious to provide schools for the children and the Educational Minister is always consulted; in fact he decides a great deal about it. I do not know if some special or sub-committee is there and whether he is a member of that committee for this purpose.

But the Tibetan Refugees Aid Society has nothing to do with Government except that it is in touch with Government.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** श्रीमान मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इतने प्रयत्नों के बावजूद भी ऐसे कितने तिब्बती शरणार्थी हैं जो ट्रांजिट केम्पों में पड़े हुए हैं और देर से देर कब तक उनको पूरी तरह से बसाए जाने की उम्मीद की जाती है?

**श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू:** मेरी समझ में नहीं आया। मैं ने अभी नम्बर दिया था कि शायद 32 हजार हैं वह कुल, और वह रहेंगे! उनको मदद करने की कोई तारीख मुकर्रर नहीं की गयी है! जब तक उनको जरूरत होगी उनको मदद दी जाएगी।

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** मेरा मतलब यह था कि जिनकी स्थायी रूप से बसाये जा चुका है उनके अलावा कुछ ऐसे हैं जो अभी भी ट्रांजिट केम्पों में पड़े हुए हैं। उनकी हालत खराब है। मैं उन के बारे में जानना चाहता था।

**श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू:** मैं नहीं जानता कि कितने केम्पों में पड़े हैं। सिवाय उनके जो नए आए हों और ट्रांजिट केम्प में हों इन केम्प वालों को भी कुछ काम वगैरह दिया जाता है।

**Shri Nath Pal:** Is any aid being received from any country abroad for the rehabilitation of these refugees and, if so, the name of the countries and the amount of aid? Secondly, is it the policy of Government to allow Tibetan children to be adopted by foreign parents?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I cannot give the exact figures of the sum of aid received by the Government. The Government of New Zealand is aiding and the Government of Australia also gave some amount. Switzerland sent something as well, I believe, the United Kingdom government. From the United States, I believe they have helped the unofficial committee and to some extent medicines and other things have been sent.

**Shri Nath Pal:** Is Government encouraging any such adoption of Tibetan children by foreign parents and, if so, how many such children have gone so far?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We have not encouraged any such adoption. About twenty or so children were taken away with some of their parents to Switzerland by some organization in Switzerland. Perhaps they are in the children's village there. I have not heard anything about adoption.

**Mr. Speaker:** Next question.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What about allowing one more supplementary to the main questioner?

**Mr. Speaker:** I have already allowed two.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** You normally allow three.

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19 June 1962

Oral Answers to Questions

### EMPLOYEES OF THE INDIAN TRADE AGENCY AT YATUNG

**S.N.Q. 19. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- whether the Chinese authorities in Tibet have arrested some persons employed in the Indian Trade Agency at Yatung;
- if so, how many; and
- the reasons therefore?

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

- Yes, Sir.
- The following arrests were made by the Chinese at Yatung on the night of 4<sup>th</sup> June 1962:-
  - 2 local employees of our Trade Agency at Yatung and 4 members of their families;
  - wives of 2 other local employees at Yatung;
  - Tibetan wife of an India protected person (Sikkimese) employed at Yatung.
- It seems that the persons mentioned were arrested as they were trying to escape to India.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Have all the three trade agencies of India, at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok, been closed since

the 1954 trade agreement lapsed?

**Shrmati Lakshmi Menon:** Yes.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Is it a fact that there were a large number of Tibetan employees in the three Indian trade agencies at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok? If so, is it a fact that most of the Tibetan employees have been arrested and deported to unknown destinations and Indians among the employees have been insulted and humiliated beyond measure by the Chinese authorities in Tibet?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I have not heard of any particular insult being offered to the Indian employees...

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It was in the papers.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** As the Tibetan employees were being considered as Chinese citizens, possibly pressure was brought to bear upon them. A member of them disappeared from the Indian Missions at Gyantse and...

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Gartok.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Not Gartok, but Yatung. In Gartok, there was no permanent Mission. It was wandering.

**Shri Nath Pal:** Disappeared or kidnapped?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** A number of them disappeared. The Chinese authorities demanded an explanation from the Indian Mission as to where they had gone. It is evident, or one can presume, that they had disappeared because they wanted to escape possibly to India or any other place. We know nothing about it. They simply disappeared. One, I am reminded by my hon. colleague, committed suicide. That is what happened.

In regard to the wives of the other employees, they are also according to Chinese law, are Chinese citizens. It is possible that they might be allowed to come to India with their husbands, but, according to the Chinese again, only after they have been admitted that they are Chinese and had got the requisite papers etc, and taken permission. They do not automatically accompany their husbands.

**Shri Nath Pal:** Is it not a well-established international convention that when such missions are closed, their staff, whatever the nationality, are accorded safe conduct to destinations of their choice? If so, has not China violated that convention in arresting these personnel?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know whom they have arrested yet, but I am not sure about the international convention about people of the same nationality. I am not sure of that at all. Of course, people ought to be accorded every facility to go away, but where the people belong to the country where the mission is situated, they are of that nationality, then it is doubtful what the rights and wrongs are.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether government have lodged any protest with China over these unhappy incidents; if so, whether the Government expect a reply from China calling us liars again?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Hem Barua:** They will call us liars.

**Mr. Speaker:** They may call that, but this is not the question.

**Shri Hem Barua:** In "China Today" in the 24<sup>th</sup> issue they have done so.

**Mr. Speaker:** Unnecessarily he is putting some objectives and making inferences that are not warranted. During the Question Hour at least that should not be done.

**Shri Nath Pal:** May I ask one thing, arising out of the reply he gave? It is quite true that a country has the right to arrest its own nationals, but it is customary to hand over a list of persons whom we regard as part of the staff and in that case they are covered by immunity too. May I know from the Prime Minister whether these persons were covered by such immunity or not?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not think all of them were covered. Usually there are two or three lists. One is that of diplomatic immunity, the others are just staff, they do not have diplomatic immunity. Thirdly, local people who are engaged are not covered at all by any immunity.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Has Government received any report, or is there any evidences to show, that the action taken by the Chinese authorities in Tibet is part of a set policy on their part to liquidate Tibetan friends of India and squeeze the last Indians out of Tibet?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Which section the hon. Member refers to?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** These arrests are made.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know if a single arrest has been made. I do not know if any arrests have been made.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** That is what I had asked in the previous question, whether there had been any arrests.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The hon. Member repeatedly refers to arrests. I do not know of any arrests in this connection.

**Shri Hem Barua:** One point of personal explanation, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am sorry.

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19 June 1962

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN REFUGEES

**3456. Shri Dharmalingam:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) the amount spent so far on the Tibetan Refugees for giving them training in the different Small Industries Service Institutes;
- (b) the nature of preference given to them;
- (c) whether any preferences is given to the displaced persons from Ceylon and Burma; and
- (d) if not, the reasons, therefore?

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

- (a) Rs. 1,51,203/-
- (b) Educational requirements for admission to Small Industries Service Institutes were relaxed. To overcome the language difficulty, Hindi teachers/interpreters were also provided with each batch.
- (c) and (d). The Government of Madras gave preference to repatriates from Ceylon seeking admission into training centers. The State Government also give loans, lands and Ambar Charkhas etc. to these repatriates to enable them to start small industries or to carry on their avocations in India.

No consideration has yet been given by either the Government of India or any of the State Governments for giving such preference to Indians returning from Bhutan in similar circumstances, as their number is very small.

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19 June 1962

Written Answers to Questions

### REHABILITATION OF TIBETANS REFUGEES IN NEFA

**3464. Shri P.C. Borooah:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the North East Frontier Agency Administration has drafted a programmed for the permanent rehabilitation of 5,000 Tibetan refugees in NEFA; and
- (b) if so, what are the broad outlines of the scheme?

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

- (a) Yes, Sir.

- (b) The Scheme envisages settlement of 5,000 Tibetan refugees on land in various frontier divisions of NEFA in self-contained villages of about 75 families each with necessary medical, educational and other facilities.



**22 June 1962**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

**TIBETANS WIVES OF THE EMPLOYEES OF INDIAN TRADE AGENCIES IN TIBET**

**\*1634. Shri P.C. Borooah:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Chinese authorities in Tibet have refused to permit the Tibetan wives and children of several Indian and Sikkimese employees of the Indian Trade Agencies to accompany their husbands and fathers to India;
- (b) if so, how many persons have been denied permission; and
- (c) what action has been taken by Government in the matter?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) No, Sir. The Chinese authorities insist that the Tibetan wives of Indian and Sikkimese employees of our Trade Agencies in Tibet are Chinese citizens. As such they should hold Chinese passports and observe formalities required under Chinese immigration laws before they are permitted to accompany their husbands who are returning to India. There is no clear indication yet whether these Tibetan wives will be permitted to leave for India.
- (b) Six Tibetan women are involved.
- (c) We had requested the Chinese Government to permit these women to accompany their husbands to India on compassionate grounds. A further approach to the Chinese Government will be made in this behalf if necessary.

**Shri P.C. Borooah:** How many total families have been affected by this decision of the Chinese authorities and how many have returned to India without their wives?

**Mr. Speaker:** It has been answered. None has returned.

**Dr. L.M. Singhvi:** Are Government in agreement with the view that this constitutes a violation of the human rights of these husbands whose wives have been denied to them? If so, what do they intend to do to establish these human rights for these husbands?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I am not aware that this is mentioned in the human rights Charter specifically.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Prime Minister answering a question in the House on the 19<sup>th</sup> of this month—I am reading from the transcript—said that he does not know of any arrests of Tibetan employees in these trade agencies, while earlier on the same day his colleague, the Minister of State, Shrimati Lakshmi Menon, detailed five arrests of Tibetan employees including one of the wives of the employees. Which would be correct?

**Mr. Speaker:** About this question?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Because they refer to Tibetan employees.

**Mr. Speaker:** Only the wives are not allowed to accompany their husbands.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Because they have been arrested, they cannot accompany their husbands.

**Mr. Speaker:** He wants to know whether the wives have been arrested?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Yes.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is not answered.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Because she was arrested, therefore, she could not accompany her husband.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am not aware of the wives being arrested, nor have the Chinese definitely said that they cannot accompany their husbands. All that they have said is that they are Chinese nationals, that they must abide by Chinese regulations. It may be that after they have got their passports etc. they may be permitted to come, or it may be



that they may not be allowed to come. It cannot be definitely said either way.

As to who has been arrested and when, I confess I cannot straightway say anything about that. But my impression is that in this particular case, very few arrests have been made.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** Will the hon. Prime Minister kindly state if in such cases only bachelors will be posted in such stations or before marriage the credentials of the brides will be obtained from the Governments of the countries where they are posted?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is a suggestion.

**P.C. Borooah:** Have government got a proposal to assure the Chinese Government that these wives when they are brought here would be allowed to continue their Chinese nationality.

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** That question does not arise. The Chinese treat them as their citizens and they will continue to be so treated till they change their nationality.

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**22 June 1962**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### चीन द्वारा सीमा मुठभेड की धमकी

**1637. श्री भक्त दर्शन:**

श्री प्र० चं० बरुआ : क्या प्रधानमंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि

- क) क्या यह सच है कि चीन ने 2 जून 1962 को पेकिंग में भारतीय राजदूतावास को एक नोट दिया है जिसमें उसने भारत को चेतावनी दी है कि दोनों देशों के बीच किसी भी समय सीमा मुठभेड हो सकती है; और
- ख) यदि हां, तो इस पर सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया है?

**वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री दिनेश सिंह)**

- क) जी हां। हमने अपने 24 मई 1962 के जिस नोट में यह प्रस्ताव किया था कि दोनों पक्ष लद्दाख के विवादग्रस्त क्षेत्र से पीछे हट जाये, उसे रद्द करते हुए चीन सरकार ने अपने 2 जून 1962 के नोट में यह धमकी दी है।

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**22 June 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### DEATH OF LADAKHI LAMAS IN TIBET

**\*1638. Shri D.C. Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that several Buddhist Lamas of Ladakh detained in Tibet had died in Chinese concentration camps;
- (b) whether it is also a fact that several Ladakhi lamas have been recruited by the Chinese concentration camps;
- (c) whether it is also a fact that these lamas are being victimized because they had refused to play into the hands of the Chinese against India; and
- (d) if so, the action proposed to be taken in the matter?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) We do not know whether any Ladakhi Lama died in Chinese detention in Tibet.
- (b) Although we have no precise information, we understand that most of these Ladakhi Lamas were pressed into road construction. Ladakhi Lamas who returned from Tibet in 1960-1961 reported that they were forced to do road construction work and engage in other forms of hard labour by the Chinese authorities.
- (c) We understand that some Ladakhi Lamas were treated harshly in jail as they refused to cooperate with the Chinese in their activities against India.

- (d) We represented to the Chinese Government for the release of all Ladakhi Lamas under detention in Tibet. According to our information, most of them have come away to India. There are a few still left in Tibet but we do not have precise information about them. Whenever a case comes to the notice of our Consul General, he takes it up with the Foreign Bureau in Lhasa and tries to secure the release and return of the lama to India.

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**22 June 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEE CAMPS**

**3840. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Tibetan refugee camps at Buxa and Dalhousie are the exclusive responsibility of Government;
- (b) whether any person has suggested through medium of the international Buddhist News Forum, Rangoon, that those camps are centers of the Tibetan Friendships Group, New Delhi; and appealed in the name of that Group, and funds; and
- (c) if so, the action taken by Government in the matter in order to check such undesirable and fraudulent activity?

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

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) The government have seen the article referred to which gives a misleading impression about the control of these camps.
- (c) The writer of the article in question was warned not to send out such misleading reports in future.

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**6 August 1962**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **COURIER SERVICE BETWEEN LHASA AND NATHU LA**

**\*5. Shri D.C. Sharma:**

**Shri Bibhuti Mishra:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Government of India are negotiating a new agreement with the Chinese Government for operating a courier service between Lhasa (Tibet) and Nathu La in Sikkim to maintain diplomatic communication; and
- (b) if so, the outcome of the negotiations?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) These negotiations have been concluded and a contract specifying the terms of the courier service was signed in Lhasa on the 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1962.

**Shri D.C. Sharma:** May I know what the terms of this agreement are and how they are going to benefit both the countries?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** According to our agreement, the Chinese Government will provide the transport from certain part of our border to Lhasa for the payment we shall make to them.

**Shri D.C. Sharma:** Should I take it that before their courier service was established there was no channel of diplomatic communication between Lhasa and our country and if so what happened then?

**Mr. Speaker:** What was the previous arrangement for this purpose?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** The same thing.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** श्रीमान, यह तो नया करार किया गया है इस पर कब से अमल किया जाएगा:

**श्री दिनेश सिंह:** इस पर वक्त अमल हो रहा है ।

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** May I know if this courier service is meant exclusively for diplomatic services alone?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** Yes, Normally courier service is meant for the diplomatic bags and articles.

**श्री कांशी राम गुप्त:** क्या पहले एग्रीमेंट और इस एग्रीमेंट में कोई विशेष फर्क है?

**श्री दिनेश सिंह:** जी हां, पहले जो हमारी कोरियर सर्विस थी वह हर हफ्ते जाया करती थी अब यह हर पन्द्रहवें दिन जाया करेगी। पहले यहां से कुछ दूर तक हमारे म्यूल्स वगैरह जाते थे अब बोर्डर से उनके म्यूल्स जाएंगे।

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**6 August 1962**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **INDIAN CONSUL-GENERAL IN LHASA**

**\*8. Shri Hem Barua**

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:**

**Shri Nath Pal:**

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:**

**Shri Rameshwar Tantia:**

**Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:**

**Shri Yalamanda Reddy:**

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Chinese authorities in Lhasa have refused continuation of wireless communication facilities to the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa; and
- (b) if so, Government's reaction thereto?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) The Government of India represented to the Chinese Government against their arbitrary decision to close down this link which had been functioning since 1936. The Chinese Governments, however, did not accept this stand. Our communications with Lhasa are now through normal telegraphic channels.

**Shri Hem Barua:** In view of the drastic action taken by Peking on our Consul-General in Lhasa, may I know whether government propose to take reciprocal action against them by putting a ban on Chinese transmission from this country?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** There is no question of reciprocal action because the Chinese do not have transmitters in India.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Deputy Minister may speak a bit louder.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** The Chinese are not transmitting from here through the wireless.

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** They have no wireless transmitters here.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know if it is a fact that the Chinese have described that this transmission as illegal and if so whether the government have tried to ascertain the reasons why it was called illegal?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** There is no question of legality or illegality. These matters are done with the permission of the Government concerned. If the government of China does not agree with it, then it will be an infringement. If we do not agree they cannot have a wireless transmission from here.

**Shri Nath Pal:** Is it a fact that these transmission facilities were part of an earlier agreement with China and its denial today constitutes a violation of that agreement and secondly, the reason advanced by the People's Republic of China for denying these facilities is that these facilities are abused by the Indian Consul-General for spying the purpose?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I have not got the Chinese Government's reply and the correspondence on this subject. Perhaps from certain White Papers that I am placing before the hon. Member, he may himself excavate the reason for it.

But obviously, they felt that these wireless facilities were not used to their advantage and they wanted to put an end to it.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** These are special facilities in Lhasa. When we gave up our extra-territorial rights there, what was the understanding on which we gave them up? What was the understanding arrived at that time and may I know whether it is being followed now.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not exactly remember the wording. As far as I know, there was no understanding about this; but, I am not quite sure. In any event, the treaties with China about trade matters have lapsed and many of our understandings have lapsed with them.

**Shri Rameshwar Tantia:** May I know how our communication with Lhasa is at present maintained?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** By ordinary telegraph or by courier.

**Shri Hem Barua:** The Chinese have dubbed the transmission by our Consul – General in Lhasa as illegal. May I know whether they have discovered this illegality after the expiry of the treaty or before?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** They have done it after; but as I said, there is no question of legality or illegality. If the Government of China says it should not be done; it becomes illegal.

**Mr. Speaker:** Next question.

**Shri S.M. Banerjee:** Question No.9.

**Shri P.K. Deo:** Question Nos. 27 and 35 may be taken up along with this question.

**Mr. Speaker:** Question No. 9 may be answered.

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**6 August 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INDIAN TRADE AGENCIES IN TIBET**

**33. Shri P.C. Borooah:**

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Trade Agencies in Tibet have since been wound up;
- (b) if so, whether the authorities had to face multifarious difficulties in this operations; and
- (c) what main difficulties were faced by them?

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

- (a) and (b). Yes, Sir, the Indian Trade Agencies at Gartok, Gyantse and Yatung have been withdrawn following the expiry of the Sino-Indian Trade Agreement of 1954. The Trade Agents at Yatung and Gyantse experienced various difficulties while preparing to withdraw their establishments.
- (b) These have been mentioned in detail in our communications sent to the Chinese Embassy at New Delhi on 21<sup>st</sup> June, 1962 and 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1962. In these communications, the Government of India protested against the failure on the part of the Chinese authorities to extend reasonable co-operation to the Indian Trade Agents at the time of their withdrawal from Tibet.

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**6 August 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INDIAN PILGRIMS TO TIBET**

**63. Shri Yashpal Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether any applications were received by the Government of India from its citizens wishing to visit Tibet for pilgrimage or for any other purpose flowing the termination of the Sino-Indian Trade Agreement of 1954?

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

Since the expiry of the Sino-Indian Trade Agreement of 1954, some applications have been received from pilgrims wishing to visit Kailash and Mansarovar. No requests for visits to Tibet have been received by the Government of India from Indian traders. Pilgrims have been advised that in view of the lapse of the 1954 Agreement are no longer available. They would be required to observe formalities normally prescribed for travel from one country to another, including the possessions of a duly-vised passport.

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**9 August 1962**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

**TIBETAN STUDENTS SENT TO DENMARK TO STUDY AGRICULTURE**

**\*159. Shri P. Kunhan:**

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that 20 Tibetan students have been sent to Denmark to study agriculture.
- (b) If so, who is bearing the expenses for their study; and
- (c) How long they will be in Denmark and on their return how their experiences will be utilized?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) Their traveling expenses were borne by the American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Relief and their maintenance and training expenses are being met by the Danish committee for Tibetan Assistance.
- (c) Their training period is 3 to 4 years. On their return, their experience can usefully be utilized in the agricultural settlements set up in India for permanent rehabilitations of Tibetan refugees.

**Shri P. Kunhan:** What is the reason for selecting only Tibetan students?

**Mr. Speaker:** Why only Tibetan students were selected?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Because the fund is meant for Tibetan students only.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** Is it a fact that there is a whole department in the Ministry of Education at the Center dealing with these Tibetan students—as a separate entity?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know how the Education Ministry deals with it. The External Affairs Ministry is broadly in charge. But, so far as education is concerned, they have asked the Education Ministry to look after it. So far as I know there is no special department. Somebody has to deal with it; and probably, some official is there in charge.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know whether citizenship rights have been granted to the Tibetan refugees or they are treated as foreign nationals? If so, how can Government expect that the experience of these Tibetan students who have gone abroad and who will come back will be utilized for the benefit of the country?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am sorry I have not quite understood the hon. Member's question. This problem of Tibetan refugees has arisen and we are more particularly interested in their education, in the education of the younger people. Various agencies abroad have helped in this and have even taken away some people; we have agreed to that. There is, for instance, a children's village in Switzerland and about 20-30 Tibetan children with some of their parents have gone there.

**Mr. Speaker:** His question was this. Would they be Indian citizens or foreigners, how would they be absorbed in agricultural pursuits in India?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I cannot say what they will be in future. At the present moment, they are not Indian nationals, whatever they might be.

**Shri Hem Barua:** My question was not properly understood. May I submit that these are foreign nationals and the Deputy Minister said that when they came back their experience might be utilized for our country. I asked how it can be binding on them since they are foreign nationals.

**Mr. Speaker:** Nobody has said that it would be binding upon them. Next question.

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### तिब्बत में निरूद्ध भारतीय राष्ट्रजन

**395 श्री भक्त दर्शन:** क्या प्रधान मंत्री 16 मार्च, 1962 के तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 96 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि तिब्बत में चीनी अधिकारियों द्वारा पकड़े गये भारतीय राष्ट्रजनों तथा भारतीय संरक्षणधीन व्यक्तियों को छुड़ाने के लिए किए गए प्रयत्नों में और कहां तक सफलता मिली है?

**प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री तथा अणु शक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू):** 16 मार्च, 1962 को तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 69 का उत्तर दिये जाने के बाद से अब तक तिब्बत में चीनी अधिकारियों द्वारा हिरासत में रखे हुए भारतीयों और भारत रक्षित लोगों को मुक्त कराने के सम्बन्ध में कोई और प्रगति नहीं हुई है।



13 August 1962

Answers to Questions

### MOTION RE: INDIA-CHINA BORDER SITUATION

**Shri P. K. Deo:** Sir, while moving the substitute motion standing in my name and in the name of Shri Narendra Singh Mahida, I do submit that it is a pride to all of us that we have got a Prime Minister of the stature of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, a patriot who has devoted his very life to free the country from the shackles of foreign rule. His contribution, his endeavour for restoration and preservation of world peace will be written in letters of gold in the annals of world history. At the same time, I beg to submit that the policy that we have followed in regard to foreign affairs, in so far as it relates to the Sino-Indian relationship, is a matter of utter failure. I accuse those who have misguided him; I accuse those of his advisers who have put him in the wrong and made him pursue a policy of complacency and a policy of appeasement in dealing with a hostile, belligerent and expansionist neighbour like Communist China.

The story of Sino-Indian relationship is a strong or is a narration of a series of blunders on our part and a series of breaches of faith on the part of China, and as a result, it has developed to a potentially inflammable situation on our northern border, which has imperiled the security and integrity of this country.

From the very day that is, from the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1949, when the People's Republic of China was proclaimed, we have been extending a helping hand of genuine friendship to help them. We were the first to recognize the People's Republic of China, and we have been fighting ever since for its representation in the UNO. It was we who first voted against the resolution branding China as an aggressor in the Korean issue. It was we who declined to attend the peace treaty with Japan which was signed in San Francisco, because China was not a party to it. We not only supported the Chinese claim to the off-shore islands, but especially, when the Chinese invaded Tibet and butchered thousands of Tibetans and let loose a reign of terror, we did not raise our little finger against it according to our traditional good behaviour towards a neighbour. Rather, we were very quick to forgo our extra-territorial privileges and rights, to satisfy our neighbour, and entered into a trade agreement with China. In that trade agreement, we mentioned everything from pilgrim routes to markets and all such things, but in our first agreement with the Chinese, we never tried to delimit and define our frontier. If we had tried at that moment, in our first border, the Chinese would very well have agreed to it at that time. But, how complacent we were then: we never expected that there would ever be any trouble on our northern border.

In this connection, I would like to quote a line from the famous but controversial book *In Two Chinas* written by our former Ambassador, Mr. K. M. Panikkar. At page 175 of that book, he points out how the Tibetan issue was a simple one, and he felt and hoped that it would be solved very smoothly. But time has unearthed the real intention of the Chinese, and we have seen that it has posed a threat to the integrity and sovereignty of this country.

Especially when the question of Chinese aggression and invasion of Tibet was going to be discussed in the Steering Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, on the assurance of the Indian Government of a peaceful settlement, the matter was dropped. At that time, our Defence Minister was heading the Indian delegation. Instead of our friendliness being reciprocated, we are stabbed at the back. On the question of Kashmir, the attitude of China was



all along in our favour, and they had already accepted that the accession of Kashmir to India was the correct thing. But behind our back, they are starting negotiations to delimit their common border with Pakistan. It is most unfriendly.

We along with the Chinese were the loudest in proclaiming Panchshil, the five principles of peaceful Co-existence, and thought them to be the stepping-stone to a solid foundation for world peace. When, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of June 1954, the Chinese Prime Minister came to this country, in a joint statement, both the Prime Ministers came forward and reiterated their full faith in Panchshil. But hardly 20 days had passed after that, and the Chinese placed their territorial claim to Bara Hoti. Ever since then, there have been as many as 30 cases of intrusion, and about 20,000 square miles of Indian territory have been forcibly occupied by the Chinese. Indians have been shot at their check-posts, and Indian patrol parties and many of our Indian soldiers have been taken into captivity, and have been subjected to inhuman and harsh treatment. Our check-posts have also been fired at. By occupying these territories, in the meantime, they have with the help of large concentration of Chinese forces, built their own check-posts having a network of roads.

The Chinese, as usual, have started with their cartographical aggression, as has been pointed out by the previous speaker. First, when the wrong Chinese map was pointed out, the reply was given that it was just a reproduction of the Kuomintang map and that in no time it would be corrected. Then came the 1956 map, which was placed by the Prime Minister of China, when he visited this country, where a bigger chunk of Indian territory was claimed to be part of China. Then, when there were protracted negotiations between the officials of the two countries in 1960, in another map, a still larger chunk of Indian territories was claimed to be that of China. In their latest letter, of the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, it is most surprising how the Chinese claim that the 1956 map and the 1960 map are both the same maps, or, in other words, that they are identical. I fail to understand that.

To these aggressions, we have always sent a feeble protest, which is always replied to by saying that it is not a fact; rather, a further counter charge is made that we have committed aggression on Chinese land. At that time, not only are the old claims affirmed, but new claims are asserted. Our protest have acted as appetizers to increase the appetite of Chinese territorial claims.

We have been telling on the floor of the House for the last so many years that China can only understand the language of strength and the language of determination; the language of reasoning only falls before the deaf ears of an expansionist country like Communist China.

In the meantime, another situation has developed on the Ladakh border. It has posed a positive threat to our integrity. Our officials in their well- documented report, have proved it to the hilt that these territories are Indian territories. Further, the agreement between the Maharaja's of Kashmir and the Dalai Lama, to which the representative of the Chinese emperor was a party, namely the agreement of 1842 has further corroborated this fact. Aksai Chin has been occupied. The Chinese are inflexible in their stand. They want to convert these illegal possessions to legal occupation by persistent emphasis of *status quo*. This has been the most important keynote of the various communications from the Chinese. They are not in a mood to withdraw. Our Beloved Prime Minister has referred to the latest statement of Marshal Chen Yi where he says that no force on earth will ever compel them to withdraw from the territory they have occupied.

During the last month, the situation in Ladakh has further deteriorated. It has been a matter of great concern to all of us in this country. Our check-post in the Galwan Valley had been surrounded. Our troops in the Pangong area and in the Chip Chap Valley have been shot at. This means that the Chinese, whose activities were so far concentrated on the plateau of the Aksai Chin area, have now descended to the Galwan and Chip Chap Valleys. They have made further progress in their aggression. Trigger happy Chinese fire at our troops while committing such acts of aggression, but our soldiers have been definitely told not to fire unless fired upon. It is the legitimate duty of the soldier to push out the intruder when he enters one's territory.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the Prime Minister has rightly called upon the country to be wide-awake. But contrary to all expectations, to add insult to injury, the photograph of the Defence Minister clinking glasses with Marshal Chen Yi and toasting Hindi-Chini-bhai-bhai has been flashed throughout the country. Unfortunately, it has synchronized with the clang of metals in that high altitude, the raining of Chinese machine gun fire and mortar attacks upon Indian soldiers. I pay my tribute to those who have laid down their lives in the defence of this country and to those who have been fighting in those difficult conditions at that high altitude against heavy odds. What a demoralizing effect

this photograph would have when it is circulated. When they are making this supreme sacrifice, the Defence Minister goes and clinks his glass with the Chinese Marshal whose hand has been tainted with Indian blood! I remember the famous words of our Prime Minister when he refused to meet Mussolini because his hands were tainted with Ethiopian blood. The most mysterious part of the maneuver is that on the 24<sup>th</sup> of last Month in a communication, the Government of India write to the Chinese Government:

“The Government of India hope that this interference will cease and Chinese forces will withdraw peacefully to the east of the international frontier in this region”.

This is quite consistent with the stand we have taken so far. The Defence Minister comes to this country on the 25<sup>th</sup> and on the 26<sup>th</sup>, a fateful letter goes, where it is mentioned:

“It is true that the Government of India contest the validity of the 1956 Chinese map claim line, but the Chinese local forces should not go beyond their own claim line confirmed by Prime Minister Chou En-Lai”.

This is by no means the language of a self respecting victim of aggression who has been nursing a genuine sense of hurt and is determined to keep his own back. We feel too much hurt by this letter. There is a genuine fear that probably this has been working at the back of mind, that Aksai Chin will be ultimately surrendered

**Shri Khadilkar (Khed):** Sir, to make some worthwhile contribution to the debate, it is necessary to put the issue of our relations with China in its proper perspective. Unfortunately, the two hon. Members from the Opposition who preceded my hon. Friend Shri Mukerjee have tried in their own way to confuse the issue and in a way repeated the line of criticism that we come across in the Indian Press. What is the issue before us today? In order to understand recent developments we have got to take some historical review of the events leading to the present phase of our relations. As we all know, in 1958, unilateral action was taken in Aksai Chin area by our friendly neighbour China, when we were all the time having relationship of trust and friendship. It gave us a rude shock for the first time and we were awakened. We respected our neighbour and we did everything possible to bring China in the picture of the world outside and for providing a platform for China in a place from which they could proclaim Asiatic and African solidarity. China was welcomed there as one of the good neighbours by all the newly independent countries. From time to time, since 1950 the Chinese Prime Minister and the Chinese leaders were saying to our Prime Minister and giving vague assurances that the old maps belonged to the old regime of Kuomintang and that the international border or the traditional border would be recognized. We gave up our extra-territorial rights in Tibet unilaterally trusting their good intentions but we said that its autonomy should be respected. China had never understood the part that Himalayas played in the life of the Indian people and even now they fail to understand our ties with the Tibetan people and Tibet. We wanted to keep the most friendly relations with China and her people and also the people of Tibet because there was ancient intercourse between India and Tibet for ages together. Our civilization and Tibetans' have many things in common. Another crude shock was when the military contingent of China came to Tibet. The Chinese considered Tibet as a feudal jungle which should be cleared with military forces. In 1950 the first detachment of Chinese entered Tibet. Even then, in 1954 we entered into an agreement with China regarding Tibet; and then the five principles of co-existence were enunciated. I am not going to repeat them: they are well known. Even today, China is an outlawed nation to some extent; it has no place in the comity of nations. We are doing our best to give an honoured place; all the time we are exerting our influence towards this. In the Korean war also, we did our best to help China. That is well known. But in Tibet unilateral action was taken very recently after that treaty, inconsistent with the promises given and the covenants made by China. There was this breach of faith and we have now come to this pass. In fact in our exuberant enthusiasm we had a sort of honeymoon diplomacy with China. I use that word because we always have painted our neighbour as one who has defeated imperialism and strengthened freedom which is very important in the Asiatic world. Naturally, India would like to be most friendly with China, but unfortunately, we were disillusioned in 1958 when we discovered that a unilateral action was taken. The road was built on our land, in the so-called Aksai Chin area.

In that connection, I remember that once discussing these subjects in the External Affairs Committee, when this question was raised—I am not giving out any secret—the Prime Minister said that, in a friendly manner if China were to face difficulties of communication with other part, the Chinese Turkistan as they call it, and Tibet, certainly for civilian purposes by China. No other country of the stature of India, having an honoured place in the comity of nations in the world, would have taken this attitude even when they were kept in ignorance and stealthily a road was constructed. And when we came to know of it, we began to protest. Even then China did not resile. This is the phase that has come to an

end. Since 1958, in that phase of our relationship with China which we entered and up to 1962—certain developments have taken place since then—have we deviated from our policy? That is my question.

We have heard criticism in the press on the communication addressed to China on the 26<sup>th</sup> July. Some people have said that it is appeasement. Some other people have said that we are stooping to conquer. Some people have said that this is the road to dishonour. All sorts of things have been said. Is that justified? Why I am raising this issue is, whenever the issue of China and other policy matters are raised in this House, time and again this House has unanimously endorsed a certain basic fundamental policy not only in the international sphere but *vis a vis* China also. Is that criticism consistent with this vote of confidence for full support of our Chinese policy? What have we achieved during this period? Let us make an assessment. As I said, let us put the issue in its proper perspective. During this period, we have carried on a patient diplomacy, all the time, with great forbearance. I must say that we have achieved two big things. Firstly, we have built up our defence strength, where China now has come to feel the pinch of it. They have started complaining about it. Formerly, it was not done. Is it not an achievement? This is one part of the story. India has built up its defensive strength in a very difficult terrain. We have matched our forces against Chinese forces in Aksai Chin. That is one thing.

Another thing is this. Let me be very plain about it. As regards the other boundary with China, which extends to several thousands of miles, formerly, it was bargaining counter, but now *de facto* recognition has been given by China so far as the NEFA is concerned which is our north-eastern boundary, because, during this period, they have desisted from any intrusion. Let us assess the gains and the weakness, whatever they are. What are we fighting for?

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** This letter of 26<sup>th</sup> July says:

“The details of the correct international boundary in the Ladakh region have been given the full support in documentation by the Indian side in the meeting of the officials of the two sides whose report is now before the two Governments. Even if the Government of China is trying to contest this boundary, the Government of India fail to understand why the Government of China do not restrain their forces from going beyond even their 1956 Chinese map claim line which is capable of easy and quick verification.”

I think it might have been couched in diplomatic language but I feel that here we have committed a mistake. I should say, the Chinese must withdraw beyond the boundary which we are claiming, that is, the natural boundary of Ladakh, and which we have been claiming from very nearly 300 years.

On page 35 of this White Paper we have reiterated the word that has been used by the Chinese Government. It is stated:

“The Government of India are glad to see an affirmation in the Chinese note that ‘the socialistic system chosen by the Chinese people determines that China does not need war’ and also that ‘what China needs from the new-born Asian countries, which have achieved independence from under imperialist oppression, is friendship.’”

In the same note we have said:

“There is, therefore, no quarrel of India’s seeking. The boundary problem is China’s quarrel with India. Throughout history, the Indian people have shown sincere affection and warm regard for the Chinese people.”

We go a little further and say:

“There is in India a long tradition of peace and non-violence. The people of India by custom and tradition adhere to peace and do not look for quarrels.”

May I say in the same strain that the people of India have not tolerated injustice anywhere? They have never tolerated injustice being done and therefore they have suffered from the greatest calamities. It was on account of that injustice that was perpetrated by the Mohammedan rulers that people like Maharana Pratap, Durgadas Rathor, Shivaji and Maharaja Ranjit Singh fought against them. I would, therefore, say that ours is not a nation which is going to tolerate injustice. That injustice is being done to us by usurping and trespassing our own land, particularly by those for whose greatness we have tried to help, is patent. We have sponsored their cause in the United Nations. We have not talked of anything. We have not even recognized Formosa. We know, otherwise diplomatically we will know, that if you attack, we will join hands with Formosa and Formosa will attack us; we will join hands with United States of America and say you

will attack, Korea will attack. No, we have not said that. We do not want that war should ever come to China. We want that China should remain what it is today. But the Chinese, cunning people as they are, have not behaved in a manner which befits gentlemen. They have behaved in a manner which speaks that they are not true to their own word and to friends. They are not worthy to be friends of a great nation like India. They are trying to shake hands with Pakistan. They want to loot and divide the loot between themselves and Pakistan. Pakistan, one looter, and China, the other looter, want to divide this area between themselves. What right have they got to approach Pakistan?

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** May I know what Pakistan is going to gain from China?

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** You will realise that Pakistan would be most glad and willing to give to China the boundary between Pakistan and China which does not belong to Pakistan. Pakistan will say, "Come to any frontier that you like; it is yours for the asking." That is what will happen if there are negotiations between Pakistan and China. Therefore keeping in view the whole perspective and the whole picture which is now presented before the House, I will only urge without repeating and recapitulating all that has been said before by my predecessors that the time has come for us to be very firm and assertive in this respect and that without disclosing what the position in our country would be *vis-à-vis* China. Our army should not be asked to give up the territory which we have occupied. Until and unless the Chinese forces are driven back to the natural boundary we should not have any negotiations with a country which has not proved to be a true friend.

**Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated Anglo-Indians):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, according to my very dear but mis-guided friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee, we on this side seem to be exhausting the gamut of partisanship. Somebody speak with thunder according to him, some one else with venom, according to him. But as I listened when my friend was indulging in special pleading for a very weak if non-existent brief and prompted by emotions of almost filial solicitude.

As I mentioned to Shri Khadilkar, I could understand his point of view to a certain extent. But, I find particularly in the ranks of the ruling party an undue sensitivity with regard to any criticism especially with regard to foreign policy. I feel that basically the House and the country are united with regard to what our attitude should be towards China. But, I feel that in certain manifestations, in certain ways of executing it, sometimes, we beat an unnecessary retreat in the face of a ruthless expansionist neighbour. This happened last time. When I was speaking in May on External Affairs Debate, I underlined this increasing threat from China. I pleaded for a reconsideration of certain facets of our policy towards China. I said and I repeat that I felt it was dangerously unwise to do anything even by implication which would reinforce the Chinese capacity for mischief and overall strategy as I put it, ultimately to liberate India. I said that it was unwise for us to continue to plead the cause of China's sitting in the U.N. The direct consequence would be that probably it would lead to handing over of Formosa and the releasing of a large number of Chinese troops for operation if necessary against India. I had asked for some policy answer to what I considered a strategy: expansionist, strangulating us—I suggested—I knew it was not a popular suggestion—a move towards a *détente* with Pakistan, a deliberate cultivation of more friendly relations with Nepal and above all I asked why we should exhibit some kind of an over weaning regard for Chinese susceptibility with regard to Dalai Lama, when the Chinese have broken every undertaking brazenly, cynically with regard to Tibetan autonomy, when today they are pursuing Tibetan genocide with typical Chinese refinement. This is not anything new. This is a typical Chinese pattern. They did it in Burma. It is the Chinese refinement of the art of genocide. I said, in the face of this, why don't we allow the Dalai Lama to function freely? He is not allowed to function freely. Why should he not be allowed to form an *émigré* Government in this country. It will at least give heart to the few Tibetans who are fighting gallantly against the regime of terror and genocide. Not only that. It will give heart to the Nepalese; it will give heart to the Bhutanese and it will give heart to the people of Sikkim. Because, in the final analysis, the Buddhists there do pay tribute to the Dalai Lama as their religious head. But, the Prime Minister, I am sorry to say, they did devote some of his speech, not an inconsiderable part of his speech to my speech but, I put it mildly I was more than disappointed, he did not answer one of my questions, but extracted from it a non-existent premise that I had advocated abandonment of the policy of non-alignment—I had never even remotely suggested it—and indulged in a barrage of invective against me. But, I did say categorically and I repeat it, I do not understand the policy of neutralism to China. I just do not understand it. It is meaningless. It is a contradiction in terms. How can we be neutralist in the face of continuing Chinese aggression, arrogance, duplicity and everything else. I just do not understand it. I said, let us have some kind of a policy answer to this overall strategy. But, we got no answer from the Prime Minister.

What worries us is this. It is not a question of our questioning motives. We will allow the Government the luxury of the arrogation of infallibility with regard to its foreign policy. But, surely, the Government will concede that it is, in the

final analysis somewhat human. Surely, it will be an execution of basically correct policies, it may go wrong. That is what we are worried about it: ambivalence in the execution of its policy. This ambivalence was brought out very vividly by what my hon. Friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee said. He has stated that he has read into the statement of July 26<sup>th</sup> the hunch of the Prime Minister that the time is ripe for negotiation. He has read it. That is the conviction, that is the feeling in a large part of the country. It may be explained now.

On one occasion, there was a declaration, a conviction of Chinese duplicity and aggression. There was a declaration of intention to resist any further advance. We got it. In the next week, we got a declaration which is completely contrary to that, almost a special pleading for Chinese good faith, description of aggression as a local aberration. That is what we are worried about. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of April, there was a positive declaration from the Prime Minister, there was the accusation made against China that they are deliberately creating situations of tension and conflict in Asia. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, more recently, the Prime Minister accused China of un-abated pursuit of aggressive ends. With these bold unequivocal declarations, we were persuaded to be encouraged. We felt that here at long last, better late than never, Government has come to the conviction of Chinese duplicity, a conviction of overall Chinese strategy and a declaration that we should resist all further advance.

What are we asking today? I do not know why the Prime Minister should predict that he will assail the whole lot of us in this House and anticipated some kind of a frontal attack on him. In 1959, I read a statement of the Prime Minister. This was what he said: our territory is not negotiable; no discussions will be fruitful until the Chinese have vacated traditional boundary. Is not there a qualification in the statement of the 6<sup>th</sup> August accompanied with the statement of the 26<sup>th</sup> July? I do not know whether I am misreading or mis-interpreting or being unfair to the Prime Minister. Here was a categorical declaration of policy: no discussions will be fruitful until you move back to our traditional frontier. Have not we receded from that position? Have not we now said that if you back only to the 1956 line, we will be prepared to negotiate? I see as a lawyer, as a politician, not without a little of commonsense, that there is a definite recession from the position we took up in 1959. In 1959, we were not prepared to enter into discussions until the Chinese went back to the traditional border. In 1962, it would appear that we are prepared to negotiate merely if they go back to their 1956 line.

Here, again, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, 1959, the Prime Minister said, any kind of advance of their post by the Chinese will be fully resisted. The Defence Minister was here. I do not know why people sometimes are unduly critical of him. Many of us are melodramatic by nature. So, perhaps, according to his nature, the Defence Minister went a little further. He said, not one inch of territory will be conceded. Proud words. But, what I feel is this. Why do we, first of all, boost the morale of the country and then have to eat our own words? That is what we have been doing. The Chinese have understood us very well although my friend has pleaded that they do not understand English very well.

When the Prime Minister spoke on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August, he underlined certain things. He said, the language of the Chinese is increasingly abusive and insulting. He said that they are intensifying their activities in the Ladakh area. He said that the Chinese replied repeating their charges, maintaining their position. He said that their reply is obviously ambivalent. Having said all that, I do not know what occasion there was—we are only asking the Prime Minister—did he say to the Chinese, although you have been abusive and offensive, although you have been intensifying your aggressive activities, if you create a climate by going back not to the traditional frontiers, but merely to the 1956 line, an appropriate climate for negotiation will be presumably created. I do not know. I feel that we are in a position of disadvantage, merely because we are confronted with a people who are ruthless, a people who are unscrupulous, a people with complete single-minded purposefulness. That is my fear, because we are decent, because we have this indoctrination of *ahimsa*, because there is this national addiction to non-violence, we may very well make gestures and retreat to positions of disadvantage to the country. And that is what I am really afraid of.

The Prime Minister will remember what Mr. Chou En-Lai did in 1959. It was a deliberate, a typical, calculated Chinese trick. He claimed, not 12,000 or 14,000 square miles of territory: he claimed 50,000 square miles of territory. I would remind my hon. Friend Shri Khadilkar, who said that recently the Chinese have been decent and have not laid any claims on the NEFA border or on the north-east frontier, to remember this that Mr. Chou En-Lai, after claiming 50,000 square miles of territory, followed it up with a proposed package deal. And what was the package deal? The package deal was that if India will accept the area that they had aggressed over in Ladakh, he will *ex-gratia*, as a matter of grace, accept our line, the MacMohan line as a *quid pro quo*. I am wondering whether the Chinese are not proposing another package deal. And what kind of a package deal! I just don't understand it.



**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warrangal):** China and Pakistan are behaving in a manner which is not conducive to peace. It is rather unfortunate because peace is the need of the hour and it is specially so for Asia. Any person or any country that works for peace works not only for the welfare of his own country but for the welfare of the whole of mankind.

We say here that war is ruled out, but many of the proposals and suggestions made are such that they will ultimately lead us to war. All Chinese attacks, we have met with great restraint. We have answered Chinese rudeness with courtesy. This is taken by the hon. Members opposite as a sign of weakness. Some say it is appeasement and so on. Shri Surendranath Dwivedy and Shri Trivedi wanted a tough policy. They want to drive out the Chinese from the frontiers. They want to fight anybody who is prepared for it. It is just like some wrestler saying that he is the champion and anybody can come and fight with him. At the same time, they say that they do not want war. That is the policy these gentlemen advocated against Pakistan. But we have shown that the policy of patience and the policy of negotiations followed by the Government of India have resulted in benefit to both countries.

Declaring war or saying big words is very easy. My friend, Shri Frank Anthony makes a charge that the Chinese are advancing and so many miles have been taken, but we have not resisted their advance. Surely he knows that if the enemy advances, that does not mean that there is no resistance. We have to see what are the conditions under which we are working. Himalayas was a natural frontier and even in the British times, our army was not equipped to function in high altitudes. Nor are the Chinese, but the terrain is in their favour. They are operating from a tableland or plateau. For us, even during the half an hour's flight from Srinagar to Leh, we have to go 5000 feet to 20,000 feet up and then come down again 13,000 feet, to make supplies to our checkposts there. It is no secret. But for the Chinese, it is a question of 2,000 feet from the tableland and they can move even their heavy vehicles. These are the disadvantages. It is not enough to talk brave words here saying we will see that the Chinese leave our territory. We have to see how it should be done under these conditions. Is it wisdom then to talk in a big way here and make charges that the Defence Minister is not doing this or that? The Defence Minister is working night and day to develop our defences. Previously, the Chinese thought they could go anywhere. But now our soldiers—a few pockets by 300 or so—have halted the Chinese advance, in spite of their superior numbers. We, in the House, would naturally like to record our appreciation of the gallant work that is being done by our soldiers.

A lot of things have been said that China is very powerful, they are making atom bombs and so on. Once we were told that their paddy production had gone up by 100 percent but then it was reported that there is famine. In respect of industrial power also, we in India are far ahead of China. They are not superhuman. We know what their conditions were. They have come out of a civil war just now and there are very few industries there. They cannot build up industries overnight with only Russia to help them. We are getting money and equipment from all over the world and we also can produce atom bombs if we want, but do not choose to. They are not so far advanced. Yet it is being said here that China is advancing and we are helpless just because Shri Jawaharlal Nehru will not take courage and send his soldiers to the frontier. That is not actually the case. We are resisting. Our position today is much stronger.

Shri Deo has listed all that we have done for China. We have been good friends. We have tried to help them in every way. Why should China, of all the people in the world, choose us to get a few thousand miles of land and add it to the vast territory that they have? The Chinese are a highly cultured people. Why should they become so rude when we lodge a protest? Even Lenin surrendered a part of Russian territory to close one front, build up his country and work for the revolution. Why should Mao Tse-tung, his follower forget that and create a new front? Why should he start collecting mountains instead of building up his country? The reason is, as some say, there is an internal crisis. They want some aggressor outside so that the Chinese will unite. At the same time, with the absorption of Tibet the need for this became much greater, because Tibet is a land which was governed by traditional Lamas.

You must have noticed that even Marshal Chen Yi said in Geneva that India started complaining about aggression by China only after the flight of Dalai Lama. If you translate it into Chinese, it means that China intensified her aggression against India only after the escape of Dalai Lama to India. Sir, Dalai Lama being a spiritual head and also a symbol of traditional Tibet, a resistance can be built up around him. The Chinese have that always in mind. All our assurances that we have no such intentions and we want only to help the Dalai Lama by giving him political asylum do not allay their fears. Speeches like those of Shri Frank Anthony, who actually advocates here in this House that we should support the Dalai Lama so that an émigré government is formed in this country and supported in this country to bring about a revolution in Tibet, naturally increase their fears. Therefore, this is the background for which China has taken this particular step.



What are we to do? For some, war is ruled out. The other suggestion is to close the embassies. They say also that there should be negotiations. They ask, why do you rule out negotiations? How can we have negotiations when you close the channel of communication, which the embassies are? Naturally, there is a conflict of views.

The Government of India's policy is well defined. Our Prime Minister has made a statement this morning. I don't understand what more they want. He said, he will see that our territory is free from foreigners. He said that he will negotiate under condition which he has laid down. What more do you want? If you want negotiation you must give freedom of manoeuvre to the negotiator.

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**14 August 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARDS INDIAN TRADERS IN TIBET**

**\*311. Shri Shree Narayan Das:**

**Shri Kajrolkar:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Chinese Foreign Trade Corporation authorities in Yatung have recently changed their attitude towards the Indian traders having given indication that they would like them to stay and carry on trade;
- (b) if so, whether any traders have decided to continue there; and
- (c) whether the Indian traders who have left Tibet have been allowed to bring with them all their assets?

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

- (a) Yes, sir. It is a fact.
- (b) The only Indian trader still remaining in Yatung is anxious to return to India. He has been detained by the Chinese authorities who have brought certain charges against him.
- (c) Indian traders have not been able to bring back all their assets from Tibet. They have found it un-economical to bring back their trade goods due to heavy transport expenses and export duties imposed by the Chinese authorities. They have not permitted the export of certain Tibetan goods purchased by our trader. Our traders have also had to leave behind their immovable property. This matter will be taken up with the Chinese authorities after necessary information has been furnished to the Government by the affected traders.

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**17 August 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN LANGUAGE**

**\*395. Shri Raghunath Singh:** Will the **Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a seminar and a conference of Tibetan Lamas for development and study of Tibetan language was held at Varanasi in the last week of July; and
- (b) if so, the main recommendation of the conference?

**The Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (Shri Humayun Kabir):**

- (a) Yes, Sir. The seminar and the Conference were held to review the work of Tibetan Lamas and discuss the question of Contribution of Tibetan studies to the knowledge of Indian History and Thought.
- (b) The main recommendation of the Seminar was to put the present scheme of Fellowships on a permanent basis.

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**18 August 1962**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **INDIAN TRADERS DETAINED IN TIBET**

**\*416. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:**

**Shri Rameshwar Tantia:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Indian traders in Tibet have been detained by the Chinese authorities there;
- (b) if so, how many;
- (c) the reasons for such detention; and

(d) whether any efforts are being made by Government to secure their repatriation?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) and (b). Only one Indian trader was refused an exit permit by the Chinese authorities for some time. He has since returned to India.
- (c) He was not permitted to leave for India on the ground that a complaint made against him by a Bhutanese national was under investigation.
- (d) Government had made a strong representation to the Chinese authorities through their Consulate-General in Lhasa as a result of which his release was secured.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Is it a fact that most of our traders in Tibet have been pauperized by illegalisation of Indian currency and the confiscation of their assets in Tibet and if so, what arrangements are being made by Government for their rehabilitation, when they come back to India, that is, when they come back home?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** No question of rehabilitation has arisen. I cannot say what they have lost there, but I think that it will be quite incorrect to talk about their pauperization, because in the past the trade has been very profitable there.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** My question was this. Because of the steps taken by the Chinese by way of the illegalisation of Indian currency and the confiscation of their assets, whatever they may have earned, they could not bring back to India. That was the point in my question.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We cannot be held responsible for it. They went there of their own accord. We did not invite the traders to go there. They went there because trade was very profitable. They took the risk of possibly losing their money in trade or otherwise. Undoubtedly, they have been treated unfairly by the Chinese, but I do not see where the Government of India comes into the picture.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** In spite of the harassment and the reduction to near destitution of our traders in Tibet owing to the measures taken by the Chinese government, is it a fact that the Chinese traders in India are having merry time with business as usual, and if so, is it the policy of government not to reciprocate or retaliate at all sector and to tolerate the kicks by China whenever they are administered?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. This is not the question to be put.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** At least the first part of my question may be answered.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is whether it is intended to reciprocate or not.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Chinese traders are having a merry time with business as usual.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know to what type of traders the hon. Member is referring to. I am not in touch with, nor have I heard of any Chinese traders. There may be some going about or some shops here.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** There are hundreds in Calcutta, Kalimpong and Shillong.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Many of them have been extended or their business has been interfered with. Unless he gives some specific examples, it is difficult for me to answer. Of course, there are some in Calcutta still and there are often troubles between two rival factions of Chinese.

**Shri P.K. Deo:** Sometime back in reply to a similar question, the Prime Minister stated that talks were going on for the transfer of their assets to this country. How far have the talks proceeded?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I could not say off hand without enquiry. But constant effort to this end is being made.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Is it not a fact or has it not been brought to the notice of the hon. Prime Minister that there has been a mushroom growth of Chinese laundry, dyeing and cleaning houses and shoe shops in Shillong, Kalimpong and Calcutta, and there are engaging in espionage activities and all that?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The West Bengal Government reported this.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. One hon. Member puts a question. That is permitted. But another hon. Member is prompting him.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It is only to make it clear.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** There may be. I cannot answer why laundries have increased in Shillong or elsewhere. But I may mention one of the difficulties in the way of Indian traders bringing their goods. It is not the lack of permission to bring them but the cost of transport is such that it is not considered worthwhile for them to pay that cost and bring them. That is what I understand.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** श्रीमान प्रधानमंत्री जी ने अभी कहा कि चीन सरकार से प्राप्त चीत चल रही है कि हमारे व्यापारियों का जो रूपया पैसा या सामान वहां पड़ा हुआ है, उसको वापिस लाने दिया जाए। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या ऐसा कोई अन्दाज़ा लगाया गया है कि कितना रूपया कर्ज या एडवांसेज के रूप में वहां पड़ा हुआ है और कितने का सामान आदि रूका पड़ा है?

**श्री दिनेश सिंह:** ऐसा अभी पूरा विवरण हम को वहां के व्यापारियों से नहीं मिलता है जिससे कि इसका पता लगे।

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**18 August 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **PRINTING MACHINE DONATED BY TIBETAN SOCIETY OF LONDON**

**1039. Shri P. Kunhan:**

**Shrimati Renu Chakravathy:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- whether it is a fact that the Tibetan Society of London has donated a rotary printing machine for the printing of rare Tibetan manuscripts and scriptures;
- if so, whether the machine has been received in India; and
- if so, where will this machine be put up?

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

- Yes, Sir.
- Yes, Sir.
- The machine will be installed at the Central Institute for Preserving Tibetan Traditions and Culture, which the Dalai Lama is proposing to set up somewhere in India.

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**22 August 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **तिब्बत में भारतीय कर्मचारियों की तिब्बती पत्नियां**

**1454. श्री भक्त दर्शन :**

**श्री भगवत झा आजाद :** क्या प्रधान मंत्री २२ जून, १९६२ के तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या १६३४ के उत्तर के संबंध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि तिब्बत स्थित भारतीय वाणिज्य अभिकरणों के भारतीय कर्मचारियों की तिब्बती पत्नियों को भारत में इस बीच क्या प्रगति हुई है?

**प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री तथा अणु शक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) :** २२ जून, १९६२ को तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या १६३४ को उत्तर दिए जाने के बाद से, हमारी व्यापार एजेंसियों में काम करने वाले भारतीय, सिक्किमी और नेपाली कर्मचारियों की तिब्बती पत्नियों को तिब्बत छोड़कर भारत आने की इजाजत दे दी गई है, उन्हें चीनी अधिकारियों द्वारा प्रवास (एग्जिट) परमिट दे दिए गए थे।

एक सिक्किमी और एक नेपाली कर्मचारी की तिब्बती पत्नियों को अभी तक भारत आने की इजाजत नहीं दी गई है। चीनी अधिकारियों ने सिक्किमी कर्मचारी की राष्ट्रीयता पर आपत्ति की है और कहा है कि वह चीनी राष्ट्रीयता, पर आपत्ति की है और कहा है कि वह चीनी राष्ट्रक हैं। इन मामलों पर चीनी अधिकारियों के साथ लिखा-पढ़ी की जा रही है।

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**22 August 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**ASSETS LEFT IN TIBET BY INDIAN TRADERS**

**1470. Shri P.K. Deo:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 1554 on the 19<sup>th</sup> June, 1962 and state:

- (a) whether an inventory has been made of the various assets left behind by Indian traders in Tibet due to the closure of Indo-Tibetan trade; and
- (b) if so, the details thereof?

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

- (a) Yes. The collection of statistics of assets left behind by Indian traders on the basis of information supplied by them has almost been completed.
- (b) The information on value of unsold merchandise at present amounts approximately to Rs. 16 lakhs. Immovable property of Indian nationals is valued at approx. Rs. 15 lakhs. Debts owed by Tibetans to our traders are estimated at Rs. 20 lakhs.

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**27 August 1962**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**तिब्बत में भारतीय व्यापारी**

**1777. श्री भक्त दर्शन:** क्या प्रधान मंत्री 19 जून 1962 के तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 1554 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) तिब्बत के साथ व्यापार बंद हो जाने से जो भारतीय व्यापारी बेकार हो गये हैं उन के पुनर्वास और सहायता के लिये विभिन्न राज्य सरकारों ने क्या ठोस कदम उठाये हैं; और
- (ख) इन भारतीय व्यापारियों के पुनर्वास के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा सीधे अथवा राज्य सरकारों के जरिये दिये जाने वाले सहयोग का क्या स्वरूप है?

**प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य तथा अणु शक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू):**

- (क) तिब्बत के साथ व्यापार बंद हो जाने से जिन लोगों पर असर पड़ा है, उन्हें लाभकारी रोजगार दिलाने के लिये सम्बद्ध राज्य सरकारों ने कई उपाय बरते हैं। इन उपायों में ये शामिल हैं: व्यापक विकास योजनाय शुरू करना, नये धंधों में फिर से लगने के लिये आसान शर्तों पर कर्ज देना, लघु उद्योग और दस्तकारी केन्द्र स्थापित करना आदि।
- (ख) जिन विशेष परिस्थितियों में इन व्यापारियों को उनके परम्परागत काम-धंधों से वंचित किया गया है, उन्हें ध्यान में रखकर, केन्द्रीय सरकार ने राज्य सरकारों से सहायता संबंधी कार्यों में सक्रिय रूप से सहयोग के लिये कहा है जिससे कि प्रभावित व्यापारियों को अनुचित कठिनाइयों का सामना न करना पड़े।

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**8 November 1962**

**Answers to Questions**

**RESOLUTION RE: PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY AND  
AGGRESSION BY CHINA**

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The house may have noticed a very peculiar approach that the Chinese Government has made to what has happened recently in NEFA. They go on saying that India attacked them and their frontier guards as they are merely defending themselves. I must confess that this complete pervasion of facts and the attempt to make falsehood appear to be the truth, and the truth to be the falsehood has amazed me because nothing can be more utterly baseless than what they have been saying. Here is a single fact. We have been up to the McMahon line all these years; we have not gone one inch beyond nor have we covered another's territory. They have come. Let us for the moment assume their case that there is some doubt about where the McMahon line is. But the point is that they have invaded an area which has not been in their possession ever, ever in the history of the last 10,000 years. After all the present

Chinese Government came into existence 12 years ago or thereabouts. Any claim that they may directly make to this territory can only be made either in these 12 years or possibly previously through Tibet. So, it becomes a question of what they can claim through Tibet or through their domination over Tibet. It is true that for a long time past there were some frontier questions between Tibet and India, even in British times. But all these questions were about little pockets or little frontier areas, small areas. Nobody has ever put forward, no Tibetan Government has ever put forward previously these large claims to what tantamounts to two thirds of NEFA, apart from the vast area in Ladakh.

So, we arrive at one firm conclusion which is not capable of argument or denial; that is the Chinese have come to this territory with a massive force, territory which for a long time at least has been included in India, and administered in a vague way and a little fully administered by India. If they had and claim they could have discussed it and talked about it and adopted various means of peaceful settlement, appointed arbitrators or gone to the Hague Court or whatever it was.

Here, I may say, it has been unfortunate, in this as in so many other cases, that the present Government of China is not represented in the United Nations. Hon. Members are surprised when we have supported the Chinese representation—the representation of the People's Government of China—in the United Nations. We have supported it in spite of this present invasion, because we have to look at it this way: it is not a question of likes or dislikes. It is a question, which will facilitate Chinese aggression; it will facilitate its misbehaviour in the future. It will make disarmament impossible in the world. You might disarm the whole world and leave China, a great, powerful country, fully armed to the teeth. It is inconceivable. Therefore, in spite of our great resentment at what they have done, the great irritation and anger, still, I am glad to say that we kept some perspective about things and supported that even now. The difficulty is one cannot call them up before any tribunal or world court or anywhere. They are just wholly an irresponsible country believing, I believe, in war as the only way of settling anything, having no love of peace and stating almost that, and with great power at their disposal. That is the dangerous state of affairs not only for India but for the rest of the world... I am not going into the question, as some people do, of communism or anti-Communism. I do not believe that is a major issue in this matter or any other. Communism may help; but the major issue is, an expansionist, imperialist minded country deliberately invading into a new country... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** With a slave army.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know what the hon. Member has said. I am not entering into that argument. I am laying stress on this fact, because as some countries do, they explain everything in terms of communism and anti-communism. I think the result is that they are unable to see many of the basic facts of the question. Communism may help or communism may hinder. Communism may give them a certain strength or weakness, whatever it may be. But today we are facing a naked aggression, just the type of aggression which we saw in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries; there was then no communism anywhere.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** This is the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** So, we have to face this new type of imperialism on our borders. Asia is facing this new type, and the whole world is concerned with that. For the moment, we are most concerned with it, and we have to face it and bear the burden ourselves, although some of our friendly countries are certainly helping us and we are grateful to them for that help.

To say that we are committing all this aggression on Chinese territory is a kind of double talk which is very difficult for a man of my simple mind to understand. "We commit aggression on ourselves; we commit aggression on the soil of our own country and they defend it by coming over the mountains into our territory". It is really extraordinary to what length people can go to justify their misdeeds.

It is true that when we heard on the 8<sup>th</sup> September of their coming over the Thagla pass into our territory in some forces, we had quite adequate forces in our posts. We had no doubt some forces there to meet any incursion, but if large forces come over, an ordinary military post can hardly resist them. We took immediate steps to send further forces to reinforce our posts. We sent them immediately as we had to in the circumstances; yet there was one unfortunate factor which normally should be remembered. That was, if we send our forces, who are tough, young and strong, nevertheless, we send them from the plains of India suddenly to 14,000 feet high. For any person; however strong he may be, it requires time to be acclimatized to these heights. But they went there. When they went there, then began a process; we

sent some further forces and thought that they would be adequate to meet the Chinese menace in so far as it was feasible. The Chinese also started increasing their forces there. Now, for them, it was a relatively easy matter, because they have vast forces in Tibet. I do not know how much they have. They used to have 11 divisions, and I am told they now have 13 or 14 divisions in Tibet. Just imagine the very vast armies they are having in Tibet alone.

**श्री रमेशवर चन्द्र (करनल):** अब तो आपको चाईनीज़ की मनोवृत्ति का पता चल गया होगा ।

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I think, if the hon. Member feels keenly about it, we will send him to the frontier! Perhaps the Chinese armies were fully acclimatised, living for long on the high plateau of Tibet. It was just not in the line with the ridge but only a little below the ridge.

Secondly, the whole of Tibet has been covered in the last few years by roads, and the roads there, in that extremely severe climate, means simply leveling the ground, removing boulders, etc., because you do not require cement or anything at that height. The ground itself is so very hard. So, this is covered by roads, and they can travel perhaps at quick notice from one part to another in Tibet.

So they could bring large forces to the other side of the Thagla ridge. They would not be immediately visible to us, because on the other side—and that is what we believe happened—although some forces were being added on by the Chinese crossing the Thagla ridge they could not be seen. They were adding large numbers of forces on the other side nearby and in the last few days of this battle that occurred there on the 20<sup>th</sup>, they poured in masses of the people. I do not know how much: six, seven and eight times the number of troops that we had. They have thus logistic advantage not only of bringing troops but supplying everything that could be brought immediately on the other side of the Thagla ridge and send them. We had a certain disadvantage. I am merely mentioning the facts—the logistic disadvantage of the people having been suddenly sent to those heights. Everything that they require has to be sent by air, and our Air Force has done a very fine piece of work there, in taking everything by air in spite, sometimes, of enemy fire and the difficulties that always occur in those high mountains. So, this went on.

May I add that there has been a great deal of attack on our un-preparedness. I think most of it is based on ignorance...(Interruptions).

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** We do not want to interrupt; you may go on replying in your own way.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am glad to this generosity in not interrupting me. I say most of this talk is based on ignorance of facts. Some of them is true: first of all, it is perfectly true that we were not prepared to face two or three divisions of the Chinese army descending upon the forces there.

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द:** मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि अब तक क्या कर रहे थे (Interruptions)

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** आप सुन तो लीजिये आराम से, इस तरह इंटरप्शन करने से कैसे काम चलेगा?

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द:** यह दुराग्रह में आज तक फसें रहे और अब हमारी बात सुनना भी नहीं पसन्द करते ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** आप सुन तो लीजिये आराम से ।

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द:** मैं तो यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह क्या कर रहे थे? वह लोग हमला कर रहे थे तब यह क्या कर रहे थे?

**श्री बागडी (हिसार):** जब स्वामी जी ने कुछ कहा तो हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा कि उनको फ्रंटियर को भेज दो! फ्रंटियर में जायेंगे हमारे बच्चे, यह बहादुर है! वह चीन तक जायेंगे और जीत कर आयेंगे । (Interruption)

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Swamiji, I am afraid, has not acquired...

**श्री रामसेवक यादव (बाराबंकी):** स्वामी जी की परेशानी यह है कि व इस बोली को समझते नहीं है, आप उनको समझाइये ।

**श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू:** यही मैं कह रहा था कि मुश्किल यह है कि स्वामी जी कुछ भी नहीं समझते ।

**श्री रामसेवक यादव:** स्वामी जी सब कुछ समझते हैं.....interruption



**श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू:** यह बोली की बात नहीं है ।

**श्री रामसेवक यादव:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी माननीय सदस्य के लिये यह कहना कि वह कुछ समझते नहीं है, यह ठीक नहीं है ।  
...Interruption

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** आप मेरी तकलीफ को भी समझे । अगर स्वामी जी इस बोली को नहीं समझते और प्राईम मिनिस्टर साहब दूसरी बोली में बोलें तो कई और माननीय सदस्य नहीं समझेंगे । इसलिये यह तो सुन लीजिये ! उसके बाद हम देखेंगे कि स्वामी जी को कैसे समझाया जाय ।

**श्री राम सेवक यादव:** प्रधानमंत्री जी ने एक बार यह भी किया था कि वह इस देश की बोली में यहां बोले थे । अब वह अंग्रेज़ी में बोल रहे हैं ! यदि इस प्रश्न पर हिन्दी में बोलते तो अच्छा होता ।

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द:** जब मेने छः महीने पहले कहा था तो आप ने कहा था कि वह सब भाषण छपे हुए हैं हिन्दी में ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** यह तो कोई अजब बात नहीं कि स्वामी जी को इलाहाम हो जाय पहले से लेकिन इस समय तो हमको सुनने दीजिय ।  
....Interruption

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द:** हमको हुआ है यहीं हम कहते हैं ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** अब स्वामी जी आराम से बैठेंगे ।

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am sorry not to be able to oblige the 'Swamiji'. I would have been glad to oblige him, but my difficulty is, as you yourself have been pleased to remark, in a matter of this kind, there are many Members of this House who might not understand me otherwise.

I was talking about un-preparedness. It is perfectly true, as I said, that we were unprepared to meet a massive invasion of two or three divisions. But the other things that are said about roads, about blankets, etc. are very largely incorrect... (Interruptions).

**Shri Mohan Swarup (Pilibhit):** What about arms?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It is really extraordinary that many persons here who know nothing about arms talk about arms. (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us hear the hon. Prime Minister. All sections shall have their opportunity to express themselves. We are now listening to the Prime Minister.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not wish to go into details. I merely wanted to indicate that the criticisms that are made, partly justified, are largely not justified. About arms, it is not a thing which one normally talks about in Parliament openly. But I would be glad to explain what we have done, what we have not done and the difficulties that we had to face.

**Shri Ranga:** I wish to thank you for having taken the initiative and giving a lead to the House in expressing our gratitude and also paying homage to all those thousands of our brave and patriotic jawans who died fighting for the freedom of our country. We all deeply mourn their deaths. We also wish to express our gratitude to all those jawans, and officers who are associated with them at the front, who are today risking their lives and doing their best and offering their all in the service of our motherland.

At the same time, this is also the time to mourn or regret the number of mistakes or omissions that had gone into our recent history which have resulted in the present miserable plight of our country. I do not wish to go into detail in regard to these things. I would content myself with referring only to some of them. I wish to say that we deeply mourn the loss of freedom and national autonomy of Tibet and I express my sympathy for all those millions of Tibetans who are today groaning under communist and imperialist oppression.

My hon. Friend, Shri H. N. Mukerjee, made reference to *panchsheel*. My friend, Acharya Kripalani, who was a leader and President of the Congress, whose absence from this House on this occasion I very much regret and deplore. He once said in this House and very many people were shocked at it at the time—that *panchsheel* was born out of the rape

of Tibet. It is that *panchsheel* that my hon. Friend wants us even today to hug, even after the Prime Minister has said that *panchsheel* has gone overboard, (*An Hon. Member: No.*), even after the Chinese have not only disowned but also violated the basic principles which led our Prime Minister to accept it and call it *panchsheel*. It is not so much because it was a part of Indian culture and tradition that *panchsheel* came to be accepted by the Chinese. If any of our friends would care to look into *Window on China* written by one who is very close to our Prime Minister, many years before *Panchsheel* was even talked about, he would find that Mao Tse Tung was talking about these things. Mao Tse Tung was clever enough to get these things incorporated into the India-China treaty over Tibet and leave our Prime Minister and various other people also under the impression that it was being presented to the world as a contribution of India's statesmanship. So *Panchsheel* has already gone.

There is also the question of the notice that Chinese themselves have given to us for so many years about their intentions, and yet our Government thought that it would be wise on its part to consider it to be of not much significance. It treated their aggression merely as incursions and thought that it could negotiate with the tiger and try to make it behave like Lord Buddha. No wonder we find ourselves unprepared today. No wonder the Prime Minister himself was obliged to say that they were not prepared for the Chinese divisions coming down to our plains from their heights on that fateful day, October 20.

Then the Prime Minister said that he sent out these letters of his to various heads of State and Prime Ministers in different parts of the world. But that was done only last month. Action on such lines should have been taken again and again all these years in order to inform and win their goodwill and support for our cause. Yes, it is true that we have our embassies, but we know how inefficiently these embassies have been working. The Prime Minister should have done this much earlier and many more times, and prepared the mind of all these friends in different parts of the world.

**U. N. Dhebar:** We are called upon for the first time in our history to meet the challenge of the most populated country itself in the grip of a clique, most perfidious, most brutal and most ruthless. I sympathise with the people of China also. It is poverty being driven to fight poverty, simply because the men at the helm think that it is necessary in the interests of their ideological expansion to lead them into a fight. With violence as its creed, as the Prime Minister just now said, to attain its so-called classless society, China has come out with a challenge.

The first thing is to realise the objectives behind this aggression. China is not likely to place all its cards before the world because it does not suit it. But we have a duty to find out what is the real intention of China. Whatever it may be, it is no exaggeration to say that it is a limited war but yet a war. Let us not be under any complacent belief that they are thinking in terms of seizing a few hundred square miles of area. If I am not speculating, it is first of all to establish a pincer around three buffer States, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, and at any convenient moment, to march into them as they marched into Tibet. Let the people of Nepal also understand this.

Let me read to this House the words in the treaty of 1954 which are again and again being repeated in their conversations by them to the rulers of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim: "Tibet should enjoy regional autonomy and the Chinese Central Government would not interfere with its political institutions and internal administration. China would recognize and maintain Dalai Lama's position." These are the very words. And today, this is the objective. It is the second stage in their long-term plan to spread a totalitarian type of dictatorship with the object of establishing communism. I have no doubt in my mind about that. It may not be the communism of a certain type, but China really believes in the reliability of war and therefore China will go ahead. This is the second stage of their campaign.

Then, the second objective is to humiliate India in the eyes of the South-East Asian countries. They want to isolate India. The third objective is to dislocate the Indian economy so that there will be economic unrest in India and would provide a flourishing ground for their friends here in this country. And there do exist friends even in spite of what my hon. Friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee has said—I do not question the *bona fides* of Shri H. N. Mukerjee himself. In the communist party, there are people who believe that ultimately nationalism or no nationalism, their party's interests lie with China and not with India. We must think in terms of basing our policies, both military strategy and political policies, to combat not the present danger only, but the danger that is likely to develop. There is no reason to believe that the thrust on the left shoulder of India will go only skin deep; it may penetrate up to the heart of India. Similarly, there is no reason to believe that not only we may not be politically isolated from the South-East Asiatic countries, but a stage may come when they may be put up against us. There is no reason to believe that in the midst of operations, and even after the operations, a stage may not come when they may not flame up the little or the big difficulties from which the masses

of India will be suffering and incite them to discontent and unrest. Our policies, therefore, must take into account not only what is happening on NEFA border or Ladakh border, but this long-term possible objectives of China.

Reading the resolution of the communist party in that light, I think the communist party should do well along with this resolution to make its attitude clear on the question of strikes. INTUC has already passed a resolution, but AITUC has still to pass a resolution agreeing to undertake no strikes whatsoever during the period of this conflict and not only during the period, but thereafter for sometime.

Secondly, what is necessary in my opinion is, so far as the communist party is concerned, they should not exploit the question of price-line. Today, the Planning Minister was replying to the question about the Mahalanobis Committee's report. I have no objection if the Planning Minister wants to publish it. But we are living in a moment when all that is published is not merely confined to India, but it ultimately goes to our enemy and he exploits it. We should be on guard even when we speak in this House or when we publish anything; we have to be on guard that the enemy may not have an opportunity to exploit it. I do not want to stand in the way of his right to plead before the House and outside regarding the question of price-line and so on. But let it not take the character of any agitation. India cannot afford any agitation either on political or on economic grounds at this moment.

The next question, in my opinion, on which we have to be clear is the question of resources, both for the purpose of fighting on the front and to sustain our economy. I have no plan at the moment ready. But I feel that a stage has come when the Government of India should think about the character or pattern of spending at the governmental level and curtail all kinds of expenditure which is not warranted at the present moment.

**Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur):** Hear, hear!

**Shri U. N. Dhebar:** I have carefully gone through the proceedings of the National Development Council and I have no doubt that they have taken a big step in the direction. But this House may have suggestions to offer and we will be grateful to the Prime Minister if he will give us an opportunity to discuss where the governmental spending can be cut. There are many departments in the Government which we can afford to suspend at this moment. They are not so very necessary. In other departments also, there are many conveniences which you can afford to take away at the moment. I have in mind the convenience of jeeps in the community development department. It can afford to make a sacrifice of the 6,000 jeeps. I have got plenty of suggestions to make, but I do not want to side-track the debate at the moment on that issue. I would only urge on the Prime Minister to give us an opportunity, if he thinks it otherwise fit, to discuss this important matter.

It is so very necessary to think about the pattern of national spending. I toured during the last 15 days in many parts of the country. I had been to Orissa and to Hyderabad. I do not know what difference we find in the life of Delhi, between what it was on 20<sup>th</sup> October and what it is today on 8<sup>th</sup> November. Delhi is functioning today as if it is the privilege of Delhi to continue to function as ever. It is very necessary, in my opinion that, if we have to create a climate of earnestness - the people are in earnest and they are ready to respond to any decision Government may take - if we have to create that climate of earnestness and keep before the people the sacrifices the broad masses of the country are making and our jawans are making on the front, then this demonstrational aspect of the country's life also requires to be considered.

We also must think of reviewing our relations with the three border States of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim and with the South-East Asiatic countries also. If there are any mistakes or misunderstandings, this is the time when we should make an effort. We have got so many men in India who possess that stature and personality and who would be prepared to go out and remove those misunderstandings and see how those mistakes can be remedied.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** It appears that at the back of our mind we are still having a feeling that some sort of an amicable settlement by negotiations with China will come as a miracle and save us from all that war brings in its wake. None of us likes war, yet we cannot be complacent on that account. We cannot always go on thinking in these terms, namely, that negotiations will come through. They may come and you may welcome them when they do come, but for God's sake do not exert yourself in the direction of these negotiations. Exert yourself to drive out the invaders and the intruders of our land. Drive them out. We do not want any piece of their land but put them where they belong to. That would be enough for them. Negotiations will come then and there will be honourable negotiations. Nobody will stand in the way of negotiations but the negotiations must be the negotiations of the *bahadur*, that is, of the brave and not the negotiations

of the weak. It should be the negotiation of the *shoorveer* and not the negotiation of the coward. I submit that it is high time that we gave up this feeling. We will get ample opportunity to negotiate after the Chinese have been driven out from our sacred soil.

The atrocity of this invasion is all the more apparent when we remember that we were the one and the only friendly nation so far as China is concerned. We took up China's cause. We always pressed for it. Chou En-Lai came here and we set up a mass hysteria. We welcomed him as we welcomed none else. We went about setting up clubs and societies. We set up the India-China Cultural Society and we had all along been saying "Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai". All the time when this *bhai-bhai* business was being carried on by us, the man was maneuvering to stab us in the back. It was during that period that he did stab us in the back.

We have been carrying on a solitary fight in the United Nations to get China recognized and to get it into the organisation. This friend who was thus treated with love and respect by us always has turned out to be our deadliest foe. Nobody has ever tried to invade us in this manner coming across the Himalayas from where nobody ever dared to come unprovoked at that.

This morning I was reading a book which had a question from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He says about the Himalayas:

"The Himalayas are not only near to us but also very dear; for they have always been part of our history and tradition, our thinking and our poetry; our worship and our devotion and mythologically the abode of our gods."

It is these Himalayas that have been transgressed upon by the Chinese and it is these Chinese whom we want to throw back. It is therefore proper for us to consider only in these terms, namely, that those people who have committed this defilement of the Himalayas and who have polluted the sanctity of our country by trodding upon it as murderers have got to be driven out before we think of talking with them.

I do not know how the change has occurred in our hon. Prime Minister. We do remember that when he went over to Italy, he refused to shake hands with Mussolini only on the ground that Mussolini's hands were full of blood-blood was on his hands. Yet, I do not know why the same sentiments did not strike him and deter him from shaking hands with Chou En-Lai. Mistakes do occur but some of the mistakes are such that they cannot be easily forgotten. When I repeat this, I do say that I do not say this with any desire at criticism.

I and my Party have determined to offer its full co-operation to the Government in this struggle but we must not forget the wrongs that we have done and the mistakes that we have committed. My hon. Friend, Seth Govind Das was bold enough to admit and say on the floor of the House that we did commit a Himalayan blunder when we allowed this Chinese monster to capture the Tibetans and commit the genocide on the giant Khampas. None of us have seen the Khampas but those of us who have seen them know that to kill them was a great task for the Chinese. One Khampa, of massive hands, was able to kill 20 Chinese. These people killed them outright and destroyed them completely from the soil of Tibet. We could show our anger about Algeria but we did not show sufficient anger when Tibet was subjugated and was liquidated. However, we must forget this.

The country is solidly standing behind Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We have divided on many points. We do not see eye to eye, from group to group, party to party and state to state. The fissures of State against State, language against language, religion against religion, caste against caste, class against class and leanings towards money, grabbing power, seeking nepotism and the obnoxious corruption have been our banes. Yet, this invasion on our territory has enthused us to fight as one man and throw all differences deep down the well. Of course, I must say, the credit for this enthusiasm and for this oneness and singularity does not go to the Government but it goes to the people at large. It is the people who have rallied round, who have forgotten differences, who have felt the oneness, who have felt the upsurge and who are now standing shoulder to shoulder to fight and throw back the Chinese. A great fellow-feeling arising from common culture and heritage has suddenly catapulted the nation to a sense of responsibility and the urgent desire to maintain the hard-won freedom and has fettered the nation into one solid whole.

Our dissensions were thus merely superficial except that petty leaders thought in terms divisive. People are one and were one at all times. There was nothing wrong with the people except that they were being led in six different directions at once. The imminent danger and the emergency have wiped out those feelings and the nation stands today as one man to fight the unholy invasion in our sacred territory.

But, with all that, we have still to face one factor amidst us. This has been referred to by Shri Ranga. This has been referred to by Shri U. N. Dhebar and Dr. Govind Das. This disturbing factor is the new international cult of communism. It has also got its tentacles in our country. The Russian paper Pravda has called upon the so-called progressive, meaning communist elements to support the Chinese offer of negotiation. Who is Pravda to dictate these terms? What are the progressive groups that are there? May I ask my friends who believe in this international picture, have they not received a jolt? Have they not yet realized that their sense of communism and their sense of internationalism is incompatible with Indian nationalism and with patriotism to the country? The Communist party and the fellow travelers do not seem to realise that patriotism and love of one's own country are incompatible with the conception of a foreign land being one's fatherland, and particularly that fatherland which is out to destroy our kith and kin and which has already succeeded in destroying a very large number of our young men at the front. With them, do we shake hands?

**Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated Anglo-Indian):** The only country in Asia or South East Asia that has unequivocally condemned China has been Malaya. Tenku Abdul Rahman, while he condemned China, has underlined a certain lesson for us, if you like he has pointed out that our orientation was wrong, that we were living in a world of illusion. I have got his exact words here as reported by the press:

*"We knew what was going to happen when China took Tibet. They had their eyes on India, and wanted to get nearer to the Indian borders."*

Then he goes on: *"The attack on India did not surprise us."*

He is the only person who has unequivocally condemned China's aggression. They knew the Chinese motives in taking over Tibet. This complete surprise with which this attack has taken us would appear to show that we never at any time were aware of the palpable motives of China which were obviously clear even to a person like Tenku Abdul Rahman. He says the attack on India did not surprise them. We alone seem to have been surprised by the motives of the Chinese in taking over Tibet; we alone seem to have been surprised by their attack.

Then Tenku thought it fit, while supporting us, to remind us of our shame. This is what he said: *"Twice Malaya raised the Tibetan question in the United Nations Organisation and twice India refused to support them."* And he said further that this year they wanted again to raise the Tibetan question, but they did not raise it because they were afraid that no one, including India, would second it.

I say this that, as in the lives of individuals, so in the lives of nations, sometimes, not always, our sins overtake us. And I say this with a great deal of respect that our double sin, our sin in the acquiescence of the rape of Tibet, and our sin against ourselves, because in acquiescing in the rape of Tibet we handed over to the Chinese a natural base—without that natural base this invasion of India could not have been even remotely possible—has overtaken us, and we are paying today for that double sin.

I do not wish to question non-alignment. It is the only policy which perhaps would be acceptable to the spirit of India and to the spirit of Asia, but what I quarrel with is the orientation we have given it; and what I quarrel with even more is the orientation that we continue to give it. For the last twelve years, we have repeatedly given hostages to a proven, faithless, treacherous enemy, and we are prepared even today—and that is what I am afraid of because of this peculiar orientation that we have given to non-alignment—to give hostages to Chinese good faith. I just do not understand it. I join issue in my humble way with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister or the government has said that if the Chinese go back to the line they held before the 8<sup>th</sup> September—the difference between President Naseer and ourselves is slight; he has said on the 8<sup>th</sup> September; just before that they took a little area in NEFA—we are prepared to negotiate. That is precisely what we have said. The whole time we keep advertising to the Chinese that we will endorse the fruits of their aggression. Our original policy was that we would not attempt to negotiate until they went back to the 1956 line. In the last debate there was consternation in the House, which the Prime Minister ridiculed,—he said he never meant it—because we felt he said that even if they went back to the 1959 line we would be prepared to negotiate. Today, we are prepared if they go back to the line before 8<sup>th</sup> September. What does it mean in effect? It means that we are prepared to endorse the fruits of blatant Chinese aggression. If they go back to the line of 8<sup>th</sup> September, it means that they do not go back one inch from the 16,000 square miles of territory they have taken in Ladakh, because they had taken over not only 14,000 square miles but before the 8<sup>th</sup> September another 1,800 square miles, totaling almost 16,000 square miles of our territory. We should never say to the Chinese, with all their duplicity, with all their determination



to aggress and to expand, that we will negotiate, that we will endorse the fruits of their aggression if they go back to the 8<sup>th</sup> September line, and that they may keep 16,000 square miles of our territory. We cannot negotiate or attempt to negotiate with them on those terms, and unless the Chinese know it, they will want to negotiate on those terms because those will be terms entirely in their favour.

And I say this. Again there is this orientation of non-alignment which refuses to face facts, which refuses to put on them the obvious interpretation. Today, we refuse to face facts about Russia. I know that we should not, we must not, do anything gratuitously to antagonize Russia, but in the final analysis what kind of interpretation or conclusion can we draw from the facts? Russia has a military pact with China. Since 1959 Russia has affirmed the Chinese maps showing Bhutan and Sikkim as independent. Since 1959 Russia's greatest reaction has been to stigmatise the MacMohan line as a rotten line drawn by British imperialism. We do not want to antagonize Russia. Let us hope at least they will retain some semblance of neutrality but as I said last time, in the final crisis between us and the Chinese, the Russians must because the Chinese are their greatest and only major ally in terms of world communism, pull the carpet from under us. I do not say about the MIG deal although I could have. I was opposed to it not because the MIGs are not much good. My information is that this particular MIG has been tried out by nobody. The Chinese have different kind of MIG—MIG 15 and 19; and we were going to have 21. Nobody has used it; that was my information. But I was pleading that the Russians in times of crisis would pull the carpet from under us. I want to know this much. What has happened to the 16 or so MIGs that we were going to get and which had created so much resentment against us in the democratic world. I want to know what has happened to the AN-12s which were greatly advertised. Fortunately, we did not buy many of them. I am told by knowledgeable people that they are ineffective as transport planes because they have very little capacity. My information as a layman is that most of the AN-12s—fortunately we had very few of them—have been grounded because the Russians would not give us the spare parts. Let us by all means cultivate the Russians. But let us also remember that the Chinese who have been slaughtering our troops have been largely equipped with Russian modern arms. Let us remember this that in any final accounting between India and China, I have no doubt that the final accounting must come sooner or later. Russia is bound, if it can, to pull the carpet from under us. Let us also remember this, with a great deal of gratitude to those countries whom this particular orientation sought to estrange. I refer to the non-alignment. We were accused in the UN that we were non-aligned only in name because of our performance in the UN and we had a definite pro-communist orientation. What was our voting record? Rather shameful with regard to the massacres in Hungary and with regard to the rape of Tibet, where our own interest was concerned. Did they not show that our non-alignment had a pro-communist orientation? Of course, it did; there was no other explanation for it. That is what I am quarrelling with. There has been this pro-communist orientation to our own mortal danger.



**9 November 1962**

## Oral Answers to Questions

## ENHANCED RATE OF TELEGRAMS TO TIBET

**\*35. Shri Narendra Singh Mahida:**

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:**

**Shri P. C. Borooah:**

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:**

**Shri Solanki:** Will the Minister of **Transport and Communications** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Tibetan Administration has recently increased the rates of foreign telegrams by as much as twenty times, and that this has been done with the express purpose of placing a curb on the communications of the Indian Consulate-General with India;
- (b) whether Government of India made any protest to the Chinese Government in the matter; and
- (c) if so, what has been China's reaction to the same?

**The Deputy Minister in the Minister of Transport and Communications (Shri Bhagavati):**

- (a) Yes, by about 12 times from 1-9-1962. A statement showing the rates as obtaining prior to 1-9-1962 and from 1-9-1962 is placed on the Table of the House. It is probable that the intention of the Chinese authorities in increasing the rates of telegrams from Tibet to India was to place a further curb on the communications of the Indian Consulate General at Lhasa with India.
- (b) and (c). No protest in this matter has been lodged with the Chinese Government as reciprocal measures have



been taken by us. The telegraph rates to Tibet have been increased from 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1962 and brought on par with the prevailing rates for China.



**9 November 1962**

**Resolution Re:**

### **PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY AND AGGRESSION BY CHINA**

**Shri Mahtab (Angul):** I have listened to the speeches of the spokesmen of all the Opposition Groups since yesterday, and I have thought within myself which points they were making out either for carrying out a policy or as the criticism. I am dividing all those speeches into two parts, first, their criticisms, and then their suggestions.

So far as the criticisms are concerned, many of them have criticized the Government on two points, firstly, unpreparedness, and secondly trusting China. So far as unpreparedness goes, I think that the very fact that there is a basic difference between the character of India and that of China has been ignored. The basic difference is that while China happens to be a totalitarian country, India happens to be a democratic country. No democratic country in the past has ever remained prepared for war in all circumstances. On the contrary, it is the way of the totalitarian countries to be prepared for war and to invade the democratic countries who wake up later on after the invasion. The experience of the last war has shown that it was the Fascist countries that took the lead and had initial victories and the democratic countries later on woke up and defeated the Fascist countries. Here too, a similar situation has arisen.

India and China came to their own almost at the same time. When India became free, almost at the same time, China got the so-called people's rule. China began to build herself as a Power-State; she tried to build up her military power. Here, in India, we declared ourselves as a socialist and welfare State. I think there was no opposition from any quarter to India's efforts to build herself up as a welfare State. On the contrary, this decision of India was hailed in all quarters. The criticism was made then, and it has been made for so long that India is not made sufficiently a welfare State as the leaders and Government profess. If you study the election manifestoes of the different political parties during the last general elections, you will find that criticism of the Government has been on the score that Government are not doing welfare work as much as they profess. That is the criticism which has been made. No criticism has ever been made that India was not building up her military strength. But, all the while, China was building up her military strength. So, that is the initial difference. So, to criticize now and say that India did not prepare herself for war, I think, is not justified. It is not possible for any democratic country to prepare for war and to remain prepared for war always. Had this suggestion been made by anybody or had Government attempted to build India as a military State, I think, that would have been rejected by the people outright. Therefore, the criticism on the ground that India was not prepared for war is not justified. It is true that India was not prepared for war and I feel it was proper that she was not prepared for war; in fact, no country should be prepared for war, if it believes in democracy. Otherwise, there will be no democracy.

Coming to the second point about China, I agree that the mistake that was committed was this, that Chinese communism was taken very seriously. If one studies the history of China, one can easily see that China has always been expansionist. It has never been contented within its own boundaries. Historically, it is not correct to say that China has crossed the Himalayas and invaded India for the first time. On the contrary, in the past, there have been many invasions. Parts of Burma, parts of North India came under China. Tibet marched into China, and China has invaded Tibet many a time before. That is the character of China, and that has been the trait of Chinese character from the beginning of history. In spite of the exchange of saints between India and China, China has always been an invading country. There is no doubt about it. That is the character of China. If we study the history of the conduct of the Chinese communists in the (*Cominform*), we will find that they have behaved in a particular way all along. They have used communism for their own purposes. Therefore, we cannot blame communism as a whole for the present situation. Of course, one can use any ideology for one's own purpose. But if we dispassionately study the situation, we find that the Chinese have used communism for their own aggressive purposes, as they always have done. This is not the first time that Tibet has been overrun by China. Many times in the past Tibet had been overrun by China. Sometimes Tibet also had overrun China. This happened in the past, and it is happening now.

Reference has been made to the recent invasion of Tibet by China and India's attitude then. Here I must refer to the history as it is, so that there may be no confusion about it. What did the British do? They kept Tibet under their control; and they controlled China through Tibet. That was their policy. After the Chinese war in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,

it was the British who brought China under control. They controlled China through Tibet. If India had attempted that, she would have had to keep Tibet as weak country. If Tibet is powerful, then also the northern border is in danger. Therefore, there is no point in criticizing the attitude of India at the particular time. To expect that the Machiavellian or Chanakya theory of keeping neighbours always weak would be adopted is a different matter altogether. But democratically speaking, we have to be prepared for all kinds of contingencies. This contingency has arisen. Unexpectedly, practically, a war is being waged against us. Therefore, we should prepare ourselves now. There is no good making much of reverses which are inevitable in the initial stages for a democratic country. This happened in the last war. This has always happened so far as democratic countries go. To make much of reverses at this juncture only a few days after the invasion will not be helpful in anyway in the furtherance of the war efforts.

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**10 November 1962**

**Resolution Re:**

### **PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY AND AGGRESSION BY CHINA**

**Shri Bade (Khargone):** May I submit that the Jan Sangh never questioned patriotism of the Muslims? On the contrary, they are our Members. We believe Muslims are our nationals.

**Mr. Speaker:** All right. Jan Sangh also shall have an opportunity.

**Shri Ansar Harvani:** The gallant Maharaja has also pleaded that we can have men from outside also. We know it very well that we have got the best fighting force in this country. They can face any army in the whole world. Therefore, I do not believe there is any possibility of accepting the suggestion of the gallant Maharaja or the gallant Acharya Kripalani who said that we should ask for manpower from outside also. We have got experience of these things in the past 150 or 200 years when we had the feudal fights and we took the aid of foreign powers and what the result was. We could have arms from them. We should have arms from them. We should not invite fighting men from them.

There are certain people who suggest that we should march to Tibet and we should accept a provisional Government of the Dalai Lama in this country. There may be some sense in it. As far as the Khampas are concerned, they are fighting a guerilla war against the Chinese and if there is any possibility of creating liaison between our armed forces and them, it should be done certainly. As far as the Dalai Lama is concerned, I would like to repeat what Stalin said to certain people who approached him and said, you go and compromise with the Pope. He said, how many divisions the Pope has. Therefore, it will not do.

With these words, I support the Resolution. I can assure you, I can assure the House and assure this country that every man and woman in the country, irrespective of caste, irrespective of religion, irrespective of party, is behind Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to lay down our lives in the task that has been undertaken.

**Shri Rajeshwar Patel (Hajipur):** Mr. Speaker, I have listened patiently to the speeches delivered particularly today and the speech of my hon. Friend Shri Ansar Harwani is very fresh in my mind. Before I proceed to place a few points that I have in my mind, I might congratulate Shri Ansar Harwani for having condemned the attitude of some of those newspapers which he calls capitalist papers. I am fully at one with him in condemning every cartel, whether it is capitalist cartel or communist cartel press. Whether it is Link, whether it is New Age, so far as our purposes are concerned, that is to say, when we want to organise public opinion in this country in a particular way, whoever, whether it is rightist or leftist, tries to deviate opinion from proceeding in the determined decided direction, clearly all those people are ill-serving the country.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

He has also said, no country in the world has, during the war, published similar cartoons in the newspapers. I draw his attention to the speech made by Lloyd George, the hero of the First World War what he said on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May, 1940. There is nothing wrong, there is absolutely nothing wrong in saying that we were unprepared. The wrong consists in making the country remain weak by suggesting that we should not have sufficient armies, by suggesting that we must be prepared for the worst, by suggesting that the question of defending the country does not arise. Those newspapers which are guilty of trying to insinuate public opinion and create that kind of panic and depression in the country—it is those papers which should be brought to the attention of the Home Minister.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (Amravati):** Sir, we have two resolutions before us which are being debated in this House. Both of them, as has been clear now, are acceptable to almost everybody in this House. The kind of amendments that have been proposed do not touch the substance of the resolution and so we can assume that as the people outside this House, this House also is behind the declaration of emergency proclaimed by the President.

The second resolution is *panchsutri* resolution and this is in consonance with the policy of *panchsheel*, as it contains five paragraphs and refers to five matters.

There have been lots of points raised about our foreign policy and about the present situation. I for one have always agreed with the foreign policy that we have adopted, not simply because I have been a member of that Government, but I accept it on principle, because it was in consonance with the traditions of India, with our culture, our civilization and the philosophy of life that we have developed. There is no doubt that all understanding people all over the world have appreciated it. Sometimes when it did not suit the self-interests of those countries, they have disagreed with us and they have condemned us. By and large, all sensible people in all countries have appreciated our policy and I for one do not think anything has happened even in the recent past or at the present moment which can compel us to change this policy.

Nonetheless, we are dealing today with a treacherous enemy. They have betrayed us and taken advantage of our goodness and our friendship—words which have been repeated in the resolution. I would not like to go so far as Mr. Kamath that this was a conspiracy on the part of the communist countries of the world to attack India or to effect the future of India in any way. I feel this is an act of the Chinese Government and those people who guide the destinies of China. It is a treacherous act on their part and looking at all that they done since 1950. I feel that this is not a momentary matter. There is system and method behind, there is forethought behind it and there is determination behind it. From the time they decided to take and swallow Tibet, it was apparent that they were undertaking expansionist tactics, not simply for the sake of expansion, not because the Chinese tradition and Chinese character is expansionist, but because the needs of their country demanded it. China has, a huge population living in a very large country and yet not a position to feed themselves. Therefore, it was necessary for them to look to other territories where they will settle, capture what other people have got, develop themselves and maintain prosperity in their country. It was with this intention that Tibet was taken. The civilization and culture of Tibet were suppressed, and it is with this intention that they have been pretending to believe in *Panchsheel*. I think we were wrong to believe that a country like China, especially after the swallowing up of Tibet, could ever believe in *Panchsheel*. *Panchsheel* and the conversion of the whole world to communism are entirely inconsistent, and it is my request to all the non-committed Communist countries that if they do really want to pay homage to *Panchsheel* and want to claim that they really believe in it, they have to dissociate themselves with Chinese tactics and Chinese action. Otherwise, Sir, it will be impossible for us to believe that they have any respect for *Panchsheel* or co-existence, they are not prepared to do so.

We welcome every Communist country and their help also along with the west. We have been making no distinction between one country and another. That is what we have understood by non-alliance. We are not prepared to do so even at this hour of crisis. We are prepared to take help even from Communist countries if it is honestly given and given without strings. I would only say that anybody who talks of *Panchsheel* cannot be on the side of the Chinese and support what they have done recently.

From that Sir, another inference, another conclusion or another outlook proceeds. Now that China has given us an opportunity to settle accounts with them, we should not be content with the 8<sup>th</sup> September line. I feel very strongly that merely pushing them out to 8<sup>th</sup> September line is no guarantee of their behaviour in the future. They have never shown any faith in their own words. That being so, looking at the whole history of relationship with them, they have all along been fooling us all the time. Bandung was a clock to fool us. They were saying that they were co-authors of *Panchsheel* with us. I find those words repeated in the Chinese Prime Minister's most recent letter dated 24<sup>th</sup> October. This is what he says—it is the same “bhai bhai” business.

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**12 November 1962**

**Resolution Re:**

### **PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY AND AGGRESSION BY CHINA**

**Shri H. P. Chatterjee (Nabadwip):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am an independent member though I sit here in the Communist

bloc and pardon me if I give my views that may not be the views of others here. They are only my personal views. The C.P.I. has passed a very good resolution. They are totally with us, I know. All of them are with us. How well did Professor Mukherjee and Shrimati Renu Chakravartty speak? We should not question their *bonafides*. That is very wrong if we do that. We should not question each other about our *bonafides*.

Now, Sir, let me go to the problem before us, I say that the first mistake that we did was that, because of our love of the Chinese, we were simply blind and allowed them to do whatever they liked. When the Chinese attacked Tibet, we should have taken notice of that. If Nepal could get representation in the United Nations, what fault had Tibet committed that it should not have that? In 1951, when the Chinese were just entering Tibet, I went there crossing Nathula on foot. I am accustomed to mountains. I offer my services here for the front. In the first World War, I was in the University Corps with Netaji Subash Chandra Bose and I have had some military training. If Government send me there, I am going to fight the Chinese there, I offer my services.

When I was there in Tibet, the Tibetans who were very anxious and worried and immediately asked me: "Why is it that you are not objecting to this Chinese invasion of our Country?" I said that "You are historically and culturally akin to them". They said "No, we are more akin to you, our mystic formula for prayer that we repeat is 'Om Mani Padme Hum'. That is clearly Sanskrit. The Chinese write from the top to bottom but we write like you from left to right. We are more akin to you. So, why don't you object to this invasion?" Sir, there is a strong argument in favour of that. I find that we do something and afterwards we repent. We partitioned our country. Was that right? I do not say that all mistakes can be rectified. Now we cannot take back Pakistan. Now, to free Tibet, we shall have to go over the Himalayas and fight the Chinese. That may not be possible. But enlightened world opinion should compel China to disgorge Tibet. The Tibetans said: "We are a different nation; sometimes the Manchus invaded us and sometimes we invaded them. Why do you allow us to be swallowed by them?" Now, Sir, you see that this so-called Communism is nothing but jingoism. That is worse than Neitscheism, Bonapartism and Hitlerism. They are now thrusting their own system of Government on Tibet. If this is allowed, then, we cannot object to colonialism. They, the Chinese, were the first to sign *panchsheel*, that is, the five principles of co-existence with us. In spite of our two different systems of Government, we proclaimed that we can live in peace, all over the world. That was right. But now you see what has happened. They have given good-bye to all sense of decency by violating the five principles of co-existence. Instead of settling border disputes by friendly talks they invaded our country and wherever they come, they say, that is their frontier. Even on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, in the *People's Daily*, they have written that they were taking more territory of India to teach Indians a lesson. They say that we are lackeys of the western democracies. That is the way they speak, they write and they think about us. They were once jingoes and war-mongers. They adopted Communism but could not shed their jingoism. They have ill-digested Communism. They are after world hegemony. In fighting this menace we should be serious enough and we should stand by the Government, whoever may be running the Government. I differed from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on many matters. I was there in the Congress for 30 years. For the last 12 years I was not there, because I found that the common man was neglected. But this is not the time to raise all these questions. Full loyalty should be given to the Government. Since he is now running the Government, we should all stand behind him and try our level best to see that we come out successful in this great calamity that has overtaken us. If we do not take steps in time, soon, Assam will be cut off and Pakistan will stab us in the back. I am afraid that all these things may happen.

In the latest article of Pravda on 5<sup>th</sup> of November, they have objected to one-sided aid by western democracies being given to us. When they fought Hitler, U.S.A gave them one-sided aid. If that is permitted, why can't this be permitted in our case? As I said, we should stand by the Government, whoever may be running the Government. We should at once go in for conscription. Wherever we could get our arms, we should take them. No doubt, non-alignment is the best policy.

Russia, of course, is a different proposition. I had been there recently. You were also there. They have great love and respect for us. But at this crisis, when our country has been attacked, if they now do not check their ally, what shall we think of them? Did they not get aid from the U.S.A when Hitler attacked them? What is wrong in our getting aid from the U.S.A?

**Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my constituency is contiguous to the NEFA area and on the fourth day of this debate I think I should confine my remarks only to the NEFA border and speak a little bit about the mind of the people of Assam and the problems that they are facing.

The fall of Tibet in 1959 brought the Chinese to the very door of Assam which also drove the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees to the soil of Assam. People began to feel insecure. Coming into contact with the Tibetan refugees they hear about the atrocities inflicted by the Chinese on the Tibetans. And we began to feel that India had a moral duty to the people of Tibet to help them in maintaining their independence. That India did not move in this regard had an adverse effect on the people also of three other States, viz, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. This was the first lapse on the part of our defence policy.

It was not only a moral lapse but also a military lapse because the preservation of the buffer States of Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim was militarily necessary for the security of our own country. Had that been done at that time, the battle ground would not have been at NEFA or on Indian soil but would have been somewhere far distant from the Indian border. Although preparations were undertaken on the NEFA border for securing that area, they were not done with the speed that the circumstances demanded. That was mainly on account of the fact that we relied too much on the Peking leaders accepting the principles of Panchsheel. Our too much reliance on the utterances of the Chinese was the second lapse on the part of our defence policy.

It has to be admitted that we failed to take proper steps in proper time and we failed to take note of the massive preparations which the Chinese were making on the other side of the Tibetan plateau. It is indeed surprising that only on the sixth day of the massive offensive on 20<sup>th</sup> October we had to go begging to other countries for small arms. This proves that we were not actually prepared at that time. All these are very regrettable indeed.

But deliberating on our past lapses and indulging in finding faults with each other will lead us nowhere. It is not this or that man's fault. We are collectively responsible for all these lapses. That should be the attitude of ours who are wedded to democracy. Mr. Churchill said that democracy may lose battles but wins the war. That we will win the war is evident from the upsurge of the people which is so great, so determined and so spontaneous.

That our non-alignment policy has been successful is also evidenced from the fact that friendly countries are rushing to help us in the form of supply of arms. Had the non-alignment policy not been so, I think, this help could have come with strings or in a different manner. We should not hesitate to take arms free from other countries who want to offer them to us. We are now told MIGs are soon coming from the USSR. If USSR can give us the same sort of help as the UK and USA have done, the hostilities with China, I am sure, will come to an end very early because China would not be able to fight single-handed. Today the Russia's leadership is actually in the ordeal.

Today mass mind is more advanced than ever in the past. Everywhere the non-official defence organizations are springing up spontaneously. They know that it is not the fighters at the front alone who can bring victory however heavily they may be armed. Unless the fighters in the fields, in the factories and at the homefront do their part, victory is remote. If we fail to channelise this enthusiasm and fail to give a correct lead and a definite programme, there might occur a setback of the worst type. The innumerable non-official committees need to be regulated. The Parliament is sitting now; it is momentous in the truest sense of the term. The whole of country is watching its proceedings and waiting a clear programme from this august body.

Day before yesterday, the Minister for planning made a statement on the measures to curb the price rise of essential commodities and foodstuffs and also to augment the production of food-grains, fruits, vegetables, meats and eggs etc. I congratulate him for it and wish that he maintains the speed, at which the mass mind is moving in implementing the measures.

Having said so, I want to mention a few points for attention of the Government. Firstly, Assam is bounded on all sides by foreign countries except for a narrow strip of land about 40 miles in width. This is the place where the boundaries of Bhutan, Sikkim and Pakistan meet. If this corridor is cut off, then, the entire State of Assam, with Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura will be lost and the people there will have the same fate as the Tibetans under the Chinese. It is reported that there is heavy concentration of Chinese troops on the Bhutan boundary.

Secondly, the road built by the Americans during the Second World War; known as the Stilwell Road, connects Assam with China through North Burma. This road, though not in use now, offers a good possibility for the Chinese to infiltrate into India or to open another front with the help of the people of North Burma who have a communist leanings. Thirdly, if the Chinese attack Tirap, the fifth division of NEFA and find way into Tuensang, they will meet the hostile Nagas and coming further south, they will be able to establish contact with Pakistan with whom we are unfortunately not in very good terms.



**Dr. M. S. Aney:** We have been betrayed by China and how she has scant or little respect for the principle of co-existence. I do not want to criticize the Prime Minister or anybody here, but the rape of Tibet by China was matter that we allowed to go unprotected. I do not say we could have stopped that, but if we had protested that China was not justified in occupying Tibet ruthlessly, in the way she did, perhaps our hands unsoiled. Somehow or other, Tibet did not have the support which she expected from us as a neighbour. In this matter, there is one more point which I want to bring to the notice of the House. We are proclaiming that our line of border is what we call the MacMohan line. What was this MacMohan line? It was a border steeled between Tibet and the British Government. By calling it a proper line, we acknowledge as a matter of fact that Tibet had the right to enter into an agreement with Great Britain as a sovereign State. But when Tibet was overrun by China, we ignored this fact and kept silent. We committed a kind of sin, and today we have to go through a blood bath as an atonement for the sins of omission which we committed then. That is how I feel.

This is no time for us to enter into those nice questions of international principles, because we are in the midst of a war. In this war we find that China has invaded India at a time when we were probably least expecting it. We admit that. Our duty now is to see that we prepare ourselves to counteract the effects of the invasion. We have to give a good account of ourselves. We have got a good and brave army, an army with a great record of heroism. We must equip that army properly. For that we must get assistance from every nation possible. Here we should not allow considerations of alignment and non-alignment to be very meticulously considered so as to make us feel shy of getting help from any country. Fortunately for us, the cause of China is unrighteous. In fact, one of the reasons why she is not a member of the United Nations is this. After all, the United Nations Organisation was intended to create a force of righteous association of nations which want to live in peace, stable peace, and make peaceful progress of the world possible. Now, China is a country which has no respect for peace. She does not desire peace. If the United Nations is an organisation of righteous nations China can only be described as a rascal wanting to join the club of righteous nations. It is a matter of great satisfaction that most of the nations have realized that there is need for prompt help to India. There are some nations which may not come to our aid, though our relations with them have been friendly up to this time. Whether they will stand by us in this hour of crisis or not is a matter of doubt. In Sanskrit, there is a phrase:

राजद्वारे स्मशाने च यस्तिष्ठति वान्वन्धः

Only he who stands by you, both in prosperity and adversity, is your real friend.

It is a matter of satisfaction that some nations, big nations, have come to our help and are helping us, but we have to prepare our own nation at the same time. We shall be getting help from them, but it has to be used by our own people. Our people must be properly disciplined.

It is also a matter of great satisfaction that the appeal made by the Prime Minister to the people has received a generous response, a wonderful, miraculous response. That is a matter of great hope for us. But when we are asking the people to make donations liberally, the Government as a whole should see that unnecessary expenditure must also be curtailed. We have got large ministries at the Centre and in the different States. If the old ministry had ten ministers, the new one has 15 ministers. The general election has resulted in the addition of ministers everywhere. In my opinion, the present number of ministers in the Central Government as well as in the different States can be safely cut down by one-fourth, and the remaining ministers can be asked to work with a reduction of 25 percent of their salaries. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that several Members of this House and the other House have voluntarily made donations, thus setting a good example.

Another suggestion, I wish to make is this. During the last ten years or so, the bodies which used to be run by public spirited workers have become bodies with salaries attached to them. That has created a sordid spirit about the membership of the local bodies. All those local and other bodies should follow the example set by the Members of this House. I hope that if we start making great sacrifices ourselves, we will be in a position to appeal to the people to make all kinds of sacrifices.

The third thing is that we have to carry public opinion with us. It is a matter of great satisfaction that all parties in the country, including the Communist Party judging by their latest resolution, have declared their resolve to stand by this Government and follow its Leader in their fight against the Chinese. After all these parties have to carry the people with them. If there are certain bodies or persons who on account of their propaganda for certain causes have been imprisoned, it is time Government thought over the matter and declared a general amnesty for political prisoners. The Nag Vidarbha Andolan Samiti has been carrying on propaganda. Now, it has suspended its agitations: it has declared so.



There are some 12 persons in jail and about 12 other cases are pending. I am sure, our distinguished friend, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra who out of an admirable sense of alertness while sending behind the bars some of those communists whom he suspected to be dangerous at this juncture, will have the magnanimity and chivalry to release the other prisoners whose loyalty and devotion to the country is beyond question. Any gesture of this kind made by him will enable the country not only to fight the war of the Himalayas with the aid of Sahyadri but also with the aid of Satpura, Vindhya and Mahendraparva and all other mountains, which are all said to be the brothers and sisters of Himalayas. The whole India will go with him. I hope such a generous gesture will be shown by him and we will have a united India which will enable us to make preparations and to throw back these invaders overboard beyond the Himalayas. I do not know, but God willing, even Tibet may get a new life in this struggle, if we win. With these words. I thank you for the time given to me. I wish to add one verse from the Rig veda: |

अस्माकम् वोरा उत्तरे भवन् । त्वस्मान् उदेव : अवताहवेषु ।

It is a prayer to Gods: let our warriors be victorious and let them protect our men who are working in the battle field.

**Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda (Vishakhapatnam):** Sir, I rise to support the Prime Minister's resolutions and before I say a few words I salute our gallant jawans. The present situation brings to my mind what Sir Winston Churchill said when the Second World War commenced. He said: we will fight them on land; we will fight them in the air; we will fight them on the seas, these gutter snipe. He made the womenfolk of England stand on the shores with 12 bore guns and they did that for a long time before they received further aid from America. May I pay a tribute to our women who have already made many sacrifices. They have given away most of their gold; they have started knitting woollen jackets and other things for our jawans. I would like very much to see that our womenfolk also get used to the rifles and take over the places of men in offices as they had done in England. During the Second World War, men vacated their offices and women took over. Similarly, when it becomes necessary for us, every Indian, every man born on this menacing Chinese. There may be mistakes or faults. Many might say: we shall want so and so to be changed. I am reminded of a saying in English, "swapping horses in mid-stream". That would be very very detrimental to our interests. Much has been said about the Communist Party. No ordinance or no ban is necessary. The Communists should first think of their being Indians, first and last. Merely passing a resolution and saying that we are with you gets us nowhere. I suggest that every communist in this country must forget the word communist and say to himself: I shall give up communism for all times to come...

**Shri Tyagi:** I think it is a good suggestion.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** They will accept it.

**Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda:** That is how I feel when my country is invaded. I forget any party business. I am an Indian first, and an Indian last. I do not believe in these resolutions. I want a spirit of heart searching and heart to heart talk, that is to say: we are with you and we have nothing to do with communism.

One great thing that has emerged out of this aggression is that we have forgotten this casteism. It is indeed a blessing. In the past we used to hear much about casteism and provincialism and this ism or that ism. India has now rallied round as one man behind the Prime Minister. That is a very happy thing indeed. In these fourteen years, instead of consolidated our freedom, we began to drift into different directions and castes and things like that, which were almost forgotten in the British days, began to disintegrate us. As I said this invasion is indeed a blessing in disguise. Pakistan's propaganda has risen to dizzy heights. I cannot understand their logic or commonsense. They say that they are not with India; they want to sit on the fence. If India were to be over-run by the Chinese, God forbid, how long would Pakistan last? I cannot understand that. Their leaders do not even take into account what is obvious, what is crystal clear. That shows Pakistan's narrow outlook.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

In spite of the fact that we had partition, instead of saying that we are with you in this naked aggression, instead of that, they are building up a propaganda of hatred for India. We have been following the path of Dharma all along, all these 14-15 years, and I am sure Dharma will eventually bring us victory and a grand victory at that.

Much has been said about non-alignment. I would like to put it in my own way. It is the civilized world that is with us. It is only the barbarians who are not with us. So, non-alignment has brought the civilized world to us or with us and they

are going to give us all the support and we are grateful to those nations who have agreed voluntarily to come to our aid.

That brings to my mind the recent visit of Tunku to our country. Asian countries were wavering until he came out wholeheartedly by saying that India's cause must be backed. Today we find that he is even raising a fund for India in his country. Tunku's effort in India's cause is a very good one.

I would like to read out to you a small statement given by Emperor Haile Selassie which is a very admirable one. Speaking on the Sino-Indian border dispute, the emperor said:

"Yet another threat to world tranquility has burst into flame. We repeat what we have said on countless past occasions that aggression never has been, is not now and never will be the answer to disputes between nations. We extend our sympathy and that of our Government and people to the Indian nation which is today under armed attack."

That comes from a great man who was the victim of aggression. He went into exile and remained so for several years. But the people called him back. Those words from him have a great meaning.

As an old cricketer I believe in attack, and I never like the bowler to call the tune. And so, an attack is the best form of defence. I would like to hear in future that we are attacking the Chinese instead of saying that we are defending our country.

This brings to my mind something relating to cricket. There was a bowler called Ashung. An Englishman was batting in West Indies. The bowler bowled a ball and the Englishman shouted out, "Oh my Lord; that is a Chinaman." That is to say, it turned the opposite way—stabbing the man in the back. When one stabs the man in the back, you call him a Chinaman! If you look to Wisden, you find the word Chinaman, Ashung was the man who bowled that ball. In the game of cricket also the China is known to bowl the wrong ball—stab the man in the back.

I would like to give a time-limit and tell the Chinese that if this is going to continue, we shall deport every Chinese from this country, whether a cook, be it a man who makes shoes, because I think these Chinamen in India are spies who must be conveying every news to their country in whatever from they do it and in whatever manner they do it. So, I think if this war goes on and they keep on coming down like steam-rollers though we have not to fear of steamrollers and Dharma is on our side even so, I feel that we should give them a warning and tell them to clear out from this country.

I have a few suggestions for whatever they may be worth. Wavell canteens worked all over the country during the second world war. I think we could have those canteens in every nook and corner of this country and call them Nehru canteens. I would like to say that the medical students of our country may be attached to military hospitals. They will be helpful to doctors and be getting to know surgery and many other things that take them long to learn in college.

**श्री लाहरी सिंह:** रामलीला ग्राउंड में तथा दूसरी जगहों पर नान-एलाइन होने की दुहाई दी जाती है। इस तरह से काम नहीं चल सकता है। नई नई किस्म के हथियार तैयार हो चुके हैं। अब पुराने हथियारों से काम नहीं चल सकता है। इस चीज़ को रिलाईज़ कर के आप को चाहिये कि आप रीयालिस्टिक हो। मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब के सामने सच्ची बात रख रहा हूँ और आप को भी चाहिये कि आप सच्ची बात रखें। हम एलायेंस नहीं चाहते। लेकिन आप सोचें कि किस दुश्मन से वास्ता पड़ा है। हवाई जहाज़, बीस बीस लाख का आता है, कोई आप को वैसे ही दे देगा। मिलिट्री पेक्ट न हो, लेकिन अगर किसी डेमोक्रेटिक कंट्री पर अटैक होता है तो हम सब एक साथ मरें। 1914 की लड़ाई अंग्रेज़ ने एलायंस कर के जीती। लास्ट बार मैं उस ने एक तरफ रूस को काबू किया और दूसरी तरफ अमरीका को किया। क्या उसका नुकसान हो गया? इन लड़ाइयों में वह विजयी रहा है। हमारे पास तो कुछ नहीं लेकिन हम कहें जाते हैं कि हम एलायंस नहीं करेंगे। नहीं करेंगे तो मरेंगे ही। इतनी दुहवाई नानएलाइनमेंट की आप न दो। एलायंस के माने समझा दो। बिना एलायंस के हम मर जायेंगे। अंग्रेज़ को यह करना पड़ा था। आज जो खतरा है वह मामूली नहीं है और इस का हमें पूरी ताकत के साथ और जिस तरह भी हो सके मुकाबला करना है।

**Shri Sonavane (Pandharpur):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Proclamation of Emergency issued by our President and also the Resolution moved by our beloved Prime Minister. In this hour of crisis we have to rise as one man against the Chinese aggression to repel the Chinese forces from our sacred soil.

The whole of Maharashtra must have been electrified by the proposed placing over the Defence portfolio in the hands of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, the descendant of Shivaji the Great.

Our Prime Minister has offered to the Chinese that talk or negotiations would be opened if they withdraw to the position held by them before the 8<sup>th</sup> September. If this offer is accepted by them and they accordingly withdraw, a cease fire may be ordered. Once a cease fire is ordered, as our experience is, the cease fire line stays. Then, if the Chinese leaders refuse to go back beyond the McMahon line, then what happens? What action can we take at that stage to recover whatever land that would be in the illegal occupation of the Chinese forces? Then also there will be another headache for us. Therefore, I feel a doubt as to the proposal whether the 8<sup>th</sup> September position should be agreed upon for starting or that cease fire line should be agreed upon. Later on, complications if they arise, as in the case of Pakistan, our position will be rather serious. Therefore, I want this clarification from our Prime Minister that only for talks, for easing of tension, this offer should be acted upon and no cease fire should be ordered till all the Chinese forces are withdrawn beyond the McMahon line, in the Ladakh area and also in the N.E.F.A area.

The Communist Chinese, timid and treacherous as they are, they were very anxious...

**Some Hon. Members:** Timid?

**Shri Sonavane:** I say timid because they have betrayed a friend and stabbed a friend in the back. They wanted to regain their land, Taiwan or Formosa. Instead of regaining and getting back that land—they did not do that, because they feared that mighty feet would kick them out of Formosa—what did they do? They committed rape on Tibet and marched their armies. Tibet a buffer State, having gone, they came to India, invaded and committed aggression on our sacred soil. Therefore, I feel it is for Formosa Nationalist Chinese to liberate their mainland as they have often said. It is the time for them to take this opportunity to recover their mainland and to liberate the enslaved Chinese people who are starving and hungry. I think if they take this opportunity, it would be a golden opportunity for the Nationalist Chinese leaders.

The Communists Chinese Leaders are, no doubt, expansionist, cruel, treacherous and deceitful. When Communist China is enlarging the possibility of world war by its aggression on India and democracy, I do not understand why the leaders of the U.S.S. R are keeping mum. These are the two pictures here. One picture is that Soviet Russia has withdrawn or has dismantled whatever bases it had and is carrying back the ballistic missiles to Russia. But, other China, a Communist ally with Soviet Russia, is carrying on war and increasing the possibilities of this nuclear war in this world. This is a menace to peace. Therefore, I request the Leaders of U.S.S.R, Mr. Khrushchev, that he should prevail upon the Communist Chinese leaders to withdraw from the Indian soil and have a peaceful atmosphere and see that world peace is not endangered.

We are very much thankful and grateful to the friendly western nations such as the U.S.A, and the U.K, Canada, France and other countries for their swift help in supplying arms to us in this hour of our peril. To our brave jawans we give our wholehearted support and pay our tribute to our jawanas who have laid down their lives to protect their motherland. Every Indian is up to help, contribute his mite, donate blood, gold, and sacrifice everything to save the honour of our land. But, our Indian Communists should not have raised their voice in protest for the Indian Communist individuals who have been detained, who did not support the C.P.I resolution, but went against that. Therefore, in the interests of the C.P.I, I feel that they should not try to protect those people who are detained or who are anti-nationalist, to say, in outlook. If they do so, if they raise their voice again—they have done it in Bombay—I feel, the people at large in the country will doubt their *bona fides*. I feel that this step taken by the State Government in the interests of the motherland, should be taken in that spirit.

The fight has to be carried on and the supply line has to be maintained. Therefore, every peasant, worker in the factories, coal fields, railways, have got to work with re-doubled zeal. Time is running short. I will place my suggestions in two minutes. We have got to conserve our foreign exchange. Therefore, my suggestion is that our gold business should not be left in private hands and steps should be taken in to nationalize that. Our defence and air force should be strengthened. Air raid shelters should be increased in the border States and other areas. We have got to minimize expenditure in the State and Central Government. Particularly the size of the Cabinets should be reduced and non-essential expenditure should also be stopped. People in the villages, particularly in the rural areas, who cannot read and write, know very little of the fight going on in the border areas. Therefore, in order to educate them, I say that folk-song parties should be organized. Through folk songs and dance we can enthuse and communicate to them and explain to them what is going on and what kind of help and support is needed for the country. Then, hospital buildings should be built for this purpose, and a greater number of nursing training centers should be opened, so that in case of an emergency, those nurses will be useful for nursing our wounded soldiers.

### PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY AND AGGRESSION BY CHINA

**Shri Balgovind Verma (Kheri):** The fact that China has invaded our territory has shocked the conscience of the peace-loving people of the world. To some extent I think that this invasion is of our own making. Had we not recognised the suzerainty of China over Tibet, China would not have dared to look at us. Moreover, when China occupied a portion of Ladakh, we kept silent, and then we tried to solve this matter by peaceful negotiations. This was taken by the Chinese as a sort of weakness in us, and that is why they have dared to cross our frontiers.

Now that this crisis has come, we should be prepared to face it and face it with a firm determination. We should see that these invaders are thrown out, thrown out in time. I think that this crisis has come to us as a blessing in disguise. Now, the whole nation is standing as one behind our beloved leader Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and this is a unique opportunity that we could never think of. We hope that this upsurge which is found in the people in abundance will be kept alive for all times to come.

The enemy that we are faced with is a treacherous one. He can use all those methods and devices which we may not even think of. Therefore, it has become our imperative duty to see that all wings of our Armed Forces are strong. We should see that our aerial power is really of such a type that it may strike the enemy in his entirety. We should see that our aerial power is superior to that of the Chinese, because the Chinese may attack us at any time, and we cannot believe them. They are very treacherous, and therefore, we have to be on our guard.

I would like to say one thing more, namely that if we want that this menace of the Chinese should be minimized, if not today, at least tomorrow, we shall have to destroy their bases in Tibet, and that is of paramount importance.

The time has also come when we should try to befriend the Kuomintang Government, that is, the Government of Chiang Kai-shek. This Government is in close terms with the USA, and, therefore, we should rather request the USA that they should ask the Kuomintang Government to invade the mainland.

**श्री काशीराम गुप्त (अलवर):** वह सरकार भी मैकमोहन लाइन को नहीं मानती हैं, आप उन से कह कर क्या करेंगे?

**Shri Balgovind Verma:** ... They may accept it or not, but the time is such that they can take advantage of the present position, and if they invade the mainland, they are sure to come out victorious, because another front will be opened there and the Chinese will be diverted towards that, and that will be to our advantage as well. Therefore, I say that we should ask the Kuomintang Government that they should see that they take advantage of this most opportune moment.

Many of our friendly countries of the West are giving help to us at this time of crisis, and we are very grateful to them, and we hope that they will be coming forward to help us in a greater measure because this war is not between China and India but it is between communism and democratic people. Therefore, the greater they help us, the better it will be, and it will also be in their interests to do so.

I would suggest that our Prime Minister should appoint roving Ambassadors and also send personal emissaries abroad who may visit the Heads of our friendly countries abroad, and post them with the latest developments that are taking place in our country, because that is the most urgent. If we do everything through our ambassadors, sometimes it is late. It is time that we keep our friends informed of everything that is taking place here every now and then.

I may frankly tell you—whether we may accept it or not—that if we have to deal with the Chinese properly, we have to do certain things. I think the time has come when the Dalai Lama should be recognised as the head of the Government of Tibet. We should not be content with throwing the invaders out of our soil, but we should also keep the invaders from Tibet in order to make it a buffer State so that this menace may not recur.

I am coming from a district which is on the border, the district of Kheri which has a border with Nepal. Conditions in Nepal are not very good. We should not be complacent about that side. We have come to know that thousands of Chinese are there on the soil of Nepal. The Nepal Government is removing the posts which were there from time immemorial. We do not know what their intentions are. Some trenches are also being dug. Therefore, I call upon my Government to be very careful on that side.

One thing more.....

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** The hon. Member should resume his seat.

**Shri Balgovind Verma:** You have got sufficient time. The Prime Minister is replying only at 4 p.m.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** There are other members also wishing to speak. Shrimati Kamala Chaudhuri.

**श्री कमला चौधरी (हापुड):** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री ने इस सदन में जो महत्वपूर्ण प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है मैं उस का हार्दिक स्वागत करती हूँ और समर्थन करती हूँ। वास्तव में इस आपात्कालीन अधिवेशन में सब से महत्वपूर्ण प्रकरण यह प्रस्ताव है जिस का सारे देश की जनता ने हार्दिक स्वागत किया है। वास्तव में यह हमारे लिये सम्मान पूर्ण है, और भारतीय भावना के अनुकूल है, क्योंकि चीनियों ने पंचशील के आदर्श को ठुकरा कर, उन सिद्धांतों को भुला कर हमारे उपर धोखे से आक्रमण किया और जो हमारे वीर मातृ भूमि की रक्षा के लिये वहां बैठे थे उनका निर्दयता से रक्त बहाया।

सचमुच जिस देश का इतिहास, जिस का साहित्य गौरवपूर्ण गाथाओं से भरा हुआ है वह इस आघात केवल हमारी सीमाओं पर ही आघात नहीं है, बल्कि भारत के जन जन की हृदय पर चीनियों ने यह आघात किया है और प्राण रहते हमारा देश उसका मुकाबला करेगा। और हमारे देश की जनता ने इस का परिचय भी दिया है।

प्रधान मंत्री के संकेत मात्र पर हमारे देश ने अपने धन अपने स्वर्ण के खजाने खोल दिये हैं, हमारी बहनों ने अपने सुहाग चिन्ह मंगल सूत्र तक रक्षा कोष के लिये अर्पित किये हैं। यह एक वह चिन्ह है जिस को हम अपनी विजय का चिन्ह कह सकते हैं। मुझे पूर्ण आशा है जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी कहा, अन्त में एक न एक दिन विजय हमारी होगी! और सचमुच हम विजय प्राप्त कर के रहेंगे।

आज दुनिया के सामने यह तथ्य स्पष्ट हो गया, चीन तथ्य पर धोखे का पर्दा नहीं डाल सकता, सबको मालूम हो गया कि उस का यह दावा कि उस के द्वारा हस्तगत सीमायें हमारी न हो कर चीन की हैं, यह बिल्कुल असत्य है, यह झूठ है, हमारा साहित्य इस का प्रबल प्रमाण है कि जिस हिमालय की हम पूजा करते रहे हैं, जिस पर वह अधिकार जमाये बैठा है।

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza:** Now it is more than 40. It is not mathematics. More than 40 nations on both sides of the curtain have supported us. We have to remember that we are a non-aligned nation. We cannot claim by right the support of any nation. There is no peace treaty or a treaty for defence. Our whole policy was based on the fact that every issue will be decided on its merits, and so many nations have come forward to support us. That is not only an aid to support us but also a free judgment of the world that our cause is right.

This is a very, very great thing. Some people say: "non-alignment has failed." But what would alignment have done? Look at the aligned nations. Take any nation you like. If they were faced with the same situation, will they have the self-confidence that this country today possesses in spite of its being not prepared? There was a lot of talk about our being unprepared. Was France with her Maginot line bristling with cannons, steel and cement concrete, prepared? Was the United States of America at Pearl Harbour prepared? How can you prepare for war when your whole objective is peace? If you want to prepare in the military sense, you have to have an army on a two-Power basis.

We have also to take into account not only China but also Pakistan. The moment you have done that, suspicion would have been aroused and the policy of peace would have been negative at the very first step. Even today, when we are faced with a war and we are getting ammunitions from abroad, there is suspicion in Pakistan that the balance of power may shift. What would have been the case if we had made preparations years ago? So, the very fact that we were not prepared is a reason in support of our policy of peace.

Battles are not fought just by guns. Morale and righteousness are things that support any army. Even those Nazis or any other armed forces, if they had no ideal, before them they had created an ideal. Today, we are fighting for the freedom of our land. Let us restrict ourselves to that. Let us not create a war psychosis. Our objective is to clear a foreign nation which has invaded our land and we want to clear our land from the invader. That is our objective. We do not want to create a new front and new wars. That, I think, would be a completely wrong and futile policy. War itself is wrong. The war is forced upon us, just like we have to light a fire sometimes to quench a fire. That is what we have done. Therefore, I would like the House to appreciate that it is all right to fight for your country for its independence, but do not become warmongers, or do not idolize the very thing which we hate, that is, war.



**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Akbar Ali Mirza:** Two or three minutes more, Sir. There have been talks about non-alignment. Shri Ranga says that "you must align with the western bloc." Shri Hanumanthaiya wanted a reorientation. Shri Tyagi says, "you do not regard this as a sort of religious dogma." Shri Morarka says, "friend in need." Suppose, Pakistan, instead of China, had attacked India. What would have been the pattern of your friendship? Our strength is that whether the fight is on this curtain or that, we all stand for righteousness and we get support from both sides of the curtain.

Further, there is a talk about attacking Tibet and attacking some bases and so on. It is the opinion of strategists that whichever power holds Tibet holds the hearts of Asia. Tibet is the biggest natural fortress in the world. It is considered to be the roof of the world. Therefore, operating from there, if you lose a few villages here and there why should there be such a panic? Why should there be comments? Why should the Defence Minister resign? "The policy has to be changed." The leadership is questioned because a few villages are gone, when they have got a strategic advantage. That is a wrong policy. We have to build the morale of the country, and for that, everyone of us has got a responsibility.

One word more and I have done, and that is about the communist world. People talk about Russia. They think you will remain unaligned, but once you are in war with anybody, you want the whole world to line behind in your support! What reason is there? Russia, in spite of her position in the world, has come to our aid.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza:** One minute.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is lengthening the debate.

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza:** International communism is like Pan-Islamism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century has played out. It is not international conspiracy as Shri Kamath thinks. It is cracking. We have to see that we gain friends and do not lose friends. You attack here and you attack there and create enemies; that is very easy think to do. But it is more difficult to gain friends.

With these few words, I support the resolutions.

**Shri P.R. Patel (Patna):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, in supporting the resolutions, I salute our brave jawans who are fighting the enemies for the honour and integrity of our country. I also respectfully pay homage to our brave jawans who have sacrificed their lives in fighting against the enemy. They shall never be forgotten by us.

China has committed aggression on us. The aggression is not only a danger to our freedom and democracy, but is a danger to all nations of Asia and Africa. I hope Nepal and Pakistan will realise the grave yellow danger and join with us to safeguard not only our freedom but also their freedom.

Raja Mahendra said recently that Nepal is a calf between two fighting bulls. I wish him to search his heart and he will find that China is a tiger which would devour the calf without mercy. India, though a bull according to him, has blood relations with the calf. China signed the *Panchsheel* agreement on 29<sup>th</sup> April 1954 and promised us to respect our country's integrity and freedom and not to commit aggression. But before the ink was dry, on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1954 China put a claim on our Bara Hoti and then claiming to be our friend swallowed part by part, some 14,000 square miles of our territory in Ladakh from 17<sup>th</sup> July 1954 to 12<sup>th</sup> July 1962. We took some eight years to realise the Chinese treachery. It is very painful. *Panchsheel* was a *Prapanch sheel* to Chinese. They used it as a shield to do meanest treacheries—*Prapachas*.

The recent aggression by the Chinese on our NEFA border has done in a way a service to us. It has roused the people, one and all. Every Indian is determined to drive the Chinese out of the last inch of our territory. Even children and illiterate farmers are awakened. Everybody is contributing his might for the defence of our country and freedom. Rivers and rivulets of cash and gold are flowing to Delhi. Our people were never found so united and determined as they are now.

Some hon. Members assailed our non-alignment policy. I fail to understand them. Our non-alignment policy is known to the world. Yet, at our request, we got arms and ammunition from USA, Britain and other countries. Our non-alignment policy has not created any hurdle in getting arms and ammunition from whatever country we choose.



**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Now, if we accept their proposals, which seems so innocuous, they would retire, they said, up to the McMohan line, but they add that their idea of McMohan line was different from ours: and it is on this side of the edge, and we should have to retire from where we are today—another 20 kilometers, that is, leaving about 40 kilometers of territory which was not occupied either by their armies or ours. That is to say, they would have fixed base on this side of the Thagla pass, an open territory which they can walk across any moment they like. It was impossible for us to agree to. And in Ladakh, our withdrawing still further from where we are, and their not exactly marching immediately, but our facilitating their advance in the future they want to come. So, we rejected those proposals.

We said there should be a reverse on to the 8<sup>th</sup> September line both in NEFA and in Ladakh. That meant in NEFA not only their going back but our going forward to those posts that we held, with no vacant space left, and in Ladakh our going back a good way.

Some people say, “How can you say that? You must not negotiate. You must not have any talk with them till you completely push them out from the Indian territory.” That is a very good thing. But one does not talk with anybody whom one has defeated completely and pushed out. The question of talks does not arise. If we have gained our objective without talks, the question of talks does not arise. I would suggest to the House to remember that in these matters, one has to take a strong view, but a realistic view. The suggestion that we have made, they have rejected, because it strengthens us and weakens them. What is more, the suggestion we have made about the 8<sup>th</sup> September line is one which has been appreciated in a great part of the world—non-aligned countries and others—because merely saying that we shall not talk to you till you have confessed defeat is not the kind of suggestion that any country makes to another. So, I hope that the House will realise that what we have suggested is a right suggestion and will support it fully.

Some Members talked about our stating that we are going to liberate Tibet.

**श्री बागडी (हिसार):** मनसर गांव हिन्दुस्तान में है, वहां की आबादी हिन्दुस्तानी है!

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Some others even mentioned—I think the hon. Member who just intervened said something about Mansarovar.

**Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi):** Mansar village. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Unfortunately, history is not made by men like the hon. Member at the opposite. It is really amazing to see that some other members and other outsiders talk that we should lay down that we would liberate Tibet. It is a very happy idea if it is liberated. But our undertaking of that job at the present moment or at any moment seems to me extraordinary and fantastic and having no relation to reality.

I have said that in a war between India and China, it is patent that if you think in terms of victory and defeat—there might be battles and we might push them back, as we hope to—but if either country thinks in terms of bringing the other to its knees, it manifestly cannot and will not happen. Let us be realistic. Are we going to march to Peking? (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar):** Are we going to allow them to march to Delhi?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am sorry I cannot enter into an argument. But I appreciate that a war like this cannot be ended as far as I can foresee by surrender by either party. They are two great countries and neither will surrender. Therefore, some way out has to be found to finish the war in terms honourable to us. We have said that we will finish the war when we liberate our own territory which is in their possession. Our saying that we are going to liberate Tibet is a thing which we cannot do; even if we had the atom bomb, we could not do it. It is manifestly absurd to talk about it, and it justifies everything that China has said about it, in the sense....(*Interruptions*).

They have always been saying that their chief grouse against us is that we have been encouraging a revolt and rebellion in Tibet. That is the thing which ultimately turned them against us. If we say that, it will justify their argument, which had no foundation, and give them in international circles and everywhere considerable strength. It will mean our saying something which we cannot possibly, feasibly do. It is impossible. We have got a big enough task, a tremendous task, which we should realise, to push them back to their own territory from our own country. We are going to do it. It is going to be mighty difficult; it might take us a long time. So, I hope that while we should be strong and determined, as we must be, we must not just for the sake of appearing braver than others say things which are, I regret to use the word, manifestly nonsense.

Now, the resolution I have placed before the House is a fairly comprehensive one. It is a resolution of resolve, of determination and of dedication. I hope, therefore, that in accepting the resolution, as I hope this House will, the House thinks in terms of dedication, not in bombast, not in tall talk, but realizing that we have a very difficult task before us. We are determined to fulfil it however long it may take and whatever the consequences might be. And, in doing so, we will be heartened by the biggest thing that a country can do and which India has done thus far, and that is, produce this enormous emotional upheaval that we see all over India among man, among women and, perhaps more than all among children. So, I put forward this resolution before the House in the hope, faith and with the strong determination that all those who are present here and the country will abide by it and will act up to it.



**10 December 1962**

**MOTION RE:**

**BORDER SITUATION RESULTING FROM THE  
INVASION OF INDIA BY CHINA**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

“That the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China be taken into consideration.”

There are certain substitute motions moved. No. 1 is by Shri P. K. Deo and some others of the Swatantra party. Is it moved?

**Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi):** I move.

**Mr. Speaker:** Second, by Shri Ram Sewak Yadav.

**राम सेवक यादव:** इसकी जगह मुझे दूसरा प्रस्तुत करना है

**Mr. Speaker:** No. 3. By Shri Sivamurthi Swamy.

**Shri Sivamurthi Swamy (Koppal):** I move.

**Mr. Speaker:** No. 4. By Shri Prakash Vir Shastri.

**Shri Prakash Vir Shastri (Bijnor):** I move.

**Mr. Speaker:** No. 5. Shri Surendranath Dwivedy.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** I move.

**Mr. Speaker:** No. 6. Ram Sewak Yadav

**Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:** I move.

**Mr. Speaker:** Nos. 7 and 8, not moved No. 9.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla (Mahasamund):** I move.

**Mr. Speaker:** No. 10, Shri A. S. Saigal.

**Shri A. S. Saigal (Janjgir):** I move.

**Mr. Speaker:** These motions also are deemed to have been moved if they are admissible and otherwise in order.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted namely:

“This House having considered the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China, is of the opinion that not enough is being done to give practical shape to the marvellous spirit of sacrifice and patriotic favour displayed spontaneously by our masses and to develop our national defence to vacate Chinese aggression, and that the country and the world should be informed that the treacherous Chinese cease-fire proposal only seeks to keep the Chinese on

Indian soil and prevent India from properly fortifying and guarding all the strategic passes and places, which had been desecrated by the Chinese aggression and to keep out of India's control Tawang, Longju, Walong, Dhipula and other strategic mountain passes in the NEFA region, Barahoti, Niti and Mana passes in U.P, Shipkela in Punjab and Chusul, Daulat Beg Oldi airfields and 43 check posts in the Ladakh region, though nominally kept within the area covered by this cease-fire offer and under dispute and that Government should proceed to take all necessary and unflinching steps calculated to vacate the country from Chinese aggression, and therefore urges that-

- (i) no negotiations should be entered into with the aggressor until and unless the Chinese Government agrees and takes effective steps to withdraw her forces and check-posts to the actual and customary traditional and lawful boundaries;
- (ii) in view of the solemn resolution passed unanimously by the House on the 14<sup>th</sup> November, 1962, the Chinese proposals should be rejected and defence and other forces and equipment should be developed rapidly and at the appropriate time, notice should be given that if the Chinese aggression is not fully vacated, India should not be held responsible for the military consequences following from India's just and honourable attempts to vacate aggression;
- (iii) The Government should refer this unprovoked Chinese aggression to the U.N. Assembly and seek the goodwill and active support of the U.N. in this sacred task of freeing India from Chinese aggression;
- (iv) India should break off diplomatic relations with China;
- (v) The Government should seek and obtain massive military assistance and aid of all kinds from all friendly nations by calling them into association with us in this defence of world democracy as against such Communist and imperialist aggression;
- (vi) The Government should take sincere and active steps to reach an effective settlement with Pakistan; and
- (vii) The Government should give facilities to Dalai Lama to act freely on political plane." (1)

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:

"This House, having considered the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China, pledges to the Nation to continue the fight as a life and death struggle till complete victory is won and is of the opinion that –

- (i) tortuous actions of the Chinese for twelve years should serve as a warning to the Government of India that India must clearly understand the trick behind the cease-fire proposal to bring about a cold war situation in the country which will be a greater course to the Nation than an active war, if we accepted any line other than what it was on the 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1947;
  - (ii) aggression can only be resisted if India builds up political and military strength;
  - (iii) the Government of India should not relax their efforts at any moment hereafter to drive out the Chinese from our sacred soil; and
  - (iv) the present defence policy of the Government of India to meet the challenge of Chinese invasion is satisfactory."
- (3)

**Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:-

"This House having considered the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China, is of the opinion that-

- (i) in view of the unprecedented spirit of selfless sacrifices and unity displayed by the people in the country in the moments of the present national emergency, no negotiations or talks should be held with China so long as the Chinese troops are not totally withdrawn from the Indian soil;
  - (ii) the anti-national activities in the border areas of India and the increasing activities of spies having sympathies with the enemy should be curbed strictly; and
  - (iii) such political parties and organizations as have sympathy with the Community China should be banned."
- (4)

**श्री विश्वन चन्द्र सेठ:** भारत की इतनी बड़ी जन संख्या का इतना बड़ा मनोबल आज सरकार के साथ है, उसके द्वारा हम संसार की किसी भी शक्ति को पीछे धकेल देने में समर्थ है ।

एंग्लो ऐमेरेकन्ज़ ने जिस प्रकार के वातावरण का आरम्भ में निर्माण किया था उसके लिये मैं ने उन्हें इसी सदन में धन्यवाद दिया था । पर उसके खिलाफ आज मैं उन को यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह कोई सौदा नहीं है, अथवा कोई रोज़गार भी नहीं है, बल्कि आज सारे संसार की शक्तियाँ दो भागों में विभाजित हैं एक और कम्युनिस्ट भावना के देश है और दूसरी और वे देश हैं, जो कि प्रजातांत्रिक शासन में विश्वास करते हैं । अतः अमरीका, इंग्लैंड और उन के दूसरे एलाइड कंट्रीज़ का यह नैतिक कर्तव्य है कि वे हमारे देश के साथ आर्य और कंधे से कंधा लगा कर मदद करें, अगर वे अपनी सुरक्षा चाहते हैं । आज यह सोचना गलत होगा कि यह लड़ाई चाइना और हिन्दुस्तान के बीच है ! यह लड़ाई संसार की दो विचार धाराओं में चल रही है । ऐसी स्थिति में उनका यह नैतिक कर्तव्य है कि वे किसी प्रकार का सौदा न करें मैं किसी चीज़ का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता और न कोई ऐसी शर्त लगायें कि पहले यह तय करो, फिर हम मदद करेंगे । इमानदारी की बात यह है कि अगर वे संसार में प्रजातंत्रिक शासन को जीवित रखना चाहते हैं तो उन्हें भारत को अनकन्डिशनल सपोर्ट देना चाहिए ।

**एक माननीय सदस्य:** उन्होंने ऐसा ही किया है ।

**श्री बिशनचन्द्र सेठ:** नहीं नहीं ! माननीय सदस्य कागज़ की बात बता रहा है । मैं पहले भी माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी से यह अपील कर चुका हूँ - जिस की ओर उन्होंने अभी तक ध्यान नहीं दिया है । आज फिर उस को दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि दलाई लामा की सरकार को फोरन मान्यता दी जाये और उनके केस को यू.एन.ओ. में भेजा जाये । चाइना के लिए इस समय हमें भी एक नया खटारा पैदा करना चाहिए ! लेकिन हमारी सरकार ऐसे ही बैठी है । इससे क्या होगा । हमारी सरकार की यह भावना होनी चाहिए कि ऐसी नीति अपनाई जाये कि चाइना को भी पता चले कि कोई उसके मुकाबले पर है । मैं आप से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे जिस तरह से भी हो तिब्बत के लोग जब चाइनीज़ के साथ नहीं हैं, तो आप के पास इस से ज्यादा सुनहरा मौका और कौन सा होगा ? इसलिये समय का इस से लाभ उठाना चाहिये ।

अन्त में केवल एक ही चीज़ क्यूबा की मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ । अगर अमरीका ने एकदम सारे क्यूबा की एरिया को घेर न लिया होता तो निश्चित रूप से आज संसार के सामने यह परिस्थिति न होती । अमरीका ने संसार के सामने एक बड़ी भारी एग्ज़म्पल पैदा की है, जो आज से कुछ ही दिन पहले की बात है । ठीक उसी तरह हमारे देश को भी चाइना का मुकाबला करना चाहिये ! इस मामले में बार बार अजीब अजीब बातें सोचने से हमारे देश के मोरल पर बुरा असर पड़ता है ।

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been hoping against hope that since at long last the Chinese have come out with their clear and unequivocal ultimatum to us, the Prime Minister would have gone to the last limit of his patience and given his clarion call to our country that since China has forced us into war we are at war and therefore we must be prepared now to think in terms of war and act up to our responsibilities in this state of war and not be bothered about all these various peace offensives which the Chinese have been placing before us. I am disappointed, Sir, with his speech this morning. At the same time, I am living in the hope that a day will come, and I am prepared to be patiently waiting for that day, when the Prime Minister will be able to give that clarion call which is needed in order to inspire our people to redouble their efforts and help them to go with him in implementing the hope and faith expressed by this House, that the House has affirmed the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India however long and hard that struggle may be. The Prime Minister said that it might take possibly five years. The country I am sure will be ready to back the leadership of the country and the Parliament with the effort that the people would be making through their Government in order to drive away the aggressor from our territory.

But, at the same time, it is necessary for us for our Government to seek plain massive military assistance and aid of all kinds from all friendly nations by calling them into association—we are not calling it alliance or pact or anything like it—with us in this defence of world democracy as against this communist and imperialist aggression. This morning, I was wondering why the Prime Minister was avoiding the expression “Communist China”, and he himself has said about China in one of his speeches: “I must confess that the Chinese attempt to make falsehood appear to be the truth and the truth to be the falsehood has amazed me”. Then he said: “To say that we are committing aggression on Chinese territory is a kind of double talk which is very difficult for a man of my simple mind to understand”. That is because he happens to be a liberal, and a famous liberal too. He happens to be a man who is wedded to truth, to certain decencies and honesty. But, unfortunately, we are faced with this fight which is brought up in the communist ways, ideology and methods, and it is no wonder that he is amazed and perplexed with their amazing capacity for double talk (Interruption). That is why it is high time that he realized that this is a way inflicted upon us by China because China is imperialistic and also communistic. It is no use keeping our eyes blind-folded in this manner.

Sir, I cannot congratulate him on his new suggestion that he has made. He seems to be coming forward with a new suggestion every time he speaks in this House. The suggestion is that we would go to the Hague court. It is either too late or too early. It is too late because in those days before 1959 we should have thought of it and we should have demanded that those people should go to that court. There was an instance in the past. When there was a dispute between Norway and Denmark over Greenland, the Hague Court decided that matter. If we go through the details of that court decision, we will find that we would certainly be able to get a decision in our favour in the Hague court. Why is it that the Government did not go there then? Why is it that they think of it now when we are forced into war and we are at war now. But he was saying: "at the end of war". Certainly, at the end of the war. Are they to be defeated? They need not be defeated, but we would certainly drive them out of the country just as the Chinese were driven out in Korea, just as the Americans were kept on this side of the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel. So also, there would come a time when the Chinese would be kept out of our country. Then we would be able, in order to settle how we should live in peace regard to our broad border, to go to the Hague Court.

Sir, it is a pity that even now we have not thought of giving freedom to Dalai Lama to function here as a free man as the head of his own people as he had been. We do not seem to be willing to learn anything from China. While she has been carrying on struggle with us, she arranged a special friendship with NEFA, with Pakistan and with Burma. What have we been doing? Therefore, the time has come when we should give this opportunity to Dalai Lama to function freely. We ourselves have placed all these restraints on him. It is a sin, according to me, that we have allowed that country to be swallowed up by China. Sir, I will only refer to one simple sentence from the Prime Minister's own speech. He said, it is a very happy idea if Tibet is liberated. I hope we will live to that day to see that Tibet is liberated not only with the efforts of their own people but also with the moral, material support of all those people who love democracy, peace and decency.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Mr. Speaker Sir, ever since we had been involved in war and war-like operations, there is no lack of experts on military strategy in this country. I know I receive large numbers of letters telling me what should be done on the military line. I am not referring to hon. Members here—of course, they are presumed to be experts in everything.

**Shri Ranga:** We take our cue from the Prime Minister.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not pretend to be an expert in military matters though I have naturally read something about it, followed the course of the last few wars and so on. I offer them, but in the ultimate military matters, if I have any ideas to offer, I offer them, but in the ultimate analysis in purely military matters it is the judgment of our experts on our military advisers, that must prevail. That is obvious. Of course, one can discuss it. Then, everybody is a judge in political and diplomatic matters and, naturally all of us here are more used to think, more concerned about them and have some experience of them. I venture to say, first of all, that war cannot be considered in a vacuum, saying it is war. Some hon. Members, some leading members of some leading parties suggested: it is war and nothing else. That is an extraordinary statement. It is one thing that one should be strong, one should be determined, and it is quite another thing to consider it in a vacuum. Nobody has ever done it in the past and nobody will ever do it in future. A war, a famous German writer on military matters, Clausewitz said, is a continuation of politics. War has a great deal to do with propaganda, with publicity, apart from military. What is that? Why is China today sending people all over Africa and Asia to tell them what her case is? It is something other than war, though connected with war. Because, China attaches a great deal of importance to what they may say and what they may feel.

Somebody asked me: why have you allowed the sending of a deputation from here to Colombo? I have not sent any deputation, but I am very glad they went. They asked me, and I said "certainly, it is up to you to go there because I knew, because I was sure, even though it might do no good, certainly it could do no harm; it could do some good. Also, there was no question of foreign exchange involved or anything, and I definitely think they would do possibly more good than many others who might be, in the opinion of some hon. Members, perhaps more stouter champions of our cause. But the whole point is, who can approach a certain party with some effect. Suppose I have to send a person, wherever it may be, say, to some region in Africa, I shall choose some one, not because of his brilliance in the knowledge of history of India, past or present, but because of his knowledge of how to approach the African people and their country. If I have to send a person to the Soviet Union, I will send a person...

**An Hon. Member:** A Communist.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** .....a person whose approach, whose voice counts there. It is no good sending Professor Ranga to Soviet Union. There can be no doubt, I say so with all respect to Shri Ranga, that his going there will ruin our cause, so far as the Soviet Union is concerned.

**Shri Ranga:** I perfectly agree with you.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** He is prepared to agree with me. Therefore, one has to think of what is good in the given circumstances and who is good in a particular country. You have always to think even when you are warring in terms of politics and diplomacy. That is an essential part of it. In the biggest war, in the most fatal war, the second world war, diplomacy and politics always played their role in publicity, propaganda etc. I say all this because this idea that we must go like a bull in a China shop, destroy everything and win the war has no meaning at all. One should always think of the consequences of every action that one takes; the consequences may be not only hurting the enemy but, may be, hurting us in round about way, and may even hurt the peace that we are after. All these are well-known maxims of approach.

I think Mr. Winston Churchill was quoted. He was a big leader, a fine leader in war time. It is his strength that you admire. But behind that strength lay a great deal of experience in diplomacy politics and all that. You must remember that too.

I am afraid, there is some confusion in the minds of hon. Members with reference to the Sino-Indian dispute because of the spate of correspondence. Thick printed volumes are full of it. And the Chinese Government is particularly adept at producing enormously long statements. This very statement which came, which they issued yesterday and which, I believe, has been received sometime today, by midday today or this afternoon, copies of which have probably been placed in the library of Parliament, contains ten or twelve fully-typed foolscap pages. By the time we have read it, we are confused as to what we have read, unless we analysis it carefully.

**An Hon. Member:** That is their object.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Because of this trouble that we have had with these long statements, most of which have been seen by hon. Members, a certain confusion is created. And I regret to say that our replies to them were, though not that long, still fairly long.

We have to deal with this matter with diplomacy because while we are telling them something we are telling the world something. There is such a thing as the world, as other nations in Africa, in Asia, in Europe and in America. Hon. Members seems to think that because they and we are convinced of the fact and all that we have to do is to tell them. That is not correct. We have to tell them the particular context, explain to them and tell them that we are adopting an attitude that is right and reasonable. Because, nobody in the wide world is going to go through all the statement made by us to China or by China to us. They go by broad facts. It may be that they are ill-disposed to China and so they may accept what we say; not because of the argument. Or, it may be that they are well-disposed to us and so they will accept what we say. But most people are neither ill-disposed to one party or the other. They have to be convinced by reasonableness, by strength, by all these factors. That is where the political approach and the diplomatic approach come in. I am not for the moment saying that our approach has been perfectly political or diplomatic, but I am suggesting for the consideration of the House that these factors have always to be considered. The bull-in-the-China-shop attitude does not pay anywhere. Even the strongest countries in the world, if they adopt that attitude, will be laughed at by others.



**4 March 1963**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **SETTLEMENT OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN M.P.**

**Shrimati Maimoona Sultan:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a number of Tibetan Refugees are proposed to be settled in Madhya Pradesh;
- (b) if so, how many and where; and
- (c) how many Tibetan Refugees have already been rehabilitated in that State and in which districts.

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



- (a) Yes.
- (b) 2000 in Sarguja District.
- (c) None.

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**22 March 1963**

**Answers to Questions**

### **RE: REPORTED CONCENTRATION OF CHINESE TROOPS IN TIBET**

**Mr. Speaker:** Papers to be laid on the Table.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** Sir, before you take up the next time, may I draw your attention to a matter of grave concern and seek your guidance? You know, Sir, that there have been reports about concentration of Chinese troops in Tibet and officially, this has been admitted. It is a matter of grave concern to the country. Notices of some adjournment motions and calling attention notices have been given to you during the last two days. So far, you have been good enough not to disallow them. But due to the urgency of the matter, if at the same time a decision is not taken and no statement is coming forward.....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. The hon. Prime Minister was not here and therefore I said that as soon as he comes, he will make a statement. I have asked the office to inform those hon. Members who gave notice that I have admitted it and that a statement would be made as soon as the hon. Prime Minister returns.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The only thing that I have to submit in this matter is that both the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Defence Minister have chosen to absent themselves for two or three days when Parliament is in session and such urgent matters are postponed only because of their absence. It is rather very strange.

**Mr. Speaker:** I do not think any harm would be done because of delay of one or two days taking place. I thought that it should be the hon. Prime Minister who should make a statement.

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** But there is great concern all over the country. On top of that...

**Mr. Speaker:** I appreciated that. I join in that concern; therefore, I at once admitted that.

**Shri Hem Barua:** We are more concerned.

**Mr. Speaker:** He is coming today. As soon as he comes, if he has information, he might make a statement today or, at the latest, tomorrow.

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**23 March 1963**

**Answers to Questions**

### **Calling Attention to Matter of Urgent Public Importance CONCENTRATION OF CHINESE TROOPS IN TIBET**

**Shri Yashpal Singh (Kairana):** I call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:-

“The reported heavy concentration of Chinese troops in Tibet”.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** On the 1<sup>st</sup> March the Ministry of National Defence of the People's Government of China issued a statement that their troops had withdrawn along the entire India-China border on China's own initiative and that this withdrawal was to points 20 kms beyond what the Chinese claimed as the 'Line of Actual Control.' The statement added that the Chinese forces were “now far behind their positions on September 8, 1962.”

On 3<sup>rd</sup> March, I received a message from Prime Minister Chou En-lai referring to this unilateral action by the Chinese Government and stating. “In order to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations, the Chinese Government has

done all that is possible for it to do.....Therefore, I do not think that there should be any more reason to delay the holding of talks between Chinese and Indian officials." I sent a reply to Prime Minister Chou En-lai that "the obvious thing if the Government of China are sincere in their professions regarding peaceful settlement is to accept the Colombo Conference proposals without reservations just as the Government of India had done. We can go to the second stage of talks and discussions only thereafter."

Since these exchanges took place, certain other developments have occurred. One was the signing of the Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement in Peking on 2<sup>nd</sup> March. During the last fortnight, we received several notes from the Government of China. Despite their peaceful professions, the Government of China chose to use sharp and provocative language in these notes, one or two of them being actually scurrilous in tone. We have replied to these notes and contradicted the false allegations made.

We have also received reliable information of additional induction of troops into Tibet, on projects of further road construction along our borders and of the requisition of Tibetan villagers, pack animals etc., by Chinese Armed Forces in Tibetan areas to the north of our border. Though the Chinese forces have withdrawn 20 Kms from what they call the line of actual control, their concentration beyond this narrow strip continues unchanged.

There are other factors of recent developments which make it difficult to believe in repeated Chinese professions of their desire for peaceful settlement. The Chinese Government have, so far, declined to accept the Colombo proposals. The statement made by the Ministry of National Defence of China on 1<sup>st</sup> March referred to earlier, ends up with a warning that "Although the Chinese Frontier Guards have withdrawn from the Line of Actual control as of November 7, 1959, we have not given up our right to self-defence". This reference to "self-defence" in the context of what happened in October and November, 1962, coupled with Marshal. Chen Yis statement in a television interview to the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation that "judging from the present attitude of the Indian Government, provocative actions on the part of Indian troops will occur from time to time," may as well mean that the Chinese authorities are contemplating further aggressive action at a time of their own choosing.

We have therefore to be prepared to meet any eventually that may arise. I hope, however, that the Government of China will, consistent with their peaceful professions, respond to the unanimous proposals without reservations as a first step towards resolving of the India-China border differences by peaceful means.

**श्री यशपाल सिंह:** तिब्बत की रक्षा करना हमारा नैतिक कर्तव्य है और राजनीतिक कर्तव्य भी है, और यह हमारे डिफेंस के लिये भी ज़रूरी है! तो क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि सरकार इस मामले में तिब्बत की दलाई लामा सरकार को कोई आश्वासन दे रही है?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** यह अलाहिदा सवाल है! इससे इसका कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है!

**श्री किशन पटनायक (सम्बलपुर):** क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि हमारे मिलिटरी इंटेलीजेंस की कुछ तरक्की हुई है जो कि पहले तीसरे दर्जे की थी? और दूसरी बात यह है कि अब अगर चीन का हमला हुआ तो क्या हम अपनी हवाई शक्ति का भी प्रयोग करेंगे?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** यह कैसे बतलाया जा सकता पहले से कि हवाई शक्ति का प्रयोग करेंगे या नहीं! सवाल के पहले हिस्से का जवाब दे सकते हैं कि क्या हमारे मिलिटरी इंटेलीजेंस ने इत्तला दी है कि वहां क्या कुछ हो रहा है!

**श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू:** आम तौर से मिलिटरी इंटेलीजेंस को इत्तला बतायी नहीं जाती! लेकिन जाहिर है कि जो कुछ मेने बताया है उसी ज़रिये से बताया है, और कोई खबर तो हमारे पास नहीं है!

**श्री किशन पटनायक:** क्या मिलिटरी इंटेलीजेंस में कुछ तरक्की हुई?

**श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू:** मैं क्या अर्ज करूं, हमारी तरक्की तो जारी है!

**Shri P.C. Borooah (Sibsagar):** It is gathered that the Chinese troops before withdrawing from NEFA in certain places created some good atmosphere by harvesting the crops of the people and collecting them for the people in their absence, and before going they stated that they were not against the people of India in the border areas, particularly, but against the present sarkar of India.

**Mr. Speaker:** What is the question now for clarification?

**Shri P.C. Borooah:** I am coming to that.

May I know whether this concentration in Tibet has any relevance to that statement of the Chinese troops?

**Mr. Speaker:** He wants to know whether this concentration in Tibet has any relevance to NEFA? I could not follow the question.

**Shri P.C. Borooah:** The Chinese troops before withdrawing from NEFA in certain areas have created some good impression about themselves, that means they harvested the crops and collected them and said that they were not against the people of India particularly...

**Mr. Speaker:** This is not a clarification of any statement that has been made about the concentration in Tibet.

**Shri P.C. Borooah:** I want to know whether that concentration has any relevance to the statement that they are coming again; they said that they would be coming again.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know what is the exact relevance of this. Of course, everything may be connected. But the stories that the hon. Member has heard have reached us too, that is, such statements were made by some Chinese officers before withdrawing.

**श्री ओंकर लाल बैरवा (कोटा):** मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि नेफा में चीनी फौजों ने जो इलाके खाली किए हैं उनमें हमारे प्रशासन की क्या स्थिति है, और प्रशासन के अधिकारियों की सुरक्षा के लिये सरकार ने क्या क्या कदम उठाए हैं?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** यह दूसरा सवाल है!

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** In view of these recent developments, namely the concentration of troops in the Tibet area etc., may I know whether any special attention is being paid to the areas in Indian territories adjoining these places to put a check to the activities of espionage and sabotage, especially to curb the activities of elements who have extra-territorial loyalty?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Naturally, we try to pay every attention to any possibility of espionage and take action where we discover it. I do not know what the hon. Member meant by the last sentence, especially 'extra-territorial'. I do not know whom he means.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** There are parties and persons who have extra-territorial loyalties. I want to know whether their activities are put in check, especially in these areas, in view of the fact that they are nearer to the border.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am still unable to understand whom he calls 'extra-territorial'.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I mean the Communist Party and persons who hold loyalty to Russia.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The hon. Member should know that Government has taken action in regard to many persons who may be who probably are, members of the Communist Party; but they do not proceed on the basis of membership of the Communist Party itself necessarily leading to that, for, there are many members of the Communist Party who have expressed themselves and acted in a helpful manner in regard to this Chinese aggression—helpful to Government.

**Shri Hem Barua:** In view of the fact that one of the reasons for this massive Chinese troop concentration on our borders might be to force the Colombo Powers to force us to accept the Colombo proposals as adumbrated by China, may I know whether our Prime Minister is prepared to give us an assurance here and now that our stand on the Colombo proposals will not be diluted, whatever the consequences?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know. The hon. Member wants me to give all kinds of assurances.

**Shri Hem Barua:** A very simple assurance.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I will give no assurance of any kind except that our stand is there and we intend standing by it. What other assurances does he want me to give? Does he want me to take an oath on some sacred book?

**Shri Hem Barua:** No, no. I did not have that in mind. I believe in the integrity of the mind. I believe in the integrity of

the country as much as the Prime Minister believes. Therefore, I wanted him to reiterate our stand of firmness, in regard to the Colombo proposals, against this heavy Chinese troop concentration.

**Mr. Speaker:** All that is contained in the statement itself.

**श्री यशपाल सिंह:** हमारे देश की हिफाजत के लिये यह जानना ज़रूरी है कि हमारी सरहद पर चाइना की एअर फोर्स का ऑफेंसिव पोटेंशियल क्या है! क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार ने पता लगाया है कि हमारी सरहद पर चाइना ने कितनी एअरफोर्स इकट्ठा कर रखी है?

**श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू:** कुछ न कुछ मालूमात तो जमा किया ही करते हैं, लेकिन जो कुछ मालूमात जमा की है उनको मैं यहां आपके सामने अर्ज करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ!

**Shrimati Laxmi Bai (Vicarabad):** Rose—

**Mr. Speaker:** Papers to be laid on the Table.

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**25 March 1963**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*564. Shrimati Savitri Nigam:**

**Shri Maheswar Naik:**

**Shri D.C. Sharma:**

**Shri P.K. Deo:**

**Shri Yashpal Singh:**

**Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that recently there has been a rush of Tibetans into India as refugees from across the borders; and
- (b) if so, the attitude of the Government of India towards this question?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) There has been a minor influx of Tibetan Refugees into India recently.
- (b) The Government of India do not encourage the entry of refugees.

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** May I know whether it is a fact that about 2000 Tibetan refugees were brought to Delhi before making any proper arrangement for their stay here?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** No, Sir; Tibetan refugees were not brought to Delhi. Some refugees found their way to Delhi, but they have been sent on to other centers.

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** May I know what arrangements have been made for the schooling of their children? I want to know whether they have been admitted into proper schools or not.

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** There are some special schools being run for them, and quite a number of them have been provided with schooling facilities. I am not able to say exactly how many have been provided and how many are left out.

**Shri Maheshwar Naik:** May I know whether the hon. Minister could give us an idea of the size of the influx of Tibetan refugees and action taken against possible infiltration of Chinese spies in the guise of Tibetan refugees?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** Necessary screening is done, and we taken precaution against that.

**Shri D.C. Sharma:** May I know how many of these refugees have come to us *via* Sikkim and Bhutan and by other routes? Has the Government got any break-up of these?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** These refugees have not largely come through Sikkim and Bhutan. The refugees who came there are largely there. Some refugees have also come from Nepal.

**श्री यशपाल सिंह:** जबकि दलाई लामा ने कान्स्टिट्यूशन डिक्लेयर कर दिया है और उनकी इंडेपेन्डेंट स्टेट बन गई है तो सरकार उन को स्वतन्त्र

नागरिक बनने को वहां क्यों नहीं भेजती? या कि सरकार उन्हें यहीं बसाना चाहती है? इस बारे में सरकार की नीति क्या है?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is a question of policy.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know if the attention of Government has been drawn to allegations made in the Kashmir Assembly very recently to the effect that the Chinese have planted spies among Tibetan refugees in that State; if so, may I know what specific steps the Government have taken to apprehend the Chinese spies in these forward areas of Jammu and Kashmir?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** As I mentioned earlier, Sir, they are being screened all the time. There is a committee which goes into the question of their investigation.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is about those who come afresh; what about those who are already there?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** Their cases are being looked after by the Intelligence Branch we have.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Are there any reasons to apprehend or believe that during the massive Chinese invasion of NEFA and Ladakh, a number of Tibetans came along with the Chinese armies and have since then stayed on as refugees in those areas?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** Is the hon. Member referring to army personnel or to civilians?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Tibetan civilians who came along with the Chinese armies and have stayed behind as refugees—really they are Chinese agents?

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** Since the Chinese aggression some refugees have come in.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He has not answered my question. During the invasion, along with the Chinese forces some civilians came.

**Mr. Speaker:** He says that some civilians came along with the Chinese forces and they have stayed behind as refugees in the areas that have been vacated by the Chinese.

**Shri Hem Barua:** There was an allegation made in the Kashmir Assembly.

**Shri Dinesh Singh:** I cannot say off-hand. But I do not think there had been any refugees who came and stayed behind.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will he answer the question later on?

**Mr. Speaker:** He may kindly look into those discussions that have taken place in the Kashmir Assembly.

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**8 April 1963**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **SETTLEMENT OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN ORISSA**

**1592. Shri. Ulaka:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply given to unstirred Question No. 1085 on the 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1963 and state:

- a. The total amount likely to be spent during the Third Plan period for the settlement of Tibetan refugees in Ganjam District in Orissa; and
- b. When the settlement of such refugees in Orissa would be completed?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru):**

- a. About Rs. 36,00,000
- b. The Scheme will be implemented in stages depending on the result of the first phase, which has already been taken in hand.

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## स्विट्ज़रलैंड में तिब्बती शरणार्थी

श्री सिधेश्वर प्रसाद:

1850 श्री प्र.चं. बरूआ: क्या प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

(क) क्या यह सच है कि स्विट्ज़रलैंड की सरकार ने भारत में आए हुये एक हजार तिब्बती शरणार्थियों को बसाना स्वीकार कर लिया है और:

(ख) यदि हां, तो इसका ब्योरा क्या है?

प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री तथा अणु शक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू):

(क) हालांकि स्विट्ज़रलैंड की एक सहायता संस्था और भारत में स्विस् राजदूतावास ने इस मामले को उठाया है, लेकिन स्विट्ज़रलैंड की सरकार से सरकारी तौर पर अभी तक कोई पत्र नहीं मिला है!

(ख) प्रश्न नहीं उठता!

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1 May 1963

Written Answers to Questions

## तिब्बती बच्चों के लिये बाल-गृह

2619 श्री ओंकारलाल बेरवा: क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

(क) क्या यह सच है कि मसूरी में तिब्बती बच्चों के लिए आठ बाल-गृह खोले गये हैं;

(ख) यदि हां, तो इस समय इन बाल-गृहों में कितने तिब्बती लडके रह रहे हैं;

(ग) ये बाल-गृह किसकी देख रेख में चल रहे हैं, और

(घ) उन पर सालाना कितना व्यय किया जाता है?

शिक्षा मंत्री (डा.का.ला.श्रीमाली):

(क) जी हां!

(ख) 193 बच्चे: 95 लडके तथा 98 लडकियां।

(ग) तिब्बती गृह संस्थापन।

(घ) ये गृह हाल ही में स्थापित किए गए हैं और इन पर होने वाला वार्षिक व्यय कुछ समय के बाद ही मालूम हो सकेगा। जहां तक शिक्षा मंत्रालय का सम्बन्ध है, यह संस्थापन को गृह के निवासियों के अनुरक्षण व्यय के लिए प्रति निवासी 50 रुपये प्रतिमास तक का अनुदान देगा।

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1<sup>st</sup> May 1964

Written Answers to Questions

## DALAI LAMA'S OFFICES IN COUNTRIES ABROAD

190. Shri D. C. Sharma: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Dalai Lama has expressed a desire to open offices outside India; and  
 (b) if so, the reaction of the Government of India thereto?

The Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs, Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Nanda):

- (a) and (b). Yes, Sir. The Dalai Lama has expressed a desire to open offices of his Personal Representatives in one or two countries. The Government of India have told him that the matter will be considered.

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## STATELESS CHINESE RESIDENTS IN INDIA

190-B. Shri Kapur Singh:

**Shri P. K. Ghosh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) what is the basis on which the Government differentiate the KMT Chinese and the Communist Chinese residents of India out of those who have been declared as 'Stateless';
- (b) whether any representation was received recently by the Government of India from the Overseas Chinese Association of India loyal to KMT China in this regard; and
- (c) if so, what action Government propose to take?

**Shri Nanda:**

- (a) As far as Stateless Chinese are concerned, technically it is not possible to differentiate between KMT Chinese and the Communist Chinese residents of India since they do not hold documents showing their political allegiance. The security of the country is the sole consideration which effects Government's policy in dealing with persons of Chinese origin.
- (b) A representation was received recently by the Government of India from the Overseas Chinese Association of India.
- (c) The various issues raised in this representation are under Government's active consideration.

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## CONCENTRATION BY CHINESE AND PAKISTANI TROOPS

158. Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda:

**Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:****Shri Gokaran Prasad:****Shri S. M. Banerjee:****Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda:****Shri Hem Raj:****Shri Veerappa:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Chinese and Pakistani troops have recently concentrated on our borders; and
- (b) if so, what steps Government are taking to safeguard the frontiers?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y.B Chavan):**

- (a) Chinese concentration on our borders continues and is now heavier than what it was in November 1962. Pakistani activities on our borders, especially along the cease-fire line and the international border in Jammu and Kashmir, and certain areas of Assam and Tripura, also continue.
- (b) Government have taken all possible steps to safeguard the borders.

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## DALAI LAMA'S VISIT ABROAD

160. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Dalai Lama has approached Government for providing facilities to travel abroad;
- (b) if so, whether he has specified the countries which he would like to visit; and
- (c) the decision of Government in the matter?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Nanda):**

- (a) Yes; the Dalai Lama has indicated a desire to visit some Buddhist countries.
- (b) Yes Sir.

- (c) We have assured the Dalai Lama that we will give him as much assistance as we can in the matter.

✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦

**7 September 1964**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **CHINESE BUILD-UP IN TIBET**

**Shri Bishanchander Seth:**

**Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:**

**Shri B. P. Yadava:**

**Shri Rameshwar Tantia:**

**Shri Dhaon:**

**Shri S. C. Samanta:**

**\*13. Shri M. L. Dwivedi:**

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:**

**Shri Himatsingka:**

**Shri Subodh Hansda:**

**Shri Bagri:**

**Shri Hem Raj:**

**Shri Balmiki:**

**Shri K. N. Tiwary:**

**Shri Krishnapal Singh:**

**Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda:**

**Shri Mohammad Elias:**

**Shri E. Madhusudan Rao:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Government of India have protested to the Peking Government regarding the concentration of troops in Tibet;
- (b) if so, the reaction of the Peking Government thereto; and
- (c) what measures Government are taking to strengthen the country's defence?

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

- (a) The Government of India have from time to time, in notes exchanged with the Chinese Government, referred to the large concentrations of Chinese military forces in Tibet.
- (b) The reaction of the Chinese Government has been to deny facts of Chinese military concentrations in Tibet and to accuse India of military preparations and refusal to settle the border dispute through unconditional negotiations.
- (c) Government are taking all possible measures to strengthen the country's defence.

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**7 September 1964**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **FOREIGN AID FOR TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**1404-A. Shrimati Savitri Nigam:**

**Shri P. R. Chakraverti:**

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the London reports about the disappearance of alarming quantities of aid sent to India for Tibetan refugees and other charitable objects, according to which up to two-thirds of the aid shipments fail to reach their destination; and
- (b) if so, whether any inquiry has been made into the matter and if so, with what result?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir. The reports of the *Sunday Times* (London) dated 13<sup>th</sup> September 1964 is highly exaggerated and gives an incorrect account. There have been hardly any losses in the gift consignments for Tibetan refugees received from abroad. There was certain delay in the clearance of consignments from Bombay port during the period August 1963 to March 1964 but this has not resulted in any appreciable loss. The *Sunday Times* report has been contradicted

by the Central Relief Committee (India) and most of the voluntary agencies giving aid for Tibetan refugees.

- (b) The matter was discussed with the Central Relief Committee (India), which co-ordinates receipt and distribution of aid from voluntary agencies for Tibetan refugees in India, and they have confirmed that the report referred to above is highly exaggerated and every effort is being made to make maximum utilization of the aid.

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**7 September 1964**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### तिब्बती संस्कृति का विद्यालय

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम:

**1547 श्री विश्राम प्रसाद;** क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या सरकार इस प्रस्ताव पर विचार कर रही है कि तिब्बती बच्चों के लिये तिब्बती संस्कृति का एक विद्यालय खोला जाये जहां स्कूल शिक्षा समाप्त करने वाले छात्रों को धर्म तथा संस्कृति की शिक्षा दी जाये;
- (ख) क्या उस प्रयोजन के लिये कोई पाठक्रम निर्धारित किया जाने वाला है; और
- (ग) यदि हां, तो किस स्थान पर, कब से खोला जायेगा और उस पर कितना व्यय होगा?

शिक्षा मंत्री (श्री मु.क.चागला):

- (क) जी नहीं !
- (ख) और (ग) प्रश्न नहीं उठता !

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**30 November 1964**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### TIBET ISSUE IN U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Shri Kapur Singh:

Shri Rameshwar Tantia:

Shri Solanki:

Shri Narasimha Reddy:

**\*267. Shri Dharmalingam:**

Shri Surendra Pal Singh:

Shri Y. S. Chaudhary:

Shri Ram Harkh Yadav:

Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey: Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a statement by Philippine's Chief Delegate at the United Nations, Mr. Lopez, that his country would bring the Tibetan question before the world Body;
- (b) if so, the attitude of the Government of India thereon; and
- (c) whether any efforts have been made by Government to mobilize world opinion in favour of their stand when the Tibetan question comes up before the U.N. Body?

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

- (a) The Governments of the Philippines, Nicaragua and El Salvador have jointly proposed the inclusion of the item "Question of Tibet" on the Agenda of the XIXth Session of the U. N. General Assembly.
- (b) Whether an item shall or shall not be considered by the General Assembly is decided up on the recommendation of the General Committee constituted for the purpose by the General Assembly. The Government of India's attitude to a decision of this item will be decided when the recommendation of the General Committee is considered by the General Assembly. As a general rule, however, the Government of India favour the discussion of items brought up by members before the Assembly.
- (c) Broadly speaking, the Government of India's sympathies are with the Tibetan people and the Government of India will support any resolution that calls for restoration of human rights and fundamental freedom to the Tibetan people.

## MISSILE BASE IN TIBET

Shri D. C. Sharma:

Shri Vishram Prasad:

Shri Solanki:

Shri Buta Singh:

1043. Shri Gulshan:

Shri Kapur Singh:

Shri S. M. Banerjee:

Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:

Shri Surendra Pal Singh: Will the **Minister of Defence** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is fact that Chinese are working on a plan to make the Tibetan plateau a base for firing rockets and other missiles; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**Minister of Defence (Y. B. Chavan):**

- (a) and (b). It will not be in the public interest to disclose the information in Government's possession.

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## सिक्किम में तिब्बती

1344 श्री ओंकरलाल बेरवा: क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि कुछ तिब्बती अपने बच्चों के साथ सिक्किम में बिना वैध अनुमति-पत्रों के रह रहे हैं!
- (ख) यदि हां, तो बिना वैध अनुमति-पत्रों के उनके प्रवेश के क्या कारण हैं; और
- (ग) इस साल अब तक कितने तिब्बती भारत आ चुके हैं!

वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री (श्री स्वर्ण सिंह)

- (क) और (ख) सिक्किम में तिब्बती लोगों को रजिस्टर करने का काम सिक्किम सरकार करती है! हमारी सूचना के अनुसार, सिक्किम में रहने वाले सभी तिब्बती लोगों को सिक्किम सरकार द्वारा प्रमाण पत्र दिए जाते हैं!
- (ग) 4231

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## TIBETAN REFUGEES

128. Shri D. C. Sharma: Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Peking has again stepped up its campaign to persuade Tibetan refugees to return to their mother land over Radio Lhasa; and
- (b) if so, the Government's reaction thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) The Chinese appeals to Tibetan refugees are evidently intended to give the impression that things are normal and better in Tibet, and not so good in India where these Tibetans have taken refuge from Chinese oppression. The Tibetan refugees in India, who are being assisted by the Government of India in their rehabilitation, are not deceived by this propaganda.

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### तिब्बती बच्चों के लिये स्कूल

श्री बडे:

285. श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:

श्री ऑकरलाल बेरवा: क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या सरकार ने तिब्बती बच्चों के लिए देश में स्कूल खोल दिए हैं!
- (ख) यदि हां, तो क्या 1963 -64 में ऐसे स्कूलों की संख्या में वृद्धि हुई थी;
- (ग) 1963 -64 में कितने बच्चों ने शिक्षा प्राप्त कि; और
- (घ) 1964 -65 में अब तक कितने बच्चे शिक्षा प्राप्त कर रहे हैं और सरकार द्वारा इन पर कितना व्यय किया गया है?

शिक्षा मंत्री (श्री मु.क.चागला):

- (क) जी हां! तिब्बती स्कूल सोसायटी को अनुदान दे कर!
  - (ख) जी हां! एक रिहायशी और चार दिन के स्कूलों दे द्वारा!
  - (ग) 4637 (2524 रिहायशी और अन्य 2113)
  - (घ) अक्तूबर, 1964 तक लगभग 5078 (3548 रिहायशी और अन्य (1530)!
- खर्च: 32.5 लाख रु(1964-65 वर्ष में खोले गये नए स्कूलों का खर्च भी इसमें शामिल है)!

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8 March 1965

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBET ISSUE IN U. N. O

765. Shri P. R. Chakraverti:

Shri K. N. Tiwary: Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the question of the restoration of the human rights in Tibet had been raised before the U.N. General Assembly; and
- (b) if so, the stand of the Government of India in this behalf?

Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):

- (a) The Governments of the Philippines, Nicaragua and El Salvador had jointly proposed the inclusion of item "Question of Tibet" in the Agenda of the 19<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly. This item, like several other items on its Agenda, was not considered by the General Assembly due to extraordinary conditions which had prevented its normal functioning. Meanwhile, the Assembly has adjourned its session until September 1, 1965.
- (b) Does not arise.

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15 March 1965

Oral Answers to Questions

### DALAI LAMA

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:

\*432. Shri Rameshwar Tantia:

Shri Himatsingka: Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Dalai Lama has asked for permission to visit some foreign countries;
- (b) if so, the names of those countries; and
- (c) whether his request has been acceded to?

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

- (a) Intention of the Dalai Lama to go abroad was conveyed to the Ministry of External Affairs in March last year.

- (b) The Dalai Lama intended visiting some countries in Asia like Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Japan, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines.
- (c) It was indicated that the Government of India would have no objection.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Is it not a fact that he Dalai Lama, either personally or through this accredited representatives, expressed a desire to visit certain European and American countries, besides some Asian countries mentioned here, and, if so, is it a fact that the Government refused permission to him to visit European and American countries and, and if so what is the reason therefore?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** The Dalai Lama did not express any desire to visit European or American countries. As far as we know, the countries that are mentioned in the answer are the ones that he had suggested.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Considering that one of the main charges contained in the Home Minister's White Paper against Left Communists in this country is their perverse, anti-national attitude towards the liberation of Tibet, does the Government propose to revise its own policy towards the liberation of Tibet by extending active sympathy and support to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan nationalists?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** That does not arise out of this question. This deals with the travel plans of the Dalai Lama.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** We could not hear the answer. Let her speak a little louder.

**Mr. Speaker:** This question relates to the Dalai Lama's travels whereas he is referring to support and sympathy for Tibetans.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** May I submit that the Dalai Lama's travels are not just a joy ride? It is to enlist world sympathy for his cause.

**Mr. Speaker:** I uphold the objection of the Minister that this is not relevant.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Sir, you uphold the objection?

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** That is rather unfortunate.

**Shri Shinkre:** Sir, is it permissible for a member to cast aspersions by using words like "it is unfortunate" when the Speaker says that he has upheld the objection?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I bow to the ruling. But I say it is unfortunate,—unfortunate for me.

**Mr. Speaker:** Whenever I feel so intensely, I will certainly pull up the member.

**Shri Bade:** It is reported in the press that the Dalai Lama expressed a desire to go to the Western countries. Now the Minister says that he has not asked for any such permission. In that case, if the Dalai Lama asks in the future for permission to visit the European or American countries, will Government give him permission?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is a hypothetical question which need not be answered.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** May I know whether passport and permission are given to important people to go abroad...

**Mr. Speaker:** "Important people" are not relevant here. This question relates to the Dalai Lama.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** I want to know precisely whether any condition is imposed before the permission and passport are given to people to go abroad in the context of the statements that are being issued every day by Sheik Abdullah. I want to know...

**Mr. Speaker:** He is not asking about the Dalai Lama. Next question.





**15 March 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**REHABILITATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:**

**Shri Yashpal Singh:**

**Shri P. R. Chakraverti:**

**Shri K. N. Tiwary:**

**Shri D. C. Sharma:**

**1138. Shri Rameshwar Tantia:**

**Shri Abdul Ghani Goni:**

**Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**

**Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:**

**Shri M. Rampure:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Tibetan refugees who have not so far been rehabilitated; and
- (b) the present program of their rehabilitation?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Approximately 30,000. Out of whom nearly 15,000 are gainfully employed temporarily on road works. 2,000 are monks and 1,500 are aged and infirm. Besides, there are batches of small groups of different sects who are trying to be self-supporting on their own partly at times with the help of the Government.
- (b) It is proposed to set up two more agricultural settlements for these refugees in addition to the five already in existence.

The Government of India are also actively examining the possibilities of establishing a few small scale industries to further the cause of Tibetan settlement and the State Governments have also been approached in this behalf.

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**29 March 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**PERSECUTION OF TIBETANS BY CHINESE**

**1671. Shri D. C. Sharma:**

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to the reports regarding the persecution of Tibetans by the Chinese authorities in Tibet; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) The Government of India deplores the persecution of the people of Tibet by the Chinese authorities. The Government has expressed itself unequivocally against the denial of fundamental human rights to the people of Tibet and the suppression of the traditional autonomy of Tibet by the Chinese Government.

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**12 April 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**INDIA'S STAND ON TIBET**

**\*841. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to the statement contained in the Home Minister's White Paper on the activities of Pro-Peking Communists laid on the Table on the 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1965 to the effect that the said Communists have adopted a perverse anti-national attitude on the issue of so-called "liberation of Tibet" by China;
- (b) if so, whether Government propose to revise their own stand in the matter by extending active sympathy and support to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan nationalist patriots; and

(c) if not, the reasons therefore?

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

- (a) It is true that certain members of the left-wing of the Communist Party of India received with satisfaction reports of the Chinese Government's suppression of the revolts in Tibet in 1959. This attitude of the left C.P.I. members was out of harmony with the feelings of the people of India as a whole who felt deep sympathy for Tibetan people in their suffering and deprivation of human rights.
- (b) And (c). India has accepted the status of Tibet as an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China, and has taken the stand that China should respect this autonomy. There has been no change in this stand.

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**19 April 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**उत्तर प्रदेश में तिब्बती लोगों का घुस आना**

श्री बालगोविन्द वर्मा:

**2362 श्री विशनाथ पाण्डेय:**

श्री प.ला. बारूपाल:

श्री ब्रजवासी लाल: क्या वैदेशिक -कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि तिब्बती लोग बड़ी संख्या में जिला लखीमपुर खीरी, उत्तर प्रदेश के सीमांत गांव कौडियाला घाट में घुस आये हैं और वहां पर डेरों में रह रहे हैं;
- (ख) क्या उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने केन्द्रीय सरकार का ध्यान इस मामले की ओर दिलाया है; और
- (ग) यदि हां, तो सरकार का इस संबंध में क्या कार्यवाही करने का विचार है?

**वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री (श्री स्वर्ण सिंह) :**

- (क) जी हां! हाल ही में लगभग एक सौ तिब्बती लोग लखिमपुर, जिला खीरी, उत्तर प्रदेश में पहुंचे हैं और वहां तम्बुओं में रह रहे हैं!
- (ख) जी, हां!
- (ग) इन तिब्बती लोगों को नेपाल वापस जाने के लिए राजी किया जा रहा है! बहरहाल, उनकी प्रार्थना पर, उनके तीन प्रतिनिधियों को परम पावन दलाई लामा से मिलने की इजाजत दे दी गई है! आगे की कार्रवाई आवश्यकानुसार की जाएगी!

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**23 August 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE**

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:**

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:**

**Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:**

**Shri Yashpal Singh:**

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:**

**\*136. Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:**

**Shri P. C. Borooah:**

**Shri Basappa:**

**Shri Sarjoo Pandey:**

**Shri R. S. Pandey:**

**Shri R. Barua:**

**Shri Kajrolkar:**

**Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:**

**Shri Bagri:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether any friendly country has shown interest or attempted mediation in the India-China border dispute;

- (b) if so, the nature and the result thereof;
- (c) whether any suggestion was made that the Prime Ministers of both the countries should meet at Algiers; and
- (d) if so, the outcome thereof?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) to (d). The only recent suggestion of the nature referred to came from President Nasser who mentioned to the Prime Minister last June and possibility of an informal meeting between the Prime Minister and Mr. Chou-En-Lai. It was, however, not quite clear what there would be to talk about considering that China was not prepared to accept the Colombo proposals or even the further modification of them regarding withdrawal of all posts in the demilitarized areas in Ladakh.

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**23 August 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBET ISSUE IN U.N.O.**

**Shri Kindar Lal:**

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:**

**461. Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:**

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware that the Philippines have made a demand for inclusion of "Tibet Issue" in the agenda of the 20<sup>th</sup> Session of the U.N General Assembly; and
- (b) if so, Government's reaction thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir. This question has been included in the Provisional Agenda of the XX Session of the U.N. General Assembly.
- (b) The Government of India's sympathies are with the Tibetan people and they will support any resolution that calls for the restoration of human rights to the people of Tibet.

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**23 August 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**477. Shri Raghunath Singh:**

**Shri Madhu Limaye:**

**Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Tibetan refugees who have entered India during the last three months; and
- (b) whether the Chinese have again started to suppress their freedom of worship and thought?

**Shri Swaran Singh:**

- (a) 56 Tibetan refugees entered India during the months of May, June and July, 1965.
- (b) Reports indicate that the Chinese authorities in Tibet continue to suppress freedom of worship and other fundamental rights and freedom of the Tibetan people.

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**6 September 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**तिब्बत में भारतीय माल का चोरी छिपे जाना**

**श्री विभूति मिश्र:**

**श्री क. ना. तिवारी:**

**1536 श्री सरजू पाण्डेय:**

**डा. महादेव प्रसाद:**

श्री दे.द.पुरी:

श्री मधु लिमये:

श्री बागडी: क्या वैदेशिक -कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कोशिश करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि भारतीय वस्तुयें चोरी छिपे तिब्बत भेजी जा रही है;
- (ख) यदि हां, तो क्या यह चीनी आक्रमण के बाद आरम्भ हुई है; और
- (ग) इसे रोकने के लिए क्या कदम उठाये गये हैं?

वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री श्री स्वर्ण सिंह:

- (क) भारत सरकार की अधि सूचना संख्या 15-4-61 ई आई, दिनांक 15-12-62 के अनुसार भारत से तिब्बत को माल भेजने पर रोक लगा दी गई है! परन्तु, कुछ प्रकार का भारतीय माल सीधे ही अथवा नेपाल हो कर तिब्बत में ले जाने की खबरें कभी कभी भारत सरकार के देखने में आई हैं!
- (ख) 3 जून, 1962 को, 1954 की भारत-चीन संधि की अवधि समाप्त हो जाने के बाद भारत और तिब्बत के बीच नियमित व्यापार बन्द हो जाने के तुरन्त बाद कछ तस्करी होने का पता चला था! 1962 में चीन के भारी आक्रमण के बाद इसमें कोई खास वृद्धि नहीं हुई है!
- (ग) सीमा पर तस्करी की कार्रवाइयों को रोकने के लिए बहुत से उपाय बरते गये हैं, जैसे - पडताल चौकियों की संख्या बढ़ाना, गश्त बढ़ाना और सीमा शुल्क अधिकारियों द्वारा तस्करी के माल का ज़ब्त किया जाना! भारत सरकार के कहने पर नेपाल सरकार ने भी 1962-1963 में कई अधिसूचनाएं जारी कर के भारत से नेपाल लाए गए माल का पुनःनिर्यात करने पर रोक लगा दी है!

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**13 September 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **AUTONOMY OF TIBET**

**\*597. Shri P. C. Borooah:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the decision of the Chinese Government to confer autonomy on Tibet from the 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1965;
- (b) if so, whether Government have obtained details of the proposal; and
- (c) whether these details will be laid on the Table of the House?

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

- (a) Government of India have seen reports that the Chinese Government have wound up the affairs of the "Preparatory Committee for the autonomous region of Tibet" and formally established the "Autonomous Region of Tibet" from the 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1965. This development, however only means that Tibet has now been integrated into the People's Republic of China.
- (b) No other details have come to the knowledge of the Government.
- (c) Does not arise.

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**13 September 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **तिब्बत सम्बन्धी भारत चीन संधि**

**598: श्री मधु लिमये:** क्या वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) 1954 में की गई तिब्बत सम्बन्धी भारत चीन संधि तथा सहअस्तित्व के सिद्धान्तों के बारे में वर्तमान स्थिति क्या है;
- (ख) क्या इस संधि का अब कोई अस्तित्व नहीं रह गया है; और
- (ग) तिब्बत में किये जाने वाले प्रस्तावित परिवर्तनों का विशेष रूप से उन परिवर्तनों का जिनकी पिछले कुछ दिनों में चर्चा हो रही थी, इस संधि पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ेगा?

वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्रीमती लक्ष्मी मेनन)

(क) और (ख) 1954 के चीन-भारत करार की अवधि 3 जून 1962 को समाप्त हो गई थी !

(ग) प्रश्न नहीं उठता क्योंकि संधि की अवधि पहले ही समाप्त हो चुकी है !

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**13 September 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### REHABILITATION OF TIBETAN WOMEN

**1992. Shri Ram Harkh Yadav:**

**Shri Murli Manohar:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government propose to adopt measures for the rehabilitation of the Tibetan women;
- (b) if so, the details of the measures and the estimated expenditure involved; and
- (c) whether Vocational Training centres are being started in collaboration with the Buddhist Charitable institutions?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) There is no separate scheme for rehabilitation of Tibetan Women.
- (b) Does not arise.
- (c) No, Sir.

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**20 September 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### DALAI LAMA

**\*741. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Dalai Lama has asked for permission to go to New York in order to represent the case of Tibet before the United Nations General Assembly Session commencing in September this Year; and
- (b) if so, Government's decision in the matter?

**The Minister of state in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) Does not arise.

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**20 September 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### TIBETANS IN INDIA

**2408. Shri Hem Raj:**

**Shri Kapur Singh:**

**Shri Solanki:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Tibetan refugees in India and the various avocations they are engaged in; and
- (b) whether they are treated as foreigners or Indian citizens?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) The number of Tibetan refugees in India, as it stands today, is approximately 50,000.  
They are engaged in agriculture, handicrafts, Small Scale Industries, petty trade, Semi-Technical jobs and road work.
- (b) They are treated as foreigners.

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### तिब्बती लोगों से सवर्ण तथा मुद्रा का पकड़ा जाना

श्री विभूति मिश्र:

2737 श्री क० न० तिवारी: क्या वित्त मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या सरकार का ध्यान दिल्ली से प्रकाशित होने वाले ५ जून, १९६५ के दैनिक 'हिन्दुस्तान' के पृष्ठ १ के कालम १ में "३.४ लाख रुपये के मूल्य की भारतीय मुद्रा और सोना पकड़ा गया" शीर्षक से प्रकाशित समाचार की ओर आकर्षित किया गया है;
- (ख) यदि हां तो क्या नोट, सोना और चांदी बड़ी मात्रा में कुछ तिब्बतियों से पकड़े गये थे;
- (ग) क्या यह सच है कि सभी नोट चीन में छापे गये थे, और
- (घ) यदि हां तो इस मामले में सरकार ने क्या कार्यवाही कि है?

वित्त मंत्री (श्री ति.त.कृष्णमाचारी):

- (क) जी हां !
- (ख) अप्रैल 1965 में विभिन्न तारीखों को, सीमा पुलिस ने कुछ तिब्बती विस्थापित व्यक्तियों को पकड़ा और उनके पास से 51,500 रुपये भारतीय मुद्रा में, सोने की 3 छडे, सोने के 31 मोहरें, सोने की पतरे - जड़ी चांदी की एक पेटी तथा कुछ अन्य विविध वस्तुएं पकड़ी गयीं !
- (ग) जी नहीं पकड़े गये कुछ करेन्सी नोटों के जाली होने की शंका थी, परन्तु परीक्षा करने पर वे असली पाये गये !
- (घ) सीमा स्थित जांच चौकियों को अनधिकृत घुसपेठ करने वालों की जांच करने के लिए सतर्क कर दिया गया है !

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22 November 1965

Oral Answers to Questions

### TIBET QUESTION IN U.N.O.

Shri S. M. Banerjee:

Shri Bagri:

Shri Madhu Limaye:

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:

Shri Rameshwar Tantia:

Shri Himatsingka:

Shri Kishen Pattnayak:

Shri P. C. Borooah:

\*357. Dr. L. M. Singhvi:

Shri Sham Lal Saraf:

Shri R. Barua:

Shri Yogendra Jha:

Shri T. Ram:

Shri D. C. Sharma:

Shrimati Renuka Barkataki:

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:

Shri Yashpal Singh: Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that India propose to back up the Tibet question in U.N.O; and
- (b) if so, what will be the specific stand of India in this regard?

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

- (a) and (b). The question of Tibet has been inscribed on the agenda of the XXth Session of the U.N. General Assembly. The Government of India are in favour of the restoration of the fundamental freedoms and human rights of the Tibetan people.



**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Apart from giving this support to the resolution, I would like to know whether in view of the recent situation and the Chinese stand for having a plebiscite in Kashmir, that is, supporting the Pakistani move, the Government of India would also support that there should be the right of self-determination for the people of Tibet.

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** At the moment there is no resolution. Only the question has been inscribed on the agenda. These things will come for discussion only when the question is discussed in the General Assembly.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** What specific stand is the government likely to take when the resolution is discussed, apart from supporting indirectly the question of human rights, etc.?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** The specific stand is stated in the original answer. We will support the restoration of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** क्या सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी है कि अंग्रेजों ने तिब्बत चीन का है, यह सामन्ती सिद्धांत इसलिये जारी किया था कि अंग्रेज तिब्बत से रूसियों को बाहर रखना चाहते थे और चीन की सरकार उस वक्त कमजोर थी और चीनी अधिराज्य की आड़ में अंग्रेज अपने साम्राज्य का विस्तार करना चाहते थे? अगर सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी है तो चीन ने हमारे साथ जो व्यवहार किया है, उसको मद्देनज़र रखते हुए क्या तिब्बती स्वतंत्रता की घोषणा सरकार करेगी और पछतावा प्रकट करेगी कि उसकी गलत नीति के कारण तिब्बत की आज़ादी खत्म हो गई?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** I do not think it is possible for the government to speak about independence in view of the statement that we have already made in this House; it may not be possible for the government to ask for the independence of Tibet because in the former debates on former occasions, we have said that we recognize the suzerainty of China over Tibet.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** मैंने इस बात को तो माना था कि आपने ऐसा किया ! लेकिन नीतियों में परिवर्तन भी तो हो सकता है ! चीनी आक्रमण.....

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** आप मेरी बात तो सुन लें !

**श्री मधु लिमये:** प्रश्न का उत्तर तो आना चाहिये ! मैं बाधा डालना नहीं चाहता हूं !

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** मेरी बात तो आप सुन लें ! नीतियों में परिवर्तन क्वेश्चन आवर में नहीं हो सकता है !

**श्री मधु लिमये:** अभी तक नीति में तो परिवर्तन हो गया ! उसी से जुड़ा हुआ यह प्रश्न है !

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** इस वक्त नहीं हो गया !

**श्री मधु लिमये:** पहले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में यह बुनियादी अधिकारों का सवाल आया था अब रवैये में परिवर्तन हो रहा है !

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** Do government agree with the recently expressed views of Mr. Chagla, our Education Minister, that the Chinese have gone back on their undertaking in respect of Tibetan autonomy and culture and, if so, do they propose to abrogate the Sino-Indian treaty of 1954?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** That agreement is not valid any more.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Is the Foreign Minister in a position to say that the government's policy in respect of Tibet has now undergone a substantial change and that in view of the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Tibet, the government has considered or would consider the question of recognizing an émigré government of Tibet by supporting all their just demands in the international context?

**Mr. Speaker:** That answer has come already.

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** The three parts of the question that have been put are somewhat inter-related; one does not follow from the other. My colleague has already said that we do feel that the restoration of the fundamental freedoms and human rights is a matter in which we should support the proposals that might come up in a concrete form before the UN general assembly. That is not all connected with the émigré government or any other matter connected with that.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** My submission is that it has been stated that we would support the question of fundamental rights and fundamental freedoms and human rights in Tibet. Therefore, may I know whether, in view of the denial of these rights and freedoms in Tibet, the Government have at any time considered the question of recognizing an émigré government of Tibet?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** There is no émigré government of Tibet at all. There is no question of émigré government.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** In supporting the Tibetan question in the forum of the United Nations, when it is likely to come up, may I know if the Government is prepared to provide facilities to the Dalai Lama, the accredited leader, the representative of the Tibetans, to move out in the world in order to gather world opinion along his side?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:** The question will be considered only when such a request comes from that side.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** While congratulating the Government on their slow but steady return to sanity and statesmanship with regard to this vital issue of Tibet, may I ask whether the Government, in view of China's alliance with our enemy on the Kashmir issue, proposes to espouse, as a long-term measure, the cause of liberation of Tibet from Chinese new-imperialism and recognize that China has militarily subjugated Tibet, and does the Government agree that the view expressed by the Education Minister recently that the suzerainty of China over Tibet should be repudiated is the Government's view or it is his personal view?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** Several policy matters of a long range have been raised in this question. In the Question Hour, I am prepared to supply facts or information, but all these pronouncements upon major matters of policy have to be avoided at the time of the Question Hour.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Sir, on a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. There is no point of order. The question is, whether Shri Chagla's statement represents Government's view or not; that might be replied to.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I have not carefully examined that statement. I have seen some press reports. Actually, that statement was made when I had gone abroad. I will examine it. He is our colleague and I will consult him. I do not know what is precisely in his mind.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I do not think that the Minister is right in saying that he was abroad when Shri Chagla made that statement. I think he made it after his return from the United Nations. He has been here for the last fortnight; has the Government been sleeping over this matter?

**Mr. Speaker:** He said that he will consult him (*Interruption*). Order, order.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Consult whom? They are all in the Cabinet.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Why not call them to order, Sir?

**श्री यशपाल सिंह:** जब तक भारत सरकार तिब्बत की सावरेनटी स्वीकार नहीं करती और भारत सरकार तिब्बत को स्टेट मान कर दलाई लामा को उसका अध्यक्ष नहीं मानती, क्या हमें यह मारेल राइट है कि हम राउंड एबाउट वे में बार्ते करते रहे?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** इसका जवाब देने के लिए मैं उन्हें कैसे प्रेस करूँ?

**श्री यशपाल सिंह:** जब हम ही ने उनको रिकग्नाइज़ नहीं किया है और यू० एन० ओ० में उनको लेकर हम नहीं जायेंगे, दूसरों को क्या ज़रूरत है कि उनके लिए लड़े?

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** The minister of State has a little while ago said that Government was adhering, I think wisely, to the idea of recognizing Tibet as a region of the People's Republic of China. Remembering that, may I know if Government is trying to explain to our friends in all international forums that our interest, in so far as the restoration of human rights in Tibet is concerned, is only in seeing to it that the human rights of the people of Tibet are properly observed, and that no change in the political set-up there in the People's Republic of China is even remotely contemplated?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** If and when any such question is raised, we will certainly clarify our position.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Permit me to state that if the CPI is soft and has sneaking sympathy for China, it will go the way of the PKI of Indonesia (*Interruption*).

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** Will you allow Shri Kamath to conquer Tibet?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Ranga:** May I know whether the Government would pay due attention to the distinction drawn by the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, between sovereignty and suzerainty, and take care to see that India never confused the one with the other, and never combined the two? India expected China to discharge its duties towards Tibet. In view of the fact that Mr. Nehru himself had to confess in this House several times that China has failed to discharge its duties towards Tibet, would the government give consideration to the thoughts expressed by Mr. Chagla in due time?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** As I have already said, thoughts and opinions expressed by a colleague are always entitled to the highest consideration. I have said, I will consult him and ascertain his views. About the statement of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made on several occasions, broadly that policy is being pursued. Consistent with that, the autonomy of Tibet, their culture and human rights and other aspects are very important. The way in which this thing has been handled by the Chinese Government is a matter of grave concern to us.

**Shri Swell:** Is the government in a position to state whether the increasing Chinese intrusions into Sikkim have got anything to do with a shift of our policy with regard to Tibet and, if so, in what way?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** The aggressive postures of China have been continuing for quite some time. I do not think there is any connection between the so-called shift in our policy and these intrusions.

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**1 December 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### एक तिब्बती विद्यार्थी की हत्या

**1626. श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:** क्या गृह-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि 7 अक्तूबर, 1965 को दिल्ली में एक तिब्बती विद्यार्थी की हत्या कर दी गई थी, और
- (ख) यदि हां, तो इस सम्बन्ध में अब तक क्या कार्यवाही की गई है?

**गृह-कार्य मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री ल० ना० मिश्र):**

- (क) जी, हां!
- (ख) वह व्यक्ति, जिस पर उस विद्यार्थी को छुरा भोंकने का आरोप था, उसी दिन शाम को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया! मामले की जांच की जा रही है!

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**6 December 1965**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### CHINESE CLAIM OF SUZERAINITY OVER TIBET

**\*677. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question no.357 on the 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 1965 and to supplementaries thereon and state:

- (a) whether he has since examined the matter regarding the Chinese claim of suzerainty over Tibet; and
- (b) if so, with what result?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) and (b). The Government of India had taken the position that China had suzerainty over Tibet. At the same time, we had recognized Tibet's right to autonomy and attached great importance to it. We are in favour of the restoration of the fundamental freedoms and human rights in Tibet. There has been no change in this stand of ours.

## TIBETAN REFUGEES

1871. Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:

Shri Dhuleshwar Meena: Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Tibetan Refugees who are yet to be rehabilitated; and
- (b) the present program of their rehabilitation?

Shri Swaran Singh:

- (a) Approximately 20,000 including about 15,000 who are already employed as labourers.
- (b) In addition to existing five agricultural settlements, another is being set up in Mysore State to rehabilitate about 4,000 Tibetans. Several industrial schemes to provide employment for about 3,000 Tibetans are under active consideration.

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21 February 1966

Written Answers to Questions

## तिब्बत में मानव अधिकारों का संरक्षण

450 श्री किशन पटनायक:

डा. राम मनोरह लोहिया:

श्री बागडी:

श्री मधु लिमये:

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री:

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिध्दान्ती:

श्री भागवत झा आज्ञाद:

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी:

श्री स० चं० सामन्त:

श्री सुबोध हंसदा:

श्री प्र० चं० बरुआ:

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम:

श्री समो० बनर्जी:

डा.लक्ष्मीमल्ल सिंघवी:

श्री लिंग रेड्डी:

श्री विभूति मिश्र:

श्री क० न० तिवारी:

श्री श्रीनारायण दास:

श्रीमती मैमूना सुल्तान:

श्री हेम बरुआ:

श्री यशपाल सिंह: क्या वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि तिब्बत में मानवाधिकारों के संरक्षण के मामले में सात देशों द्वारा संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में किये गये प्रस्ताव के संबंध में सरकार ने क्या दृष्टिकोण अपनाया था?

वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री स्वर्ण सिंह): संयुक्त राष्ट्र महा सभा के बीसवें अधिवेशन में 7 देशों के उस प्रस्ताव का भारत सरकार ने समर्थन किया था जिस में तिब्बती लोगो कि मानवाधिकार और मूलभूत स्वतन्त्रता फिर से दिलाने की बात कही गई थी।

## REHABILITATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEES

**3498. Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Dalai Lama has set up an Industrial Projects Organisation for the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees in India; and
- (b) if so, the total assistance given by Government to such industrial projects?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Yes. A Charitable Society called Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society has recently been registered.
- (b) No financial assistance has been given so far. The Society has not so far actively undertaken any project. It has some schemes under consideration: these too have not yet been finalized.



9 May 1966

Oral Answers to Questions

## CAMPAIGN AGAINST PANCHEN LAMA

**\*1542. Shri Madhu Limaye:**

**Shri Kishen Pattnayak:**

**Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have received any report about the campaign carried out against Panchen Lama in Tibet by the Chinese authorities;
- (b) whether it is true that some Tibetan monks preferred committing suicide to denouncing Panchen Lama under pressure; and
- (c) if so, the reaction of Government to this latest developments?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) and (b). The Government of India are aware that an intensive anti-Panchen Lama campaign has been carried out in Tibet by the Chinese authorities. The Government have also seen reports that many monks in Tibet preferred to commit suicide rather than denounce the Panchen Lama.
- (c) The Government deplores the suppression by Chinese authorities of Tibetan Institutions and the denial of fundamental human rights in Tibet.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** क्या सरकार के पास इस बात के समाचार पहुंचे हैं कि तिब्बत में पूर्वी और पूर्वोत्तर इलाके में बड़े पैमाने पर “हैन” चीनियों को बसाया जा रहा है, करीब करीब 25-30 लाख चीनी वहां बस चुके हैं और वहां तिब्बतियों की हत्या की जा रही है? यदि यह समाचार है ठीक है तो इसके बारे में सरकार संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के सामने यह मामला उठाने आदि के सम्बन्ध में क्या कदम उठा रही है?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** At the 20<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly last year, India supported a resolution in the General Assembly calling for the cessation of all practices which deprived the Tibetan people of the human rights and fundamental freedoms which they had always enjoyed.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** जैनासाइड के बारे में नहीं बतलाया है?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** अब तक उन्होंने जो किया है वह बतला दिया है!

**श्री मधुलिमये:** क्या चीनी सरकार के द्वारा भारत के खिलाफ यह आरोप लगाये गये हैं कि भारत तिब्बती विद्रोहियों को आर्थिक और फौजी सहायता कर रहा है? यदि इस तरह के आरोप चीन के द्वारा लगाये गये हैं तो मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार ने इस सुझाव पर विचार किया है कि चूँकि चीन अपनी आक्रमणकारी नीति को नहीं छोड़ रहा है, हमारे मुल्क की हिफाजत की दृष्टि से तिब्बती जनता को फौजी, आर्थिक तथा हथियारी सहायता की जाये? क्या इसके करने के बारे में कोई सुझाव सरकार के सामने है और सरकार उन पर विचार कर रही है?

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह:** ऐसा कोई सुझाव नहीं है!

**श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय:** जैसा मंत्री महोदय ने बताया है कि पंचेनलामा के विरुद्ध तिब्बत में ज़ोरों से आन्दोलन चल रहा है, वहां तिब्बती साधू उनके विरोध में कुछ कहना पसन्द नहीं करते हैं, तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या इसके सम्बन्ध में दलाई लामा ने सरकार को कोई विरोध-पत्र दिया है, यदि दिया है तो सरकार की उस पर क्या प्रतिक्रिया है और उसने क्या कार्यवाही की है?

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह:** दलाई लामा ने पंचेन लामा के मुताल्लिक कोई खास वाकफ़ियत नहीं दी है, लेकिन जो कहा है, उसकी बिना पर हमने युनाइटेड नेशन्ज़ में स्टेण्ड लिया है!

**Shri Hem Barua:** In view of the fact that China has been demanding self-determination for Kashmir, an integral part of India, why is it that our Government, because of changed conditions in Tibet, have not repudiated Chinese suzerainty over Tibet where the massacre of the people has almost become a rule of law?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** These are not considerations which are strong enough to repudiate any agreement, and we cannot really adopt that attitude merely because they have adopted an incorrect attitude. We should meet that incorrect attitude by pointing out the inconsistency in the Chinese stand which may not be fully justified.

**Shri Hem Barua:** My question was not that. First I said...

**Mr. Speaker:** He asked why don't they repudiate. But they say these considerations are not enough to do that in their opinion. What should I do.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** May I know if any reliable news is available concerning the whereabouts and safety of the Panchen Lama, and whether we have done anything to show our concern in the matter?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** His present whereabouts are not known and there is little that we can do in this respect.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** We should show our concern.

**Mr. Speaker:** Question no. 1543

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** May I suggest that Question no. 1565 may also be taken with this as it relates to the same matter.

**An hon. Member:** No.

**Mr. Speaker:** Question no. 1543

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**9 May 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### भूटान-तिब्बत सीमा पर चीनी सैनिकों का जमाव

**\*1552. श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:**

**श्री बडे:**

**श्री लिंग रेड्डी:** क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि भूटान-तिब्बत सीमा पर चीनी सैनिक भारी संख्या में जमा हो रहे हैं;
- (ख) क्या यह भी सच है कि चीनी, तिब्बत से भूटान सीमा तक एक सड़क बना रहे हैं और वे उस क्षेत्र में गश्त भी लग रहे हैं;
- (ग) क्या यह भी सच है कि चीनियों के डर के कारण अप्रैल, 1965 से मार्च, 1966 तक अवधि में तिब्बत के हजारों निवासी भारत में आ गये हैं; और
- (घ) चीनियों की इस हरकत के बारे में सरकार ने क्या कार्यवाही की है?

**वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री स्वर्ण सिंह):**

- (क) सीमा के साथ-साथ चीनी सैनिकों का जमाव हुआ है; इसमें भूटान-तिब्बत सीमा भी सम्मिलित है ! लेकिन भूटान सीमा के पार कोई नया जमाव नहीं हुआ है !



- (ख) तिब्बत में चीनी अधिकारियों ने भूटान सीमा तक जाने वाली कुछ सड़क बनाई है और पता चला है कि उन्होंने गश्त की है।  
 (ग) अप्रैल 1965 से मार्च 1966 तक की अवधि में, कुल मिलाकर 172 तिब्बती शरणार्थी सीमा पार कर भारत आए हुए हैं।  
 (घ) सरकार सभी आवश्यक कदम उठा रही है।

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**9 May 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### तिब्बती शरणार्थी

**\*1553 श्री ओंकार लाल बेरवा:**

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:**

**श्री बडे:** क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि चीन के अत्याचार के कारण तिब्बती शरणार्थी लगातार भारत में आ रहे हैं;  
 (ख) यदि हां, तो भारत में अब तक कितने तिब्बती आ चुके हैं और  
 (ग) उन्हें कहां कहां बसाया गया है?

**वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री दिनेश सिंह)**

- (क) कुछ तिब्बती शरणार्थी अब भी थोड़ी संख्या में भारत आ रहे हैं।  
 (ख) कुल मिलाकर लगभग 50,000  
 (ग) मैसूर ज़िला में बाइलाकुप्पे, उडिसा में चन्द्रगिरी, मध्यप्रदेश में मैनपट, नेफा में तेज़ू और चंगलांग और भूटान में पारो और थिम्पू में लगभग 15,000 तिब्बती शरणार्थी फिर से बसाया जा चुके हैं। कुछ शरणार्थियों को तिब्बती दस्तकारी में लगाया गया है। कई हजार तिब्बती बच्चे ऐसे बोर्डिंग स्कूलों में हैं जो खास तौर से उनके लिए चलाए गए हैं।

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**9 May 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### TRADE BETWEEN SIKKIM, BHUTAN AND TIBET

**4969. Shri Madhu Limaye:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have made any study of the impact of the Indo-China conflict on the pattern of trade between Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet; and  
 (b) the action proposed by Government to help these territories develop their own indigenous resources and alternative channels of trade with the rest of India?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Prior to 1962, the restrictive policies adopted by the Chinese Government in relation to Tibet resulted in the dwindling of Tibet's trade with Bhutan, Sikkim and India. Following China's aggression against us in 1962, Bhutan and Sikkim have placed a ban on trade with Tibet.  
 (b) The Government of India have given all necessary financial and technical assistance to Bhutan and Sikkim for the implementation of their respective Development Plans. Government propose to continue such assistance in the Fourth Plan period. The trade of Bhutan as well as Sikkim has expanded considerably in recent years.

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**25 June 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### TIBETAN REFUGEES

**84. Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**

**Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Tibetan refugees are still pouring into India;
- (b) if so, the number of such refugees who have arrived so far; and
- (c) the names of places where they will be rehabilitated?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Tibetan refugees are still coming into India in small numbers.
- (b) A total of about 50,000.
- (c) About 15,000 Tibetan refugees have been settled in agricultural settlements at Bylakuppe, Mainpet, Chandragiri, Tezu and Changlang.

It is proposed to settle 4,000 more Tibetan refugees at Mundgod near Mysore, about 1000 in Madhya Pradesh and 500 in Bihar. Small and medium industrial schemes at various places to provide employment to about 800 Tibetan refugees are under consideration. About 1000 Tibetans are being rehabilitated in Bhutan, and schemes for the settlement of about 4000 Tibetans in Sikkim is under consideration. It is proposed to expand Tibetan Handicraft Centres at Dalhousie, Dharamsala, Simla, Darjeeling and Kalimpong to accommodate in all about 2000 Tibetans.

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**1 August 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में तिब्बत के मामले का उठाया जाना**

821. श्री सिधेश्वर प्रसाद: क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि दलाई लामा ने तिब्बत के प्रश्न को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में उठाने का निर्णय किया है;
- (ख) यदि हां, तो यह प्रश्न किस प्रकार उठाया जाएगा; और
- (ग) इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन कौन कौन देश कर रहे हैं?

**वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री स्वर्ण सिंह)**

- (क) सरकार को नहीं मालूम कि दलाई लामा तिब्बत के मामले को संयुक्त राष्ट्र में उठाने के लिए कुछ कर रहे हैं।
- (ख) और (ग) प्रश्न नहीं उठते।

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**1 August 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**DALAI LAMA'S VISIT TO LEH**

**\*175. Shri A.K. Gopalan:**

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:**

**Shri M.N. Swamy:**

**Shri Kolla Venkiah:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the report in Blitz of the 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 1966 that the Dalai Lama proposed to visit Leh in Ladakh in mid-August this year;
- (b) whether Government have sanctioned this trip; and
- (c) whether his ministry consulted the State Government before taking a decision in the matter?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) And (c). Visit to Ladakh by the Dalai Lama has been suggested but no final decision has been taken.

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**8 August 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**INDIA'S STAND ON TIBET**

**1561. Shri Madhu Limaye:**

**Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia:**

**Shri Kishen Pattnayak:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 1542 on the 9<sup>th</sup> May, 1966 and state:

- (a) whether Government have made it clear to the Government of China that a fresh aggression by China against India or incursion into Indian territory will compel Government to revise its attitude to its policy of regarding "Tibet as a part of China"; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of the Chinese Government thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) Does not arise.

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**10 August 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### तिब्बती बच्चों के लिये स्कूल

**1833. श्री रघुनाथ सिंह:**

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:**

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द:** क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या सरकार का विचार तिब्बती बच्चों के लिये पंचमढी में एक और स्कूल खोलने का है;
- (ख) इस समय देश में तिब्बती बच्चों के लिये कितने स्कूल हैं, और;
- (ग) सरकार उन पर कितना खर्च कर रही है?

**शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्रीमती सौन्दरम रामचन्द्रन)**

- (क) जी नहीं! पंचमढी में एक स्कूल तथा शिक्षा तथा व्यावसायिक प्रशिक्षण संस्थान है;
- (ख) 13 (7 रिहायशी, 5 दिन के स्कूल हैं और एक शिक्षा तथा व्यावसायिक प्रशिक्षण संस्थान)
- (ग) 1964-65            36,40,753 रु.  
1965-66            43,49,648    (लगभग)

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**22 August 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### CHINESE BROADCASTS REGARDING TIBETAN REFUGEES

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:**

**Shri Hem Barua:**

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:**

**Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia:**

**\*594. Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:**

**Shri S.M. Banerjee:**

**Shri Kashi Ram Gupta:**

**Shri Madhu Limaye:**

**Shri Kishen Pattnayak:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that regular broadcasts are being made from the Chinese Radio at Lhasa (Tibet) giving distorted pictures about the conditions of Tibetan refugees in India;
- (b) the steps taken to counteract such propaganda; and
- (c) whether any request has been made to Government by the Dalai Lama to permit him to make periodical broadcasts from All-India Radio to rebut such propaganda and whether such permission has been given?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.

- (b) The Tibetan language broadcasts of the All India Radio have been giving information about our rehabilitation programmes for the Tibetan refugees and the progress achieved in the implementation of these programmes. Information about the care being given to the problems of this community, uprooted from its homeland, and the sympathy and friendship with which Tibetan refugees are treated in India is also disseminated through these broadcasts.
- (c) Government has not received any specific request in this regard, but the Dalai Lama's speeches are relayed on the All India Radio's Tibetan programmes on suitable occasions.

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**22 August 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **ASYLUM SOUGHT BY A TIBETAN IN SIKKIM**

**2853. Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:**

**Shri Madhu Limaye:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a Tibetan had recently sought asylum in Sikkim;
- (b) whether asylum was refused by the Sikkim authorities;
- (c) whether any pressure was brought to bear by the Chinese; and
- (d) Government's reaction thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Not only one but 26 persons, who entered Sikkim from Tibet, sought asylum during the last three months.
- (b) And (c). No, Sir. The Government of India are responsible for the defence and external relations of Sikkim. No pressure was brought to bear by the Chinese.
- (c) Does not arise.

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**22 August 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN INDUSTRIAL REHABILITATION SOCIETY**

**2906. Shri Ramchandra Ulaka:**

**Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 3498 on the 11<sup>th</sup> April, 1966 and state:

- (a) whether the Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society has submitted any schemes to Government; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) Government of India view the schemes with sympathy, and will help expedite their implementation in suitable ways. It is a private company and no financial assistance from Government sources is contemplated.

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**29 August 1966**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INDIA'S SUPPORT TO DALAI LAMA**

**3575. Shri D.C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have sent a note to Peking towards the end of May 1966 in reply to the Chinese note of the 2<sup>nd</sup> January, 1966 pledging India's support to Dalai Lama;
- (b) if so, the contents of the note; and
- (c) whether any further Chinese note has been received in the matter?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) In their note of the 30<sup>th</sup> May, 1966 the Government of India have refuted the malicious and unfounded allegations made by the Chinese Government in a note sent to the Government of India on the 2<sup>nd</sup> January, 1966 regarding

India's attitude towards Tibet. The Government of India have pointed out that the Chinese Government are continuing to violate fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people. This note also stressed that the Government will continue to give facilities for religious and other humanitarian activities to the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan refugees, who have been forced to leave their homeland.

- (b) A copy of this note was placed on the table of the Lok Sabha on the 26<sup>th</sup> July, 1966.
- (c) No, Sir.

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**27 March 1967**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **INDIA'S SUPPORT TO DALAI LAMA**

**\*63. Shri K.N. Tiwary:**

**Shri Bibhuti Mishra:**

**Shri D.C. Sharma:**

**Shri Hukam Chand Kachhawaiya:**

**Shri Ram Singh:**

**Shri E.K. Nayanar:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a news-item in the 'Hindustan Times' of March 10, 1967 under the 'Dalai Lama seeks India's political support';
- (b) if so, the capture of political support which is being sought or has been sought from the Government of India; and
- (c) to what extent the Government of India has agreed to help him politically?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) Yes. The statement referred to therein contain the Dalai Lama's views and was issued by the Dalai Lama without our concurrence.
- (b) And (c). No specific proposal has been made by the Dalai Lama to us. We have supported a resolution in the United Nations regarding the "continued violation of fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet". The Dalai Lama has expressed the hope that India will continue to give such support at the United Nations as called for the "restoration of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Tibetan people". The Government of India have sympathy for the people of Tibet in their present plight and will continue to give support to moves in the United Nations aimed at the restoration of their fundamental rights and freedoms in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

**श्री क० ना० तिवारी:** अभी मंत्री महोदय ने कहा कि वह तिब्बत के लोगो के फंडामेंटल राइट्स को सुरक्षित रखे जाने के सब कदमों को सपोर्ट करेंगे और इसके लिए कोशिश करेंगे । मे यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अभी तक इस सम्बन्ध मे क्या कोशिश की गई है और आगे क्या किया जा रहा है ।

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** As the hon. Member knows, China is not a member of the United Nations and China ignores any Resolution passed by the United Nations. It is very difficult to suggest what action can be taken at present to compel China to respect a Resolution passed by the United Nations.

**श्री क० ना० तिवारी:** क्या यह सही है कि दलाई लामा ने युनाईटेड स्टेट्स आफ अमेरीका और दुसरे देशों मे जाकर अपने देश को लिबरेट करने का प्रयत्न करने के सम्बन्ध मे सरकार से परमिशन मांगी थी और उनको वह परमिशन नहीं दी गई; यदि हाँ तो उनको वह परमिशन क्यों नहीं दी गई ?

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** No, Sir, as far as I know, the Dalai Lama wanted to travel in India and other Asian countries. We said, we had no objection; if those countries invited him, we would see to it that all facilities are assured and all amenities given in the country to which he went. There is no question of our saying 'No' to him.

**Shri E.K. Narayan:** In view of the assurances given earlier by the Indian Government that the Dalai Lama will not be allowed to take part in political activities, will the Government stick to that stand and ask the Dalai Lama to keep himself aloof from all political activities? I would like to know whether any pressure is being brought on the Government to give political support to the Dalai Lama and if so, from which Government?

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** To answer the second part first, I am not aware of any pressure from any country to give support to the Dalai Lama. With regard to the first part, we have given an assurance and we stand by that assurance.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** The hon. Minister just now informed the House that they have taken this matter in the United Nations. May I know whether, while discussing this matter in the Human Rights Commission, any assessment was given by the Indian Government about the condition really operating in Tibet today and, if so, whether there has been any reaction of the Human Rights Commission to that?

**M.C. Chagla:** The very fact that the Resolution was carried by a large majority, if I remember correctly, shows that United Nations was convinced that the human rights were not merely ignored but were crushed and that fundamental freedoms were being denied and the principles of the United Nations Charter were being violated.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** The first part of my question has not been answered, that is, whether any assessment has been made by India about the conditions operating at the present moment, there.

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** The reports that we have been receiving, authentic and official, show that the conditions in Tibet are practically gruesome. Their ancient culture is sought to be interfered with. We are horrified at what is happening in Tibet today.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** May I know whether any request was made to the Government of India on behalf of the Dalai Lama to permit the Dalai Lama to function here as an émigré government?

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** No, Sir.

**Shri Balraj Madhok:** In view of the fact that Tibet had always had an international personality of its own and in view of the fact that it was the forcible occupation of Tibet which led to the direct military confrontation between India and China, may I know whether the Government of India has taken any steps to secure the liberation of Tibet because the question of Tibet is not only the question of human rights but it is a question of suppression of independence of an independent country? What steps have the Government taken in that direction?

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** The hon. Member knows that we accepted the position that Tibet was a part of China...

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**27 March 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **CONCENTRATION OF CHINESE TROOPS ON BHUTAN-TIBET BORDER**

**\*74. Shri D.C. Sharma:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Chinese troops are heavily concentrated on the Bhutan-Tibet border.
- (b) Whether it is also a fact the they have built a road from Tibet to Bhutan border;
- (c) Whether it is also a fact that due to fear of the Chinese, the Tibetans have been entering India; and
- (d) If so, the steps taken in the matter?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) Chinese troops are entrenched in strength along the Bhutan-Tibet border as in other sectors. However, no new concentrations have been noticed.
- (b) Over the last three years, the Chinese authorities are known to have built and improved some roads leading to the Bhutan border.
- (c) Yes, sir. Since the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1967, 144 Tibetan refugees escaping from Chinese persecution in Tibet have entered India.
- (d) The Government is taking all necessary steps.

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**3 April 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **FACILITIES FOR DALAI LAMA FOR GOING TO U.N.**

**\*211. Shri Baburao Patel:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:



- (a) whether it is a fact that the Dalai Lama recently requested Government for facilities to proceed to the United Nations in order to present the case of Tibet before the U.N.;
- (b) if so, whether the request has been granted; and
- (c) if not, the reasons therefore?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) And (c). Does not arise.

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**3 April 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**380. Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**

**Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:**

**Shri Khagrapathi Pradhani:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Tibetan refugees are still pouring into India;
- (b) if so, the number of such refugees who have arrived so far; and
- (c) the names of places where they are proposed to be rehabilitated?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) they are still coming in small batches now and then.
- (b) The total is about 50,000.
- (c) 12,000 Tibetan Refugees have already been settled on agriculture in Mysore, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, NEFA, Bhutan and Sikkim. Work has started on settlement of about 5,000 persons in Belgaum Division of Mysore and one thousand more Tibetans in Bhutan. A woolen mill and Tea Estate have been set up in Kangra District to settle 675 Refugees. Other industrial Schemes to provide employment to about 3,000 persons are under active consideration. About one thousand Tibetans are employed in various handicraft centers. Steps are being taken to put these centers on sound footing and to expand them to provide employment to about 2000 Tibetans on a Tea Estate being set up in Sikkim. *(The figures indicated above include families and children).*

We have approached the States for allotment of more lands for the rehabilitation of the remaining Tibetans.

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**22 May 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBET ISSUES IN U.N.O.**

**10. Shri Ramachandra Veerappa:**

**Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta:**

**Shri R.S. Vidyarthi:**

**Shri N.K. Sanghi:**

**Shri Madhu Limaye:**

**Shri S.M. Banerjee:**

**Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia:**

**Shri George Fernandes:**

**Shri Y.A. Prasad:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is proposed to raise the question of Tibet at the United Nations during its next session; and
- (b) if so, the details thereof?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) At present, there is no such proposal.
- (b) Does not arise.

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5 June 1967

Written Answers to Questions

**PLANS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF "LITTLE TIBET" NEAR PALAMPUR**

**1432. Shri K.P. Singh Dev:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware of the plans of Dalai Lama to develop a "Little Tibet" near Palampur; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) According to our information, the Dalai Lama has no such plans.
- (b) Does not arise.

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12 June 1967

Written Answers to Questions

**TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**2140. Shri Umanath:**

**Shri K.M. Abraham:**

**Shri Viswanatha Menon:**

**Shri K. Anirudhan:**

**Shri P.P. Esthose:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that an American newsprint manufacturer is planning to recruit Tibetan refugees, now in Kangra district of Punjab for his operations;
- (b) whether it is also a fact that the U.S. Government have sanctioned relocation of 3,000 refugees in U.S.A.; and
- (c) if so, whether Government have given consent to this proposal?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) and (b). Our attention has been drawn to a report on the subject in the newsletter published by the Dalai Lama's Bureau.
- (c) We will have no objection if these Tibetans can find employment in U.S.A. and the U.S. Government permits them to settle there.

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19 June 1967

Written Answers to Questions

**INFILTRATION OF TIBETANS IN BHUTAN**

**580. Shri D.N. Patodia:**

**Shri C.C. Desai:**

**Shri R. Barua:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that there has recently been heavy infiltration of Tibetans into Bhutan;
- (b) if so, the total number estimated to have crossed over the Bhutan from Tibet;
- (c) whether the Government of Bhutan have approached the Government of India in this regard; and
- (d) if so, whether any steps have been taken to deport the infiltrators and check their entry any further?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) A number of Tibetans have crossed over to Bhutan in the recent past.
- (b) The number of Tibetans who crossed over to Bhutan between the period 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1966 to 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1967 is 132.
- (c) No, Sir.
- (d) No, Sir. All such Tibetans are interrogated and those found genuine refugees are permitted to enter and settle in India. Those against whom there is any suspicion are kept in detention.

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## RESOLUTION RE: TIBET

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now take up the next Resolution standing in the name of Shri Chand Goel, for which two hours have been allotted.

**Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi):** Sir, may I suggest the time for this Resolution may be reduced from 2 hrs to 1½ hour so that Shri Tapuria may be able to move his Resolution today?

**Shri Shri Chand Goel (Chandigarh):** If that is the unanimous demand of the House, then I will bow to it.

**Shri D.N. Tiwary (Gopalganj):** When generally the demand is to increase the time, here is a demand for reducing the time allotted to a Resolution.

**Shri M.L. Sondhi (New Delhi):** Sir, may I suggest that the time for this Resolution should be increased?

**Shri Ranga (Srikakulam):** If we sit for one hour extra, we can take up the other Resolution today itself.

**Mr. Speaker:** We will see. Now, Shri Goel.

श्री श्रीचन्द गोयल :- अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस अपने प्रस्ताव को सदन के सामने रखता हूँ जिस में यह मांग की गई है कि आज समय आ गया है कि भारत सरकार भारत में शरणागत के रूप में आये हुए लामा को तिब्बत का कांस्टीट्यूशनल हैड, वैधानिक शासक स्वीकार कर के उन को सब प्रकार की सहायता और सुविधा प्रदान करे और तिब्बत जैसे महान देश को कम्युनिस्ट चीन के चंगुल से निजात दिलाने का प्रयत्न करे। अध्यक्ष महोदय, तिब्बत संसार का महान देश था और भारत के साथ इस की हर प्रकार की निकटता रही है। चाहे सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में, चाहे धार्मिक क्षेत्र में चाहे आर्थिक क्षेत्र में हर क्षेत्र में भारत के साथ इस की एकात्मता रही है। वास्तव में जब हम तिब्बत के इतिहास पर दृष्टि डालते हैं तो दिखाई देता है कि आज से ढाई हजार वर्ष पहले महात्मा बुद्ध के समकालीन कौशल वंश के राजा प्रसेनजित के पुत्र ने भारत से जाकर तिब्बत में राज्य स्थापित किया था और धीरे-धीरे तिब्बत राष्ट्र के उन्तोनमुख होता चला गया, सब प्रकार से अपनी उन्नति करता चला गया। लेकिन किसी भी राष्ट्र जीवन में उतार चढ़ाव आते हैं। इतिहास ऐसा बताता है कि एक बार जब तातारियों ने तिब्बत पर आक्रमण किया तो उस समय चीन ने मांचू राजवंश के राजा जो कि बौद्ध धर्म के अनुयायी थे उनका वहां पर राज्य था। उस समय तिब्बत ने चीनियों से सहायता मांगी और वह सहायता मिली। उस सहायता के मिलने के बाद जब तातारियों का मुकाबला कर पाये उसके परिणाम स्वरूप फिर चीन का एक एजेंट ल्हासा में रहने लगा। लेकिन यह इतिहास कि पुरानी घटना है। उसके बाद अनेको वर्ष का तिब्बत का जो इतिहास है वह स्वतंत्रता का इतिहास है। तिब्बत हमेशा दूसरे देशों के साथ में स्वतंत्र रूप से सन्धि करता रहा, स्वतंत्र रूप से अपना सारा कारोबार करता रहा। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा कि 1904 में ब्रिटेन ने तिब्बत के साथ ल्हासा सन्धि की थी चूंकि उनको तिब्बत से कुछ खतरा दिखाई देता था। परन्तु वह तिब्बत को भारत के लिए एक “बफर” स्टेट के रूप में समझते थे। अंग्रेजों ने अपनी सारी नीति भारत की सुरक्षा के लिए इस ढंग से बनाई थी, दूर-दूर तक जाकर भारत के चारों तरफ ऐसी “बफर” स्टेट कायम की थी, इसलिए उत्तरी सीमा पर उन्हें दिखाई दिया कि कुछ गड़बड़ है तो अपना मिशन भेजा और उसके बाद 1904 में एक सन्धि की उस के बाद 1911 में जब चीन के अन्दर क्रान्ति आई और मांचू राजवंश हुकूमत चीन में समाप्त हो गई तो उस समय तिब्बत वालों ने भी जो चीनी सन्धियां थी या जो चीनी अधिपत्य था उस को समाप्त कर दिया था।

इसके बाद में एक और ऐतिहासिक घटना की और ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ 1913-14 में शिमला कन्वेंशन, अर्थात् शिमला सम्मेलन हुआ जिस के अन्दर चीन का प्रतिनिधि, तिब्बत का प्रतिनिधि और भारत का प्रतिनिधि शिमला में एक मंच के ऊपर आकर बैठे। तीनों ने बिल्कुल बराबरी के स्तर से, बराबरी के स्टेटस के साथ संधि के ऊपर हस्ताक्षर किए। लेकिन बाद में जब चीन ने इस प्रकार की पोजीशन ली कि अपने प्रतिनिधि के हस्ताक्षरों की मान्यता देने से इन्कार किया तो इस संधि के अनुसार अगर उन का कुछ थोड़ा बहुत अधिपत्य बाकी था तो उस का हक भी उन्होंने स्वयं नष्ट कर दिया, स्वयं खो दिया।

मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमें इतिहास की उस घटना पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना पड़ेगा कि जिस समय चीन में कम्युनिस्टों की हुकूमत कायम हुई तो हमारे लिए चिन्ता की घड़ी पैदा हुई उस समय भारत के कर्णधारों को इस बात का विचार करना चाहिए था कि अब चीन की स्थिति बदल गई है। चीन के साथ जो हमारे मैत्री के संबंध थे उस के दो कारण थे। एक कारण तो था भौगोलिक दूरी। चूंकि तिब्बत बफर स्टेट के रूप में हमारे और इन के बीच में था और दूसरे उन की यह भी विचार करना चाहिए था कि चीन के साथ हमारी जो सांस्कृतिक एकता थी वह महात्मा बुद्ध के आदर्शों के प्रचार के कारण पैदा हुई सांस्कृतिक निकटता थी लेकिन जिस समय कम्युनिस्टों की हुकूमत कायम हो गई तो

हमें यह पहचान लेना चाहिए था, कोई भी राजनीतिज्ञ जो थोड़ी बहुत भी दूरदर्शिता रखता है जो दस बीस पचास साल आगे की बात आ जानी चाहिए थी, कि जो चीन की ओर हमारी पिछली मैत्री थी उस का आधार समाप्त हो चुका है। कहावत है, एक तो करैला और दूसरे नीम चढ़ा। पहले से ही चीन एक विस्तारवादी मनोवृत्ति का देश था। आज मुझे हैरानी होती है, जब मैं नेहरू जी की उस समय की स्पीचेज को याद करता हूँ, उस समय जब यह कहा जाता था कि चीन हमें धोखा देता, चीन एक विस्तारवादी देश है, एक एक्सपेंशनिस्ट कन्ट्री है, जो नेहरू जी कहते थे कि चीन तो विस्तारवादी मनोवृत्ति का देश है ही नहीं। मगर मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि चीन का जो इतिहास है उस को गोर से पढ़ा जाय तो हमें पता चलता है कि शुरू से ही चीन एक विस्तारवादी देश रहा है, चीन का क्षेत्रफल जब चीन अपनी प्रसिद्ध चीन की दीवार तथा समुद्र से घिरा था तो केवल 10 लाख वर्ग मील था। लेकिन पिछले ढाई हजार वर्षों में इस ने अपना क्षेत्रफल 26 लाख वर्गमील बना लिया है, ढाई गुना के करीब अपना क्षेत्र बढ़ाया है लेकिन जिस समय आठ लाख वर्गमील के क्षेत्रफल का तिब्बत उस में शामिल हो गया तो इस का क्षेत्रफल 30 लाख वर्गमील से भी ज्यादा हो गया। उन की आज आबादी भारत से डेढ़गुनी है। लेकिन चीन का रकबा भारत से तीन गुना है। आज जब यह दलील दी जाती है कि चीन को अपनी बढ़ती हुई आबादी के लिये कोई इलाका चाहिये, तो यह एक बिल्कुल थोथी और बोदी दलील है। उनका क्षेत्रफल आबादी की तुलना में पहले ही बहुत है— उनका विस्तारवाद तो राजनैतिक है क्योंकि उन का क्षेत्रफल हमारे से तीन गुना है, परन्तु चीन एक विस्तारवादी देश है, शुरू से उसकी इधर-उधर पांव फैलाने की मनोवृत्ति रही है। साम्यवाद भी विस्तारवादी है। साम्यवाद का संसार में यह लक्ष्य रहा है कि संसार को अपनी लपेट में ले, अपनी विचारधारा संसार के देशों में फैलाये इसी लिये चीन में कम्युनिस्टों की हुकूमत कायम होने के बाद हमें यह विचार करना चाहिये था कि साम्यवाद का उत्तर ध्रुव तक विस्तार हो गया है, तथा इसी प्रकार से एटलंटिक सागर से प्रशांत महासागर तक वहां और आगे बढ़ने की गुंजाइश नहीं है, गुन्जाइश केवल दक्षिण में है। ऐसी स्थिति में दक्षिण की तरफ भारत उसकी लपेट में आयेगा, नेपाल उसकी लपेट में आयेगा, सिक्किम और भूटान उसकी लपेट में आयेगे, दूसरे जो इसी प्रकार के वैस्ट एशिया के देश हैं, वे उसकी लपेट में आयेगे। लेकिन उस समय हम ने हकीकत से आंखें मूंद लीं। सरदार पटेल कहा करते थे कि अगर कोई भी राष्ट्र हकीकत से, सच्चाई से आंखें मूंदता है तो समय उस से बदला लेगा, और उस ने वह बदला लिया। हम ने उस समय सच्चाई को नहीं पहचाना कि चीन के साथ अब हमारी मैत्री नहीं निभ सकती।

जिस समय वहां पर साम्यवाद का साम्राज्य कायम हुआ, उसी वक्त से उन्होंने इस बात की उधेड़बुन शुरू कर दी कि वह किसी न किसी तरीके से तिब्बत पर अपना अधिकार जमाये, तिब्बत को हसंत करे, उसको अपने कब्जे में ले। मैं उस इतिहास की याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिस समय एक श्रेष्ठ मिशनरी पैटर्सन भारत आया, बड़े दुर्गम रास्तों से भारत आकर वह नेहरू जी से मिला और उसने नेहरू जी को बतलाया कि तिब्बत पर चीन की कुदृष्टि है वह उसको अपने कब्जे में लेने का प्रयत्न कर रहा है। इसलिये तिब्बत की कुछ न कुछ सहायता करें। परन्तु तिब्बत की सहायता नहीं की गई। आज मैं बड़े दुख के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस समय ईसाई मिशनरी पैटर्सन ने बड़े पते की बात हमारे देश के हित में बताई थी। और इस कारण आशा से आया था कि भारत तिब्बत की सहायता करेगा और चीन के चंगुल से उसे बचा लेगा परन्तु उसकी बात की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। उसकी बात को ठुकरा दिया। पैटर्सन ने अपनी एक किताब निकाली है उसमें उस ने इन सारी बातों का वर्णन किया है। मैं उसकी डिटेल् में नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस समय यह स्थिति पैदा हुई, उस समय जो हमारे राजदूत श्री पाणिकर थे, उनका यह कर्तव्य था कि वह सारी सच्चाई, सारे हालात को भारत सरकार की दृष्टि में लाते, लेकिन उन्होंने अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं किया उन्होंने भारत को अन्धेरे में रखा। हमारी इस सरकार ने न सिर्फ भारत की जनता को अन्धेरे में रखा, बल्कि इस संसद को भी उन्होंने धोखे में रखा। जिस समय वहां पर लम्बी लम्बी सड़के बन रही थीं, दूसरी तैयारियां हो रही थी, उनकी सेनायें हमारे क्षेत्र के अन्दर कभी लौंगल पर कभी दूसरी जगहों पर आक्रमण करती थी, और जब यहां लोक सभा में सवाल पूछे जाते थे तो यह कहा जाता था कि हमें उधर से कोई खतरा नहीं है। सरकार को तिब्बत के सम्बन्ध में पता कब चला? सरकार को पता चला - 24 अक्टूबर, १९५० को जिस समय पार्किंग रेडियो ने ऐलान किया कि चीन की जो लिब्रेशन सेनायें मुक्ति सेनाएँ हैं। वे तिब्बत में बढ़ रही हैं। नेहरू जी के नोटिस में जब आई तो उन्होंने कहा कि लिब्रेशन सेनाएँ किससे मुक्ति दिला रही है, परन्तु प्रश्न का उत्तर मिलने से पहले ही तिब्बत चीन के कब्जे में आ चुका था। वह वहां पर कब्जा कर चुका था। उस समय हमारा यह कर्तव्य था कि हम तिब्बत का साथ देते। तिब्बत का बफर स्टेट के रूप में भारत की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से कायम रहना निहायत जरूरी था।

दूसरी बात जब 1947 में भारत से अंग्रेज चले गये, जो अंग्रेज सरकार के अधिकार उस समय तिब्बत में थे, उदाहरणार्थ हमारा अपना डाक-तार का सिलसिला वहाँ पर था, हमारे व्यापारी इन तिब्बत के बड़े बड़े नगरों में रहते थे, तिब्बत का सारा व्यापार भारत के साथ था, वे सारे अधिकार हमें प्राप्त हुए थे, तो हमारा यह कर्तव्य था कि हम तिब्बत की हर प्रकार से मदद करते। लेकिन हमने क्या किया? हमने तिब्बत की मदद नहीं की, हमने उस समय तिब्बत की इन चीनी भेड़ियों का भक्ष्य होते देखा, हर प्रकार से उनका बलात्कार होते देखा। आज भारत इस बात का दावा करता है कि संसार के सब राष्ट्रों को स्वतन्त्रता मिलनी चाहिए, अन्तराष्ट्रीय नियमों के अनुसार एक राष्ट्र दूसरे देश पर अधिकार नहीं

कर सकता, लेकिन हम ने क्या किया? अपनी आंखों के सामने यह सारा दृश्य देखा और तिब्बत को चीन का भक्ष्य बनने दिया हमने उस की किसी प्रकार की सहायता नहीं की। जब उन्होंने सहायता मांगी, तो भी हमने सहायता नहीं दी।

जब महात्मा बुद्ध की 250 वीं जयन्ती मनाई जा रही थी, उस समय लामा यहां आये थे। वह नेहरूजी से मिले थे, उन्होंने उससे प्रार्थना की थी कि आप हमारी सहायता करें, तब भी नेहरू जी ने उनको यह समझा बुझाकर भेज दिया कि हम चीन साम्यवादी सरकार को लिखेंगे कि वह तिब्बत के इन्टरनल मामलों में दखल न दे। लेकिन आखिर में आपको याद होगा 1959 में जब तिब्बत की बहादुर जनता ने वहां पर एक जन आंदोलन खड़ा किया, वहां के खम्पाओं ने तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता-प्राप्ति के लिए आंदोलन खड़ा किया, क्योंकि स्थिति यह थी जब वहां पर रेल लाइन का निर्माण किया जा रहा था, तो पाँच लाख तिब्बतियों को चीन के संगीन की नौक पर रेल लाइन के निर्माण कार्य में लगाया था, हजारों लोगो को उस समय तलवार के घाट उतार दिया गया था। 60-70 हजार नौजावानों ने अपना बलिदान दिया था, इस कारण खम्पावों वहां पर आंदोलन खड़ा किया था। उस समय हमारा कर्तव्य था कि हम संसार के जनमत को जागृति करते, संसार में हम तिब्बत के पक्ष में राय कायम करते और ऐसे देश में जो चीन के साम्रज्यवाद में अपने लिए खतरा देखते थे, जो उसकी लपेट में आ सकते थे, उनको एकत्र करते, वे हमारा साथ देते। संसार में अनेकों इस प्रकार के राष्ट्र हैं जो इस खतरे को महसूस करते थे। लेकिन हमने जो एक पुराना नारा अपनाया था— हिन्दी-चीनी भाई-भाई, हमने जो पंचशील की सन्धि की थी, उसी कारण हम प्रेम की पींग को बढ़ाते रहे, हमने भारत की जनता को तिब्बत में वास्तविक रूप तथा महत्व से कभी अवगत नहीं कराया। उसके बजाय 1954 में पंचशील सन्धि करके हमने उस भूल को दोहराया तथा इसको कानून में मान्यता दे दी।

**Shri M.N. Reddy (Nizamabad):** I rise on a point of order. There is no quorum in the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** The bell is being rung... Now there is quorum. The hon. Member may continue.

**श्री श्रीचन्द गोयल:** माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि हमने सब से पहली भूल तब की जब हमने तिब्बत का साथ नहीं दिया। उसके बाद जो कुछ तिब्बत में हुआ चीन का जो अधिकार था, उस को कानूनी मान्यता दे कर, पंचशील की मोहर लगा कर, हिमालियन ब्लण्डर की, हिमालय जैसी महान गलती की। पंचशील की अफ्रीम के अन्दर हम ने सारे राष्ट्र की जो चेतना जाग रही थी, उसको सुलाने का प्रयत्न किया, राष्ट्र की उमड़ती देशभक्ति भावना पर ठण्डा पानी डाल दिया, क्योंकि तिब्बत हम से यह आशा रखता था कि हम उसकी सहायता करेंगे, लेकिन हमने उसको कानूनी मान्यता न देकर, इतना बड़ा पाप किया है, इतना बड़ा दुष्कर्म किया है, कि उसके लिये देश कभी क्षमा नहीं करेगा, न भारत की जनता क्षमा करेगी और न तिब्बत की जनता क्षमा करेगी, न इस प्रकार के जो संसार के छोटे और दुर्बल राष्ट्र हैं, जो सबल राष्ट्रों की ओर देखा करते हैं कि वे ऐसे समय में सहायता करेंगे, क्षमा करेंगे। यह पंचशील की जो संधि है मैं आज यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस पंचशील की संधि की धजियाँ स्वयं चीन ने उड़ा दी हैं। इस पंचशील की संधि के अन्दर स्वीकार किया गया था कि तिब्बत के जो आन्तरिक मामले हैं उन में किसी प्रकार का हस्तक्षेप नहीं करेगा लेकिन आज क्या स्थिति है? आज तो वहां के नकशों के अन्दर भी जो पहले चीन का एक आटोनयमस राज्य माना जाता था वह भी समाप्त हो गया। आज तिब्बत केवल चीन का एक मात्र प्रान्त बन गया है। उसका एक सूबा बन कर रह गया है। जो आश्वासन तिब्बत को दिये गये, उनको निभाया नहीं गया। भारत और तिब्बत के बीच की सीमा मैक-मोहन रेखा है। वह सीमा तो पहले ही कन्वेंशन की संधि के अनुसार तय हुई थी। भारत चीन की सीमाएँ, भारत तिब्बत की सीमा मैकमोहन रेखा स्वीकार की गई थी। क्या मैकमोहन रेखा के मुताबिक चीन ने हमारे साथ व्यवहार किया है? उस संधि के मुताबिक तो यह करार पाया था कि जो भी भारत के यात्री या व्यापारी हैं वह ही हिमालय की तराईयों में आ जा सकते हैं। इससे यह बात स्पष्ट थी कि हिमालय के परे का इलाका उनका है और हिमालय क इधर का सारा इलाका हमारा है लेकिन मैं आज निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि चीन ने आज उस पंचशील की संधि की हर प्रकार से धजियाँ उड़ाई हैं, न उसने अपने आश्वासन को कायम रखा है और न अपने वचन को निभाया है जो उसने तिब्बत को दिया था न जो हमारे साथ उनकी रेखा तय हुई थी उसके ऊपर वह पाबन्द रहा। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि हम उसी पुरानी बात की रट लगाते रहें और उस पुरानी संधि के सिद्धान्त को लेकर चलते रहें तो इससे आज काम नहीं बनेगा। आज हमने देख लिया कि किस प्रकार से चीन ने हमारे साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया है, यहां तक कि जो हमारे वहां पर राजदूत हैं उनके साथ भी अनुचित व्यवहार किया है। हमेशा से चीन का इतिहास विश्वासघात का इतिहास है जैसा कि तिब्बत के साथ में बिल्कुल बलात्कार का और भारत के साथ में बिल्कुल धोखे का और आघात का इतिहास है। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि आज हमें घोषणा करनी चाहिए बड़े बल के साथ घोषणा करनी होगी कि हम तिब्बत की स्वतन्त्रता को स्वीकार करते हैं। तिब्बत एक स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र है। वह अपनी आजादी के लिए आज छोटी मात्रा में क्यों न हो प्रयत्नशील हैं हमारे जैसे एक सिद्धान्तवादी आदर्शों पर चलने वाले राष्ट्र को आज उनका साथ देना चाहिए। आज जो दलाई लामा हमारी शरण में आए हुए हैं उनको वैधानिक शासक स्वीकार कर हमें यह घोषणा करनी चाहिए कि हम संसार



के अन्दर तिब्बत की आजादी के लिए पग उठायेँगे, संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ को भी इस बात के लिए विवश करेंगे। आज उस को सब प्रकार की ताकत बख्शेंगे। आज उस के पक्ष में संसार के अन्दर जनमत जाग्रत करेंगे कि तिब्बत को एक स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र के रूप में खड़ा करने के लिए संसार के बाकी राष्ट्र उसका साथ दें।

मैं आज यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पुरानी बातें नहीं चलेंगी। आज समय की यह मांग है, भारत की सुरक्षा नीति की यह मांग है, भारत के हितों की यह मांग है कि चीन के चंगुल से बचें, चीन के आक्रमण से बचें। आज चीन पूरे तौर पर अपनी तैयारी कर रहा है। आज नहीं, दो साल के बाद या पांच साल के बाद वह फिर आक्रमणकारी के रूप में आयेगा। आज अगर हमें अपने देश की रक्षा करनी है तो उसका एक ही उपाय है कि आज हम अपनी इस बफर स्टेट को फिर से कायम करें। संसार के दूसरे देशों का साथ उस के लिए ले। उस के लिए सभी आवश्यक कदम उठायेँ। दुनिया के सब देशों ने जब भी कभी उनकी सुरक्षा का प्रश्न आया है, तो वह युद्ध में कूदे हैं, अपनी सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से इंग्लैंड हालैंड देश की रक्षा करने के लिए, बेलजियम की रक्षा करने के लिए, चूँकि उसकी सुरक्षा का उससे सम्बन्ध था, पिछले 100 साल में दो बार वह युद्ध में कूदा। स्वयं चीन 1951 में उत्तर कोरिया के अन्दर जब संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की सेनायें कोरिया में बढ़ रही थीं, तो अपनी रक्षा के लिए वह उस युद्ध के अन्दर कूदा। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे हितों की भी यह मांग है कि आज हम अपनी सुरक्षा को ध्यान में रखते हुए तिब्बत को स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त कराने के लिये उसे हर प्रकार की सहायता दें। मैं अन्त में जार्ज गिंसबर्गस की “कम्युनिस्ट चाइना ऐंड तिब्बत” से एक कोटेशन हाउस में रख कर अपना भाषण समाप्त कर दूँगा।

“In short, unless drastic steps are undertaken by New Delhi without delay, the outlook for a successful containment of Red China at the Indian-Tibetan border seems very dim-as dim as the hope once so fondly cherished by most foreign offices that Tibet's impossible landscape with some slight assistance from the Tibetan army would defeat any Chinese invasion. Should such counter measures not be taken in time or in sufficient number, the repercussions could prove fatal for the free world's survival on the Asian continent. To para-phrase a well-known and undeservedly abused proposition of geopolitics, 'He who holds, Tibet dominate the Himalayan piedmont; he who dominates the Himalayan piedmont threatens the Indian sub-continent; and he who threatens the Indian sub-continent may well have all of South East Asia within his reach and with it, all of Asia.'”

**Mr. Speaker:** Resolution moved:

“This House is of the opinion that Dalai Lama should be recognized as the Head of the Émigré Government of Tibet and all facilities and help be extended to him by the Government of India to liberate Tibet from the colonial rule of Communist China”.

**श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) :-** अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो रेजोल्यूशन हाउस के सामने पेश किया गया है मैं। उसका समर्थन करना चाहता हूँ और उसका क्यों समर्थन करना चाहता हूँ वह भी मैं आप की इजाज़त से निवेदन करना चाहूँगा। हम ने जो पंचशील का नारा संसार को दिया था तो उसका अर्थ यही था कि प्रत्येक देश की सुरक्षा की हम जिम्मेदारी लें, उसकी मर्यादा की रक्षा हम स्वतंत्रता का मूल्य और कद्र भली भाँति जानते हैं। क्योंकि आज हम स्वतंत्र हैं लेकिन गुलाम थे और उस अंग्रेजों की गुलामी से छुटकारा हम ने अपने त्याग, तपस्या व बलिदान से पाया और हम भारतवासियों ने मिल कर उस गुलामी की जंजीरो को कटवाया। प्रोफेसर रंगा भी उसमें शामिल थे। भारत की आजादी की लड़ाई में सभी भारतवासी शामिल थे और सब लोगों ने मिल कर अपने त्याग व बलिदान से उन अंग्रेजों की गुलामी के जुए को उतार फेंका। “दिल जले फरियाद करते हैं तो आस्मां हिल उठता है।” हम वह मुसीबत व कठिनाइयाँ जो हमें झेलनी पड़ीं उन्हें हम भूलेंगे नहीं। मैं ब्रिटिश वैस्ट इंडीज में पैदा हुआ। मैं वहाँ 14-15 वर्ष रहा लेकिन जब यहाँ गुलाम हिन्दुस्तान में आजादी की लौ जली और इस देश को गांधी और जवाहरलाल ने सोते से जगाया और उनको आजादी हासिल करने के लिए ललकारा तो सारे देशवासी उनके पीछे कंधे से कंधा मिला कर खड़े हो गये और हमारे जैसे लोग भी जिनके दिल में आजादी की लगन थी वहाँ से भाग कर हिन्दुस्तान में आये और हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिए उनकी लीडरशिप में लड़े और कुर्बानी दी। आजादी के दीवाने वहाँ भी थे और यहाँ भी थे और हम ने देखा कि उन करोड़ों भारतवासियों की कुर्बानियाँ रंग लाई और इस देश को अंग्रेजों की गुलामी से नजात मिली और देश आजाद हुआ।

यह ठीक ही कहा गया है: “ महिमा घटी समुद्र की रावण बसा पड़ोस”।

पड़ोसी पर ज्यादा जिम्मेदारी है। सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत तिब्बत का पड़ोसी है और आप सरदार हो, सिंह हो और इसलिए आप के डिफेंस मिनिस्टर रहते हुए जो भूल पहले कर चुके हैं वह हम फिर न करें। हम फिर से तिब्बत सम्बन्धी नीति पर विचार करें, और उस भूल को समाप्त करें और मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे सरदार पटेल की आत्मा को शांति मिलेगी। आज भी हमारे देश में ऐसे लाल



मौजूद है जो अपनी भूल को ठीक कर सकते हैं और मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि सरदार साहब तो उस भूल को ठीक करेंगे ही। आज काले और गोरे लोगों के ब्लाकों में एक लड़ाई है और इसलिए यह एक बड़ा गम्भीर प्रश्न है। हम तो चाहते हैं कि जिस तरह से श्री राम ने विभीषण को शरण दी और रावण पर विजय पाने के पश्चात् लंका का राज्य श्री राम ने विभीषण को सौंप दिया वैसे ही दलाई लामा और अन्य तिब्बती लामा आज हमारी शरण में हैं और हमें अपने शरणागतों की श्री राम के समान रक्षा करनी चाहिए व उनकी मदद करनी चाहिए और जिस प्रकार लंका का राज्य पुनः विभीषण को श्री राम ने दिलवाया उसी तरह मैं चाहूंगा कि हम भारतवासी तैयार होकर उनकी खोई हुई आजादी को पुनः वापिस दिलायें। दलाई लामा को विभीषण के समान तिब्बत के ऊपर उनका खोया हुआ अधिकार पुनः वापिस दिलवायें। ऐसा किया जायेगा तभी चीन की बढ़ती हुई ज्वाला, उसका राक्षसपन, मिट सकेगा। इसको मिटाने में हम आप के सहायक होंगे, मददगार होंगे।

मैं माफी चाहता हूँ यह कहने के लिये कि हमारे पुराने राजनीतिज्ञों ने बड़ी भूल की है। उस भूल का निराकरण आप को करना चाहिये। कहै कबीर जब ही चेता तबै सही। होनहार बिखान के हूत चीकने पात। अगर बेटा लायक हो और बाप की गलतियों को सुधार दे तो वह क्षम्य होता है। अगर हम ऐसा कर सके तो इतिहास में हमारी कीर्ति अमर होगी। पिछले दि मैं इस देश के डिफेन्स की बात कर रहा था तब कहा था कि हमारे सरदार साहब बड़ी हस्ती है। लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने बड़ी कुर्बानी की। वह ताशकन्द में मरे। वहां पर उन के साथ हमारे डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर ओश्र हमारे एक्स्टर्नल अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर मौजूद थे। हिन्दुस्तान के बच्चे बच्चे के दिल के अन्दर वह दर्दनाक चित्र आज भी जलन पैदा करता है, वह दुःख अभी भी बाकी है। वह जल्दी मिट भी नहीं सकता। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज भारत यह तय करे कि हम तिब्बत के साथ भलमन्सहित का व्यवहार करें, उसकी मदद करें धन,जन,बल हर तरह से उसकी मदद करें।

इन चन्द शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**Shri D.N. Patodia (Jalore):** Today, the House is reminded of a dark moment in the recent history, 17 years ago, on 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1950 when while the Tibetan delegation was negotiating with the Chinese ambassador in New Delhi; the Chinese on the other hand invaded Tibet. On that day a process of extermination of the race, religion tradition and the nation of Tibet started. That process still continues. Tibetans had been dispossessed of their property; they were left with no job, they were not provided with adequate food and they were brought to the brink of death sometimes. The most heinous crime that the Chinese have committed is that they have sterilized thousands of men and women in Tibet so that the race of Tibetans extinguished from the earth. They have made every attempt to wipe out the religion of Tibet. Monasteries had been destroyed or converted into police headquarters of the Chinese police; the monks had been murdered or arrested or thrown out. This is an event of unparalleled significance in the history of the world when one nation is trying to wipe out another nation- its race and religion. Genocide is being practiced. It is equally shameful and equally unparalleled in the history of the world – the attitude of India. We had been instrumental and we had been a party to the domination of Tibet by China. Our attitude towards a neighboring country, Tibet, will be remembered long. The neighbour trusted us and depended on us. There were close religious and cultural ties between India and Tibet. We have betrayed them; this is the reflection of our weak policy in order to please China who are very powerful, we forgot all our obligations and we forgot the old traditions of 2500 years ago. 2500 years back one person belonging to the kingdom of Kaushal went from India and established the kingdom of Tibet and from that day the historical and traditional ties between Tibet and India continued in addition to the religious, cultural and philosophical ties. We have forgotten all that. But now, we realize what mistake we have done. Now we understand that by giving over Tibet to China we have surrendered the sovereignty not only of Tibet but we have made the biggest blunder which we could have made from the defence point of view. Prior to that, the launching ground of China from which they could have attacked our country was thousands of miles away, but now, after having given over Tibet, they are on our head, and our long borders are exposed to China day in and day out. This is the condition in which we are placed today, and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, our late Prime Minister, had admitted it in the course of one of his speeches on this point. He said that, “China’s object in annexing Tibet is clear today; it was to use Tibet as a base for launching an attack on India.” Therefore, it explains that possibly the germs of the Chinese attack on our land in 1962 were sown as early as in 1950, when for the first time, the Chinese attacked Tibet.

Now, I will come to the constitutional side of it. Various treaties, to which my friend Mr. Goel has already referred, were entered into sometimes between Britain and China, sometimes between China and Tibet and sometimes between Tibet and Britain. All the same, until 1954, until the one treaty that was signed with our late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, in all the treaties, the suzerainty and sovereignty of Tibet was never questioned. The Chinese stayed in Tibet only

as some sort of a privileged person, enjoying certain rights without in anyway affecting the autonomous status of Tibet, or without affecting the rights of Tibet. This could be proved by two or three events.

In 1876, in spite of the Chinese desire, the Tibetans did not permit the British Mission to visit Tibet. Again, during the World War II, as it is known to all of you Tibet did not allow war materials to go to China *via* Tibet. These two illustrations are clear to show that the sovereignty was not only ever doubted, but it was accepted and agreed to even by the Chinese. Even against Chinese desire, Tibet could take action and protest, because, after all, a sovereign nation is always within its rights to act as it likes.

Coming to the treaty of 1951, in this treaty also, the sovereign rights of the Tibetans were recognized. In 1951, it was an agreement between China and Tibet, in which India was not a party, and, the autonomy and the sovereign rights of Tibet were recognized. But for the first time, in 1954, when India was a party to it, we were responsible for the words put in the agreement. We for the first time accepted the sovereignty and suzerainty of China over Tibet by saying that Tibet is a part of China. After that, this chain started. After that history took a new turn, and China started to created trouble with the ultimate motive of attacking India.

But there was one safeguard put into the treaty of 1954. It was that there would be some corresponding action by the Chinese also; they will give full autonomy rights to Tibet; that they will not interfere with the internal affairs with their religion, their way of life and with their system of government. These were the basic agreements, which were arrived at, to which China, India and Tibet was a party. But the Chinese never honored this agreement. Possibly, even before the agreement was signed, China started violating it. Therefore, whether it is an international agreement or a national agreement or in whatever form it is, an agreement can always be only bilateral. It cannot be unilateral. Therefore, this agreement stands as a dead agreement. It has no validity and if the Chinese have decided to violate it, we must also search our hearts and give a different thought to it. A very thorough enquiry in this connection was made by the enquiry committee set up by the international Commission of Jurists. I will read a passage from their report:

“Throughout the period 1912 to 1950, the Government of Tibet exercised exclusive authority in domestic affairs within its territory against the attack under the colour of a claim to sovereignty and vis-à-vis the Republic of China no act was committed or declaration made that compromised its internal independence.”

This is the unanimous opinion given by the jurists. That process which started in 1950 by the attack of China still continues. Things have not improved. All loyal Tibetans have been driven away and even massacred. The Dalai Lama, the spiritual Head of Tibet, fled to India with his followers, he does not have any means to defend his country. He depended upon India, but India has betrayed him, in whatever form it is. Therefore, it is time for us to think of the whole problem again.

We should look at it from three different angles. Firstly, from our defence point of view, it is necessary that Tibet be given independence and permitted to develop its own religion and way of life. Secondly, we should look at it from the humanitarian point of view. On humanitarian grounds, the people of Tibet should be permitted to live according to their own religion and way of life. They should have freedom of speech and freedom of living. Then we should look at it according to old traditions of history. I hope taking into consideration all these factors, wisdom will dawn upon the Government of India and they will recognize the Government of the Dalai Lama and denounce the treaty of 1954. We should render all possible help to Dalai Lama and his followers to form a stable Government in Tibet. We should also withdraw the support we are giving in the United Nations for the admission of China. Relations with China must be broken. There is no reason why in spite of all that has happened, we should continue pampering them.

With these words, I support the resolution.

**Shri J.K. Choudhary (Tripura West):** Sir, it has been said that history has a nemesis for every sin, and the history of India since independence is replete with sins like the one we committed in the matter of Tibet. Of course, 20 years is not a very long time in terms of history, particularly in matters of cause and effect. Yet, it must be admitted that the 1954 treaty brought ultimately the Chinese invasion on us.

My predecessors speaking on this resolution have given many facts. To begin with, India inherited certain rights from the British like postal connections, trade relations, keeping a small section of our military personnel there and such others. But we had also a very close connection with that country for thousands of years—cultural, historical and even

religious. In one sense, the people of the entire northern zone of India in the southern Himalayas have very intimate relations with the Tibetans—ethnically and also in matters of religion and culture.

[Shri G.S. Dhillon *in the Chair*]

But, what did we do? As soon as the Chinese came into power after the independence of India, they attacked Tibet in 1950. We did not say anything at that time. In 1954, we were misled into believing that Tibet would be treated as a free autonomous region of China and entered into treaty with that country. They called it “autonomous region of China” — that is the wording they used. They had to use it because in the 1914 Simla Treaty, which the Government of India has shown in maps and in many booklets they published it, particularly of the “*Chinese Menace*”, the Chinese agreed to Tibet signing that treaty along with India as a separate power. It appears that India signed it or rather, the British on behalf of India signed it and Tibet also signed it along with China.

And what did China do? She repudiated her signature in respect of *outer* Tibet soon after 1914. She did not repudiate the 1914 demarcation treaty held at Simla which was signed by her representative, for the whole of Tibet. It was only the inner line that she agreed to respect. But for the outer line she had her reservations.

If even the inner line of Tibet remained under the Tibetan Government undisturbed by the Chinese that would act as a buffer state for India just as Outer Mongolia acts as a buffer state to Russia. But what happened? Throughout history, it is a common place of foreign relations and protection of a country that every body wants to keep a buffer, between a country and another which is at least as strong as it is. The British Government fought three wars with the Afghans, but even after defeating Afghanistan three times, at that time it was the Russian menace that the Britishers in India feared most. In those days of British Empire, international laws were regarded with much more sanctity than at present, so they thought the Russians, if they wanted to attack India in the North-West Frontier, would have to come through Afghanistan and they could not do it without breaking the international law. That law no longer holds good. The Germans in 1914 and Hitler later finished that by attacking Belgium before attacking France.

The MacMohan line was recognized in the 1914 treaty which was signed at Simla. It continued like that till 1954 when the Communist China's authority was recognized by India. Before that, of course, after the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty by Sun Yat Sen in 1912, China was growing in power with many warlords in different parts of it. She was not a compact State even then, sprawling over 36 lakh square miles as now, coming just over our head in the Himalayas as she did in 1962. We gave away, we bartered away the liberty of Tibet and also our defence. We paved the way for China to come up to the Himalayas and just below the passes on the other side to have her military installations and massing of troops and building of roads and other preparations. That paved the way for the 1962 attack on India. We now find ourselves in a difficult and tight corner. We are now terribly afraid, because I have heard it said in this very House in connection with the embassy trouble that we desist from the retaliation lest China should invade us again!

What were we afraid of in taking retaliatory measure against the Chinese Embassy here? An invasion from China? Well, if it comes really to that, that China will invade us as soon as we want to assert our rights, let her do so. We should be determined either to conquer or to fall. It does not matter if even a single Indian is not spared the sword. That should be our attitude, though that may be called an irresponsible attitude.

Throughout the history of mighty nations, there has been an element of irresponsibility in great deeds and events of their life. The Greeks at Thermopylae were irresponsible in fighting with only 300 men against the Persian hordes. Rana Pratap was irresponsible in fighting against the Mughal Empire with his small army of Bhils and Kols. Even as near as three weeks ago Israel with two millions of them fought against 100 millions of Arabs. You might call all this irresponsible. But why can't we, 500 million Indians, be determined to fight China, if it comes to that? We have to fight China on moral and patriotic grounds and not allow her to cross over the Himalayas even for an inch. We shall have to do it, come what may, some day or other. There is no question of responsibility or irresponsibility in that.

So, without in any way being inhibited by China or her strength, by her atom bombs or her hydrogen bombs we ought to see it that, what we committed as a sin against the Tibetans, and what the Dalai Lama has mentioned in his autobiography does not go to the credit of India. That chapter of shame is redeemed. So we ought to support his right to set up an émigré Government of Tibet in India and also we ought to take up her case in the United Nations.

**K.R. Ganesh (*Andaman and Nicobar Island*):** I rise to oppose this Resolution which has been moved as a Private Member Resolution. We have to face certain realities of the situation. It is a fact that India has recognized the suzerainty

of China over Tibet. We know what is happening in China today. We also know that the Chinese have betrayed the understanding which they gave to our Prime Minister that they would respect that autonomy of Tibet. China today has become an aberration in world politics. It is not that China is having a hostile attitude, a war like attitude, towards our country alone, but China is having the same war like and hostile attitude towards a number of other countries also, including the Soviet Union, which has been the best friend of China and without whom she will never have succeeded. Therefore, we are faced with a country which has placed the world in such a quandary that all the assessment, that all the world leaders had about the Revolution of China has been falsified. It has become a habit in this House that, whenever any matter is raised, whether it is of Tibet or of West Asia or of any other matter, the entire gamut of the foreign policy of the Indian Government is attacked; the object is not to give help to the Tibetan. As the Government of India found that the human rights in Tibet were being denied to the Tibetan people by the Chinese Government, they raised this question as a human rights question in the United Nations. But the object of the hon. Mover and many other members on the other side of the House is to attack the entire foreign policy of this country and to show to the people that the foreign policy of this country has failed. We know that there is a large body of opinion in this country which feels and which is convinced that the foreign policy followed by the Indian Government under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru was the correct foreign policy, was a policy in the interest of the country, and in world in which we are living, we could not have followed any other foreign policy.

**Shri Ranga:** Question.

**Shri K.R. Ganga:** They talk of buffer states. This talk of buffer states in the world of 1967 is to take us back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They also say that this buffer state business has brought about wars in the world. And yet they want us to maintain Tibet as a buffer state.

We know that a large area of our country which we claim as our own area is under the occupation of China. It is a Herculean task for the Indian Government and the Indian people to eliminate Chinese influence and to liberate that area from Chinese influence and Chinese occupation. If we recognize the Dalai Lama and if we allow him to set up an émigré government, then we would be opening a flood-gate for every foreign country to interfere in our own internal affairs.

**Shri Ranga:** Oh!

**Shri K.R. Ganesh:** I am surprised that such a senior member of our national movement could be so cynical about the remark that I have just made. We are having the NEFA problem; we are having the problem of Nagaland; we are also having the Kashmir problem. Day in and day out, our friends here go on pointing out that the Chinese are interfering in NEFA and Nagaland and that the Pakistanis and the Chinese are in collusion as far as Kashmir is concerned.

Having once recognized the suzerainty of China over Tibet, which is historical, because no Chinese Government has ever disclaimed it and no Chinese government has ever been a party to any treaty in the world under which they have forsworn Tibet, we shall be opening the floodgate of interference in our own internal affairs by other countries, if we act on the lines suggested in this resolution.

We know that the Chinese Government is following an expansionist policy, and we know that they are doing so not only towards this country but also towards the Soviet Union. We know that the Chinese Government has become isolated from every other country in the world. During the last two days we have read in the newspapers that what has happened in India has happened in Burma also.

Therefore, in this situation in which we are placed, to accept the resolution will be to invite disaster as far as this country is concerned.

The resolution and also the speeches made presuppose that Tibet is going to be our buffer to ensure the safety and security of this country. I submit that quite a substantial section of this House with me in saying this...

**श्री रवि राय (पुरी):** इस हाउस का कोई भी माननीय सदस्य इस में आपके साथ नहीं है । श्री शिव नारायण भी नहीं है ।

**K.R. Ganesh:** अकेला तो हूँ । Whatever that may be, that could be decided. He does not, after all, represent many people.

Whatever may be our present trouble with China, whatever may be the postures, the very dangerous postures, of

the Chinese Government, we must not forget that after all. China is a country with one of the largest mass of people in the world. And whether it is today, tomorrow or the day after, without sacrificing our own independence, without sacrificing the democratic structure we have given to ourselves, we have to come to some understanding with China. There is no other way because here are two countries which represent the largest section of humanity, here are the two countries which have got common historical links, here are two countries which are neighbours and here are two neighbours who could have forced the entire world into a direction which because of the betrayal of the Chinese Government. China and the Chinese leadership could not be brought about with the result that imperialism is on the offensive in West Asia and other regions of the world.

Therefore, I submit that this Resolution aimed at helping Tibet by recognizing the Dalai Lama and by setting up an émigré government here is not in the interest of this country. This country has helped the Tibetan refugees in all possible ways. This country has given asylum to the Dalai Lama. This country is raising the rights in Tibet in the UN. There is no other policy in the interest of the country than the one which has been pursued by the Government up till now.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair (Permada):** The Mover of the Resolution and some other hon. Members who have supported him have advanced a strange logic. They say: China misbehaves, so India also should misbehave; China interferes in the internal affairs of other countries, so India should also do the same; China is warlike, so India also should be warlike. This is the essence of the logic that has been advanced by the Mover and many others including Shri Sheo Narain who is a misguided Member.

**Shri Sheo Narain:** No, no; he is misguided.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** Some members have chosen to relate cock and bull stories about what has happened or is happening in Tibet. I should like to make it very clear that it is common knowledge that the Chinese leadership is following a policy detrimental to the interest of world peace, which is detrimental to the interest of friendship between peoples, especially peoples of Asia and Africa, which is detrimental to the interests of the people of even China herself. There is no doubt about it. But my friend Mr. Goel should not imagine that this is an unchangeable policy and that this is an eternal phase. We do not subscribe to that theory. Even after the communist party came to power in 1948, there was a certain period in the history of China when they were pursuing an entirely different policy. Let us not forget that. This is a particular phase in the history of a great country and a great people when unfortunately the leadership is pursuing a very different, wrong and detrimental policy as regards their people and their country and the entire world. Keeping that in mind, we must be very careful in pursuing our own policy. India has been following more or less a correct policy. Of course, some people were pressurizing India about its policy... (*Interruptions*). I should like to emphasize the necessity for continuing that policy. There is the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country. My friend there very rightly pointed out that there were black spots for every country which begins to interfere in the internal affairs of another, there is no end to it. Simply because the Chinese are doing a very wrong, let us not imitate them. In our own interest it is very wrong to suggest that we should have an émigré government on the soil of India which will create 101 problems. It is wrong to suggest that we should help them to conquer Tibet. About Tibet being a buffer state and all that, my friends are depending upon British history and the evidence of British imperialists, who played the dirty game for centuries together all over Asia. Let us not forget all that and now for the sake of convenience depend upon evidence supplied by the British.

**श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज:** तिब्बत के मामले में मैं रूस को मानने के लिए तयार हूँ ।

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** My friend Mr. Fernandes was very much dependent on the Soviet Union. He said that we should consult the Soviet Union. He should know that the Soviet Union is not reciprocating what China does. He forgets that they show such restraint in the face of grave provocations... (*Interruptions.*) Let us agree to disagree.

Thirdly, these friends want to prop up the institution of the Dalai Lama. With all respect to the personality of the person, it is the most rotten institution, the most backward and reactionary and inhuman institution. Such an institution is to be supported by a country which professes to be progressive?

Sir, it is not strange, it is not surprising. The people who are asking to support and prop up this Dalai Lama are those very people who want to maintain the old order, and all those superstitions in this country. It is not strange. (*Interruption.*) I can understand the Jan Sangh; I can understand the Swatantra party; I can understand such reactionary parties running to the rescue to the Dalai Lama, but let not this country put its camp on behalf of such a reactionary institution.



So, from these three points of view, it is detrimental for us to change our policy, which was tested all these years. Because of pressure, I know the Government has deviated: I am referring to the recent position taken by the Government even on the question of human rights. I may point out that is because of pressure. Unfortunately, recently some statements made by the External Affairs Minister have given the impression that the Government of India is prepared to reconsider the policy that it has been pursuing till now. I hope that such talks will be put an end to, that a firm declaration will be made on behalf of the Government that we stand on principle, that we pursue a policy that will only pay us dividends and any deviation in the policy under pressure will lend us in greater trouble.

**Some hon. Members** rose—

**Mr. Chairman:** There are some names before me. Shri Nayanar's name is given by the CPI (Marxist) party. Would he like to have his time just now, or next time?

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** I would like to speak today.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** I also want to speak. I have given notice.

**Mr. Chairman:** The resolution will continue.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** That does not matter; but I have given my name. (*Interruption*). What is the procedure?

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Sondhi.

**Shri E.K. Nayanar:** Sir, I rise to a point of order. I represent one party. Before you give the chance to the other party. I may be permitted to speak now.

**Mr. Chairman:** I will give you time.

**Shri E.K. Nayanar:** I am prepared to speak now.

**Mr. Chairman:** You will have your chance after Mr. Sondhi. This resolution will be continued the next day.

**Shri E.K. Nayanar:** I am opposing this resolution. I will finish in five minutes. Otherwise, it will take another 15 days for this to come up again.

**Mr. Chairman:** Please wait for some time. You may start today, and continue the speech the next day. Mr. Sondhi.

**Shri E.K. Nayanar:** I appeal to you to give me time.

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are not here at all to advocate an escalation. We are here only to suggest the new tasks for diplomacy. These are tasks which any government must consider, because rethinking is an axiom in foreign affairs. You have to continually rethink because the international environment is changing. I would, therefore, start with the question of the Dalai Lama. I submit that he is not only a religious authority comparable to any other religious authority in the world, but he represents in his person with full potentialities of an independent territorial head. I submit that from the point of view of diplomacy, the world community is by and large sympathetic to the Tibetan cause. My own experience in Moscow suggests that large sections of Russian academic life take a very close interest in Tibet, are deeply upset by what is happening there and retain their feeling for an independent or autonomous entity called Tibet.

At the 1394<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly, the Indian delegate said:

“Although the relationship between Tibet and India is centuries-old and has flourished in all its manifestations, whether religious, cultural or economic, we have always taken care not to make that relationship a political problem.”

I think this statement is a contradiction, because it is not for you to make something political. What is politics is to be discerned as politics and to be accepted as such. Without any resort to any crusade against China, I entirely endorse that ultimately India and China have to be friends. These are great countries and they have to come together. But from the point of view of practical diplomacy. What prevents India from declaring that the Tibet question is a test case of the Chinese support for decolonisation? Let us ask them, in terms of the General Assembly resolution 1514 of the XV General Assembly, what their standpoint is. I think the Chinese will be even grateful to us for what we do. I say this in all seriousness.



I submit that the Chinese are at present in a xenophobia mood. But they do listen and communicate with the Russian, American and other Governments. India appears in their eyes—this is a point which some friends have urged here and I agree with them—as a ‘yes’ man for the different *status quo* world powers. Therefore, if Sino-Indian relations are seen by the Chinese as a real political relationship between them and India, they will tend to see us as a power in our own right instead of advocating this country or that country.

In spite of the physical occupation of Tibet by the Chinese, in spite of the fact that they have been speaking about the Dalai Lama and his Government in very derogatory terms, the fact remains that for a long time they respected the Dalai Lama. The Chinese are not unaware of the fact that the Dalai Lama continues to exercise enormous influence over the vast majority of the Tibetan people. Therefore, we should urge the political aspects of the Tibetan problem. In the beginning, it might have overtones of a fight, but it will be a peaceful fight; there will be no mounting of guns against each other; it will be a fight in the sense that we convince the Chinese—I might quote here some authorities. Latimer said that Tibet yields diminishing returns for any imperialism. The Chinese will find Tibet what Napoleon found Spain was—something too difficult, something even counter-productive. To my mind, the Chinese have very little political advantage in holding to Tibet. But they have a military advantage. There are large caves in Tibet where missiles can be hidden. What the Americans and Russians do at great cost is available there under natural conditions.

Therefore the problem for the Foreign Minister is that Tibet must become a denuclearised area, - something like the Rapacki plan. Rapacki plan was for disengagement between two sides in Europe. We need some such plan, call it Swaran Singh plan, if you like, for some disengagement in this area. We should take this away from nuclear confrontation. India will feel more secure if there are no Chinese missiles there. But that will require international inspection. Therefore, if the Dalai Lama Government is recognized as an *Émigré* Government, I do not see why my friends here should feel perturbed about it. We may go on talking like that. But larger interests of our demand that Tibet be made into a political issue, so that vis-à-vis China, there should be more talk and less fight.

**Shri. E. K. Nayanar:** Sir, I rise to oppose this resolution. He who says that the Dalai Lama should be given political status and should be recognized as a head of the *Émigré* Government of Tibet, a government in exile, really wants to re-establish serfdom in Tibet. They explained about historical traditions, thousand and two thousand years old of Tibet. They want to re-establish the Dalai Lama's Government in Tibet...



**3 July 1967**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### **KATHMANDU-LHASA ROAD**

**\*871. Shri P.K. Deo:**

**Shri G.C. Naik:**

**Shri K.P. Singh Deo:**

**Shri A. Dipya:**

**Shri Hardayal Devgun:**

**Shri Yajna Datt Sharma:**

**Shri Hukam Chand Kachwai:**

**Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi:**

**Shri Madhu Limaye:**

**Shri Rabi Ray:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Kathmandu-Lhasa Road has been recently opened for vehicular traffic between Tibet and Nepal;
- (b) whether Government are aware of the report that the anti-Indian activity by the Chinese in Nepal has greatly increased since the opening of the road; and
- (c) if so, Government's reaction thereto?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) The road declared open on 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 1967 is the Kathmandu-Kodari Road. Kodari is a location in Nepal which is right on the Nepal Tibet border.
- (b) Anti-Indian activity by China is carried out throughout the world. Nepal being only one such area. The opening of the road cannot possibly add to the extent of Chinese anti-Indian activity which is the matter of current policy of

the Government of China in the pursuit of which the Chinese would appear to be willing to go to any lengths of barbarity and uncivilized behaviour.

- (c) In so far as anti-Indian activities by China in Nepal are concerned, the Government of India through their Embassy in Kathmandu have drawn the attention of His Majesty's Government of Nepal to the numerous violations of diplomatic norms of behaviour by the Embassy of China in that country.

**Shri P.K. Deo:** Is it not a fact that anti-Indian activity has gathered momentum lately, which has manifested itself in the Kathmandu airport where the Chinese Ambassador came and shouted anti-Indian slogans? How is it that the Ministry is not aware of this fact and does not say that anti-Indian activity is on the increase?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** It is quite true that the anti-Indian activity by the Chinese diplomats in Nepal has increased recently. But there is no connection between the construction of the Lhasa road and this increased activity on the part of the Chinese.

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10 July 1967

Written Answers to Questions

### ILLEGAL ENTRY INTO INDIA BY TIBETANS

5123. **Shri Raghuvir Singh Shastri:**

**Shri Atam Das:**

**Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:**

**Shri Shiv Kumar Shastri:**

**Shri Y.S. Kushwah:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that 22 Tibetans have fled from Tibet and entered into Indian territory unlawfully;
- (b) if so, whether the causes of their fleeing from Tibet have been ascertained from them; and
- (c) if so, the details thereof and Government's reaction thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) Not yet. This would be established by the interrogation which is going on.
- (c) Does not arise at present.

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14 July 1967

Answers to Questions

### RESOLUTION RE: TIBET – (Contd.)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We shall now resume the Private Members Resolution on Tibet. Before we take up the debate, I wish to inform the House that the time allotted for it was two hours. The time consumed is 1 hour 35 minutes, and the balance is 25 minutes.

**Shri N.C. Chatterjee (Burdwan):** Please extend the time.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** That is the question. I have received a number of requests from many hon. Members including Shri Chatterjee, Shri Banerjee and others. What is now to be done?

श्री मधु लिमये: एक घंटा समय बढ़ा दीजिए और सब सदस्यों को पाँच मिनट दिए जायें ।

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** One hour more will do? There are a number of requests from hon. Members.

श्री नाथ पाई: एक घंटे के बाद फिर देखा जायेगा ।

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Mr. Nath Pai, that is not the question. We will now decide the time. I think one hour will be sufficient, and 25 minutes for the Minister concerned. So, it comes to 1 hour and 25 minutes, within which period we should conclude. After all, such long debate has taken place.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** हम दूसरे प्रस्ताव को आने देंगे । हम उसको खत्म नहीं होने देंगे ।

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Mr. Nayanar, Mr. Madhu Limaye has set the time limit—five minutes for each member. Let us follow it.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** वह टाइम-लिमिट मेरे लिए हैं ।

**श्री महन्त दिग्विजय नाथ (गोरखपुर):** आप पाँच मिनट के समय में समाप्त करने के लिए कह रहे हैं लेकिन कोई कोई सदस्य तो एक घंटे तक बोलता है ।

**Shri E.K. Nayanar (Palghat):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it was in 1954 that India accepted the sovereignty of China over Tibet, in the trade agreement which was concluded between India and Tibet. My hon. Friend Shri Goel referred to the historical facts of this matter. He said that till 1913, Tibet was quite an independent country. While I do not want to go into the details of past history, I may point out that what the hon. Member said is not correct. From 710 A.D. onwards, Tibet accepted the relation of China and gradually became part of China. Even in 1913, in that treaty, Sun-Yet-Sen did not sign it and Chiang also did not accept it. It was only a British imperialistic conspiracy.

In 1903, Lord Hamilton, the British Secretary of State for India stated that "Tibet must still be regarded as province of China." Then, in 1904, - these are the facts which have been stated—the British Foreign Minister in his official dispatch to the British Ambassador to Russia cited Tibet as "That province of Chinese Empire." Then, in 1907, Britain used the words, "Chinese suzerainty over Tibet." There was the question of the buffer-State. This question is not a new one. It was an old slogan. Some hon. Friends said in the course of the debate on the floor of the House that Tibet should be considered as a buffer state. Let me point out here that a British official, Sir Basil Gould, who had worked as a British representative in Tibet, openly declared that there should be a buffer-State and we must consider Tibet as a buffer-State. That is not a new slogan.

I now come to the question of Chinese invasion. Some hon. Friends here said that China invaded Tibet in 1950 and the process of extermination of race and religion and also the nation of Tibet started. The friends who are saying like this are indirectly supporting the Portuguese argument which attacks India in the name of Indian Army's invasion of Goa. Can we accept that argument? No. it is impossible. They say that they ruled over Goa for 400 years but the Indian army marched into Goa and invaded it. Still some hon. Friends here say that in 1950 China invaded Tibet. Is it not a historical fact? If we take the cultural, traditional, geographical and historical facts, can we now say that Burma is a part of India? Only in 1935, Burma became an independent country. Only in 1935 Ceylon became an independent country. Can we say that Ceylon and Burma are parts of India. We cannot talk like that. We have to accept some historical facts. That is why in 1954, in the trade agreement, the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said on the floor of the House in Lok Sabha on 15<sup>th</sup> May:

"I am not aware that at any time during the last few hundred years, Chinese sovereignty, or if you like suzerainty, was challenged by any outside country."

Those who want that Dalai Lama should be recognized as the head of the Empire Government want to re-establish the old feudalism and serfdom in Tibet.

Under Lama's regime what was the social condition of Tibet? 80 percent of the population of Tibet constituted peasants and herdsmen. The aristocracy in Tibet during Lama's regime consisted of 200 to 300 families who were controlling the Tibetan Government. The landless Tibetan serfs were forced to work for the feudal lords without getting one meal a day. If a Lama killed a serf no law could punish him. Hands and feet of many serfs were tied when they were unable to work whether due to illness or due to weakness of the body. I have here some facts taken from western authors. This is from a new publication of 1962 by H.E. Richardson. What was the social condition in Tibet? It is said:

"Society in Tibet was divided into upper and lower classes, nobles and ordinary men...In theory all land in Tibet belonged to the State from which the noble land owners and great monastery held large estates."

What about the administration? It is said there:

"The administration of justice was guided rather by custom and usages for which Tibetans have the profoundest regard. Lawful punishments included mutilations such as the cutting of a hand or foot and putting out the eyes."

This was written by an American author. H.E. Richardson.

Those who want to liberate Tibet by sending the Indian army want to re-establish the old feudalism and serfdom in Tibet.

Those who talk so much about humanitarian grounds never talk about the suppression of Negroes in New York. Those who talk about Lama's freedom never support the fight for independence by the North Vietnam people against the American Imperialists and the South Vietnam people. They also do not take up the cause, on humanitarian grounds, of the two lakh innocent boys butchered by American imperialism, by American bombers. The American imperialism in Vietnam is killing the innocent boys by poison gas. Yet, they talk of human rights and individual liberty! Those who want to subjugate the people of Vietnam, those who want to suppress the people of Taiwan and South Korea, they want to re-establish Dalai Lama in Tibet. They want to liberate Tibet. Then, why not liberate Pakistan? It is a historical fact that Pakistan was once part of India. It became a separate country only in 1947. It is a historical fact which we cannot deny. So, if you want to send an Indian army to liberate Tibet, why not do it in the case of Pakistan also?

Then, when Dalai Lama came to India he brought with him tons of gold and jewellery. He has got his office in New Delhi where officers are working. American agents and foreign delegates are visiting that place quite often. How far is it proper for our Government to allow such things to take place in our country?

I want to know whether the Government of India is going back from its earlier position. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, in reply to a question the hon. Minister stated on the floor of the House "we would reconsider our policy in regard to Tibet." What is the meaning of that? With all respect I say that even though Shri Chagla is a famous lawyer and renowned judge as a politician he has been wavering and vacillating.

On April 27<sup>th</sup> 1959 Prime Minister Nehru made a statement in the Lok Sabha about Tibet wherein he said: ".....feeling of kinship with the Tibetan people derived from long-established religious and cultural contracts. It was an instinctive reaction. It is true that some people in India sought to profit by it by turning it in an undesirable direction. But the fact of that reaction of the Indian people was there. We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet."

Then, what is the meaning of sending Dalai Lama to Tibet now? We may have our boundary dispute and difference of opinion with China. But in real fact Tibet is part of China, just as Goa is part of India. So, you cannot liberate Tibet. Liberation of Tibet means interfering in the internal affairs of China.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> June, while speaking in the United Nations General Assembly on the West Asian situation, our hon. Foreign Minister said:

"Settlement of international disputes through peaceful means, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of States..."

Then, are we sending Dalai Lama with the Indian army to liberate Tibet? These are our disputes with Pakistan? Are settling them by sending our army? There are disputes between India and China; between China and Burma for six years there has been border dispute. Such disputes have to be settled peacefully. We should never accept the use of violence for the settlement of such border disputes. Therefore, we want to know whether India is going back on Pandit Nehru's declaration on the floor of the House in 1954. "We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet."

So, I oppose this Resolution because I accept this declaration of Pandit Nehru. Tibet is part of China and we must accept it.

**Shri N.C. Chatterjee (Burdwan):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir. I had the privilege of being a member of the Tibet Commission appointed by the international Commission of Jurists when the Dalai Lama wanted to place some materials before us. As it was a quasi-judicial body to examine the charges, I was one of those who wanted to cross-examine the Dalai Lama, because the main purpose of the body was to find out whether his charges were justified, and that could be done only by cross-examination of the man who was making the charges. I am very happy to tell you in the House that Dalai Lama promptly responded and appeared before the Commission and subjected himself to a fairly severe cross-examination.

There was a big charge-sheet comprising many charges. I do not want to take up the time of the House by reiterating the whole thing but I may read out some of them. When we are saying that this liberation of Tibet by China

was an absolute mockery, it means that there is some justification. The serious charges made and placed before us were:

“Life, liberty and security have violated; forced labour has been inflicted on the Tibetans; torture and cruel and degrading treatment have been inflicted; rights of home and privacy have been violated; freedom of movement within the state, and the right to leave and return to Tibet have been denied; marriages have been forced upon unwilling parties; property rights have been arbitrarily violated; Freedom of religion and worship have been systematically denied; freedom of the expression and communication of ideas is totally lacking; freedom of association is denied; the right to representative government is denied; there is a wanton disregard for the economic rights of man in relation to his country's resources; conditions of labour do not conform to minimum standards of living is denied; the right to participate in the cultural life of the community is denied; the limitations imposed on the rights of the Tibetans far exceed any which are reasonably referable to the requirements of public morality, public order and the welfare of society.”

In short, almost all the basic human rights, they complained, were violated. There was a very serious charge that after the so-called liberation of Tibet by the Chinese people, there was a deliberate and calculated policy of genocide adopted by the Chinese Government. It is a very serious charge of crime against humanity.

I should tell you that we—that means, three Indian lawyers and ex-judges, that is, Mr. Justice Rama Prasad Mukerjee, myself and Shri Purshottam Trikamdass were there; a very eminent Judge of the Supreme Court of Colombo, who later became the Chief Justice of Colombo, was there; very distinguished Judges of some of the European courts including a Judge of the Supreme Court of a Scandinavian country were there and a brilliant professor of Oxford was associated with the Commission—we all came to the conclusion that we could not convict China of deliberate genocide of Tibetans as such but we did hold that it was established beyond doubt on the evidence that a calculated policy of religious genocide was adopted. That means, not merely disrespect to religion, not merely an attempt to convert people to the cult of Communism by force or other means, but there was a deliberate attempt to stamp out the established religion of the country. That is the charge that was established.

You will be amazed to know that all sorts of methods, which I need not recount here, were adopted. They not merely pulled down monasteries. You know, Sir, the whole Tibetan life, structure of society and Government to a large extent was based upon the culture and religion of India. One of the greatest saints and prophets of Bengal went to Tibet at the invitation of the then Ruler of Tibet and established Buddhism there, which is a kind of Mahayana system. It took a distinctive shape and that determined the pattern of life in Tibet. It may be right or it may be wrong; you may like it or you may dislike it.

[Shri Bal Raj Madhok *in the Chair*]

But what we did find was that a deliberate and calculated attempt was made to uproot that life by force and fraud and by methods fair and foul, mostly foul. That is a very serious charge. As a matter of fact, monasteries were ransacked; Lamas were subjected to torture; anyone who would not accept the Communist creed or the Communist way of life would be subjected to all sorts of persecution. There was a large number of cases of forced marriages. The peculiar method of Chinese was adopted very painfully and dreadfully. I am sorry to say that to a large extent India was responsible for the degradation of the people of Tibet. To a large extent, this led to the unfortunate situation which led to the Chinese invasion of India. If we had been strong, if we had been forthright in condemnation when the 17-point Agreement of 1951 was violated, the things would have been different.

What is more is this. We did not do our duty in allowing Dalai Lama to put forward his case before the people of the whole world. I think we thought to have some steps in seeing that Dalai Lama had full facilities in presenting his case before the whole world and in shaping the world opinion. At one time, Dalai Lama himself said, “I am hoping we shall get some assistance from your country and from your Government to put forward our grievances before the Asiatic world”. But we know he was disappointed. Our Government adopted a very pathetic weakness—I do not want to say connivance—in this matter and Dalai Lama was not given the proper opportunity and the proper facility in putting forward his case before the whole world. The whole world should know that there has been a deliberate attempt at religious genocide which this Parliament and all freedom-loving people of the world should condemn. It is not merely a question of degradation but it is a question of deliberate eradication of the religious and cultural life of a country. That is the worst thing that has happened. My friend was saying, “Do you want to revive theocracy?” No, Sir. We do not like to re-impose a theocratic state. Whatever be the form of the Government, that should be determined by the people of Tibet. That is perfectly clear. It should be their job; it must be left to them. There is no question of imposing this kind of

domination, not merely domination but cruel domination, of this character completely deprived of all the basic fundamental rights of freedom of speech, freedom of expression, freedom of forming associations or unions.

My hon. Friend was talking of Pakistan. We are never interfering with the people of Pakistan. We want Pakistan to improve itself by the genuine expression of people's will there. But that we did not allow in Tibet. That is our grievance and that is the great misfortune. Today our greatest regret is that the cultural and religious life that was set by Indian inspiration has been destroyed in calculated, deliberate, willful and perverse manner by the so-called forces of liberation which means not the liberation of the people but persecution and torture and degradation of the human race. That should stop in the interest of humanity and in the interest of protection of basic human rights.

**Shri J.B. Kripalani (Guna):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have in these last 16 years talked on the subject of Tibet. The first time I talked in 1950 immediately after Tibet had been occupied by China. I said then that a buffer state has been destroyed and that it is a danger to us. My Communist friend said that the administration there was cruel and that there were certain customs which he did not like and which we also may not like. Even the British people could have said that they had a justification in conquering India because there were pindaris and there were things and prevalence and sati and slavery. Actually, they did say that they had come to bear the whiteman's burden. Is this a justification?

**Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai):** You raise it in the UNO.

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** You raise it in the UNO! There is no justification for conquest.

In England, in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, if you stole a goat, you were given the punishment of death. Are we to say that the English people were barbarians and some other hordes of people should have gone and liberated them? I do not understand what is the meaning of this liberation. You say that the Dalai Lama was an absolute ruler. But now Dalai Lama has no power at all. Do the people go and pay their obeisance to Dalai Lama or not? Are they mad? There are certain customs which prevail in a country; they are not due only because of power, but they are due to tradition, they are due to convention, We cannot quarrel with them.

He gave the example of Pakistan. Have we gone to Pakistan and imposed a democratic rule upon them because we think that the totalitarian rule is barbarous? Every-kind of totalitarian rule, whatever be its colour or complexion, is barbarous in the present day. So, shall we go and liberate the people of Pakistan or of the United Arab Republic?

**An hon. Member:** China

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** China, of course, is a favourite with them. So, I am not giving the example of China.

The governance of a country is the function of those who are governed. If they have got to liberate themselves, they will liberate themselves from the native tyranny. It does not give the right to another nation to go and interfere in the matter. Whatever I have seen of Tibet, of Tibetans, I find Lama, they have reverence for him. It may be right or wrong. We have reverence for our images. It may be wrong from the point of view of Musalmans. Are we, therefore, to be condemned for it and considered as barbarians? I do not know what is barbarous and what is not barbarous? What happens in China today is, to my mind, absolutely barbarous. That does not justify our interference in their affairs as they are doing from day to day in our internal affairs through their radio. There is no justification for it.

I do not know whether my Communist friends know that the population of Tibet was 2 to 3 millions. Now, the Chinese have gone in as many numbers in order to civilize those people. There is absolutely no justification of this. Moreover, as I have held, this was a buffer state and we had every right to see that this buffer state was not conquered by people who might some time come over and invade our country, and that has actually happened. This Treaty of 1954 was made between us and the Chinese. The Chinese had suzerainty over the Tibetans and that suzerainty had descended from the emperors. The Chinese themselves were slaves to those emperors.

Those emperors of the Manchu dynasty prescribed for them a long pigtail as a mark of slavery. The Manchus themselves had conquered China and imposed their rule upon it. That Manchu dynasty had several times invaded Tibet and sometimes conquered it but sometimes they were thrown off. The Tibetans had never consented even to that suzerainty. But supposing there was suzerainty and the Communist Government in China had a right to that suzerainty. Then, I think, according to the high creed of the Communists, according to Marxism, suzerainty would be an imperial conception; it would not be a democratic conception; it would not square with the advanced ideas that the communists pretend to have.



The whole point is that the communists, when they are in a minority in a country, have extra-territorial loyalty but when they acquire power and come into government, they become nationalistic; in fact, they not only become nationalists, but they become rapidly expansionist. This was the case with Russia and this is now the case with China. There is nothing extraordinary in the Chinese conquering that country by force and grafting their own population in that territory.

What has happened is the destruction of this ancient nation of Tibet. Tibetans are neither in language, nor in customs nor in manners are Chinese. In fact, they had more affinity with India than with China. And the Chinese had absolutely no claim on that territory.

When that treaty was made, I had said in this Parliament that treaty was made in sin because it put the seal of our approval on the enslavement of an ancient nation. After all, the Tibetans did not trouble any other people. They were going on with their life in those regions of their. They never went out. They never allowed anybody else to come in from outside. They were living their own way of life. All people have a right to live their own life. Other people, on account of their supposed superior civilization should not try to impose that civilization upon them. I do not know what the meaning of the word 'civilisation' or 'culture' really is. Supposing today, Christ were to come out from his grave, would he be more civilized than we moderns are? Did he know how to use electricity; he had never heard of it? He would not have the knowledge that we have got. Supposing Buddha came here today, will he be more civilized than we are. We would say that we are more civilized because we have so many gadgets, we have so many printed books, this, that and the other.

Sir, I would submit that civilization is a matter of the heart; civilization is a matter of the inner heart or the inner man. Civilization is a matter of the soul of man. Civilization does not consist in the trinkets that we have in more knowledge than my grandfather. He had no knowledge of electricity; he had no knowledge of aeroplanes; he had not traveled as I have done. Shall I say then that he was a barbarian? If that was so, then all our ancestors were barbarians. This is a strange definition of civilization and culture. May I point out to the communists friends that their own ancestors were much less civilized than they are, they were much less cultural than they are, and they had less knowledge and they had not traveled much and they did not go out of their areas? Therefore, on that ground, would the communist friends consider them as barbarians? If they are prepared to consider their ancestors as barbarians, then, of course, and then only, they can have a justification to consider itself more civilized than the Asian and African countries. In Africa, there are people who are cannibals. Are you going to conquer them on that account. Will that be doing good to humanity? All that you can do is to do as India did. What did India do? People in India carried their culture to other countries by peaceful means. They sent priests. As my hon. Friend said, a man went from Bengal—he should have said 'went from India'—and carried Buddhism to Ceylon, to South-East Asia, to China, to Japan. This is the way. Conquest is not the way. Even we consider our own civilization to be superior, conquest is not the way to spread it. You cannot convert people by means of arms even though you have superior power.

So I say this has been a great rape of Tibet and it is a standing blot on us, that we did not raise our voice when we could have done so. I know that. I have gone to other lands. This question of Tibet came up in conversation. They said: 'You were the most concerned. You fellows did nothing. Do you expect us to take your burden upon ourselves? We are far off. China is no threat to us'.

China was a threat to us: but the authorities here were blind to it. Even at that time a letter was written by Sardar Patel to Jawaharlal Nehru. You can read that letter. It clearly says that there was a danger from China on account of the destruction of Tibet.

So every right-minded man will think that the liberation of Tibet is a problem with which the whole world is concerned. If the world considers itself to be civilized and not to be communist only, then I suppose it is the duty of UN to take up this question.

**Shri Sradhakar Supakar (Sambalpur):** The arguments that have been put forth, that something very bad occurred at the time of the Chinese occupation of Tibet. It was interference in their social affairs, it was interference in their religious affairs, all that may be conceded. But the present question is whether at the present moment, as the Resolution recommends, "the Dalai Lama should be recognized as the head of the Émigré Government of Tibet and all facilities and help be extended to him by the Government of India to liberate Tibet from the colonial rule of Communist China" can be supported.

India as a Government did at the time of the Chinese occupation of Tibet, takes a particular stand. We entered into an agreement with China. Our position has consistently been that China is the suzerain authority so far as Tibet is concerned. If we take up that position, then the question of Tibet comes within the domestic jurisdiction of the Chinese People's Republic.

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** Suzerainty is not sovereignty.

**Shri Sradakar Supakar:** Having accepted that position, what can we do now? Can we legally wriggle out of that position? Once a treaty has been entered into with China, is it now possible to back out?

**Shri K.N. Tiwary (Bettiah):** How are we backing out of privy purses?

**Shri Sradakar Supakar:** That may be possible as far as internal affairs are concerned, but so far as international dealings are concerned, I ask this specific question. Is it open for us now, having accepted all these years, China to be the suzerain authority, in what way can we rescind or avoid that agreement into which we entered, especially after 1954.

This matter was raised in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Unfortunately at that time only a small member of the United Nations, namely El Salvador, so far as I remember, raised this matter, and it did not get the support even of the major powers. After all this, after the lapse of so many years, I do not know whether it will be possible for us to rake up the issue. If after a lapse of 15 or 16 years, we now come forward, with the background of the recent happenings in Peking, with a change in our attitude, I do not know what the world will think of us.

Therefore, both from the legal aspect and as well as from the constitutional aspect, my personal opinion is that it would not be proper to support this resolution.

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** The rape of Tibet by China with the connivance and, at times what appeared to be, the consent of the Government of India, will go down in the history of modern India as one of the tragedies, and every future Indians will read it with a sense of guilt and shame.

We cannot completely escape from the responsibility which the Government of India shares for the rape of these unfortunate people, and it was nothing short of a rape.

Let us remember that the Tibetan leaders and the people of Tibet were very apprehensive regarding the suggestions of Mao in China. They tried to resist, and, remembering their great tradition of friendship with this country, they hopefully turned to us for help, succors, guidance, sustenance. Far from standing by these people who were trying to raise the banner of their freedom, we advised them to unfurl and lower it. Had it not been for this dubious advice given by us, the history of modern Tibet would have been different. These brave and ancient people would not have submitted so meekly to the Chinese authorities. They would have continued their fight for freedom.

One of the shameful chapters of modern India's history is this, that India which stood by Abyssinia when it was resisting Mussolini's Italy, India which, in spite of its bondage, stood by Republican Spain in resisting the Fascists of Spain, India which supported other countries and particularly China when China was the victim of Japanese aggression, that same India, when she became free, far from standing by the small, innocent nation which has been an ancient ally, friend and neighbour, had asked Tibet to succumb to the blandishments of China. Our guilt, therefore, our share of responsibility, cannot be washed away by legal quibbling as the Hon. Member from the Congress Party just now was trying by taking shelter under certain niceties of law. If you want to know the law, the law is against the Government of India. Tibet had been a free nation. Those who want to say that Tibet was a satellite of Peking, let them study history...

**Shri Vasudevan Nair (Peermade):** There are two histories.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I will quote you history; you will be changing history. Particularly, Mr. Vasudevan Nair. I am coming to Moscow. I know I was interrupted like this when in 1958 I pointed out the threat from China. I was told by Mr. Vasudevan Nair and Mr. Indrajit Gupta to 'stop this hymn of hatred against China; China is our ally'.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** Even today we will say that; we have the courage to say that.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Mr. Chairman, you witnessed that they had to take back their word and eat a humble pie. I am going to prove, Mr. Chairman, that free India bears the main guilt, if any nation apart from the Chinese is guilty of betraying the freedom of the people of Tibet. I want to say this particularly for the benefit of my distinguished friend Mr. Vasudevan

Nair who deeply is in agreement with me but for the sake of record is perhaps pretending to disagree with me, that when we raised the question of Tibet's freedom, the Soviet position, in those times, used to be different from our own. But the question of Tibet is identical with that of Outer Mongolia and Peking and the relationship between Tibet and Peking were more or less identical. The Soviet Union today has taken the stand that Outer Mongolia should be completely a free independent sovereign nation and State. We know that there is an independent, sovereign State. Those who quote history should remember the history of Mongolia. At least Mongols was sometimes under the suzerainty of the Manchus but Tibetans never. There is another history. If there was a kind of nominal suzerainty of Peking over Lhasa, there were occasions in the long and distinguished history of Tibet when Tibet imposed its suzerainty on Peking and extracted tribute from Peking. There are occasions when Tibetan generals went to Peking and extracted some tribute and I think the scholar of history there will corroborate me when he speak on this.

**डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया (कनौज):** पूरे नौ बरस !

**श्री नाथपाई:** पूरे नौ बरस ! I would like, Mr. Chairman, that we do not forget in betraying the freedom of Tibet, we have put India's freedom in jeopardy. The bayonet which was a thousand miles away from the frontiers of India now point to Delhi. If today the Chinese are in a position to threaten us any time they like, it is because we never fully realized that in destroying the basis of Tibetan freedom, we are putting the freedom of India achieved after so much labour into jeopardy, in danger, at the tender mercy of the masters of Peking. We should not be afraid of doing our duty. It is never too late for a nation to rectify its mistake. What a fallacious and untenable argument for a speaker there to stand up and say: can we undo it? Yes; what has been wrong should be undone at the first opportunity. We made a mistake in 1954. 1967 is not late to undo it. Let us not be intimidated by the Chinese. We have been told about Tibet being a backward people and the superior civilization of China coming to their rescue. That a Marxist should raise this kind of argument makes us really hang down our head in shame because that was patently the plea of imperialists who went to Africa: they were cannibals and the superior civilization of Europe was to be brought to them. That was the plea and justification for the European imperialist, colonial rule being imposed on the people of Africa. We reject it; we resist it and have we never accepted it. But the same argument is being raised here against the Tibetan people that they were amputating the hands of their fellow countrymen. So, the Chinese should go and do it for the Tibetans? ... (Interruptions.) What does it mean? If at all my hand is to be amputated, I would prefer my fellow countrymen do it than foreigners coming and doing it. That has been the essence of sovereignty and freedom. If the Tibetans were doing this kind of thing, I do not like the hands being amputated. As Mr. Chatterjee pointed out, as a student of law, I went to Chelmsford and I was shown the place where in 1948 an Englishman was executed for stealing a chicken. Now, nobody there would suggest that since this was the barbarous punishment that one Englishman was meeting out to another Englishman, the Englishmen should be under the superior rule of somebody else. What the people do to themselves is entirely their concern. Mr. Chairman, this is the norm, this is the criterion and this is the justification, for sovereignty, for independence and for freedom.

I would now briefly say this thing. We made a mistake; some others did it, but all Indians must share the guilt because we did not raise our voice at that time as strongly as we should have done it, but it is not late; we see the dimension of the folly committed. Some of us did, but not perhaps as vigorously as we ought to have; we should have done it more vigorously, more consistently, more persistently because those who were...

**डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया:** एक ही तरीका था - हम इस सरकार को खत्म कर देते !

**श्री नाथ पाई:** वह तो होना चाहिए लेकिन आज भी हम बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं और हमें उसको करना चाहिए !

Our voice should be strongly raised. I know that you are ready to call another Hon. Member. But I would make this suggestion. Let us look at it. Even today we are finding an interesting development; belatedly Moscow is perhaps realizing the injustice done; when the danger began to come closer to the frontiers of Soviet Union, when the Soviet Union threatened with a new challenge from China in Sinkiang. The leaders of Moscow now are trying to talk in terms of the right of the people of Tibet to freedom, to sovereignty and to independence. There is a new development: Radio Tashkent is regularly broadcasting.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** वे आज नहीं तो कल करेंगे !

**डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया:** स्टालिन ने किया था लेकिन इन लोगों को पता नहीं है !

**Shri Nath Pai:** This is the beginning; Moscow has made the right beginning. It will go along with us. Will India have the courage? I appeal to the External Affairs Minister. There are many concrete proposals, it has been our tradition to stand by all people in their struggle for freedom. Let us begin first with our neighbour. Let us encourage and accept the Tibetan people's right to freedom. I do not want the theocratic system; I here entirely agree with Shri N.C. Chatterjee. But I do stand unequivocally—I am not going to be apologist—for the right of the Tibetan people to absolute freedom. I do not want a buffer state for my benefit. I want to see a free Tibet because I believe in Independence, in my independence. Therefore, I want to see an independent and free Tibet. I do not want a satellite India; I much less want a satellite Tibet which is a satellite to Peking. Let us have the courage and support the struggle for freedom of Tibet.

The Khampas are among the bravest of Asians. Let us not with folded arms sit back and bank on legal niceties. What can we do? When there is a struggle for freedom, whenever a people rise against a tyrant, that is the right of every sovereign nation which believes in freedom to stand by that freedom. It was this stand which France took and supported the American war of liberation. It was the posture we took in Spain when China was resisting Japan. We should take the same stand without being worried as to what Moscow thinks, or not. Luckily, Moscow is beginning to agree. Have the courage and supply the arms to the brave Khampas. All that they need is not an Indian division; all that the Khampas needed is the regaining of freedom, and some arms. If Peking is not hiding the fact that it is supplying arms to Indians when they are trying to bring about dismemberment of our country, when the Mizos and Nagas are getting arms—time and again, the External Affairs Minister and the Defence Minister make this candid admission in this House that the arms are made in China—why are we afraid? Not only that. The Peking Radio has said it openly: even in Naxalbari they say that the light that is shining in Naxalbari has been inspired by the teachings of Mr. Mao. If this is the audacity of Peking—I am concluding, sir—why should we not have the courage of our convictions? Let us stand by the right of the people of Tibet to freedom. Let us try to undo the wrong we did to them in 1954. Let us bravely supply the arms that they needed. I am going to say things bravely. We were told all the while about diplomatic niceties, about Peking being angry with us and about Peking being a bully. If Peking had the courage, then they would have destroyed the might of the Americans and taken Matsu and Quemoy. But they dare not do that. The presence of the sixth fleet terrorizes them. They will attack timid India; they would try to take the territory of India because here is a pusillanimous, a timid administration. I say Peking is basically a bully. When they are confronted with superior might, they will not have the guts. So, when there is a new generation of India, it is not going to acquiesce in this crime of betrayal of our neighbour.

We want, therefore, this Government unequivocally to recognize the right of the Tibetan people to full freedom. What social system they evolve is absolutely their right. Let China have communism if the people of China want it. If the Russians want communism, they are welcome. The Tibetan people's right to freedom must be upheld by India. In this year's UN General Assembly, the spokesman of India must not be an apologist for the enslavement of the people but must be the champion of the people on behalf of the people of India to the freedom of the people of Tibetan. Mr. Chagla who is now having the support of an overwhelming section of this House will have the courage to rectify the past mistake which has been nothing but a shameful mistake.

**श्री रणवीर सिंह (रोहतक):** चेयरमैन साहब, फौजी नुक्ता-ए-नज़र से, ज्योग्राफियाई लिहाज़ से और मुल्क की हिफाज़त के ख्याल से तिब्बत हिन्दुस्तान की ढाल है! वह ढाल हम ने अपने ही हाथों से खो दी! जो बात गलत हुई है, उस को बार-बार सही कहना और बड़ी गलती है! चीन के मामले में हमें यह अन्देशा नहीं था कि मुस्तक़बिल में जा कर ऐसी ऐसी बातें होगी! चीन सिर्फ हमें ही नहीं, रूस, अमरीका, सारे एशिया और अफ़्रिका को निगलना चाहता है! चीन सारी दुनिया के लिए खतरा है और इस अयदहे को हमे लगाम डालनी है, उस को कंट्रोल करना है!

चीन का जो बनी है माओ-त्सेतुंग, उसने अपनी किताब में एक बार नहीं बार बार ज़िक्र किया है कि दुनिया का वह एक लाख मुरब्बा मील इलाका चीन का है, जिस में लद्दाख, नेफा, भूटान, सिक्किम, बर्मा और इन्डोचाइना आ जाते हैं! माओ-त्सेतुंग के बाद जो इस का जानशीन होगा मार्शल लिन पियाओ, उसने अपने दस हज़ार अलफाज़ के एक आर्टिकल में लिखा है कि यूरोप और शुमाली अमरीका तो शहर हैं और उनको छोड़ कर एशिया अफरीका और जनूबी अमरीका वगैरह दुनिया के सारे मुल्क देहात हैं और हमें इन देहात को शहरों के चंगुल से बचाना है! उस का इशारा है कि एशिया, अफरीका और जनूबी अमरीका में हम ने एक खूनी इनक्लाब लाना है! माओ त्सेतुंग की सब से पहली निगाह हिन्दुस्तान पर है! उस ने जो यह कहा है कि हम ने फ्रांस पहुंचना है, लेकिन कलकत्ता की मार्फत पहुंचना है तो उस का सीधा इशारा हिन्दुस्तान से है!

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा मुकाबला उस दुश्मन से है, जो अमन की बात नहीं जानता, जो बातचीत को नहीं समझता! वह कहता है कि

ताकत तोप के दहाने से निकलती है और अमन की बातचीत किसी गोल-मेज़ कांफ्रेंस में नहीं होती है, बल्कि अमन की बातचीत मैदान- जंग में गोलियों की झंकार और तोपों की दनादन करती है! हिन्दुस्तान का मुकाबला ऐसे दुश्मन से है!

*[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]*

मैं आप की मार्फत हाउस से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक तिब्बत का ताल्लुक है, वहाँ दलाई लामा के होने या न होने का सवाल नहीं है! यह हिन्दुस्तान की ज़िन्दगी का सवाल है! हिन्दुस्तान एक जम्हूरियत है, जिस के ऊपर चीन हमारी मर्जी के खिलाफ एक डिकटेटराना "इज्म" लादना चाहता है! अगर चीन और हमारे बीच में तिब्बत एक बफर स्टेट की शक्ल में रहता, तो हज़ारों साल के लिए एक बड़ी फौज, नेवी और एयर फोर्स का हमारा खर्च बच सकता था, लेकिन तिब्बत के बीच से निकल जाने के बाद चाहे हम अपनी फोज की बीस डिविज़न को बढ़ा कर सौ डिविज़न कर ले, चाहे अपनी हवाई फोज और नेवी फोज को दस गुना कर लें, लेकिन हमारे देश को एक बड़े खतरनाक और ताकतवार देश ने चौबीस घंटे, हर लमहे और हर घड़ी खतरा बना हुआ है!

राजनिति में डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैकाबिल एक दुनिया का माना हुआ सियासतदां पैदा हुआ है, उसने अपनी किताब "दि प्रिंसेज़" में कहा कि वह देश होशियार देश नहीं है जो एक ज़ाबिर और गसिब देश, एक खतरनाक देश के साथ एतबार करें, उसके एतबार में आये यहाँ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम ने यह गलती की कि जो हम ने चीन पर एतबार किया और उस के साथ दोस्ती का हक निभाया! मैं यहाँ इस हाउस में आप के मार्फत यह बता दूँ कि दुनिया में दो ताकतें हैं! एक जम्हूरियत की ताकत जिस का सरदार हिन्दुस्तान है और दूसरी एक ऐसी ताकत जो जंगेबाज ताकत है वह चीन के पास है! इन दोनों का ज़रूर ही टकराव होना है, आज हो, कल हो, दस साल में जा कर हो! अब उस में जो तिब्बत को एक रोल अदा करना था, अफसोस है वह ढाल हम ने खोदी! मैं आप को यहाँ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ डिप्लोमेसी का सवाल हो, जहाँ राजनीति का सवाल हो, उस में हम ने कब क्या कहा था उस को मानने का सवाल नहीं पैदा होता! रूस अपनी बात को मानता है कि हम ने 50 साल पहले क्या कहा था? क्या ट्रीटी और मुहायदे 24 घंटे के अन्दर बदलते हैं! हमने कोई बात किसी ज़माने में की! उस वक्त क्या हालत थी? आज क्या हालत हैं? एक स्वार्थी और बदमज़ लडाकू के साथ हमारी दुश्मनी हो गई! चूँकि चीन का रवैया हमारे साथ वह रवैया नहीं जो उस वक्त था और वह हालात बदल गए हैं! न सिर्फ चीन के साथ बल्कि दुनिया के साथ, तो मैं कोई वजह नहीं समझता कि वह जो गलती से हम ने हड्डी मुंह में उठायी वह हड्डी मुंह में उठाये रहे! वह मैं ठीक नहीं समझता! जो बात ठीक नहीं हैं उस को हमें परसू नहीं करना है! मैं पूरे ज़ोर के साथ आप के मार्फत अपने भाईयों से कहना चाहूँगा, मेम्बर सहबान से कहना चाहूँगा कि हमें तिब्बत के मामले में एक बड़ी मज़बूत नीति अपनाना है! तिब्बत के मामले में एक ऐसी नीति अपनाना है जो बड़ी मज़बूत हो! वह नीति यह है कि हर वह जो चीन के खिलाफ हमारे काम आ सके, उस को हमें इस्तेमाल करना है! इस्तेमाल कोई हमें बाज़ीगर का तमाशा करने के लिए नहीं करना है, देश को बचाना है, जम्हूरियत को बचाना है! और उस के लिए दलाई लामा से बढ़कर कोई और नहीं हो सकता जिस का इतना असर अपने लोगों पर हैं। मैं तारीफ करता हूँ मिनिस्टर साहब की जो उन को यहाँ पनाह दिया, और उन के साथ बड़ा अच्छा सलूक किया! यू. एन. ओ. में यह चीज़ जाती है तो यू. एन. ओ. में दलाई लामा को पूरा सपोर्ट है आज चूँकि चीन भी हमारे खिलाफ हमें नुकसान पहुंचाने के लिए हर बात का इस्तेमाल करता है तो हमें भी ईंट का जवाब पत्थर से देना है! चीन हमारे प्यार से, मुहब्बत से या किस्से कहानी से नहीं मानेगा! चीन एक जंगेबाज देश है! उसके सामने महात्मा जी की फिलास्फी से काम नहीं चलेगा! वह नहीं मानता यह फिलास्फी!

तो मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि यू. एन. ओ. में पूरे ज़ोर के साथ यह मामला उठाया जाय और जितने एशिया व अफ्रीका के देश है उनकी सारी ताकत और उनके वोट दलाई लामा के हक में इस्तेमाल किया जाय! ऐसा एटमास्फेयर क्रियेट किया जाय एशिया में और अफ्रीका में! उसी में जम्हूरियत का और उसी में फ्री वर्ल्ड का भला है! और अगर किसी तरह से दब गए दस साल पहले जैसे चीन के सामने, उसी तरह से घुटने टेक दिए तो हिन्दुस्तान गया पाकिस्तान गया और सारा एशिया गया अफ्रीका गया! यह पहले का चीन अब नहीं है! यह इतना ताकतवर देश बन गया है, मैं कोई तारीफ नहीं करता, रूस को भी यह खायेगा! एक लाख मुरब्बा मील ज़मीन रूस की अपनी बताता है, मंचुरिया की तरफ अपनी ज़मीन बताता है, इधर जितने और देश है, वियटनाम की तरफ, उधर अपनी ज़मीन बताता है! तो यह जंगेबाज देश है! वह देश जो अमन की बात नहीं करता बात-चीत में यकीन नहीं करता, उसके साथ यह समझता हूँ कि राजनीति इसी में है डिप्लोमेसी इसी में है और देश का हित इसी में है दलाई लामा को सपोर्ट किया जाय और जिस बात से चाइना को कंडम किया जा सके, उस बात को यू. एन. ओ. के ज़रिए से किया जाय! इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस की ताईद करता हूँ!



**Shri H.N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North East):** Sir, I oppose entirely and totally this mischievous, perverse and utterly irresponsible resolution which has been placed before the House.

I have heard with the respect that is their due to the speeches by eminent colleagues of mine in this House and when Shri N.C. Chatterjee was speaking I was reminded of the saying that we live to learn. He gave us that what appeared to me at least a horror comics on which he tried to build a case in favour of this mischievous resolution.

I heard with much greater respect Acharya Kripalani even though I had a feeling that I had heard much of it before and while I appreciated some patches of profundity in which happily for us he happened to slither. I discovered that he had a Rip Van Winklish approach. He seemed to be unaware of the kind of world we live in. With his philosophical propensities, it appeared to me very strange that he does not even know the nature of revolutions.

I did not mind my good friend, Shri Nath Pai's speech though I wonder from time to time why so much eloquence is utilized for the wrong imaginable purposes. But he had many excursions into history telling us, for instance, a fact, which I do not counter because it is a fact that perhaps at one point, Lhasa extracted tribute from Peking. Nobody contests that proposition.

But if on the basis the analogy of that description we are going to discuss in the House of the People of our country international questions of moment which are going to affect not only the interest of our country but the whole world and of the cause of international peace, if we are going to discuss policies on such basis, how can I blame Shri Devgun or somebody or my hon. Friend, Shri Madhok, claiming control of Vietnam as a part of the *swaranabhumi*, a part of the greater India which my country's representatives had gone out to colonise hundreds of years ago. They kept them under their control for many hundreds of years and left their massive specimens of work in architecture, sculpture and so many other things.

We have heard these wonderful things only in order to buttress the wicked idea which this Resolution puts before us that we should do what—recognize the Dalai Lama, as if it is a very simple matter, give recognition to the Dalai Lama as representing a legal government in exile, and that we do what—give him all the help that we can to liberate Tibetan from the colonial rule of Communist China.

Acharya Kripalani is a highly respected figure in the country. When we were young we had learnt to respect him. I do not want to say anything in relation to him which is disrespectful, but I cannot understand why he does not realize that a revolution has overtaken the world in the last 20 years, that during a revolution as well as on the eve of a revolution excesses do take place. Does he not know when Madame Roland was executed she pointed out at the statute of Liberty and said, "Oh, Liberty! What crimes are committed in thy name?" He is a student of history, a professor of history and all the rest of it. Does he not know that in the name of liberty, justice and religion, many excesses have taken place in the world? But is that any reason why we should abjure religion, justice, democracy, socialism or revolution? Are we not ready and willing in this country to pay the price of change, to pay the price of revolution?

Are we going to throw away the baby out along with the bath-water because the newly-born baby has got to be cleaned of the filth that it brings along with it? Are we going to throw out the new society like a newly-born baby? The revolution has happened in this part of world; we are not parties to that revolution. We may have a lot of things against China. I myself, in this House, have not hesitated to condemn Chinese conduct when it requires condemnation. Even now China is behaving in an irresponsible manner. Her expansionism which is taking the attention of the world's people away from serious tasks of anti-imperialism is something which we condemn. But however much we might dislike of China, however much we be feeling that China has tried to hurt our country and our self-respect, and to that extent we cannot easily forgive China, are we to forget all the historical perspective. Are we to forget that if the Chinese revolution had not happened in 1949, we could not have been living in what some people call the third world? That would not have been the two worlds to balance and tilt, one against the other. We would all have gone into the umbrella which Mr. Masani opens up in this House from time to time and we would have belonged to the same empire whose territories are to extend not only over India but as Mr. Masani might say from the Mekong river to the Sinai desert. We would have been part of that set-up. Are we going to forget all that has happened?

Our country recognized Tibet as a part of a region of China. If you say that in Tibet certain things have happened about which we have got to take certain steps, are we always in a position to interfere? Is it always right to interfere?



Where was our righteous indignation, where was Acharya Kripalani—I do not like to bracket his name with Mr. N.C. Chatterjee with his horde of international lawyers when in Indonesia half a million people were hacked to death only on suspicion of being Communists? Did they not read in the papers, bourgeois papers, which they applaud and read from day to day, foreign clergymen, white-skinned clergymen, saying that they could not sleep at night because they heard the noise, the thud, of lethal weapons against human flesh when half a million people were done away with? Where was humanitarianism? Do you go and interfere? No. They tried to talk about the desirability of India's intervention in Hungary in 1956. They did not interfere. Maybe, certain things have happened. These things do happen. I do not deny that. I myself have said that these things happen. The things that happen which have bad consequences have got to be repudiated. What do we do? Do we go on interfering? Do we not have a historical perspective? Mr. Nath Pai is reading a lot of history these days. Are you trying to have some sort of historical perspective? What do we do about his part of the world? How do we go-ahead? What is going to be our relations with China whatever might be the provocations? Are we going to be goaded and provoked by the Chinese machinations and the Chinese perverse? It will land the whole world in disaster. Are we not going to take our stand on a principled basis?

Now, we may have a lot of things against Pakistan. I see, from time to time, our friend Mr. Chagla who is sometimes too polite that it becomes a little bore sometimes but sometimes he makes brave postures. Only yesterday, he was goaded by certain questions in regard to a dispute with Pakistan on some disputed area to say, "If it become necessary, we shall do something about it and adopt other means to push them out." He has said that we should do something about Tibet. It is a question of our policy. Let him not forget that he is Foreign Minister of this country; let him not forget that he has a bigger job than to come with a brief on *ad hoc* issues to champion the cause with tremendous vehemence; let him not forget that his every word in the House is something which might affect for better or for worse the interests of this country as well as of the peace of the world. We find him doing that. When we hear the Congress Members also, who compete in this chauvinism with the utter chauvinists on the other side, when I see this kind of thing, I wonder which way we are going. If we are going to be provoked by Chinese attitude and China definitely wants us to be provoked so that we may get into trouble. If we are going to be provoked by the Chinese attitude, even the qualified acceptance, even the kind of a polite acceptance of the resolution which Mr. Chagla can frame with characteristic ability, would be a dangerous thing to do. Let us throw out this kind of Resolution. This is an utterly irresponsible matter, something which goes against the basis of India's foreign policy. We have decided for good or for ill and we cannot just change it because certain things have been reported, because Mr. Nath Pai made an admirably eloquent speech. We cannot change our policy because somebody makes an eloquent speech. In that case some of us would be changing the councils of the world from time to time. It does not happen. The world does not move in that way. Mere verbal pyrotechnics do not bring about changes in the world. That is why we have to behave in a responsible manner.

We have to remember that a revolution has taken place and, in this country, we have to make up our mind whether we are ready ourselves to pay the price of change. Sometimes we might feel that a change requires too heavy a price; I know it requires too heavy a price. We are more or less accustomed to a kind of life where change would be a very heavy price to pay. But at the same time, don't we realize that, as far as the millions of our people and every other people are concerned, the price of no change is no less heavy, much heavier as a matter of fact?

I was abroad recently and I heard a British writer who said that in Shanghai, before the revolution, every year 8,000 dead bodies would be picked up unclaimed from the streets, and after the revolution, that kind of thing does not happen. That was the sort of price that China had to pay before there was the revolution, before there was the basic change, and if the Chinese people decide that they will have the change, we cannot stop it. Therefore, we also have to make up our mind: because we do not make a basic change, our people suffer. Are we ready to pay the price of change? We must be ready to pay the price of change. I know, there are profound people here in this House who give us all kinds of ideas, confederation with XYZ country and all that. I am always in favour of such things—world government, if you please. But let us do it on the basis of historical perspective and understanding which leads to abjuration of the kind of irresponsible Resolution which has come before this House. I strongly oppose this Resolution and I do hope that...*(Interruptions)*...the speeches of so many very eminent speakers will not...*(Interruption)* influence the mood and decision of the House.

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** He is more eloquent than Mr. Nath Pai

**Shri B.K. Daschowdhary (Cooch-Bihar):** I feel happy to take part in the discussion of such an important Resolution moved by one of the hon. Members of this House.

The foreign policy of a country is never rigid, nor is a stalemate, but it is always flexible and it changes with the exigencies of circumstances and situations that we find at both national and international levels.

If we go through all the documents and records given by the Government of India to China in a Rangoon meeting held some years back between the Indian and the Chinese officials, we will find that it has been made clear that the Britishers, during their rule in India, never recognized the suzerainty and sovereignty of China over Tibet. It was only in the later period that there was a change. In 1954, our late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru made certain concessions to China regarding Tibet. Even before that, the Government of India, both before and after the Partition, had certain administrative relations such as posts and telegraphs, communications, the stationing of armed guards over Tibet. All these things clearly prove that the Chinese had never any sovereignty over Tibet.

In the 1954 agreement, our late Prime Minister and we as the people of India gave certain concessions to China under a specific understanding from the Chinese Premier Chou-en-lai that Tibet would always remain as an autonomous region, and further in the hope that we would have a peaceful neighbour on our border and that in that case we would be in a position to do certain constructive work in our country.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I would remind the hon. Member that he would get only five to six minutes in all, and not more.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Depending on the quality of the speech, you may give him time.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** He can have only five minutes or six minutes in all.

**Shri B.K. Daschowdhary:** Kindly give me five more minutes so that I could have ten minutes in all.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** No, he must finish in about five minutes. If he were to go into all this history, then he would have very little time left.

**Shri B.K. Daschowdhary:** I have gone through the records of the House. In 1954, in the course of a discussion on Tibet, it was Shri J.B. Kripalani who had said that were surrendering our rights and the coming generation would suffer from present leadership. To this, the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru replied:

“The special privileges of the Government of India at Lhasa and Tibet were signs of imperialism, and while negotiating with China for permanent peace in the northern border, we have to make sacrifices.”

As a matter of fact, we have sacrificed and we have bartered and we have bartered away our hard-earned freedom, and especially in our northern and north-eastern frontiers, and since that time we have paved the way clear for the Chinese people to rape on our territory and to our utter cost threaten the security of India every now and then. This was the first blunder that we made regarding this Tibetan issue.

On the other hand, the Chinese Government did not honour any of the special privileges granted to us under the agreement of 1954. Firstly, they expelled all the Indian traders both from Lhasa and Central Tibet and other places thereby affecting trade with Kashmir and other North Indian centers. Then, the Chinese restricted the entry of Hindu pilgrims to Mansarovar and Kailash. Further, they forcibly occupied a vast tract of our territory in the neighbourhood of North and North-Eastern region of our border. All these unilateral transgressions by China culminated in the Sino-Indian conflict in 1962.

When China had rejected all the arguments and all the terms of the agreement of 1954, how are the Government of India bound by that agreement? Again, in February, 1959, when the trouble arose in Lhasa and an armed revolution broke out in Tibet against the Chinese colossal genocide—what Shri N.C. Chatterjee has said as religious genocide as well. The Tibetans and His Holiness the Dalai Lama sought asylum in India. At that time, our Prime Minister Nehru said:

“While we should extend all help for rehabilitation of the 50,000 Tibetan refugees, it was not proper for the Dalai Lama to indulge in political activity.”

The mind of the late Prime Minister Nehru was working at that time on these lines namely that we should not do anything which might provoke China.

Thus, we find that the policy that we pursued in the past and that we are pursuing today on this Tibetan issue is based on fear complex from China. To be brief, Sir, I would like to point out that...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** One minute more.

**Shri B.K. Daschowdhary:** One hon. Member has characterized this resolution as 'irresponsible' and asked that an exile government could be allowed to function here. I would like to place before this august House some specific instances to show that India has always extended her support to revolutionary freedom movements in Asia and Africa. In 1949, when Indonesia was fighting for its freedom and when its leader Sukarno was imprisoned for its freedom, it was the Government of India which gave financial help to the tune of Rs. 5 lakhs initially to open an office in New Delhi styled 'Azad Indonesian Government' to do propaganda against the atrocities perpetrated by Holland on Indonesia. Again in 1954, when the Tunisian rebels were fighting against alien rule, we allowed the revolutionary government in exile which was established, to open an office in New Delhi to propagate the ideals of the exile government.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He must conclude now—last sentence.

**Shri B.K. Daschowdhary:** I am concluding.

So the time has come for use to revise our policy in regard to Tibet. With these words I support the Resolution and I hope that this House would do something so that posterity may feel that regarding the Tibet issue we were fooled at a certain time but we were never to be fooled for all time.

**श्री क. ना. तिवारी (बेतिया):** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस रेजोल्यूशन का समर्थन करता हूँ ! जो कुछ श्री नाथपाई और श्री चटर्जी ने कहा है, मैं उस को दोहराना नहीं चाहता लेकिन उन्होंने जो कुछ कहा मैं उस के साथ हूँ और उस का समर्थन करता हूँ !

डा. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जैसे व्यक्ति, जो कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति रह चुके हैं, जब वहां से रिटायर हुए तो सब से पहले उन्होंने पटना में स्टेटमेंट दिया कि भारत सरकार से सबसे बड़ी गलती यह हो गई कि उसने चाइना की सुज़रेन्टी तिब्बत के ऊपर मान लिया है ! इस गलती के लिये कांग्रेस की ओर से और सभी ओर से बोलते हुए कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि इस में यह बाधा है, वह बाधा है, यह कनूनी अडचन है, वह कनूनी अडचन है ! मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर आपको क्या अडचन मालूम होती है ? जब कभी भारत के अंदर अडचन मालूम होती है तब आप संविधान का अमेंडमेंट कर लेते हैं, तरह-तरह की सारी बातें करते हैं, लेकिन जब बाहर का मामला होता है, उस वक्त आप को सारी अक्ल आ जाती है ! उस के लिये आप कुछ बोलते नहीं हैं ! हमारे यहां एक कहावत है जो लंगडी बलार होती है वह घर में ही शिकार करती है, बाहर शिकार नहीं करती ! यही बात श्री मुकर्जी के बारे में मालूम होती है ! जब देश के अन्दर की बात हो तो उन को सारा रेवोल्यूशन यहां पर समझता है—अगर तिब्बत बफर स्टेट रहे तो वह खतरा हम से दूर रहेगा और हम को चाहिये कि हम कोशिश करें कि तिब्बत को बफर स्टेट रखें— उस वक्त दुनिया भर की बातें उन को सूझती हैं ! वह नेशनल इंटरनेशनल रिपरकंसेंस की दलीलें लेते हैं ! वह कह रहे थे कि किस रास्ते से हम लोग जा रहे हैं यह उन की समझ में नहीं आता ! वह किस रास्ते से जा रहे हैं यह हमारे समझ में भी नहीं आता ! हम लोगों की समझ में तो नहीं आता इसलिये कि पीकिंग रेडियो को उनके नेता श्री डांग को कहते हैं कि रेनेगेड है, दुनिया भर की गाली देते हैं ! कहते हैं कि रेवोल्यूशनरी नहीं है, रेवोल्यूशनरी है ! एशिया के सम्बन्ध में जब वह बात करते हैं तो मेरे समझ में नहीं आता कि रशिया रेवोल्यूशनरी है या चाइना रेवोल्यूशनरी है ! किस मत को यह मानते हैं, कोसिगिन के मत को या माओ के मत को ? हमारे ऊपर खतरा है जैसे कि नाथ पाई साहब ने कहा है ! चाइना नक्सलवादी तक पहुंच कर प्रोपेगेन्डा कर रहा है ! यह मैं अपनी बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ, यह बात हमारी तरफ से ही नहीं कही जा रही बल्कि रशियन ब्राडकास्ट से यह सिद्ध होती है ! उन में यह कहा जा रहा है जितने शक और शुबहात थे वह सब के सब हमारे ठीक निकले और उनको रशियन ब्राडकास्ट स्पोर्ट कर रहे हैं !

भूटान और सिक्किम को और भारत के बोर्डर पर नक्सलवादी तथा दूसरी सभी जगहों पर चीन से खतरा है ! लेटेस्ट जो प्रेस रिपोर्ट है उसको मैं बताता हूँ चीन ने तिब्बत से नेपाल में कोडाली तक सड़क बनाई है उससे नेपाल को कोई मदद नहीं मिली है और उसको बनाकर एक तरह से खतरा पैदा कर दिया है ! उसने अपना सारा प्रोपेगेन्डा पहुंचाने के लिए रास्ता बना लिया है ! यह भी रिपोर्ट है आठ दस टन की गाड़ियां नहीं बल्कि साठ साठ टन तक की गाड़ियां चलने लायक पुल बना दिये गये हैं ! यह किसी बुर्जुआ प्रेस की बात में नहीं बता रहा हूँ ! यह रशियन प्रेस और रशियन ब्राडकास्ट की बात में आपको बता रहा हूँ !

भारत की रक्षा के लिये यह अवश्यक है तिब्बत में जिस तरह से हो दलाई लामा की मदद की जाए, जिस तरह से दलाई लामा हमारे साथ पेश आते हैं उसी तरह से हम उनके साथ पेश आए ! तिब्बत को बफर स्टेट बनाने के लिये जितनी ताकत हो सके, हम लगायें !

**Shri R.K.Amin (Dhandhuka):** I rise to support this resolution, and I am sorry that I am unable to describe it, as Prof. Mukerjee did, as a perverse and a mischievous resolution.

Before I give my arguments in order to support this resolution. I would request this House to have the temper of yesterday evening. You wanted to correct your mistakes yesterday, and my communists as well as other friends were one at that time. I can say the amount of heat we generated at that time did not deserve the magnitude of the problem, because you just do not draw a sword to kill an ant.

Here is a case where you committed a mistake in 1954. It is time, the right time, to correct our mistake and to generate that much of heat as you generated yesterday. I especially request the hon. Minister to show the same temper as Mr. Chavan showed yesterday to correct his mistake.

I do not want to support this resolution just by going into its history, but I would like to say that by establishing such a Government over here, or by accepting this resolution, you are killing several birds at one stroke. First, you are satisfying yourself that you are supporting justice and human rights.

I am not asking this country to support human rights in South America, but here is a country which is your neighbour. You have a cultural obligation towards that country, you have associations of thousands and thousands of years with them. There does not seem to be any risk in supporting Tibet, but even if you are taking a risk, it is worthwhile taking it. Finally, on humanitarian grounds I would request the hon. Foreign Minister to take this risk.

Secondly, assuming for the time being that you establish such a government here, what will be the implications, you ask yourself. Remember that China which is interfering your affairs, irritating your time and again will now feel that India has started a game. Attack is the best policy of defence. Defending yourself within your territory is sometimes wrong. It is time for us to attack China, in the sense of creating a situation where China might feel that India might attack them, and in that situation probably a balance will come in the thinking of China. Otherwise, so long as you are confining yourself to your own territory, China will find it very convenient to come to Naxalbari sometimes, to Mizo sometimes, to Nagaland sometimes and to Aksai Chin sometimes, and keep you under tension all the while. Why not keep China under tension by creating Government of Tibet over here?

It will serve also a third purpose. If we have a Government of Tibet over here, it will be convenient to create international opinion in favour of Tibet and to put China in the wrong box. From time to time you can create that atmosphere and a time might come when China is a house divided against itself.

You can accompany Tibet at that time and correct your mistake which was your mistake in 1954. Its is not, I say, too late or too hard. I would conclude with this sentence. Sir, I would say to our Foreign Minister: if you are really convinced that it was a mistake in 1954, it is never too late to correct our mistake. I am sure that the same temper could be shown today on this issue, you have drawn out the sword in order to kill a giant or to do a courageous thing.

**डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया (कन्नौज):** आचार्य हिरेन मुकर्जी ने आचार्य कृपलानी को ताना मारा कि वह बीस बरस पुराने पड गए है जब उन्होंने यह ताना मारा तो मेरे मन में आया कि उनकी दुनिया आज ही जम गई है और वह समझते है कि उस वक्त की क्रान्ति आखिरी क्रान्ति है और अब आगे कोई क्रान्ति नहीं होने वाली है! सबसे पहले मैं आचार्य मुकर्जी को यह बताना चाहता हूँ—

**एक माननीय सदस्य:** आचार्य कब से बन गए?

**डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया:** विद्यार्थी हिरेन मुकर्जी कहूँ?

**श्री मधु लिमये :** प्रोफेसर मुकर्जी!

**डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया:** यह आखिरी क्रान्ति नहीं हुई है, अभी और आनेकों क्रान्तियां होने वाली है और दुनिया को न जाने और कितने मजे देखने है! उनमें शायद एक मज़ा यह भी देखना है कि जो कुछ चीन ने अपने पिछले कुछ दो चार सौ बरसों में हिन्दुस्तान के कमज़ोर ज़माने में हडपा है वह उसको निगलना पडे! निगलना इसलिए नहीं पडे कि हिन्दुस्तान ले ले बल्कि इसलिए कि वह आज्ञाद हो जाए! क्रान्तियां अभी बहुत होने वाली है!

एक बात जरूर साफ मैं कह देना चाहता हूँ कि जो कुछ भी मैं तिब्बत के उपर बोलूँ तो कोई ऐसा न समझे कि मैं युद्ध अथवा शान्ति की बात कर रहा हूँ! जरूरी नहीं है कि केवल इन्हीं दो अवस्थियों की बात हो! मैं युद्ध नहीं चाहता चीन से! लेकिन उसके साथ साथ मैं जब तक चीन सुधरता नहीं तब तक उनसे शान्ति भी नहीं चाहता! इसलिए अभी हमको एक तीसरे दौर में से गुजरना है जब हमको अपना मत बनाना है, हमको अपनी नीति बनानी है, उसको दुनिया में फैलाना है, अपनी संकल्प शक्ति को मजबूत करना है! तिब्बत के मामले में संकल्प शक्ति खाली एक हो सकती है कि तिब्बत आज़ाद पहले रहा है और आगे भी होना चाहिये!

मैं कभी भी मैकमोहन रेखा को अपनी स्वीकृति नहीं दे सकता! मेने कभी दी भी नहीं और न देना चाहता हूँ! इस सदन में अक्सर कहा गया है कि चीन मैकमोहन रेखा को नहीं मानता और यह सरकार मैकमोहन रेखा की माला तो हमेशा जपा करती है! एक बात मैं साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत की और आज़ाद तिब्बत की रेखा मैकमोहन रेखा हो सकती है लेकिन चीन के साथ मैकमोहन रेखा कभी न हो सकती है! अगर तिब्बत कभी आज़ाद हुआ तो मैकमोहन रेखा हमारी सीमा हो सकती है!

तिब्बत के मामले में अगर कहीं किसी को डर हो कि हम तिब्बत का मामला उठावेंगे तो चीनी लोग कश्मीर का मामला उठा देंगे.....

**श्री मधु लिमये:** उठा चुके है चीनी!

**डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया:** यहां के चीनी उठा चुके है तो यहां के कभी उन रूसियों को भी उठाना होगा जिन्हें पता नहीं कि रूस आगे क्या कहने वाले हैं! जो उठाने वाले हैं उनसे मैं चाहूंगा कि यह चीन और तिब्बत का मामला भारत और कश्मीर का नहीं है, भारत कश्मीर का मामला को अगर चीन की उपमा देना चाहते हो तो चीन और सिकियांग का मामला है, लेकिन चीन और तिब्बत का मामला इंग्लिस्तान और माल्टा का मामला है! यह तब मैं कहता हूँ जब कोई उदहारण और कोई उपमा देना चाहते हो! मैं चाहता हूँ कि विजय लक्ष्मी पंडित जी इसके उपर हां या न कह दे! बिल्कुल इंग्लिस्तान और माल्टा का मामला है!

आज दलाई लामा हमारे देश में है! मैं इस मौके पर कोई कड़ा शब्द नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि आज मैं चांगला साहब को चिढ़ाना नहीं चाहता हूँ! वैसे मैं आज यहां आता भी नहीं, क्योंकि मेरा शरीर अच्छा नहीं है! कल परसों छब्बीस सताईस बरस का एक तिब्बती लडका, लोडी ग्येलत्सेन मेरे पास आया! वह एक तिब्बती अखबार का सम्पादक है! वह दलाई लामा जी से मिलने के लिए जा रहा था! उसने बड़ी उत्सुकता से मुझसे खाली एक सवाल पूछा, "क्या तिब्बत कभी आज़ाद होगा?" उत्सुकता और दिल में कसक! आज जब मैं श्री रणधीर सिंह को सुन रहा था, तो मैने सोचा कि कहीं मेरे दिल में ताकत होती, तो मैं उसको ताकत के साथ जवाब देता! मैं भी कभी पच्चीस छब्बीस बरस का था! मैं भी कभी अपने देश की आज़ादी के लिए कसक के साथ बोला करता था! लेकिन मुझ में ताकत ज़्यादा थी, क्योंकि आखिर हम तीस, पैंतिस करोड थे! मैं कभी यह नहीं पूछा करता था कि क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद होगा या नहीं! लेकिन जब लॉडि ग्येलत्सेन ने मुझे पूछा कि क्या कभी तिब्बत आज़ाद होगा, तो थोड़ी देर के लिए मुझे उदास हो जाना पड़ा! उदास होकर खाली यह कहा की अगर दुनिया को तरक्की करना है और आज़ादी के रास्ते जाना है, तो मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि वह आज़ाद होगा!

मैने उसको कहा कि यह बात अलग है कि आज चीनी यह कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि तिब्बती जाति के साथ खून का मिश्रण करके उसका नामोनिशान तक मिटा दें, लेकिन फिर भी उनको हजार कोशिशों के बावजूद एक ऐसी नई जाति पैदा होगी, जो चीनी नहीं होगी और मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि तिब्बत की वह जनता उठेगी और आज़ाद होगी! जैसे, मैं खुद देखकर आया हूँ कि मैक्सिको में बसने वाले कोई स्पैनी नहीं है, वह दिमागी तौर पर भी स्पेन के अधीन नहीं हैं और कई बातों में स्पेन की निन्दा करते है!

उस वक्त में यह बात उस लडके को बहुत ताकत के साथ नहीं कह पाया—आज भी नहीं कह पा रहा हूँ! लेकिन मैं एक बात साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ! जो हिन्दुस्तान पिछले एक हजार बरस से कमज़ोर रहा है, जिसकी सीमायें नष्ट होती रही है, वह हिन्दुस्तान अगर कभी मज़बूत हुआ—आज नहीं तो अगले दस, पंद्रह, बीस पचास—बरस में तो उसकी सीमायें कौन सी होगी? पिछले हजार बरस से जो सीमायें बताई जाती है— अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने की सीमायें, अफगान ज़माने की सीमायें— जब मैं अफगान कह रहा हूँ, तो मेरा मतलब पठान नहीं, बल्कि नादिर शाह वगैरह से है— मुगल ज़माने की सीमायें, यह सब ऐसे ज़माने की सीमायें हैं, जब भारत कमज़ोर रहा है! लेकिन कभी ऐसा भी वक्त आ सकता है, जब भारत मज़बूत हो और उस वक्त के लिए मैं आपको प्राचीन भारत की आखिरी राजधानी, कन्नोज के अखिरी कवि, राज रजेशवर की "चक्रवर्ती राज्य" की यह परिभाषा सुना देना चाहता हूँ! बिन्दुसार से लेकर कन्या कुमारी तक जो राज्य हो, वह चक्रवर्ती राज्य होता है और बिन्दुसार का मतलब है मानसरोवर!



हिन्दुस्तान की यह सीमायें जिस सन्धि के द्वारा निर्धारित की गई हैं, हमने उसी सन्धि को सामने रखना है और उसी को स्वीकार करना है, उन सन्धियों को नहीं, जिनका चित्र कुछ लोग इधर उधर की दो चार किताबें पढ़ कर किया करते हैं! वह कमज़ोर हिन्दुस्तान की सन्धियां हैं! शक्तिशाली हिन्दुस्तान की सन्धि के अनुसार इस देश की सीमायें बिन्दुसार से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक हैं और बिन्दुसार का मतलब है कैलाश मानसरोवर, पूर्ववहिनी ब्रम्हापुत्र! इस सम्बन्ध में इस वक्त के वे सब उदाहरण नहीं देना चाहता हूं, जो भारत या कश्मीर के कई अफसरों ने मुझे बताये हैं, क्योंकि उसमें वक्त लग जायेगा! लेकिन शक्तिशाली भारत की उत्तर में जो सीमा रही है — शायद उस वक्त चीन न रहा हो, तिब्बत या— वह कैलाश मानसरोवर तक थी!

अगर मंत्री महोदय अन्तर्राष्ट्रीयता का रुख लेते हैं, तब तो तिब्बत को सम्पूर्ण आज़ाद होना चाहिए! अगर वह राष्ट्रीयता का पहलू लेते हैं, तो मैं बीच की बात बता देना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि चीन और भारत की सीमा कैलाश मानसरोवर और पूर्ववहिनी ब्रम्हापुत्र ही हो सकती है! आज से कोई भी मैकमोहन रेखा का नाम न ले! वह केवल धार्मिक स्थान के बात नहीं है, केवल धार्मिक अधिकारों की बात नहीं है बल्कि वह राजकीय अधिकारों की बात है! इसलिए अगर मंत्री महोदय कभी संयुक्त राष्ट्र में जाये, तो वह वहां मानवीय अधिकारों की बात न करें! फिज़ूल है चीनियों से मानवीय अधिकारों की बात करना क्या वे चीनी तिब्बत में मानवीय अधिकार देंगे, जो अपने घर के अन्दर ही मानवीय अधिकारों का यह हाल बनाये हुए हैं कि यही पता नहीं है कि वहां का राष्ट्रपति कौन है, लु शाओ-ची है या और कोई है वह बेचारा पीकिंग में है और उसकी बीवी शंघाई में है! क्या मंत्री महोदय ऐसे लोगों से मानवीय अधिकारों की बात करेंगे? नहीं! मैं चांगला साहब से यह अनुरोध करूंगा कि वह संयुक्त राष्ट्र में जा कर कभी भी मानवीय अधिकारों की बात न करें!

वह वहां पर जाकर बात करें अन्तर्राष्ट्रीयता के आधार पर तिब्बत की सम्पूर्ण आज़ादी की, राजकीय आज़ादी की! और अगर वह राष्ट्रीय आधार लेना चाहते हों, तो मैं एक बीच की बात निकालना चाहता हूं! शायद भारत और चीन की सीमा फिलहाल वक्ती तौर पर, यह पूर्ववहिनी ब्रम्हापुत्र रहे! मैं सलाह देना चाहूंगा कि तब जो दलाई लामा आज करीब-करीब शरण में तो नहीं है, जो यहां गाढ़ से दिये गये हैं, उनको इस नेपाल और मानसरोवर के बीच के इलाके में एक स्वातंत्र राजा — ऐसा नहीं कि वह बिल्कुल एक निरंकुश राजा बने बल्कि एक संवैधानिक राजा— के रूप में बिठाया जा सकता है!

मेरे पास एक नक्शा है, जो करीब दस हजार भारतीय घरों के अन्दर पहुंच चुका है! उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप को इसकी एक प्रति दूंगा और अगर आप की इजाज़त हो, तो आप इस नक्शे को सदन के पटल पर रख दीजियेगा! इस नक्शे का शीर्षक है "या आज़ाद तिब्बत या कैलाश मानसरोवर"—या तो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीयता के हिसाब से आज़ाद तिब्बत और या राष्ट्रीयता के हिसाब से कैलाश मानसरोवर! मैं इस नक्शे से एक वाक्य आप को पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूं!

"तिब्बत पूरा आज़ाद है और रहना चाहिए! तिब्बत चीन का हिस्सा नहीं है! एक, भाषा; दूसरे, लिखावट; तीसरे, ज़मीन का ढलाव; चौथे, रहन सहन; पांचवे, धर्म; छठे, इतिहास; सातवें लोक-इच्छा के कारण तिब्बत और हिन्दुस्तान भाई हैं! या तिब्बत आज़ाद हो, नहीं तो कैलाश मानसरोवर हिन्दुस्तान में मिलें!"

ज़मीन के ढलाव के बारे में मैकमोहन रेखा की जो बातें कहीं गई हैं, वे बिल्कुल मिथ्या हैं, क्योंकि ज़मीन का ढलाव सिंधू नदी, गंगा नदी और ब्रम्हापुत्र नदी से मालूम होता है! ज़मीन का ढलाव कैलाश मानसरोवर है!

और लोक-इच्छा तो बिल्कुल साफ है! तिब्बत का छब्बीस, सत्ताईस बरस का लडका लोडी ग्येलत्सेन, जो कल-परसों मेरे पास आया था, इस सदन को जैसे लडके के दिल को तसल्ली देने के लिये कोई न कोई काम करना चाहिए! मंत्री महोदय यह याद रखें कि जब मैं छब्बीस का था, तो मेरे पीछे ताकत थी, तीस पैंतीस करोड़ के ताकत थी लेकिन उस बेचारे के पीछे तो खाली पचास लाख हैं! मंत्री महोदय से मेरी इतनी ही प्रार्थना है कि वह जवाब देते वक्त ज़रा उस लडके को याद रखें!

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** The hon. Member may hand it over to the Table office, as laid down in the procedure. It is not laid on the Table of the House. Now, Shri Chagla.

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is one feeling which has risen above party conflicts and party differences, and that is our great and deep sympathy for the sufferings of the people of



Tibet. Sir, I have had the privilege of knowing Dalai Lama for a long time and I have heard from his own lips the agony of his people, the tyranny, the oppression, the cruelty with which an ancient culture is being ought to be wiped out. But, with all the sympathy that I have and I share it with practically everybody in this House, we must not forget to be realistic. And I would appeal to the House to bear in mind the important distinction between the political status of Tibet and the people of Tibet. .

As far as the people of Tibet are concerned, I agree with what my hon. Friend, Shri Chatterjee has stated, because that is the finding of an important judicial body, a body that was manned by eminent judges from all over the world. That body came to the conclusion that Tibet is indulging in, what he called, religious genocide.

**An hon. Member:** China

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** I am sorry, China. China is indulging in religious genocide. I will go further. China is indulging in cultural genocide. You can kill the soul of a man or the soul of a people without being guilty of genocide in the ordinary sense of the term, namely, exterminating people, but you uproot the tradition, the history and the culture of the people and, according to the evidence laid before this body, as Shri Chatterjee has stated, this is what is happening. Now, the question is; what do we do?

**Shri Piloo Mody (Godhra):** Recognize them.

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** I can quite understand the House telling me what is the use of sympathy when we cannot do something.

**Shri Piloo Mody:** Just give them 10 guns with your own hand as a gesture.

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** May I say that, as far as the people of Tibet are concerned, we have done everything, through the United Nations, to raise our voice of protest against what is happening there. The resolution with regard to human rights, to which the people of Tibet are entitled, as any other people in the world, has been passed, supported by this country. You may say that the United Nations has not been able to go beyond that. There are many resolutions on the file of the United Nations that have not been able to go beyond that. There are many resolutions on the file of the United Nations which have remained un-enforced, unimplemented. Take the resolution on South Africa. The United Nations has solemnly passed a resolution that no country shall trade or do business or have commerce with South Africa, and yet how many countries today are flouting that resolution? We are loyal to it. But I say that a majority of the members prefer filthy lucre to loyalty to that institution. But the fact remains that the world body has condemned China for a very serious offence, namely, that she has trampled upon the human rights, the inalienable rights of the people of Tibet. Whatever more can be only done through the United Nations.

**Shri R.K. Amin:** Why not by India?

**M.C. Chagla:** I am coming to that.

When the Dalai Lama came to this country, we welcomed him; we honored him, we respected him; we said, "You are our respected guest, you can stay in our country as long as you like." Thousands of refugees came here—then one young man asked of Dr. Lohia. "When will my country be free?". Many Tibetans have asked that question. As Minister of Education had a great deal to do with Tibetan institutions—Tibetan schools and hostels—and I know what it means to be driven out of your country. You have passion for your country and you want your country to be free.

But the question is: How do we help the Dalai Lama? It is curious that the Dalai Lama himself has never asked the Government of India ...*(Interruptions)*.

**Shri Piloo Mody:** Too much of a gentleman.

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** The Dalai Lama himself has never asked the Government of India that he should be recognized...*(Interruption)*.

**श्री रबी राय (पूरी) :** हम लोगों को अपना फर्ज अदा करना चाहिए, अपना कर्तव्य करना चाहिये!

**Shri Nath Pai:** Shall we get him to ask you? Within 24 hours he will do that.

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** The Dalai Lama himself has never asked us that he should be recognized...*(Interruption)*

**Shri M.R. Masani (Rajkot):** He knew that the answer would be.

श्री मधु लिमये: आपने आफर किया?

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** May I say that the Dalai Lama may not have asked the Government but they have a wish which they have expressed to many people?

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** I know what the Dalai Lama wanted. He wanted a resolution to be passed in the United Nations which will go further than the resolutions that we have been passing in two or three sessions.

श्री मधु लिमये: आपसे ज़्यादा कुछ नहीं मिल सकता था! इसलिए इसी पर संतोष कर लिया!

**Shri Randhir Singh:** This is bad. We never interrupted you.

श्री मधु लिमये: अरे, तो यह इंटरप्शन कहा है? बीच में एकाध्य वाक्य कह दिया तो इंटरप्शन हो गया?

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** The Dalai Lama wrote to us to say that he wanted to visit several countries. We said, "Certainly, we will give you every facility." He wanted to go to South-east Asian countries. We said, "We will write to our ambassadors and you will get every facility to meet and talk to people."

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** May I ask one question, whether the Dalai Lama will be pleased or displeased if you recognize him as a refugee government here?

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Secunderabad):** Without asking?

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** Yes, without asking.

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** If I say tomorrow that the Dalai Lama is the king of Tibet, of course, he will be pleased. But that is not the question. Are we going to judge international questions by asking whether a particular person is pleased? The question is: How are we going to help the Dalai Lama? Is this course that is proposed going to help him or Tibet or the People of Tibet?

Let us analyse it. There are occasions when one must use cold logic and not sentiments. Are we in a position today to mount an invasion on Tibet?

डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया: बिल्कुल नहीं!

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** Quite so.

डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया: लेकिन दस वर्ष तक इस बात को सारी दुनिया में फैलाओ और फिर उसके बाद देखा जायेगा, शायद चीन इतना कमज़ोर हो जायेगा!

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** The only result of such a course might be a dare-up on our border or more oppression...*(Interruption)*.

**Shri Nath Pai:** You are only worried about it.

डां राम मनोहर लोहिया: चागला साहब, एक बात का आप जवाब दीजिये! बचपन में आप भूत से ज्यादा डरते थे क्या?

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** Not only that, it might result in more oppression, more cruelty against the Tibetans. The Chinese can be a very vindictive people and they are. I do not believe in making empty gestures—it is no use—unless I have the power and strength to implement any decision that I take. If we could do it today, well, it would be different thing. But if we are not in a position to do anything, just to pass a resolution which might have serious repercussions, which cannot help Tibet today, which cannot help Dalai Lama....*(interruptions)*. You need not shout at me. I feel as strongly as you do about the sufferings of the people of Tibet. I am trying to explain to you what is the best thing that we can do to help Tibet, situated as Tibet is, situated as India is, situated as China is, in the international context. What is the best thing that India can do? May I say this? You cannot re-write history; you cannot wish away the past. Many of us would like to have history different from what it is but you cannot do it. What the pen has written is written there.

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok (South Delhi):** There is nothing in history as a settled fact. What was done in the past can be undone now.

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** But that is not history; that is tomorrow. What I am saying is, what has happened cannot be changed.

**Shri Piloo Mody:** We must participate in the writing of history; we cannot let history overrun us. *(Interruptions)*.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** You have had patient bearing from this side and I expect you too to be patient. There should not be running commentary.

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** This is a historical fact. However much we might regret, we have admitted a certain political status of Tibet. We have accepted, admitted and recognized the fact that China has sovereignty over Tibet. .... *(Interruptions)*.

**Some hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Don't say that. We did not accept that. Did we accept that? It is suzerainty not sovereignty. Once again, you are repeating the same thing. *(Interruptions)*.

**Shri Randhir Singh:** What is all this? *(Interruptions)*.

**शशि भूषण वाजपेयी: (खारगोन):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, दुनिया के कितने राष्ट्र हैं जो तिब्बत को स्वतन्त्र कराने के लिये तैयार हैं, क्या यू.एस.ए. भी इसके लिये तैयार है? जहां तक मुझे पता है अमरीका भी तैयार नहीं है और च्यांग-काई-शेक भी तैयार नहीं है, जिनके लिये कई बातें करते हैं!

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** My friend has mentioned the name of Chiang-kai Sheik. I have been there only about five months back and he told me that the question of Tibet will be decided by Tibetans themselves... *(Interruptions)*.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Shashi Bhusan Vajpayee:** This is wrong. च्यांग - काई - शेक हमारी टैरिटरी भी लेना चाहता हैं ।

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** I am only giving the latest information.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** We are discussing a very delicate issue. If they want to ask for a clarification.... *(Interruptions)*.

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok:** I know that the Government has taken a stand and he has to defend it. My question is this: here is the house; he has seen the consensus of opinion of this House *(Interruptions)* I have some respect.... *(Interruptions)* but these people have no respect.... *(Interruptions)*.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. All the hon. Members may please resume their seats. We had a very good debate. All points of view were presented. When Government is dealing with a very delicate situation in the international affairs, the members should not make this sort of hue and cry. The House is divided... *(Interruptions)*.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** The hon. Minister.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, नये रिविजनिस्ट्स और पुराने रिविजनिस्ट्स को छोड़ कर सब इसके हक में हैं!

**Shri M.C. Chagla:** All that I can say is that Government will keep this policy with regard to Tibet under constant surveillance and will try to see what more can be done through the United Nations to help the people of Tibet and to alleviate their sufferings. *(Interruptions)*.

**An hon. Member:** We do not want charity; we want liberation.

**डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया:** डा. राम सुभग सिंह गये थे छागला साहब को सिखाने कि चुप रहो!

**श्री रणधीर सिंह:** जब मिनिस्टर साहब को सुनते नहीं हैं, तो क्या करें!

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Mr. Shri Chand Goel. I would request him not to take much time.

**श्री शिव नारायण:** जब मेम्बर्ज सुनना नहीं चाहते तो वह क्या करें !

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I am calling Mr. Shri Chand Goel. He has a right to reply.

**Shri J.B. Kripalani:** May I point out that there have been at least three speeches made by Congressmen supporting this resolution? When it is said that there is a consensus it does not mean unanimity. But I am certain that the overwhelming majority of the House is in favour of this resolution.

**Some hon. Members:** No.

**श्री श्रीचन्द गोयल (चण्डीगढ़):** श्री श्रीचन्द गोयल (चण्डीगढ़): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे यह जानकर और यह देखकर बड़ी खुशी हुई कि मेरे इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन सदन के लगभग सभी सदस्यों ने किया है ! चार-पांच सम्यवादी सदस्यों को छोड़कर सबने समर्थन किया है ! कांग्रेस दल की ओर से जितने माननीय सदस्य बोले हैं उन लोगों ने भी इस का समर्थन अपने भाषण देते हुए किया ! इसी प्रकार से अन्य दलों के जो माननीय सदस्य बोले हैं उन्होंने भी इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन किया है ! इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि आज हमें दीवार पर लिखी हुई जो चीज़ है उसको गहराई से पढ़ना चाहिये और आज अपने देश की जनता किस दिशा में सोचती है तथा संसार के दूसरे देश किस दिशा में सोच रहे हैं उसको भी पूरे तौर पर अध्ययन करना चाहिये !

आज इस बात में कोई शुबहा नहीं कि संसार के अन्दर अनेक इस प्रकार के राष्ट्र हैं, अनेक इस प्रकार के देश हैं जो चीन के इस बढ़ते हुए साम्राज्य से भयभीत हैं ! मैं आप की सेवा में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि लंका, थाईलैंड, कम्बोडिया, लाओस, दक्षिण वियतनाम, हिंदेशिया आदि देश, जहां पर 2 करोड़ के करीब चीनी बसते हैं और अन्दर से चीनी एजेंट के तौर पर काम करते हैं, इन देशों के देश भक्त उनके बारे में यह सोचते हैं कि वह उन देशों के लिये कभी भी खतरा साबित हो सकते हैं ! इसलिये वह सारे देश आज हमारे समर्थन में खड़े हैं ! आज हमें संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के अन्दर और उसके बाहर इस दिशा में प्रयत्न करना चाहिए कि जहां संसार में इस दिशा में जनमत जागृत हो रहा है उन सारे देशों को हम सुसंगठित करें ! भारत का कर्तव्य है कि वह उन देशों को नेतृत्व करे !

तिब्बत के दास बनने से हमारी हितों को सब से ज्यादा चोट जो पहुंची है वह इस से हमारी कुछ कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों ने आपत्ति उठाई कि यह जो बफर स्टेट का मामला है वह एक प्राचीन कल्पना है, पुराना विचार है ! लेकिन आज हमारे दोस्त श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी ने, जिन को मैं समझता था कि एक काबिल पार्लियामेंटेरियन है, अपनी दलील को तर्क के बजाय लूजटाक के ऊपर आधारित करने की कोशिश की है ! जैसे कहा जाता है कि व्हेन देअर इस नाथिंग टू से, स्पीक लाउड इस लिये उन्होंने जोर जोर से बोल कर अपने केस में जान डालने की कोशिश की मानो कोई अकेडेमिक ढंग से विचार हो रहा हो ! वह यह बात भूल गये कि जिस दिन हम ने तिब्बत के ऊपर चीन के अधिकार को मान्यता दे दी उस दिन जो भारत-तिब्बत की सीमा थी वह 2700 मील लम्बी सीमा चीन और भारत की सीमा बन गई और चीन ने उस पर अधिकार प्राप्त करते ही कह दिया कि यह सारी सीमा अनिश्चित है !

इस लिये आज सब से अनुकूल अवसर है जब कि चीन के अन्दर क्रान्ति हो रही है और यह मैं अपनी तरफ से नहीं कहता, रूस के नेताओं और समाचार पत्रों ने कहा है कि चीन जो अरब देशों की सहायता की बात करता है वह ढकोसला मात्र है और वह संसार में अपने सम्मान को बनाये रखने के लिए बातें करता है, उस में किसी तरह का दम नहीं है हम कोई कदम उठायें ! हमारे भूतपूर्व सेनापति जनरल करियाप्पा ने कहा था कि अगर इस मामले में देर होगी तो उल्झनें बढ़ जायेंगी, मामला पेचीदा होगा और हमको संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की सहायता लेनी पड़ेगी ! आज इस बात का समय है कि इन सारी परिस्थिति का लाभ उठा कर हम काम करें ! आज भारत के अन्दर तिब्बत के अनेक आदमी अपने घरों से निकाले हुए पड़े हैं ! वहां पर उनका जीवन दूभर बनाया जा रहा है और चीन की तरफ से जो आश्वासन तिब्बत को मिला था कि वह उन के अन्तरिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप नहीं करेंगे, उनको तोड़ा गया है ! इस हस्तक्षेप का रूप यह है कि जहां पहले ल्हासा के अन्दर 70 हजार तिब्बती थे वहां अब बिल्कुल इसका उल्टा हो गया है ! आज वहां 5 हजार तिब्बती रह गये हैं और 70 हजार के करीब चीनी पहुंच गये हैं ! चीनीयों ने उन की भाषा, उनकी संस्कृति, सब चीजें बदल दी हैं, आज अनेक लोगों को मौत के घाट पर उतार जा रहा है ! संगीन की नोक पर सड़के बनाने की और दूसरी कार्यवाइयां की जा रही है !

मैं समझता हूँ कि आज मानवता के नाम पर, अन्तराष्ट्रीय न्याय के नाम पर संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ का जो चेप्टर है, उसके टर्म्स पर विचार करते हुए और संसार के पिछड़े देशों में जो कुछ हो रहा है उस पर विचार करते हुए, इसके सिवा कोई चारा नहीं है कि जो तिब्बती और लामा शरणार्थी

के रूप में हमारे देश में हैं हम उनकी सहायता करें, तथा दलाई लामा का वैधानिक शासक स्वीकार करें ताकि तिब्बत देश स्वतंत्र हो कर पहले की तरह से हमारा मित्र हो जाये और जो सम्भावित खतरा है वह दूर हो जाये !

इन सारी बातों का विचार करते हुए सभी माननीय सदस्यों को मेरे इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करना चाहिये !

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Shri Hanumanthaiya.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore):** I am not making a speech; I am making a respectful submission to the House.

In matters of foreign policy, every party in this House had to forge a united front. We cannot frame our foreign policy and implement it successfully with snap votes or with partisan victories or defeats. As you know, even in the UK and USA, it is a bipartisan attitude that is adopted in regard to foreign policy. In this country, taking the existing political situation into consideration, it is the multi-party view that has to prevail; the approving seal for our foreign policy has to be almost unanimous.

Regarding the Resolution of Shri Goel, it is true that many members of this House are in agreement with it; it is also true that many members of the Congress Party are in agreement with it. (*Interruptions*).

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Vidya Charana Shukla):** No.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** We in the Congress Party have discussed the West Asian situation; there also we have differences of opinions. We know that sometimes we agree with Opposition party in matters of policy.

What the hon. External Affairs Minister has said is by way of clarification of the present position and the previous history. Nobody can prevent us from taking further steps in the matter of changing, modifying or altering our foreign policy. The only thing is unanimity, the sanction of unanimity must be behind it. If this Resolution is pressed to a division, may be outsiders may construe it as evidence that some of us are against this Resolution.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** We are against it.

**An hon. Member:** There is no unanimity.

**Shri Amrit Nahata (Barmer):** We are also against it.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I am not permitting a speech now. If Shri Hanumanthaiya wants to appeal to the Mover to withdraw the Resolution, he may do so.

**Shri Umanath:** Are there two spokesmen for the Congress Party?

**Shri N.C. Chatterjee:** He is a senior statesman.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If he wishes, he may appeal to the Mover to withdraw the Resolution. I thought he wanted to do that.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** He was once a Chief Minister.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I cannot permit him to make a speech.

**Shri Umanath:** After the Mover has replied, what is this procedure you are adopting? You must allow me an opportunity to have my say on the subject.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I am concluding.

**Shri Umanath:** After mover replies, if you allow another hon. Member, you must allow others also. I take this as a precedent to insist that I must be allowed after this.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I never allowed a speech. What I said was that if an hon. Member wanted to make an appeal to the Mover to withdraw the Resolution, that could be done. There was no question of withdrawal.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** You are right, I admit it.

**श्री म.अ.खां (कासगज):** यह साबित हो चुका है कि यह पार्टी की बात कर रहे हैं, हाउस की नहीं !

**Shri Umanath:** Why cannot Mr. Chagla say that many of them are in agreement.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** You wrote to me that you want to make an appeal. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** You cannot threaten me.

**Shri Umanath:** You also cannot threaten me. It is not a question of threatening. I am asking about procedure. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** On the specific understanding that without going into political matters you were going to make an appeal to withdraw, I gave you permission. No politics.

**Shri Hanjumanthaiya:** Therefore I am making an appeal to the Mover of the resolution to withdraw it and allow us, some of us, to see how far we can agree with the spirit of the resolution.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Is he agreeable.

**श्री श्रीचंद गोयल:** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चूंकि कांग्रेस पार्टी का भी लगभग पूरा समर्थन हमें हासिल है इस कारण मैं समझता कि तिब्बत की नीति के संबन्ध में सरकार परिवर्तन करेगी इस भर भारोसे के साथ मैं इस रेजिल्यूशन को वापस ले सकता हूं!

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I will have to put it to vote. He will have to take the leave of the House for withdrawal.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I am rising on a point of order. The main debate is now even. We are now coming to procedural matters. The latest ruling which I obtained from the Speaker on this subject....

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** On adjournment motion.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I do not know why we should be required to vote. I am quoting from page 409 of May, Sixteenth Edition. Would you kindly get your copy? I do not know if you have.

**Shri Randhir Singh:** He is not pressing. It is talked out.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I am submitting to you that the latest ruling applies to all motions. I want to make it abundantly clear, but let us go very slowly, without pushing one another into a false position. If the Mover of the Motion at the end of the allotted time, declares on the floor of the House, with your consent, that he does not want to press it, the matter ends there. Mr. Goel has said very clearly within our hearing that he does not want to press it. I would like to read out from the House of Commons.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Before you read, I would like to point out a very minute distinction. I will read out Direction 44.

**Shri. Madhu Limaye:** Sir, you are on direction, I am on rule.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** It reads:

“If at the end of the debate, a member who has moved an amendment or a motion which has also been proposed by the Chairman....and the amendment or motion is not put by the Chair to the vote of the House, such amendment or motion shall be deemed to have been withdrawn by the leave of the House.”

It says “if he does not press.” He has now withdrawn. For withdrawal, we cannot. We must, therefore, take a vote.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है अध्यक्ष महोदय, वोट लेने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है! रूल 339 पर मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है! यह रूल इस प्रकार है..... (व्यवधान).....आप मान रहे हैं मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न? अगर मान रहे हैं तो मैं बैठ जाता हूं! अगर नहीं मान रहे हैं तो मेरा तो 339 यह प्रस्तावों के बारे में इस प्रकार है!

**Rule 339:** A member who has made the motion may withdraw the same by leave of the House.

(2) Leave shall be signified, not upon question, but by the speaker taking the pleasure of the House. The Speaker shall ask: “Is it your pleasure that the motion be withdrawn?” If no one dissents, the Speaker shall say: “The motion is by leave withdrawn”. But if any dissentient voice be heard or a member rises to continue the debate, the speaker shall forthwith put the motion.”



तो पहले आप प्लेजर लीजिए !

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** That is a nice distinction you are pointing out. I was going to follow that procedure. Is the House agreeable to the withdrawal of the motion?

**Several hon. Members:** Yes.....(*Interruptions.*)

**Shri Umanath:** No.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I will have to put the question.

**Shri M.L. Sondhi (New Delhi):** Sir, on a point of order.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** There is no point of order. The question is...(*Interruptions.*) No, I put it to vote. The question is:

“This House is of the opinion that Dalai Lama should be recognized as the Head of the Émigré Government of Tibet and all facilities should be extended to him by the Government of India to liberate Tibet from the colonial rule of Communist China.”

Those in favour of it will say ‘Aye’.

**Some hon. Members:** Aye.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Those against it may say ‘No’.

**Several hon. Members:** No.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I think the ‘Noes’ have it; the ‘Noes’ have it...(*Interruptions.*)

श्री मधु लिमये: यह क्या? आप को क्वेश्चन नहीं रखना था!.....

Ask for the pleasure of the House.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I asked. If a single voice is there, I have to take the vote; there is no other way. Shri Umanath and I think one other member also rose there.

श्री मधु लिमये: प्रोसीजर के अनुसार चलिए!.....(व्यवधान) .....एक एक करके चलिए न!

इतना जल्दबाज़ी क्यों करते हैं? .....(व्यवधान)

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** जल्दबाज़ी का सवाल नहीं है । Mr. Limaye should withdraw this word. See the record of what you have said...

श्री मधु लिमये: मैं कुछ नहीं करूंगा!

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** You have to withdraw that statement. If you like to walk out, I do not mind. It has finally been decided by the House now. I shall take up half an hour discussion. Nothing doing.

श्री मधु लिमये: मैं कुछ नहीं करूंगा! न वाक आउट करूंगा न कुछ करूंगा! आप प्रोसीजर के अनुसार चलिए!

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** That is lost.

**Shri Piloo Mody:** What is lost!

श्री मधु लिमये: पहले आप प्लेजर लीजिए!

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I have taken the pleasure of the House.

**Shri Piloo Mody:** Sir, on point of order.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Mr. Mody, with your weight you cannot threaten me like this. (*Interruptions.*) Is this not a threat?

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok:** Sir, there is no question of threat. My request to you is this.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** My decision stands.

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:** यह क्या धमकी आप दे रहे हैं !

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** It is wrong. What do you mean?

**Shri Piloo Mody:** Sir, on a point of order?

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** On what? (*Interruptions.*) That has been disposed of.

**श्री य० द० शर्मा (अमृतसर):** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप इतने आवेश में आकर बात कर रहे हैं, उससे ऐसा हो रहा है.....(व्यवधान).....इस से आप के पद की प्रतिष्ठा को धक्का पहुंच रहा है !

**डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया:** आप इस पर वोट ले लीजिए !

**Shri Piloo Mody:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we cannot allow the procedures of this House to be decided between quarrels between individual members and the Chair. The procedure is quite clear. The procedure has not been followed. Our request to you, therefore, is that you should follow the procedure as read out.

**Some Hon. Members** rose—

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, order.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** मैं नियम को मानता हूं मैं कहां इन्कार कर रहा हूं !

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** If you defy the Chair, nothing can be done. I am going to explain what I did. When I pointed out nicely, I again took the pleasure of the House. Even if there is one voice, which is a voice of dissent, then I have to put it to the vote. (*Interruptions.*) I put it to the vote, and you never challenged it.

**Some Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, order. At this rate, I will have to adjourn the House; (*Interruption.*)

**Shri Piloo Mody:** There is no difference of opinion between the House and you. We both agree, the House as well as the Chair agree, to a certain procedure. There is only one difference of opinion between the House and the Chair on this specific point: we maintain that the procedure as read out has not been followed, or has been incompletely followed. This is what we say. It is for you to satisfy us if the procedure has been completely followed or not.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I will tell you (*Interruption.*) When I have listened to you, you will also have to give me a patient hearing. As Shri Piloo Mody said, first, I took the pleasure of the House. When there was Shri Umanath and I think, Shri Vasudevan Nair also, who raised a dissenting voice, I put it to the vote, because under the rules—now, the Hon. Member read half of the rule, and so I will read it fully—it has to be put to the vote. First, they were not willing to withdraw.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** आप नियम के अनुसार चलिये, तब हमें एतराज़ नहीं है !

**श्री रबी राय:** मेहरबानी करके दोबारा वोट लीजिए ।

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, order. Nothing will be recorded, (*Interruptions.*)

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, here is a matter in which the whole country is interested. Here is a matter on which there is a general consensus of opinion.

**Some Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok:** There are a few Members who are against it. But in this House, we go by the majority, by a simple majority. When the Speaker said, “pleasure”, the pleasure of the House is that it is in a favour of it. But, in order to maintain the unity of the country, the hon. Mover did not want to press the country. It was in the interest of

maintaining the unanimity of this House. That gesture should have been reciprocated. I am really sorry that when such a good gesture was made that should have been accepted with grace. Because some people whose very life in the country is doubtful objected, you said there is no pleasure of the House. It is not fair (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** To make the record straight, I may say that everything was followed according to the rules but you are making a request to the Chair to take the votes a second time. I am accepting that request.

**श्री म० अ० खां.:** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह हाउस की प्रेस्टिज को खराब करने का सवाल है! अण्डर प्रेशरइस इस तरह से हाउस की रूलिंग को चेंज करना हाउस की तौहीन है और इस तरह से आपकी तौहीन है (व्यवधान) उस निर्णय पर दोबारा विचार होना मुनासिब नहीं है, सही बात नहीं है!

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*] :

**Mr. Speaker:** It is a very simple matter. Vote was taken once but the Deputy Speaker said that he would take the votes again.

**Shri Khadilkar (Khed):** Sir, I followed the procedure. I asked the pleasure of the House. Then some hon. Members said “No”. I took the vote. That was not challenged. But Shri Madhu Limaye made a request that votes be taken a second time and I agreed.

**The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Dr. Ram Subhag Singh):** Sir, the Mover of the motion made a request that he be allowed to withdraw the motion.

**Shri Nath Pai:** In view of the consensus of the House.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Whatever that may be. The Deputy-Speaker asked the pleasure of the House. Generally it was agreed that he should be allowed to withdraw but, as the Deputy-Speaker just now pointed out, perhaps somebody objected to that. Then he put the motion to a voice vote and he declared the motion as lost. He passed on the next item and called Shri Panigrahi to raise the half hour discussion. Under the circumstances, should it be taken up again?

**Mr. Speaker:** The position is very clear. He took a voice vote, but he wants to confirm it. He himself has said that because some Hon. Members requested him he had agreed to put it a second time. Therefore, may I put it again to the vote of the House? The same thing will happen now.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** What is the motion?

**Mr. Speaker:** When the Chair is standing, I will not allow it; I will not allow anybody to stand. Either you stand or I stand. Only one can stand at a time. When the Speaker is on his legs there is no point in members getting up. That is what we were discussing in the committee since 4 o'clock. The leaders of the Opposition and the concerned minister were also there. When the Speaker is on his legs, for people to get up and begin speaking is not proper.

The position as it stands now has been explained by the Deputy Speaker. May be, somebody did not challenge it immediately and as Dr. Ram Subhag Singh said, he had already gone on to the half an-hour debate. It is quite possible. But there is some confusion about it and they demanded it to be put to vote again. The Deputy-Speaker had conceded that he would put it again, if I have heard him correctly.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** What is going to be put to the vote—the motion to withdraw the Resolution or the Resolution itself?

**Mr. Speaker:** The Resolution.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** He had already requested the House to allow him to withdraw the resolution. That should be put to vote.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** rose—

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Hanumanthaiya, please resume your seat. I have heard your speech also. In the name of an appeal of you he made a speech. It is for the first time that I have heard somebody making a speech after the Minister has replied. Somebody being allowed to make a speech created all this confusion; otherwise, there is no trouble at all. The Minister

must appeal to the Member to withdraw it out after Minister's speech. If somebody is asked to get up and appeal for withdrawal, that is something very strange. Therefore the trouble started.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** No.

**Mr. Speaker:** I know.

**Shri Sheo Narain:** *rose—*

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Sheo Narain, please do not add to it.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I am not speaking anything different from what has been said by the Chief Whip.

**Mr. Speaker:** After he has explained you need not say anything.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I have not completed. What the House wants is that the motion for the leave of the House... *(Interruptions)*.

**Shri H.N. Mukerjee:** Is he the spokesman of the House? Who the hell is he?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** You do not even hear. What is this?

**Shri H.N. Mukerjee:** You stop your nonsense.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I will obey your ruling.

**Shri H.N. Mukerjee:** Why are you talking now? What right have you got to talk?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I have got a greater right than you have got to speak. Do not be under that misapprehension.

**Shri H.N. Mukerjee:** You are ridiculous enough.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I have got the right. I am not speaking anything different from what the Chief Whip has said.

**Mr. Speaker:** Why are you speaking then?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** This kind of brushing aside people's opinion I cannot understand. Give me only one minute and I will finish. Do not interrupt me.

**Shri H.N. Mukerjee:** Sir, as you said, it is for the first time in this Parliament that someone is getting up and speaking a second time, a third time, a third time and a fourth time.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** When a member asks permission to withdraw, that proposition must be put to vote. That is the request we are making.

**Mr. Speaker:** Please help me. I would only appeal to all sections of the House to help me. Let us proceed with the business. The Deputy Speaker has already put it to the vote. He read the Resolution also. I heard that he was reading it.

**Shri Tulshidas Jadav:** *rose—*

**Mr. Speaker:** I am on my legs; please sit down. I am not going to hear anybody. When I am on my legs, I am not going to hear anybody.

I have heard it with my own ears that he read the Resolution. You may agree with me or may not agree. The question that was put to the House was for the leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution.

The Deputy Speaker had taken the vote also. But because it was questioned, as to whether 'Ayes' have it or 'Noes' have it, he agreed to put it to vote again.

श्री मधु लिमये: लीव टु विद्रा यह भी तो एक किस्म का प्रस्ताव है!

**Mr. Speaker:** He has read the Resolution also. If you want I will read it again. There is no objection to that. The question is:

“This House is of opinion that Dalai Lama should be recognized as the Head of the Émigré Government of Tibet and all facilities and help be extended to him by the Government of India to liberate Tibet from the colonial rule of Communist China.”

Those who are in favour may say ‘Aye’..(*Interruption*).

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok:** The hon. Member asked for leave to withdraw the motion.

**Shri Shri Chand Goel:** I have already made that submission.

**Mr. Speaker:** This is to be put to the vote. The rule 339 says:

“But if any dissentient voice be heard or a member rise to continue the debate, the Speaker shall forthwith put the motion.”

**Shri Madhu Limaye:** Which motion?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am trying to understand it. The rule 339 says:

“The Speaker shall ask: Is it your pleasure that the motion be withdrawn? If no one dissents, the speaker shall say: ‘The motion is by leave withdrawn’. But if any dissentient voice be heard or a member rises to continue the debate, the Speaker shall forthwith put the motion.”

Which motion is the question I am trying to understand. To ask for the leave of the House to withdraw a Resolution is not a motion. The motion is a regular one. This is the motion. The vote has already been taken. (*Interruptions*).

**श्री मधु लिमये:** आप किस पर वोट ले रहे हैं, यह तो बतलाइये!

**Shri Shri Chand Goel:** May I make a submission? (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr. Goel, please resume your seat; all of you should resume your seats.

The leave for the withdrawal of the resolution has been rejected by some members; they have protested against it...(*Interruptions*). I do not agree that he has committed a mistake. The only point now before the House is whether the motion which he put to vote has been passed or rejected.

**Shri Khadilkar:** Because it was not challenged, I said, ‘Noes’ have it, ‘Noes’ have it. Then some Members tried to stage a walk-out and I went to the next time. They requested me to do it again.

**Mr. Speaker:** If only you had passed on to the next time, it would have ended there. You have put the Motion or Resolution, whatever it may be, to the vote of the House and the vote is challenged, whether ‘Ayes’ had it or ‘Noes’ had it. Therefore, I will again put it to the vote of the House.

**The question is:**

“This House is of the opinion that Dalai Lama should be recognized as the Head of the Émigré Government of Tibet and all facilities and help be extended to him by the Government of India to liberate Tibet from the colonial rule of Communist China.”

## LOK SABHA DIVIDED

### AYES

Amat, Shri D.	Digvijai Nath, Shri Mahant.	Nayar, Shrimati Shankuntala
Amersey, Shri M.	Dipa, Shri A.	Nihal Singh, Shri.
Aman, Shri Ramchandra J.	Fernandes, Shri George.	Ramamoorthy, Shri P.
Atam Das, Shri.	Goel, Shri Shri Chand.	Patel, Shri J.H.
Basu, Dr. Maitreyee	Gowder, Shri Nanja.	Ray, Shri Rabi
Behera, Shri Baidhar	Gupta, Shri Kanwar Lal	Sharma, Shri Beni Shanker
Berwa, Shri Onkar Lal	Joshi, Shri Jagannath Rao.	Sharma, Shri Ram Avtar

Bhadoria, Shri Arjun Singh  
 Brij Bhushan Lal, Shri  
 Brij Raj Singh, Kotah, Shri  
 Bharti, Shri Maharaj Singh  
 Kunte, Shri Duttarayee  
 Chatterjee, Shri H.P.  
 Dar, Shri Abdul Ghani  
 Deb, Shri D.N.  
 Deo, Shri P.K.  
 Deo, Shri R.R. Singh  
 Devgun, Shri Hardyial

## NOES

Achal Singh, Shri  
 Ahirwar, Shri Nathu Ram  
 Aga, Shri Ahmad.  
 Awadesh Chandra Singh, Shri.  
 Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha  
 Babunath Singh, Shri  
 Bajpai, Shri Shashibhushan  
 Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar  
 Barua, Shri R.  
 Basu, Shri Jyotirmoy  
 Barua, Shri Bedabrata  
 Ramani, Shri K.  
 Bhagyati, Shri.  
 Bhattacharya, Shri C.K.  
 Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas  
 Dhillon, Shri G.S.  
 Dixit, Shri G.C.  
 Esthose, Shri P.P.  
 Gavit, Shri Tukaram  
 Heerji Bhai, Shri.  
 Hem Raj, Shri.  
 Iqbal Singh, Shri.  
 Jadhav, Shri Tulsidas  
 Jadhav, Shri V.N.  
 Sethuratne, Shri N.  
 Shri B.S. Murthy  
 Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan.  
 Sonavane, Shri.  
 Supakar, Shri Sradhakar.  
 Uikey, Shri M.G.  
 Shukla, Shri S.N.

Kachwai, Shri Hukam Chand.  
 Kameshwar Singh, Shri  
 Kisku, Shri A.K.  
 Kundu, Shri S.  
 Samanta, Shri S.C  
 Limaye, Shri Madhu.  
 Lohia, Dr. Ram Manohar.  
 Madhok, Shri Bal Raj  
 Mangalathumadom, Shri.  
 Mody, Shri Piloo.  
 Nath Pai, Shri.

Jaggaiiah, Shri K.  
 Jagjiwan Ram, Shri.  
 Katham, Shri B.N.  
 Kavade, Shri B.R.  
 Kedaria, Shri C.M.  
 Kesri, Shri Sitaram  
 Khadilkar, Shri.  
 Krishnan, Shri G.Y.  
 Khan, Shri Latafat Ali  
 Khan, Shri M.A.  
 Laxmi Bai, Shrimati.  
 Bhanu Prakash, Singh Shri  
 Mandal, Dr. P.  
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad  
 Marandi, Shri.  
 Mehta, Shri Asoka  
 Menon, Shri Govinda  
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti  
 Mohinder Kaur, Shrimati  
 Mukherjee, Shri H.N.  
 Nageshwar, Shri.  
 Naghnoor, Shri M.N.  
 Nahata, Shri Amriti  
 Nair, Shri Vasudevan  
 Shastri, Shri Ramavtar.  
 Sen, Shri P.G.  
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.  
 Swaran Singh, Shri.  
 Tiwary, Shri D.N.  
 Sursingh, Shri.

Sharma, Shri Yajna Dutt  
 Shastri, Shri Raghubir Singh  
 Shastri, Shri Prakash Vir  
 Shastri, Shri Sheopujan  
 Amir, Shri R.K.  
 Shastri, Shri Shiv Kumar  
 Sivasankaran, Shri.  
 Sondhi, Shri M.L.  
 Vidyarthi, Shri R.S.  
 Vibhadra Singh, Shri.  
 Chatterjee, Shri N.C.

Nayanar, Shri E.K  
 Oraon, Shri Kartik  
 Pandey, Shri K.N.  
 Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani  
 Parmer, Shri Bhaljibhai  
 Pratap Singh, Shri  
 Patel, Shri Manibhai J.  
 Patil, Shri N.R.  
 Poonacha, Shri C.M.  
 Ram Sewak, Shri.  
 Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.  
 Malimariyappa, Shri.  
 Randhir, Singh Shri  
 Rane, Shri.  
 Rao, Shri Jaganath  
 Rao, Shri Muthyal  
 Reddi, Shri. G.S.  
 Reddy, Shri Eswara  
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Sadhu Ram, Shri.  
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.  
 Sapre, Shrimati Tara  
 Satya Narayan Singh, Shri.  
 Shinde, Shri Annasahib  
 Shambhu Nath, Shri.  
 Shankaranand, Shri B.  
 Sharma, Shri D.C.  
 Surendra Pal Singh, Shri  
 Umanath, Shri.



**Shri Nath Pai:** Shri Hanumanthaiya has abstained but his vote is not indicated. He has conscientiously and deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility abstained. That is a valuable vote but that has not been recorded there.

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad):** He did not press the button. Therefore, it is so. He would make the position clear.

**Shri Nath Pai:** He did claim that he had abstained.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (हापुड):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, अब तक की परम्परा यह रही है कि जब भी डिवीजन होता है तो घंटी बजने के पांच मिनट बाद लाबी के दरवाजे बन्द हो जाते हैं और जब यह सूचना आ जाती है कि दरवाजे बन्द हो चुके तक डिवीजन कराया जाता है! परन्तु आज इस परम्परा का उल्लंघन हुआ! दरवाजे खुले हुए थे और आप ने डिवीजन कराया! इसके ऊपर मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहूंगा कि क्या यह कानूनी है?

**Mr. Speaker:** I know that it is wrong. So, we are correcting it.

The point has been raised whether the button was not pressed by Shri Hanumanthaiya. If he wanted to abstain, he should have pressed that button and the other button also which has to be pressed along with it. If he did not want to do so, or if he wanted to go out, nobody can force him.

The result of the division is: Ayes 54; Noes 91. The 'Noes' have it; the 'Noes' have it. The motion is lost.

**डां राम मनोहर लोहिया:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, जरा सामने इस मशीन के रिजल्ट को देखिये, उसका टोटल गलत है!

**Mr. Speaker:** The total is wrong by one in the machine; we will get it corrected....

**Shri Balraj Madhok:** The whole House admires the moral courage of Shri Hanumanthaiya.

**Mr. Speaker:** Half hour discussion.

✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦

**24 July 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*1332. Shri Shri Chand Goel:**

**Shri Yajna Datt Sharma:**

**Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:**

**Shri K.K. Nayar:**

**Shri N.S. Sharma:**

**Shri Ram Kishan Gupta:**

**Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee:**

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:**

**Shri Shiva Chandra Jha:**

**Shri Virendrakumar Shah:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether sixty-three Tibetans entered the Indian territory recently as refugees from Lipulek pass seeking asylum;
- (b) whether the local authorities have stopped them and not accepted them as refugees so far;
- (c) whether on account of the difficult life conditions created by the Chinese in Tibet, more of such groups are expected to trek into India in the near future; and
- (d) if so, the reaction of Government in this regard?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) 63 Tibetan refugees have entered U.P. via Mongsha Pass, not Lipulek Pass, on 25<sup>th</sup> June, 1967.
- (b) These Tibetans are being interrogated with a view to ascertaining that they are genuine refugees.
- (c) and (d). Tibetans fleeing from repression or religious persecution have been coming to India year after year for some time now. More of them may come. It is Government's policy to give refuge in genuine cases on humanitarian grounds.

✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦

24 July 1967

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN REFUGEES

\*1348. **Shri P.N. Solanki:**

**Shri B.K. Amin:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Tibetan refugees entering into the Indian borders are posing a threat to the Indian defence security;
- (b) whether many Chinese spies have entered our borders disguised as Tibetan refugees;
- (c) if so, how many such spies have been arrested so far; and
- (d) the security measures which are being taken to stop the infiltration of the Chinese spies?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) A few of the Tibetans are suspected to be agents.
- (c) 34 such suspects are under detention.
- (d) All Tibetan refugees entering India are interrogated and screened to detect and prevent the infiltration of Chinese agents.

✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦

31 July 1967

Written Answers to Questions

### INFLUX OF TIBETAN REFUGEES

\*1491. **Shri Molahu Prasad:**

**Shri Rabi Ray:**

**Shri Madhu Limaye:**

**Shri Yajna Datt Sharma:**

**Shri Raghuvir Singh Shastri:**

**Shri N.R. Laskar:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a large scale influx of refugees is going on in the border District of Chamoli of Uttar Pradesh from Tibet via Mana Pass and Barahoti;
- (b) if so, the causes thereof;
- (c) whether some Chinese spies are also coming with them; and
- (d) the steps that Government propose to take to rehabilitate the genuine refugees?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M.C. Chagla):**

- (a) So far 51 Tibetans have come via Mana Pass and 82 via Barahoti.
- (b) and (c). It has not been possible so far to establish precisely the causes behind this exodus. Tibetan refugees have been coming to India over the years to escape repression, religious persecution and economic distress in Tibet. It is possible that the Chinese authorities in Tibet would try to send their espionage agents or other undesirable persons with the incoming genuine refugees. Government are taking necessary precautions in this matter.
- (d) Genuine refugees will be resettled under the Schemes being implemented for rehabilitation of other Tibetan refugees already in India.

✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦ ✦

2 August 1967

Written Answers to Questions

### ENTRY OF TIBETANS IN U.P.

\*1531. **Shri Bibhuti Mishra:**

**Shri K.N. Tiwari:**

**Shri Ram Kishan:** Will the **Minister of Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether attention of Government has been drawn to a news published in Patriot dated the 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1967 under the heading 'entry of Tibetans confirmed by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh in the U.P. Assembly'—that Tibetans have entered into Indian territory through Mana Pass and they were seen near-about Chamouli; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government in the matter?

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Y.B. Chavan):**

- (a) Government have seen the news item published in 'Patriot' dated 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1967.
- (b) The Government are vigilant about the implications of this development and all necessary steps taken to safeguard the security of the country.

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**2 August 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBETAN SCHOOLS SOCIETY**

**7654. Shri Shiva Chandra Jha:** Will the **Minister of Education** be pleased to state:

- (a) since when the Tibetan Schools Society has been functioning in India;
- (b) its specific roles and the amount of money spent on running it per annum;
- (c) whether Government gave any help to this Society; and
- (d) whether the Dalai Lama has been invited to speak under its auspices and if so, how many times and what was the tenor of his speeches?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Education (Shri Sher Singh):**

- (a) 1-9-1961.
- (b) and (c). The Society was established for the management of schools for Tibetan refugee children in India. It is financed wholly by the Government of India, which has paid to it the following grants since its inception:

Year	Amount of grant (Rupees in Lakh)
1961 – 62	4.03
1962 – 63	9.86
1963 – 64	19.00
1964 – 65	32.50
1965 – 66	43.31
1966 – 67	43.00

- (d) The Dalai Lama was invited in April, 1966 1967 for the inspection of Tibetan Refugees Schools at Simla and Dalhousie respectively. He was also invited on the inauguration of the Educational-cum-Vocational Institute, at Pachmair in May, 1966. The Dalai Lama appreciated the excellent progress made by the institutions and exhorted the pupils to derive the maximum benefit from the educational facilities provided to them by the Government of India.

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**10 August 1967**

**Answers to Questions**

**CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE:  
Reported Escape of Naxalbari Rebel Leaders to Tibet**

**श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर):** मैं अविलम्बनीय लोक महत्व के निम्नलिखित विषय की और गृह मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह इस बारे में एक वक्तव्य दें!

“नक्सलवाडी के कुछ विद्रोही नेताओं के नेपाल के रास्ते तिब्बत भाग जाने के समाचार”

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Y.B. Chavan):** Sir, Government have seen press reports to the effect that some important extremist leaders of the Naxalbari area have crossed over to Tibet from Nepal. We have no firm information to confirm these reports. We have been informed by the State Government that suitable steps have been taken to guard the borders with Nepal and East Pakistan and number of a patrol posts have been set up.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, पहले मैं एक खुलासा चाहता हूँ—

‘a number of patrol posts have been set up’

आपके द्वारा या पश्चिमी बंगाल के द्वारा? सीमा की रक्षा की जिम्मेदारी किसकी है?

**श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण:** बोर्डर पर तो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की भी होती है!

**श्री मधु लिमये:** प्राथमिक जिम्मेदारी किसकी है—इन सार्वभौम देशों के बीच की सीमा के बारे में?

**श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण:** जिम्मेदारी तो बार्डर सिक्योरिटी फोर्स की होती है!

.....व्यवधान.....

**श्री बलराज मधोक (दक्षिण दिल्ली):** सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की है या स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की है?

Let him give a positive reply.

**Shri Y.B. Chavan:** If he just wants a simple answer, it simply is not possible. These responsibilities have certainly to be co-ordinated responsibilities. If he wants a legal answer, certainly as far as the borders of the country are concerned, the Central Government is responsible. But this does not help him or me.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** मैं इतना ही चाहता हूँ —आपके इस जवाब से कुछ सन्देह उत्पन्न होता है! मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस समाचार की ओर गया है कि कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी (मार्क्सस्ट) के कुछ महत्वपूर्ण कार्यकर्ता, नक्सलवादी —पश्चिमी बंगाल, केरल और महाराष्ट्र से निकाले गये कार्यकर्ता एक नई कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के गठन की तैयारी कर रहे हैं, इसलिये कि राममूर्ति, गोपालन, ज्योति बसु और नम्बुद्रीपाद की पार्टी अब संशोधनवादी और क्रांति विरोधी बन गई है और अब जो नई पार्टी बनेगी—यह अखबारों में आ चुकी है—यह अतिशुद्ध, क्रांतिकारी तथा माओत्सेतुंग के जो सिद्धांतों और आदर्श हैं, उनका सही मायनों में पालन करने वाली पार्टी होगी! चूंकि इस चीज़ की जानकारी आपको रहनी चाहिए, इसलिए सदन को आप अवगत कराइये कि इस के बारे में आपको क्या जानकारी है तथा क्या उसे आप सदन के सामने रखेंगे?

**Y.B. Chavan:** As the hon. Members has heard, I have also heard and read out it that there is a split. I do not know how far it is true. Hon. Members of that party possibly can enlighten us. But there is some sort of a split and some of them are trying to organize themselves into a separate group whether they become a party or not it is for them. But these are certainly very important political developments which we have to watch with care.

**Shri Hem Barua (Mangaldai):** Now that the Naxalbari revolt has fizzled out, are the government aware that the arms and ammunitions collected by the Naxalbari extremists are now being distributed to other pockets of potential danger in the country and if so what steps have the government taken to prevent it and

(b) it is a well-known fact that China has been encouraging the extremists in Naxalbari and that the Kathmandu road built by the Chinese provides an easy access and passage to China and also between Nepal and India in the border, people can easily go and come and there are pockets in Nepal from where Naxalbari movement was controlled and guided—the place was called Chaba. Whatever that might be why is it that the government had not taken steps to seal the Indo-Nepal border in time so as to prevent collusion between the Chinese and Indian extremists in Naxalbari.

**Shri Y.B. Chavan:** The Hon. Member has asked two questions. First, as to whether any steps have been taken to see that arms which were in the hands of the extremists leaders did not go to other hands of the extremists leaders did not go to other hands. We are taking some care about this matter.

**Shri Hem Barua:** What care? It is too vague.

**Shri Y.B. Chavan:** I cannot explain all the details; you do not expect me to.

**Shri A.B. Vajpayee (Bairampur):** Not a single gun has been recovered so far.

**Shri Y.B. Chavan:** That is true but the operation is in the hands of West Bengal police. It is not a comment; I am only giving information. As regards the other point, petrol posts had been established. On the proposal of sealing the border, we have to take into consideration our special relationship with Nepal.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** Whatever be the relationship, when it is affecting your security, would you not do it? I had gone there and seen it. A man can come and go. I do not think your security forces are in a position to prevent them from going and coming.

**Shri Y.B. Chavan:** Besides, Sir, the sealing of the border is easily said but it is rather difficult to do it. At the same time, we are taking care to see that this type of people do not cross over to that side and it is for that patrol posts are created.

**Shri Hem Barua:** When the Minister says that sealing of the border is difficult, does he admit his impotency to do that?

**श्री हुकम चंद कछवाय (उज्जेन):** मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह सच है कि नक्सलवादी के उग्रपंथियों ने जो बन्दूकें किसानों से छीनी थी, वह पुलिस द्वारा एक भी बरामद नहीं की गई है? यदि हाँ, तो ये बन्दूकें कहाँ गई?

क्या यह भी सत्य है कि यह उग्रपन्थी नेपाल की सीमा पर हथियार इकट्ठे कर रहे हैं! अगर इस की जानकारी सरकार को नहीं है तो क्या वह इस की खोज करेगी?

**Shri Y.B. Chavan:** I think the first part of the question, I have already answered: that it is felt that not a single gun has been so far recovered. About the import of arms from across the other border, I have said that I have reason to believe that in the early stages of this trouble, there was such import of arms.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Jaganath Rao Joshi—not present.

**श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण:** मेरे पास जो जानकारी है वह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से आई है और वह मैं आप के सामने रख रहा हूँ! यह बात सत्य है कि एक भी बन्दूक रिकवर नहीं की गई है!

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**14 November 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में तिब्बत का ममला

**\*12. श्री यशवन्त सिंह कुशवाह:**

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री:**

**श्री रामावतार शर्मा:**

**श्री इसहाक सामभली:** क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या तिब्बत को स्वतंत्र करने के बारे में संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में हाल में कुछ कार्यवाही की गई है;
- (ख) क्या दलाई लामा की जापान यात्रा के समय इस विषय पर बातचीत हुई थी; और
- (ग) तिब्बत की संस्कृति को नष्ट होने से बचाने के लिए क्या कार्यवाही की गई है?

**वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्रालय में उप-मंत्री (श्री सुरेन्द्रपाल सिंह)**

(क) जी नहीं!

(ख) भारत सरकार के किसी प्रतिनिधि ने अथवा उन की ओर से किसी अन्य व्यक्ति ने इस तरह की कोई बात-चीत नहीं की! परम पावन दलाई लामा पूरी तरह निजी हैसियत में सांस्कृतिक उद्देश्यों के लिये जापान की यात्रा पर गए थे!

(ग) भारत सरकार ने तिब्बत की स्वायत्ता का और उसके वासियों की धार्मिक तथा सांस्कृतिक स्वतंत्रता का समर्थन किया है! इस उद्देश्य को ध्यान में रखकर भारत ने दिसम्बर 1965 में संयुक्त राष्ट्र महासभा में एक प्रस्ताव का समर्थन किया जिसमें "तिब्बत के लोगों के मूलभूत अधिकारों और स्वतंत्रताओं के निरंतर उल्लंघन और "इसके लोगों को विशिष्ट सांस्कृतिक तथा धार्मिक जीवन के दमन" की निंदा की गई है! इस प्रस्ताव में इस मांग को फिर दोहराया गया है कि ऐसे सभी आचार-व्यवहार खत्म होने चाहिए जिनकी वजह से तिब्बत के लोग मानवाधिकारों और मूलभूत स्वतंत्रताओं से वंचित रह जाते हैं जो कि उन्हें हमेशा प्राप्त थी!

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## TALKS WITH CHINA ABOUT INDIAN PROPERTY IN TIBET

47. **Shri D.C. Sharma:****Shri Nihal Singh:****Shri S.C. Samanta:****Shri P.N. Solanki:****Shri Shrichand Goel:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether China has asked India for talks to settle terms for the take-over of the Indian property in Lhasa, Gartok and Yatung in Tibet by the Chinese Government;
- (b) if so, the reaction of the Government thereto; and
- (c) the steps taken or proposed to be taken in the matter?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) to (c). After taking over the leased land and properties of the erstwhile Indian Consulate-general in Lhasa and the India Trade Agency in Yatung and Gartok, the Chinese Government have offered to discuss the prices of the same. The Government of India have protested to the Chinese Government against the latter's unilateral and arbitrary action in taking over these properties and stated that they reserve their right to take further appropriate action.

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## DALAI LAMA

90. **Shri J.N. Hazarika:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) the countries which have been visited by Dalai Lama recently;
- (b) whether he was provided with adequate foreign exchange facilities in order to enable him to maintain his dignity and position abroad;
- (c) whether he has submitted any reports to Government about his visits; and
- (d) if so, the broad details thereof?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) Japan.
- (b) His Holiness the Dalai Lama was a guest of the Buddhist Missionary Association who provided full hospitality. For the personal needs of His Holiness, adequate foreign exchange and other facilities were provided.
- (c) As His Holiness is not a public servant, the question of his submitting reports to Government does not arise.
- (d) Does not arise.

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## BREACH OF TRUST BY INDIA IN REGARD TO TIBET

69. **Shri A.D. Mani:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, accused India of breach of trust in regard to Tibet when he visited Tokyo on August 21; and
- (b) whether the conversations which he had with Japanese Government any suggestion was made by the latter regarding the restoration of the autonomy of Tibet?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) No, Madam. During his visit to Japan, the Deputy Prime Minister, addressed a luncheon meeting of the Foreign Correspondents Club of Japan in Tokyo on August 21, 1967. In reply to a question the Deputy Prime Minister said as follows:

“Our position on Tibet has been very clear. We have wanted and still want that Tibet's autonomy should be restored and, as a matter of fact, it was on that condition that we had agreed to in 1950 about China's relations



with Tibet. We did not then realize that China had a different designs while making the agreement.”

(b) No, Madam.

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**27 November 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **CLASHES ON TIBET-SIKKIM BORDER**

**\*293. Shri R. Barua:**

**Shri N.S. Sharma:** Will the **Minister of Defence** be pleased to state:

- (a) the total number of armed personnel who have become permanently invalid during the clashes between the Indian and Chinese forces on the Tibet-Sikkim border which took place in September and October last year ; and
- (b) the details of the compensation paid to the families of the dead and to the invalid personnel?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) None of the wounded personnel has so far been invalided out of service.
- (b) A statement showing the pensionary benefits admissible to the families of those killed and those who may be invalided as a result for the clashes is laid on the Table of the House. [*Placed in Library. See No. LT-1745/67*].

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**27 November 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**1983. Shri Yashpal Singh:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that about 3000 Tibetan Refugees crossed into Chamoli district through Mena and Niti passes in August, 1967; and
- (b) if so, whether they have been resettled and if so, where?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) Does not arise.

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**27 November 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**2039. Shri Virendra Kumar Shah:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a number of Tibetan refugees crossed into India as a result of Red Guards violence in recent months;
- (b) if so, the number of persons who entered into India since the beginning of this year and whether they have been rehabilitated;
- (c) whether it is a fact that many of them dies in the relief camps owing to climatic conditions and other adverse factors;
- (d) if so, the number of persons who died in the camps; and
- (e) the steps taken by Government to minimize the miseries and to provide proper treatment for the suffering displaced persons?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gnadhi):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) 745 Tibetans entered India till 31<sup>st</sup> October 1967 through Ladakh, State of Uttar Pradesh, NEFA and Himachal Pradesh. They are being moved to sites of resettlement as and when they are declared to be genuine refugees.
- (c) And (d). No, sir, not many. Some 46 have died on account of diseases caused by malnutrition and exposure.
- (e) Medical cover has been provided. Multi-vitamin tablets and medicines have already been sent by the Central Relief

Committees (India). Some cotton clothing has also been sent. As soon as the refugees are cleared on grounds of security they are shifted to resettlement.

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**29 November 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### तिब्बती छात्रों के लिये स्कूल:

**2318: श्री रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री:** क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार तिब्बती छात्रों के लिए कुछ स्कूल चला रही है;
- (ख) क्या सरकार को उनके प्रबन्ध विशेषकर दिल्ली तथा दार्जिलिंग के स्कूलों के बारे में कोई शिकायतें प्राप्त हुई हैं; और
- (ग) यदि हां, तो सरकार ने उन पर क्या कार्यवाही की है?

**शिक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री भागवत झा आज़ाद) :**

- (क) जी हां, कुछ ऐसे स्कूल तिब्बती स्कूल सोसायटी द्वारा चलाए जा रहे हैं! यह सोसायटी एक स्वयत्तशासी संस्था है और सोसायटी रजिस्ट्रेशन अधिनियम, १८६० के अन्तर्गत रजिस्टर्ड है!
- (ख) न तो सरकार की ही और न तिब्बती स्कूल सोसायटी को कोई शिकायत प्राप्त हुई है! तिब्बती विस्थापित बच्चों के लिए दिल्ली में कोई स्कूल नहीं है!
- (ग) प्रश्न नहीं उठता!

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**4 December 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### ENTRY OF TIBETAN REFUGEES

**\*448. Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that three groups of Tibetan refugees have recently crossed into India;
- (b) if so, the steps taken by Government to rehabilitate them; and
- (c) the reasons for their migration?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) to (c). Several groups of refugees from Tibet have entered India in recent months. Genuine refugees will be resettled under schemes being implemented for their rehabilitation. The main reason of the influx is the increase in anti-religious activities indulged in by Chinese and Tibetan Red Guards who, since the beginning of this year, have destroyed a number of Gompas, disgraced the Lamas and forced the people to adopt new ways.

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**4 December 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### PEKING CHARGE AGAINST INDIA TO ANNEX TIBET

**2854. Shri D.C. Sharma:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether her attention has been drawn to the charges made by Peking of an attempt by the Government of India to annex Tibet through the Dalai Lama.
- (b) Whether they have also alleged that the Dalai Lama's trip to Japan was aimed at carrying out more anti-China activities at the instigation of U.S. imperialism and the Indian reactionaries; and
- (c) If so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) to (c). The Government of India has noticed that various organs of the Chinese publicity media have been making fantastic and totally baseless charges about the intentions of the Government of India vis-à-vis Tibet. However, no communication has been received from the Chinese Government in the matter recently. Such allegations carry

little convictions with anyone. It is therefore, hardly necessary for the Government of India to refute or protest on each and every occasion when such patently baseless charges are made by Chinese publicity media.

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**4 December 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **DALAI LAMA**

**2902. Shri Hardayal Devgun:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Dalai Lama visited Thailand recently;
- (b) if so, the type of facilities which were provided to him by Government; and
- (c) whether the visit was of a private nature or official one?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) and (c). His Holiness the Dalai Lama visited Thailand in his personnel capacity as a guest of the Buddhist Association of Thailand. He was provided with the necessary travel documents by the Government of India. He was also given facilities for foreign exchange in keeping with his requirements.

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**5 December 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**Shri M.C. Shah:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state the total number of Tibetan refugees who have come over to India, since Chinese occupation of Tibet?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):** The total number of Tibetan refugees who have come over to India since March, 1959 is about 51,000.

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**5 December 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **REFUGEES FROM TIBET**

**Shri Bhupinder Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there has been a marked increase in the flow of refugees from Tibet to India during the last six months;
- (b) the number of Tibetan refugees who have come to India since January, 1967 and how does this number compare with that in 1966;
- (c) the policy of the Government in dealing with the refugees; and
- (d) whether it is proposed to settle them in India on a permanent basis?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) 867 Tibetan refugees entered India till 19<sup>th</sup> November 1967, while 240 Tibetan refugees crossed over to India during the year 1966.
- (c) On entering India the refugees are screened and those cleared of suspicion are either moved to sites of resettlement or sent to work camps. Those suspected are detained for further interrogations.
- (d) Yes, Sir. As long as they wish to stay.

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**11 December 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **DALAI LAMA**

Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is fact that Dalai Lama has been pressurized into not raising the question of violation of human rights

- in U.N. General Assembly this year; and  
(c) if so, the reasons therefore?

**The Minister of State in The Ministry of External Affairs (Shri B.R. Bhagat):**

- (a) No, Sir.  
(b) Does not arise.



**11 December 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **DALAI LAMA'S VISIT ABROAD**

**3739. Shri Baburao Patel:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) the type and nature of passport on which the Dalai Lama has been permitted to travel overseas and the countries he has visited so far with the period of his stay in each country;  
(b) the amount of foreign exchange allowed to him for his purpose and the number of persons accompanying him;  
(c) the number and names of Government officials or advisers accompanying the Dalai Lama and the amount of expenditure incurred on them; and  
(d) the purpose for which the Dalai Lama has been allowed to go on this foreign tour?

**3The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) His Holiness the Dalai Lama visited Japan and Thailand in his private capacity. He was issued a Certificate of Identity as a Tibetan national. He stayed in Japan for 17 and in Thailand for 7 days.  
(b) and (c). For the personal needs of His Holiness, adequate foreign exchange was provided. Government do not consider it to be in good taste to reveal precise figures relating to His Holiness, who in his capacity of a great and revered religious leader, has been received as a guest by the Government and people of this country.

His entourage comprised of 6 persons on the visit to Japan and 8 to Thailand. All expenses, including those on passages, of the visits of His Holiness and of his entourage, were met by the respective hosts and the Government of India did not incur any expenditure on these visits.

- (d) As the honored guest of the country, His Holiness is free to come and go as he pleases. There is no question of "allowing" him or not 'allowing' him.  
(i) He was invited to Japan by the Japanese Buddhist Missionary Association on a cultural visit and to inaugurate an exhibition of Tibetan arts and handicrafts.  
(ii) He was invited to Thailand on a religion visit by the Buddhist Association of that country.



**18 December 1967**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*723. Shri M.R. Masani:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to a report in the *Times*, London of the 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1967 carrying an interview with Mr. Keith Satterthwaite, voluntary worker with Tibetan refugees in India. He claimed that he had been forced out from the Tibetan craft community with which he was working by the Indian officials as part of a general policy of hindering and stopping voluntary work by foreign nationals among Tibetan refugees;  
(b) whether the above facts are correct; and  
(c) whether it is a fact that Government have initiated a general policy of stopping work by foreign nationals among Tibetan refugees in this country and, if so, the reasons therefore?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri B.R. Bhagat):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.  
(b) and (c). Mr. Keith Satterthwaite, a farm worker from England, was reported to be guiding the Tibetan craft

community in Dalhousie in farm production. The cultivable area available with this community being small, his services were not considered necessary, and he was informally advised to stop working with them. As the area is neither “restricted” nor closed to foreigners, he could have stayed on if he had wished to do so. We approve only of Specialists and Technicians working with Tibetan refugees and 27 such foreign nationals are currently assisting them in rehabilitation.

**Shri M.R. Masani:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, if it was only a matter of informal advice and the liberty to stay on, there would have been no occasion for this gentleman to tell his sad story to the British public. But I may quote from what he has said in the *Times* that it went well beyond that.

“In May, the local district Commissioner summoned, Lama Khamtral Rinpoche, the community’s head, to ask why he had volunteers there. He had to tell us that we were supposed to go. When they learnt that we were not going to leave, they applied pressure on the Tibetan group by not issuing ration cards for cheap rice and wheat flour...”

**Shri Piloo Mody:** Shame, shame!

**Shri M.R. Masani:** He further says:

“But then an official came to Dalhousie and asked Lama Rinpoche why we still had not gone. We realized that if we did not go, they would put on more pressure. We moved to a private cottage...”

Therefore, they left. Does the hon. Minister think that this kind of thing should happen in this free and democratic country and this sort of bullying be permitted?

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** It is true that he has said like this. But about the pressure and more so about the ration cards, that is not true. All those who wanted ration cards had been given ration cards because they depended upon ration supplied through some contributions, through voluntary societies, due to drought and other situation in the country, were given ration cards. His point that the pressure was applied through denial of ration cards to these peoples is not correct.

**Shri M.R. Masani:** Is the hon. Minister aware of what Mr. Keith Satterthwaite has alleged when he was asked why this happened?

He says: “The Indian Government’s attitude is that the refugees are not working enough. They did not want volunteer workers because the Tibetans would not become self-supporting...”

Is this Government’s policy?

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** No, Sir.

**Shri D.N. Patodia:** May I know it is a fact that the Indian Government wanted only specialized type of volunteers and not of ordinary type? If that be the case, may I know whether the statements of this gentleman is correct when he says:

“I know of several cases personally”—he told in Dharamsala where the Dalai Lama has got actually in residence—“a Swiss doctor with mobile dispensary was told to stop work among the Tibetans although he could work for the Indians.”

**Shri M.R. Masani:** Shame!

**Shri D.N. Patodia:** What is the reason for this discrimination and why was a specialized person like a doctor, prevented from doing his job?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):** We will look into it.

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** I do not know about this. We have the list of specialists who are working in which there are doctors, nurses, teachers and others. But I have just got the information that this doctor is still there.

**Shri D.N. Patodia:** The Minister says, he does not know it. He must have read the report.

**Mr. Speaker:** His latest report is that he is still there.

**Shri M.R. Masani:** I am glad the Prime Minister has said that she will look into it. This is the whole purpose of this question to see that these things do not happen.

**श्री ओ० प्र० त्यागी:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार की जानकारी में यह बात आई है कि जो बाहर के लोग वहाँ काम कर रहे हैं वह तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के बहुत से बच्चों को विदेशों में ले गए हैं और वहाँ उनका धर्म परिवर्तन भी उन्होंने किया है? क्या ऐसी भी रिपोर्ट सरकार के पास है कि जो विदेशी वहाँ कार्य कर रहे हैं उन्होंने तिब्बतियों का धर्म परिवर्तन किया है और उन के इंस्टिट्यूशन में अनिवार्य रूप से ईसाइयत की शिक्षा दी जाती है?

**श्री ब० रा० भगत:** कुछ यह बात सही है कि कुछ देशों में जैसे स्विट्ज़रलैंड ने कुछ बच्चों को शिक्षा देने के लिए प्रबन्ध किया है! अब यह धर्म परिवर्तन की बात का तो मुझे पता नहीं!

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** Is the Government aware of the fact that Dalai Lam, in the name of resettlement of Tibetan refugees, is trying to make extensive purchases of tea estates and things like that in the border areas, specially in the Kangra valley and whether it is a fact that funds for this purpose are coming from western capitalist countries, and if so, what steps Government propose to take to prevent such things from happening? (Interruptions).

**Shri Virendrakumar Shah:** If so, how to get from eastern capitalist countries also?

**Mr. Speaker:** Is that a rider to it!

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** I want notice to answer this question.

**श्री जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज़:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो तिब्बती शरणार्थी हिन्दुस्तान में हैं क्या सरकार की ऐसी कोई भी योजना है कि जिस से किसी दिन इन शरणार्थियों को अपने देश वापस जाने में मदद हो जाय और उस दृष्टि से सरकार कोई भी ऐसी नीति अपना रही है या कोई भी कार्यक्रम अपने हाथ में ले रही है जिस से कि यह चीज़ बहुत ही जल्दी कामयाब हो जाय?

**श्री ब० रा० भगत:** यह तो अपनी मर्जी से यहां आये हैं! हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं उनको बसाने की .....(व्यवधान)..... आप सुनिए तो! अब यह वापस जायें या नहीं, यह भी उनकी मर्जी है! हमारी कोई नीति नहीं है कि उन को वापस भेजा जाय!

**श्री जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज़:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, वह मेरा प्रश्न नहीं समझ सके हैं! वह अपनी मर्जी से नहीं आये हैं! अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय घटनाओं ने जो उन के ऊपर मुसीबत पैदा की उस की वजह से वह आये हैं! उस में कुछ तो आप की सरकार की भी गलती रही है! अब 20 वर्षों के बाद असलियत को छिपाने से तो कोई फायदा नहीं है! मेरे प्रश्न का मतलब समझ लीजिए! राजनैतिक परिस्थितियों के कारण वह यहां आये हैं और आज तिब्बत का इस्तेमाल चीन ने वहां अपनी फौजी ताकत को बढ़ा कर हिन्दुस्तान को खतरे में डालने के लिए किया है! तो क्या ऐसी कोई नीति सरकार की है कि वह तिब्बती अपने घर वापस जायें, अपने देश को अपने काबू में ले और जिस से हिन्दुस्तान पर जो आज चीन का खतरा है वह भी दूर हो और इन की भी मदद हो?

**श्री ब० रा० भगत:** माननीय सदस्य को अच्छी तरह मालूम है कि सवालियों के समय नीति पर बहस नहीं की जाती!

**श्री जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज़:** बहस मैं नहीं कर रहा हूँ! मैं प्रश्न पूछ रहा हूँ और नीति के मामले में ही तो प्रश्न होता है और काहे के मामले में होते हैं?

**Mr. Speaker:** He may please resume his seat. We have got the Foreign Affairs debate also.

**श्री ब० रा० भगत:** उन्होंने नीति का जहां तक सवाल किया मैं फिर भी दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि अगर ऐसी स्थिति हुई भी कि जब वह वहां वापस जायेंगे तो यह उन की मर्जी पर निर्भर होगा.....

**श्री जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज़:** आप से कुछ नहीं होगा! अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह अपने आप चीजें नहीं होती हैं! सरकार को कुछ करना होता है! यह लोग क्या कर रहे हैं? बस उन को रोटी खिलाने का काम कर रहे? और कुछ नहीं.....(व्यवधान) कुछ तो नीति बनावे उस के बारे में!

**श्री प्रेम चन्द वर्मा:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस वक्त तक कितने तिब्बती शरणार्थी हिन्दुस्तान में हैं! जिस इलाके से मैं आता हूँ जैसे धर्मशाला का जिक्र किया है कांगड़े में, वहां पर काफी तिब्बती हैं! तो क्या सरकार को मालूम है कि उन तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के



साथ.....

**Mr. Speaker:** That does not arise out of this question. This is about some voluntary worker and all that.

**श्री प्रेम चन्द वर्मा:** उन तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के साथ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सरगर्म लोगों ने सम्बन्ध बनाया हुआ है और वह जो लोग वहां से तिब्बती शरणार्थी के रूप में आये हैं उनमें चीन के कुछ एजेंट भी हैं जो यहां से सब खबरें वहां भेजते हैं और जो कुछ भी बातें वहां होती हैं वह चीन के रेडियो से ब्राडकास्ट होती हैं, तो क्या सरकार ने इस सिलसिले में कोई जांच की है? अगर की है तो उस का कुछ विवरण बतायेंगे?

**श्री ब० रा० भगत:** अभी तक हमारे यहां कुल 51 हजार तिब्बत से शरणार्थी आये हैं जिन में अधिकांश तो शुरू में आये थे और कुछ अभी आते हैं! जहां तक उन में चीनी एजेंट या दूसरी पार्टी से सम्बन्ध रखने वालों का सवाल है जब वह आते हैं तो हम यह अच्छी तरह छानबीन कर लेते हैं कि उन में कोई चीनी एजेंट न हो या उन का राजनीतिक दलों के साथ सरोकार न हो बिल्कुल! इसके बाद तब उन को बसाने के लिए या पुनर्वास के लिए प्रबन्ध करते हैं.....

**श्री प्रेम चन्द वर्मा:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ केसेज पकड़े गए हैं.....

**श्री बट्ट राट्ट भगत:** उन को वापस भेज दिया गया!

**Shri Hem Barua:** Because of the reception given by India to the Tibetan refugees, is it not a fact that China is at present pushing in more Tibetans into India, of whom some are specially Chinese spies? If so, may I know whether Government is trying to screen the news on rush of Tibetan refugees into India so that these spies may not percolate into our country?

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** That is true. We are very careful. When we see that the influx of refugees that is coming if their number is more than just the trickle that is usually coming on account of hardship, we go into it and very carefully screen them and it is a fact that about some of whom we had doubts that they might be spies, we have been able to push them back.

**बलराज मधोक:** क्या यह सत्य है कि जो तिब्बती रिफ्यूजी भारत में आये हैं उन में से बहुतों को उन क्षेत्रों में जहां की जलवायु उन के अनुकूल है वहां न बसा कर के उन को हम उन स्थानों पर भेज रहे हैं जहां कि जल वायु उन को सूट नहीं करती और अहिस्ता उन को समाप्त करती जा रही है! इसके विपरीत लद्दाख और लहौल स्पीती आदि उत्तरी भारत के अन्य क्षेत्रों में जहां वह बस सकते थे आसानी से और जहां उन के बसाने से हमें भी लाभ हो सकता है, उस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है! लद्दाख में मैंने देखा कि 2 हजार तिब्बती आये हैं उन को बसाने का भी कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं किया गया! तो क्या इस मामले पर भी सरकार रोशनी डालेगी?

**श्री ब० रा० भगत:** लगभग 14 हजार आदमियों को तो हम बसा पाये हैं और जो बाद में आये हैं चूंकि जगह की कमी है और जगह से मतलब यह है कि खेती आदि की व्यवस्था हो तो उसकी कमी है, इसलिए एक बड़ा तबका है दस हजार के करीब, उनको हम मैसूर स्टेट में ज़मीन तैयार करके वहां बसा रहे हैं! अभी तक करीब 20 हजार जो शरणार्थी हैं जिन को बसाना बाकी है, उनके लिए जगह और इलाकों में खोज करके और ज़मीन बगैरह तैयार करके बसाने की कोशिश की जा रही है!

**श्री बलराज मधोक:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने कहा था कि जहां बसाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं वह उन के लिए सूटेबल नहीं है! तो उत्तर भारत में ही उन को बसाने की कोशिश करेंगे?

**श्री ब० रा० भगत:** मैंने जैसा बताया कि इन इलाकों में जैसी ज़मीन चाहिए और जो राज्य सरकारों से उस के लिए सुविधा चाहिए, वह नहीं मिल रही है! इसलिए मैसूर सरकार से बात की! वहां की सरकारों से बात कर के सब कुछ इंतज़ाम कर के तब उन को कहीं बसाया जाता है!

**श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी:** जो लोग मैसूर में बसे हैं वह कुछ समय पहले मुझ से मिलने आये थे! उन्होंने तो कहा कि वह खुशी से वहां बसे हैं!

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### तिब्बत के शरणार्थियों को भारतीय नागरिकता:

4743. श्री शशि भूषण वाजपेयी: क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या तिब्बत के शरणार्थियों को पूर्णतः भारतीय नागरिकता दे दी गई है; और
- (ख) तिब्बत के ऐसे शरणार्थियों की संख्या क्या है जो भारत आने के बाद फिर वापस तिब्बत चले गये हैं?

प्रधान मंत्री, अणु शक्ति मंत्री, योजना मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी):

- (क) अभी कोई मामला विचार के लिए सामने नहीं आया है।
- (ख) ठीक ठीक संख्या मालूम नहीं है! लेकिन इनकी संख्या बहुत कम है!

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23 December 1967

Short Notice Question

### PURCHASES MADE BY DALAI LAMA

**S.N.Q. 18. Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that efforts are being made on behalf of Dalai Lama to make extensive purchases of properties like Tea Estates in border areas, especially in Kangra and Himachal Pradesh areas;
- (b) whether it is also a fact that funds for this are coming from U.S.A. and some other Western capitalist countries; and
- (c) if so, Government's reaction thereto?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) to (c).As explained in the statement laid on the Table of the House, certain properties have been purchased in the name of the Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society. The Society receives assistance from the Central Relief Committee which is a non-official organization in India. The Relief Committee has also received contributions raised by a number of foreign voluntary organizations. The Government of India have no information that any foreign Government has made any contribution to the funds of the Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society.

#### Statement

Under the laws there is no bar on foreigners against the purchase of land and other properties in India.

- 2. The Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society was registered, as a charitable Society under the Society Registration Act XXI of 1860—Punjab Amendment Act, 1957, as extended to the Union Territory of Delhi. The Society is reported to have purchased lands in the following places in Himachal Pradesh:
  - (i) At Bir two Tea Gardens covering a total area of 295 acres. In addition they have purchased 16 acres, in the same locality, for establishing a woolen mill;
  - (ii) At Poanta (Himachal Pradesh)
  - (iii) Sataun (Himachal Pradesh)
  - (iv) Kumarao (Himachal Pradesh)

These lands have been purchased for rehabilitation of approximately 600 Tibetan refugee families.

- 3. The Central Relief Committee (India) (a non-official organization) is the only body which provides funds to the Society. Voluntary contributions raised by the aid agencies in a foreign countries are not sent directly to any rehabilitation unit but are channelised through the Central Relief Committee (India). The Government of India have no knowledge that any foreign government, as such, has made any contribution towards the Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society.
- 4. Funds raised through the voluntary contributions by the people of foreign countries have been received through the following agencies:
  - (a) European Campaign Committee 1966;

- (b) Norwegian Refugee Council;
- (c) Swiss Aid to Tibetans;
- (d) Catholic Relief Services.

5. In terms of the provisions of the law, under which the Society has been registered, the accounts of the Society have been audited and the Report is available with the Central Relief Committee (India):

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** This gentlemen, the Dalai Lama, came as a refugee seeking asylum which was granted by Government. Now he is involving himself in political activities as well as in investment effort and exploitations joining hands with foreigners.

In Delhi alone His Holiness, the Dalai Lama has two bureaux which run departments like Press and Information Department, for Tibetans who wish to travel within India and abroad, ration department, industries and investment department and many other unseen departements. His Holines has bought extensive properties in the border areas of Himachal Pradesh, a cotton mill here, some other complex in Bhopal, iron and steel works near Calcutta with the help of Belgians, who are host to the NATO.....

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member is giving information. What is his question?

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** My question is this. As I have just said the Belgians are co-operating with the Dalai Lama who is finding finance from the Yankees.

So far, what is the total amount that has come from abroad for the Dalai Lama and also in the name of the Tibetan refugees including withdrawals from the PL-480 funds which are preserved in India?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** May I say, at the very outset that it is very wrong on the part of the hon. Member to say that the Dalai Lama is carrying on political activities in this country? It is not a political activity. These are charitable institutions which he has set up for the rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees and for helping the Tibean refugees.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** What about the press and information department?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** As regards the total amount of aid received by this particular society, it comes to Rs. 54.68 lakhs from foreign agencies.

As regards the question whether any money has come from the PL-480 funds or from America, we have no information whatsoever in our hand. Actually, as I have said in my statement already, as far as the Government of India are concerned, we do not know at all if any money has come from any foreign government whatsoever. Whatever money has come from various chartiable institutions abroad who are collecting money for the Tibetan refugees in India.....

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** His knowledge is very limited.

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** These are private organization where Government do not come into the picture.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** What is the total value of immovable assets that have been brought by the Dalai Lama into India and how much of the same has been set out within the Government's knowledge? May I also know the details of the privileges that are enjoyed by the Dalai Lama's and the Tibetan Refugees various establishments in India, and the number of foreigners working for them?

**Shri Surendra Singh:** I submit, I have not got the details of all the valuables and wealth brought into India by the Dalai Lama. All I can say is that as far as this particular society is concernned, he has contributed about Rs. 20,000 when he set it up.

**Shri Umanath:** May I know whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to certain press reports recently that these officers of the Dalai Lama have become centers of international intrigues and even CIA espionage activities; if not, I would like to know whether there is any check as to how the foreign money that is being received by the Dalai Lama is used within the country, i.e it is not used for purposes other than humanitarian purposes etc., for which it is meant. I would like to know what arrangement is there by the Government to check it up.

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** There seems to be a misunderstanding in the minds of members that this particular society

is run by the Dalai Lama's representatives or by Tibetans alone. This society has a governing body consisting of about seven persons, out of whom three are Indians, three are Tibetans and one is a foreigner and Dr. Gopal Singh, M.P., who is a prominent person, who is known to everybody, is the Chairman of the society.

**Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee:** He is a leftist.

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** All the funds which are collected by various foreign agencies and all over the country come to the Central Relief Committee which is a non-official body and it is the duty of the CRC to coordinate, to receive these funds, and to distribute them properly. So, a thorough check is kept, the CRC is fully in the picture as to what is going on, where the money is coming from etc., and all the activities of the society are fully above board.

**श्री प्रेम चंद वर्मा :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ कि दलाई लामा जो कि हमारे जिला कांगड़ा में रहते हैं और वहीं पर वह जमीन खरीद रहे हैं और उस जमीन को खरीद रहे हैं जो कि गरीब लोगों की जमीन है, वहां के लोगों ने उस के लिए प्रोटेस्ट किया कि दलाई लामा को यहां पर जमीन खरीदने की इजाजत न दी जाय मगर सरकार ने उस पर तबज्जह नहीं दिया, दूसरी तरफ दलाई लामा ने जम्मू एंड काश्मीर में जमीन खरीदने के लिए इजाजत मांगी तो सरकार ने जम्मू और काश्मीर में जो काश्मीर के पहाड़ी इलाके हैं वहां पर उनको जमीन खरीदने की इजाजत नहीं दी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ सरकार से कि वह हिमाचल प्रदेश के गरीब इलाके जहां वह जमीन खरीद रहे हैं वहां उन के बसने से जबकि सी. आई. ए. के आदमी जहां एक तरफ उन के साथ हैं वहां दूसरी तरफ चीन के एजेंट भी उन के कैम्पों में मौजूद हैं, तो क्या उन के वहां जमीन खरीदने से इस बात का शक नहीं है, कि वहां पर विदेशी अड़्डे कायम हो जायेंगे?

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह सही है कि ज्यादातर जमीन जो उन्होंने ली है वह हिमाचल प्रदेश में है। लेकिन मैं यह मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ कि किसी किस्म की जबर्दस्ती वहां की जा रही है या जमीन ऐक्वायर की जा रही है बाई फोर्स। यह तो खुशी का सौदा है। जो लोग अपनी जमीन बेच रहे हैं उसे वह खरीद रहे हैं।

**श्री बलराज मधोक :** क्या यह सत्य है कि दलाई लामा चाहते हैं और उन के फालोवर भी चाहते हैं कि लद्दाख में जहां के लोग उनके फालावर हैं और जहां उन्ही का धर्म चलता है वहां वह जमीन खरीदें और वहां वह बसें मगर जो जम्मू काश्मीर रियासत के कानून हैं वह उन को इस बात की इजाजत नहीं देते और इसलिए जो जगह सब से उपयुक्त है उनके बसने के लिए और बाकी दृष्टियों से भी, वहां वह जमीन नहीं खरीद सकते?

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, जम्मू और काश्मीर के बारे में तो मुझे मालूम नहीं है कि क्या उनसे कहा गया है। लेकिन जहां तक कि इस का सवाल है कि वह कहां रहना चाहते हैं कहां नहीं रहना चाहते हैं यह सब बातें उन के साथ डिस्कस होती है और कहीं उस के लिए पाबन्दी नहीं है।

**श्री बलराज मधोक :** वह जम्मू काश्मीर में बसना चाहते हैं

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** इस के बारे में मेरे पास सूचना नहीं है।

**Shri Hem Barua:** The hon. Minister has stated that money has come to the Dalai Lama from different charitable purposes. In that context, may I know whether the buying of tea estates comes within the purview of the charitable activities and whether the Government propose to give the Dalai Lama the legitimate rights to follow his pursuits in this country without any hindrance?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** Aid from foreign agencies is not given to the Dalai Lama himself. They have given to this particular society, a charitable society registered under the society Act. And, what was the second part of the question?

**Shri Hem Barua:** Whether the Dalai Lama would be allowed to pursue his legitimate activities in this country without any restrictions.

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** As far as that is concerned, the hon. Member knows that we have placed no restrictions on the Dalai Lama carrying on his activities and all his activities which concern the rehabilitation and resettlement of the refugees, it is only the political activities which we have advised him not to indulge in.

**An Hon. Member:** But he is doing it. (Interruption).

**Shri D.C. Sharma:** May I know from the hon. Minister whether he is sure of the fact that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is performing only those duties which are necessitated on account of his flight from Tibet and on account of the Tibetans from that country and is he also sure of the fact that the Dalai Lama is not being given that opportunity of political propaganda which has given to the African League which is doing propaganda against the South African Apartheid policy? After all, the Dalai Lama will also have the same opinion against Maoism and I think our Government has no good feeling towards that.

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** Sir, the Dalai Lama is our honoured guest. We have not placed any restrictions on his activities. He is carrying on whatever he is doing in regard to the welfare or the resettlement of his countrymen, he is carrying on those activities with whatever help he is getting himself and with whatever helps is coming outside. We have merely advised him that he should not indulge in any political activity which is likely to impair our relations with our neighbouring countries, and to that he has agreed, and there is no demand from his side in respect of the other things that the hon. Member mentioned.

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा :** मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय दलाई लामा की अपनी सम्पत्ति कितनी है। उन को फिलिपाइन के मेगासे से से पुरस्कार के साथ साढ़े सत्तर हजार रुपया मिला है। एशिया पब्लिकेशनज़ हाउस से उन की जीवनी प्रकाशित की गई है, जिस की रायलटी उन को मिलती है। इस के अतिरिक्त उन को विदेशों से धन मिला है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस सारी सम्पत्ति में से कितना अंश वह अपने विचार प्रचार के लिए हिन्दुस्तान में खर्च कर रहे हैं और इस सम्बन्ध में उन का कौन कौन सा साहित्य प्रकाशित हुआ है।

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** उन की सम्पत्ति के बारे में आंकड़े मेरे पास नहीं है और न ही मेरे पास यह सूचना है कि उन्होंने उस का कितना अंश कहाँ खर्च किया है। मैं बता चुका हूँ कि इस सोसायटी के, जिस के बारे में यह सवाल है, कितने फंडज़ बाहर से आये हैं और वे किस तरह से खर्च हो रहे हैं।

**श्री शशि भूषण बाजपेयी :** क्या दलाई लामा को यह बता दिया गया है कि चूंकि हिन्दुस्तान में जमींदारी प्रथा को समाप्त कर दिया गया है, इस लिए वह जो जमीन खरीद रहें हैं, कल उन को वह शिकमियों को न देनी पड़े? मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह देश में कोई मठ भी बनाना चाहते हैं, जिस के लिए उन्होंने आज्ञा मांगी है।

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** कुछ जमीनें तो वे हैं, जो दलाई लामा स्वयं अपने किसी कार्य के लिये खरीद रहे हैं, लेकिन यह सवाल उन जमीनों के बारे में है, जो इस सोसायटी ने टीएसटेड्स वगैरा में खरीदी हैं, जहां वह फैक्टरी वगैरह सेट-अप करना चाहते हैं, ताकि तिब्बत से आने वाले रेफ्यूजीज़ को कुछ रोजगार दिया जा सके। दलाई लामा अपने लिए क्या खरीद रहे हैं, उस की जानकारी मेरे पास नहीं है और न ही उस का इस सवाल से कोई सम्बन्ध है।

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** प्रारम्भ में दलाई लामा शरणागत के रूप में भारत आए थे, तो भारत ने अपनी पुरानी परम्पराओं के अनुसार उन को इस देश में शरण दी थी। लेकिन इस सोसायटी द्वारा सवयं सीधे रूप में भूमि आदि खरीदने के पीछे क्या भारत सरकार और दलाई लामा का अभिप्राय यह है कि वे दलाई लामा के तिब्बत लौटने की आशा बिल्कुल छोड़ बैठे हैं और क्या भारत सरकार यह समझती है कि अब उनको इस देश के स्थायी नागरिक के रूप में भूमि आदि दी जाये, जिस से वह अपने और अपने सहयोगियों के पुनर्वास की व्यवस्था कर सकें, यदि हां, तो चीनी आक्रमण के बाद भारत सरकार ने इस संसद में तिब्बत के सम्बन्ध में जो यह निर्णय किया था कि हम तिब्बत को मुक्त कर के वापस दलाई लामा को देंगे, क्या वह अपने उस निर्णय को भूल रही है?

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** यह सवाल तो केवल इस सोसायटी के सम्बन्ध में है। माननीय सदस्य ने तो नीति का एक लम्बा-चौड़ा सवाल उठाया है, जिस का जवाब देने में मैं असमर्थ हूँ।

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :** इस सरकार में तिब्बत वापस लेने की ताकत ही नहीं है।

**Shri Nath Pai:** The Dalai Lama represents in international law the legitimate Government of the Tibetan people. Just as Queen Wilhelmina, when she had to take refuge from the Nazi aggressors in the United Kingdom, the fact that she was alone did not detract from the essence of what she represented, namely the legitimate Government of the Netherlands.

The Dalai Lama represents the only legitimate Government of the people of Tibet. As such he has been pleading, I think, for due recognition from the Government of India and also asking for facilities to go to the UN to seek justice for his people and his country at the hands of that body, which stands as the defender of the rights of nations. May I know what is the Government of India's reaction to these different place for help and recognition to His Holiness the Dalai Lama?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** This question is also on the same lines as that put by Shastriji. It is a very wide question which involves policy matters. It has been explained on the floor of the House on a number of times that it is true that Dalai Lama was the head of the local Government, but we have also recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I also asked whether the Dalai Lama asked for facilities for travel to neighbouring Buddhist countries in connection with his religious duties. What is the Government's reaction to that? I also asked whether he wanted to go to UN (*Interruptions*). UN happens to be in America. (*Interruption*). What is the reaction of the Government of India to his desire to go to the UN?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** The hon. Member is aware that the Dalai Lama recently paid a visit to Japan and other places. Our permission was asked and we gave it gladly. In future if he comes forward with such requests, we will certainly consider them. About the UN, such a request has not come to us from him yet.

**Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah:** I am glad the Government have repudiated certain allegations about the intentions and motives of the Dalai Lama in this country. Since there is a large exodus of Tibetan refugees to our country because of the Maoist activities there, do the Government propose to give some more assistance to the Dalai Lama and the charitable institutions he is running for the rehabilitating the Tibetan refugees in conformity with our traditions of giving asylum to the people who have been forced to leave their country?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** In addition to whatever is being done by the Dalai Lama and his organisations in this regard, the Government of India have their own schemes for the rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees. Both the schemes are going on in a parallel way.

**श्री एस० एस० जोशी :** जब दलाई लामा भारत आए थे, तब चीनी हुकूमत के साथ हमारे रिश्ते—नाते आज जैसे नहीं थे। जब से उन्होंने हमारे देश पर आक्रमण किया, तब से वे हमारे दुश्मन बने हुए हैं और, जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कल कहा है, वह सिलसिला लगातार चल रहा है। ऐसी हालत में क्या हुकूमत इस बात पर विचार करेगी कि हम लोगों ने उस वक्त दलाई लामा पर जो शर्त लगाई थी, उनको ढीला किया जाये और अपने लोगों के हित और अच्छाई के लिए वह जो सुविधायें चाहते हैं, वे उनको दी जायें? जैसा कि बताया गया है, वह लद्दाख में अपने लोगों को बसाने आदि के लिए कुछ जमीन चाहते हैं, लेकिन उसमें कुछ दिक्कतें आ रही हैं। क्या सरकार वहां पर जमीन दे कर उन लोगों को वहां बसाने की इजाजत देंगी?

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** मैं पहले ही बता चुका हूँ कि लद्दाख और कश्मीर के बारे में मेरे पास कोई इत्तिला नहीं है। लेकिन मैं इसके बारे में मालूम करूंगा। मुझे मालूम नहीं है कि उन्होंने अपने लोगों को लद्दाख में सेटल करने के लिए इजाजत मांगी है और वह इजाजत नहीं मिली है। यह पॉलिसी का मैटर है और मैं ने पहले ही इस बारे में जवाब देने में अपनी मजबूरी जाहिर की है। अगर माननीय सदस्य इस सोसायटी के बारे में कुछ इनफॉर्मेशन चाहते हैं, तो वह मैं दे सकता हूँ।

**Shri Narendra Singh Mahida:** Sir Dalai Lama enjoys a special status in our country. May I know whether his properties are exempt from wealth tax or income tax?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** I have no information on that point. I require fresh notice to answer that question.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** May I know whether the activities of all the Tibetan refugee establishments or institutions which are functioning at the moment in this country are all guided or looked after by the Central Relief Committee; if so, may I know what is the number of American and British citizens who are working in this country now attached to these various organisations and whether they are given any special privilege or immunity of any kind?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** According to information in my possession I can only say about this particular society which has been registered recently. I have no information about the other institutions (*Interruption*).

**Shri V. Krishnamoorthi:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, you are always very kind to me.

**Mr. Speaker:** Be kind to Dalai Lama.



**Shri V. Krishnamoorthi:** Sir, we always share the sympathy towards Dalai Lama. That is a different matter. As far as the Dalai Lama is concerned, he is an enemy of a foreign country and we have given shelter for all his activities in India. As far as India is concerned, India can take the matter to the United Nations and advocate Dalai Lama's affair. But is it proper for us to aid Dalai Lama and go to United Nations and canvass against a country which is very detrimental to our interests? He must be a guest, but he should not bring India into difficulties. May I know from the hon. Minister what steps the Government of India has taken to secure our interests before giving protection to Dalai Lama?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** Our country's interests are always upper-most in our mind. We always take care of that. As far as giving asylum to Dalai Lama is concerned, as the House has already been informed, we have done it on humanitarian grounds. That we have always done what any civilized country would do that. Regarding the other question about raising the matter in the United Nations, it has not been raised and therefore there is no question of raising it here now.

**श्री हेमराज :** मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि चूंकि बहुत सारे तिब्बतन रिफ्यूजीज ने यहां पर ज़मीन खरीद ली है, तो क्या उनको इण्डियन सिटिजनशिप के हुकूक हासिल हो जायेंगे? क्या यह भी सच है कि दलाई लामा यू०पी० में बसना चाहते थे, लेकिन धर्मशाला के लोगों ने गवर्नमेंट से रिप्रेजेन्ट किया कि उनको धर्मशाला से हटाया न जाय और धर्मशाला में ही रखा जाय?

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझ को नहीं मालूम कि दलाई लामा यू०पी० में बसना चाहते थे और उनको वहां बसने नहीं दिया गया, इसलिये वह वहां चले गये। जहां तक सिटिज़नशिप का सवाल है, तिब्बतन लोग ज़मीन नहीं खरीद रहे हैं, लेकिन तिब्बतियों को बसाने के लिये सोसायटी ज़मीन खरीद रही है, ऐसी सूरत में अगर वह सिटिज़नशिप लेना चाहते हैं तो हमारे कायदे और कानूनों के मुताबिक ले सकते हैं।

**श्री रामवतार फास्ट्री :** माननीय मंत्री जी ने बताया कि दलाई लामा हमारे सम्मानित अतिथि हैं, बहुत वर्षों से अतिथि है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन सम्मानित अतिथि की सेवा सत्कार में भारत सरकार ने जब से वह हिन्दुस्तान में आये हैं, तब से लेकर अब तक कुल कितना रुपया खर्च किया है तथा इस रुपये के खर्च करने का जस्टिफिकेशन क्या है?

**श्री सुरेन्द्रपाल सिंह :** यह एक बड़ा वसीह सवाल है। जहां तक उनकी मदद करने का ताल्लुक है, फिर भी जहां तक उन्हें जरूरत पड़ी, वहां तक उनकी मदद की गई—यह सैन्ट्रल रिलीफ़ कमिटी तिब्बतियों की मदद कर रही है। इस कमिटी के सालाना खर्च के लिये हम कुछ ग्रांट्स—इन—एड देते हैं, लेकिन दलाई लामा की तरफ से कोई मांग नहीं की गई है।

**Shri Kartik Oran:** It is very nice of our government to extend traditional hospitality to the foreigners who come and seek political asylum in our country. Today, Dalai Lama has come; tomorrow some Russian will come, the next day some Chinese, the fourth day some Americans, then the English and others. Now, we are very particular in rehabilitating foreigners. Here I would like to draw the attention of the government to the fact that wherever big projects are coming up the Adibasis are being displaced and no attempt has been made to properly rehabilitate them. I would like to know from the government whether it is not a fact that the foreigners occupy an advantaged position in India in the matter of rehabilitation whereas the Indians are treated as second-rate citizens?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** I think the remarks of the hon. Member are not fair. It is true that foreigners have no restrictions and they can buy property wherever they like and settle wherever they like and whenever they like. That is done on humanitarian grounds. But to say that we do not treat our own people well is not correct. Every possible help is given to our citizens.

**श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त :** हमारी सरकार ने कुछ शर्तों पर तिब्बत चीन को दिया था, लेकिन चीन ने उन शर्तों को नहीं माना और वह पूरी तरह से वायोलेशन कर रहा है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार चीन के होस्टाइल एटीचूड को देखते हुए तथा यह देखते हुए कि चीनी वहां पर तिब्बतियों को खत्म कर रहे हैं—क्या सरकार दलाई लामा को तिब्बत का इण्डीपेन्डेंट—हैड स्वीकार करेगी और उनकी पूरी तरह से मदद करेगी?

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** यह सही है कि तिब्बत में आने के बाद चाइना ने वे शर्तें पूरी नहीं की हैं जो उनको पूरी करनी चाहिये थीं तथा वे वहां पर तिब्बतनज़ के साथ ज्यादतियां कर रहे हैं। जहां तक दूसरे सवाल का ताल्लुक है उसके बारे में पहले भी यहां पर कहा जा चुका है, उससे ज्यादा मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहूंगा।

**श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त :** आप जवाब दीजिये, क्या हर्ज है।

**Mr. Speaker:** The question began with the purchase of some tea estates. Then the whole of the Tibet question, China question and America question came in. Because today there is no question hour and the hon. Minister also was kind enough to answer, I permitted these supplementaries, though they are not strictly relevant. Now, on this question the whole policy is being covered, not only Tibet but also America and even CIA.

**Shri Inder J. Malhotra:** May I know whether the Dalai Lama and any kind of his organizations before buying this property took the permission of the Central Government or had any discussion with the Central Government?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** I can only reply in regard to the properties purchased by the particular society, which is a society registered under the Societies Act. As I have stated in the statement itself, there is no bar on any society buying any property anywhere. So, the question of taking any permission does not arise.

**Shri Inder J. Malhotra:** Before buying these properties, had any of these organizations taken permission or had any discussion with the Central Government?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** They did not have to take our permission.

**श्री रवि राय :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत का हित इसी में है कि आजाद तिब्बत के प्रतीक दलाई लामा को हिन्दुस्तान में पूरी आजादी से काम करने दिया जाय, लेकिन सरकार का रुख उन को आजादी से काम नहीं करने देता है क्योंकि सरकार इस सिद्धांत को नहीं मानती है कि जहां राम हैं, वही अयोध्या है। शरणार्थियों को जो ज़मीन दी जाती है, उस में फर्क करना चाहिये। सम्पत्ति बनाने के लिये उन पर पाबन्दी हो, लेकिन तिब्बत के शरणार्थियों को जमीन के लिये उन पर पाबन्दी न हो, वे हिन्दुस्तान में जहां बसना चाहें, उन को बसाया जाय—मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि इस के बारे में सरकार का क्या रुख है?

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह मामला असल में दलाई लामा का या उनके जो अपने ऐडवाइजर्स हैं या उनके वह नागरिक है जो कि उनके साथ आये हैं उनके बारे में हम कोई दखलअंदाजी नहीं कर सकते और जिस तरीके से वह बसना चाहते हैं उस के लिए वह स्कीम बनाते हैं और यह सोसायटी भी उस का अंग है। अब इस में हम क्या कर सकते हैं? वह यहां भेजें या वहां भेजें। बाकी जो कुछ इमदाद वह चाहते हैं वह हम देते हैं। उस के मुताबिक स्कीम बनाते हैं तो अब उस में गवर्नमेंट क्या कर सकती है?

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** जमीन शरणार्थियों को देनी चाहिए लेकिन यह दलाई लामा जो जगह जगह प्रापरटी खरीद रहे हैं वह तो ठीक नहीं हैं।

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह :** दलाई लामा जो भी प्रापरटीज खरीद रहे हैं वह लोकल जो लाज़ हैं उनके मुताबिक ही खरीद रहे हैं और जैसे और लोग खरीदते हैं जायदाद, जमीन वगैरह वैसे ही वह भी खरीद रहे हैं तो उस में हम क्या करें?

**Shri R.K. Sinha:** Sir, while I protest against the equation of Ram with Dalai Lama, because I belong to Ayodhya, I want to put a question that political or economic rehabilitation of Dalai Lama is one thing but taking the chestnuts out of the fire for foreign powers is another thing. Some negotiations are being carried on by America and China in Warsaw. The American supported countries in the world are very lukewarm about Tibet. It appears that Tibetan lobby is much more enthusiastic about Dalai Lama here. Shall we bother about the interests of our country or the interests of foreign powers? We should look at the problems in the context of our national interests.

**Mr. Speaker:** I don't think any reply is necessary.

**श्री इसहाक साम्बली :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी माननीय मंत्री ने बतलाया है कि इस सोसाइटी को दूसरे मुल्को की इमदाद मिल रही है मगर उन्होंने उस की पूरी तफ़सील नहीं बतलाई। मैं आप के जरिए से दरखास्त करूंगा कि वह मेहरबानी करके यह पता चलायेंगे कि किन-किन मुल्कों से उन को कितनी-कितनी इमदाद मिली है और क्या आयन्दा वह इस तफ़सील को पार्लियामेंट के सामने रखेंगे।

जैसे कि मंत्री ने अपने जवाब में फरमाया है कि इस सोसाइटी को फौरन एड मिलती है और इस में फारनर शामिल हैं तो क्या सरकार इस सासाइटी को खास तौर पर इन्टरनेशनल बोर्डर वाली स्टेट्स जैसे कि कश्मीर, उत्तर प्रदेश, हिमाचल प्रदेश, असम और दूसरी बोर्डर स्टेट्स में जमीनें खरीदने की नुमानियत करेगी जाकि वे रियासतें इन्टरनेशनल साजिश का अड़्डा न बन पायें?

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक यह सवाल है कि यह एंड कहां से आती है तो वह तो मेने स्टेटमेंट में दे रखा है और माननीय सदस्य यदि मेरे स्टेटमेंट को पढ़ेंगे तो वह सब उन को मालूम हो जायगा! अब यह कि कितना उन को कहां से रूपया आया है इमदाद के तौर पर वह मैं पहले एक सवाल के जवाब में बतला चुका हूं!

अब रहा यह सवाल कि यह इजाजत बोरडर स्टेट्स में दी जाय य न दी जाय ज़मीन आदि खरीदने के लिये तो लोकल स्टेट्स के लाज़ ऐप्लाई करते हैं चाहे वह सोसाइटी हो या कोई और सोसाइटी हो और वह इंडिया के अन्दर जायदाद, ज़मीन आदि खरीद सकती है और उस पर कोई बैन नहीं है! यह लोकल लांज़ के ऊपर डिपेंड करता है और वहां की स्टेट्स जब उन्हें ज़मीन खरीदने से मना नहीं करती हैं तो फिर हम क्या कर सकते हैं?

**श्री इसहाक साम्भली:** चेयरमेन साहब, हम नागालैंड और दूसरी जगहों पर इंटरनेशनल साज़िशों के शिकार हो चुके हैं तो इस चीज़ को सामने रखते हुए क्या हम मुमानियत करने पर सोचेंगे?

**श्री सुरेंद्र पाल सिंह:** उस में कोई साज़िश नहीं है!

**श्री शिव नारायण :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारतवर्ष की अपनी सभ्यता रही है! मेरे मित्र ने राम का नाम लिया! मैं अयोध्या के पड़ोस में बसने वाला हूं! राजा रामचन्द्र जी ने विभीषण को शरण दी हम ने भी अपने देश में दलाई लामा को शरण दी हुई है तो फिर इन विरोधी दल वालों को उनके द्वारा यहा पर स्थान ज़मीन खरीदने और वहां पर रहने में क्यों आपत्ति होती है? दूसरे मैं अपनी सरकार से जानना चाहता हूं कि उनको आप तिब्बत के केस के लिए यु० एन० ओ० में अपील करने में सहायता क्यों नहीं करती है!

**श्री महाराजा सिंह भारती :** जो सवाल नहीं थे उन सब का जवाब तो आ गया! अब मैं आप के द्वारा मंत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं कि जो दरअसल सवाल है उसका भी जवाब आ जाये! सवाल यह है:

”क्या यह सच है कि सीमा क्षेत्रों में, विशेषकर कांगडा में और हिमाचल प्रदेश के अन्य क्षेत्रों में चाय बगानों जैसी सम्पत्तियां बड़े पैमाने पर दलाई लामा के नाम में खरीदने के प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं”

दूसरे सोसाइटी के नाम में भी कोई सम्पत्ति ली जा रही है या तिब्बती शरणार्थियों को बसाया जा रहा है या उनकी मदद की जा रही है इन सवालों के जवाब आये ही नहीं ! सवाल तो सीधा यह है कि दलाई लामा जो साधू है, सन्यासी है, औलाद नहीं बच्चा नहीं धार्मिक गुरु है तो क्या उन्होंने अपने नाम में सम्पत्ति खरीदी है? मंत्री जी का उत्तर यह है कि एक सोसाइटी बनी हुई है तिब्बतियों के लिए उन्होंने लोकल लांज़ के मुताबित सम्पत्तियां खरीदी है लेकिन जो सवाल पूछा गया उसका जवाब अभी तक नहीं दिया है और इस पर ३५ मिनट हो गये हैं तो अब तो मेहरबानी करके मंत्री जी सीधा जवाब दें !

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, सवाल किया गया था कि क्या यह सच है कि दलाई लामा ने भी अपने नाम से यहां कोई जायदादें खरीदी है तो मैं ने कह दिया कि उस के आंकड़े हमारे पास नहीं हैं! अलबत्ता जो ज़मीन उस सोसाइटी ने खरीदी है उनका ब्यौरा मैं ने अपने स्टेटमेंट में दे दिया है लेकिन उन ज़मीनों के अन्दर दलाई लामा को हक नहीं पहुंचाता क्योंकि वह तो सिर्फ उन रैफ्यूजीज़ के लिए बनाई गई है जो कि वहां से आये हुए हैं और इमदाद देने के लिए हैं! यह तमाम ज़मीनें सोसाइटी ने खरीदी है! बाकी दलाई लामा ने क्या जायदाद वहां पर खरीदी है वह एतिला मेरे पास नहीं है!

**Shri Tenneti Viswanatham:** The Minister was pleased to say that real estates were purchased but he does not know the extent. Does he atleast know the quality of tea grown and if we drink that tea does not think that our relations with China will become worse than what they are?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** I do not see any reason why any property purchased by the society should have any adverse effect on our relations with China. It is purely for charitable and humanitarian purposes and politics is not involved in it there at all. I do not agree with hon. Member's view that it will affect our relations with China.

**Shri G.S. Reddi:** Is it not in consonance with our secular policy to allow Dalai Lama to preach, propagate and practise Buddhist religion in our country?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** The Dalai Lama is at perfect liberty.

**Mr. Speaker:** The more I wait more new people on the back benches who were talking among themselves have come to the front benches and are anxious to ask supplementaries.

**Shri G.S. Reddi:** Is it not in consonance with our secular policy to allow Dalai Lama from time to time directly or indirectly and see that those lands are dispersed and are not in strategic areas so that a Tibetan enclave is not created? Some Members may laugh at it but after two, three or five years you may have a new problem that a Tibetan enclave may come up and some political insurrection or something may come from there. In view of past experience, would the Ministry take note of it and carefully watch how the Dalai Lama acquires more and more lands? He is a guest and we welcome him but not at the cost of national security. It is going to happen after ten years. I shall show it if I am here in the house then.

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** The Government of India does not interfere with the functioning of private organizations. As regards the lands purchased by this society and how they are utilized, I may assure the hon. Members that the Central Relief Committee, through which all the funds from foreign countries as well as from India are channelised for this particular society, does keep itself fully informed of how they are utilized and the activities of the society are absolutely above board. There is no reason whatsoever why the hon. Member should doubt its *bona fides*.

**श्री सत्य नारायण सिंह:** यह बात सुनने में आई है कि दलाई लामा हिन्दुस्तान छोड़ कर बाहर जाना चाहते हैं लेकिन सरकार उन को इस बात की इजाज़त नहीं दे रही है मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उस में कहां तक सच्चाई है और अगर वह सच है तो उस के पीछे सरकार का क्या इरादा है !

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह:** मैं पहले भी कह चुका हूँ कि जब दलाई लामा ने जापान वगैरह जाने के लिये इजाज़त मांगी थी तो उन्हें वहां जाने की इजाज़त दे दी गई थी अभी उन्होंने कहीं बाहर जाने के लिए हम से इजाज़त नहीं चाही है ! जब मांगेंगे, तो हम उस वक्त देख लेंगे !

**Shri Tulsidas Jadhav:** May I know whether Dalai Lama has accepted the nationality of India and if not, how has he got the authority to purchase land and property here?

**Mr. Speaker:** This question has been asked at least half a dozen times. The unfortunate thing is that many of them who put the questions either were not present or they were somewhere else. Now the same question is being repeated. Exactly the same question was asked when they were in the Lobby or somewhere else. I have already allowed 40 minutes for this.

If the hon. Minister wants to reply, he can.

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** If the hon. Member takes the trouble of going through that statement, he will find that there is no bar on foreigners against the purchase of land and other properties in India.

**श्रीचन्द्र गोयल:** जो तिब्बती बच्चे हैं उनकी शिक्षा का क्या प्रबन्ध है ! उनको शिक्षा भारतीय अध्यापकों द्वारा दी जाती है या तिब्बती अध्यापकों द्वारा ? उनके अन्दर क्या इस प्रकार की भावना कायम रखने की व्यवस्था है कि उन्हें एक दिन अपने देश के लिए स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त करनी है ?

मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि यदि दलाई लामा अपने देश की स्वतंत्रता के प्रश्न को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में ले जायें तो क्या भारत सरकार उनकी सहायता करेगी ?

**श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह:** यह प्रश्न इस सवाल से नहीं उठता है ! मैं क्या इसका जवाब दूँ !

**Shri Rajasekharan:** May I know whether the Government of India is aware that there is a proposal by the Tibetan Resettlement Association in Mysore to have the Tibetan refugees and also the landless people settled in Mysore state. If that is true, is the Government of India going to allow the scheme?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:** I have no information about it.

**श्री मुहम्मद इस्माइल:** मंत्री महोदय ने बताया है कि एक सोसाइटी के ज़रिये से तमाम काम हो रहा है, ज़मीनें खरीदी जा रही हैं ! मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि वेस्टर्न कंट्रीज़ से और खास तौर से यू.एस.ए. से क्या इस सोसाइटी को रूपया पैसा मिल रहा है ? हम लोगों ने अनलाफुल एक्टिविटी बिल पास किया है जिस के अधीन ये तमाम चीज़ें आ जाती हैं ! इस वास्ते कम से कम यह तो बताया जाय कि बाहर के मुल्कों से और खास तौर से

अमरीका से रूपया इस सोसाइटी को मिलता है या नहीं? क्या इसकी खबर आपको है या नहीं है?

**श्री सुरेन्द्रपाल सिंह:** यह तो स्टेटमेंट में लिखा हुआ है कि इस सोसाइटी को इमदाद मिलती है! फारेन एजेंसीज़ का नाम भी लिखा हुआ है! यह ठीक है कि जो फारेन एजेंसीज़ है और वे रूपया एकट्टा करती है और इकट्ठा करके भेजती है! लेकिन उन मुल्कों की गवर्नमेंट्स उस में शामिल नहीं होती है! वे रूपया नहीं दे रही है!

**श्री रणधीर सिंह:** सियास्त में एक पालिसी होती है, मास्टरली एनएक्टिविटी! क्या इस पालिसी का नाम आपने सुना है? यह पालिसी लार्ड लिटन और लार्ड रिपन ने बोर्डर एरियाज़ के लिए तय की थी! इसका मतलब यह है कि फ्रंटियर पर फ्रंटियर के ही आदमीयों के काम लिया जाए और दुश्मन से लड़ाया जाए! इस पालिसी के मानेखेज़ और बड़े कामयाब नतीजे निकलें हैं! हिन्दुस्तान फ्रंटियर्ज़ पर और तिब्बत की सरहद पर मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या इस पालिसी के तहत काम आप कर रहे हैं! नाथु ला, चो ला, हाट स्प्रिंग आदि जो इलाके हैं, हिन्दुस्तान और तिब्बत की जो सरहद है वहां पर क्या दलाई लामा के साथ जो तिब्बती आयें हैं या अपने आप आए हैं उनको डिप्लय किया जाएगा, इन फ्रंटियर्ज़ पर उनको आबाद किया जाएगा? हिन्दुस्तान और चीन के बीच तिब्बत को बफर स्टेट बनाने के लिए क्या दलाई लामा के आदमियों से काम लिया जाएगा और उसके लिए, ज़रूरत पड़े तो वहां उनके लिए जायदाद भी क्या खरीदी जाएगी? मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या आपने इस पर गौर किया है?

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, the whole debate will be concluded by Mr. Kachwai. Mr. Kachwai.

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:** मंत्री महोदय ने अपने वक्तव्य में बताया है कि किसी भी देश का कोई भी आदमी यहां ज़मीन खरीद सकता है, उस पर कोई रोक नहीं है! मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या मंत्री महोदय ने इसपर विचार किया है कि पहले वह अपना रजिस्ट्रेशन करवाये और फिर ज़मीन खरीदें ताकि सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी रहे कि फलां-फलां आदमी बाहर का यहां ज़मीन खरीद रहा है? क्या आपने कोई आदेश निकाले है कि बिना रजिस्टर करवाये हुए कोई विदेशी यहां भारत में ज़मीन नहीं खरीद सकता है? मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूं कि दलाई लामा के जो साथी है या हो उनके साथ लोग आए हैं क्या उन्हें गुरिल्ला युद्ध की ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है या फोजी ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है ताकि वे वक्त आने पर चीन के खिलाफ ठीक ढंग से संघर्ष कर सकें?

**श्री सुरेन्द्रपाल सिंह:** जहां तक रजिस्ट्रेशन का सवाल है यह सोसाइटी रजिस्टर हो चुकी है, इसलिए कोई एतराज़ नहीं उठना चाहिए! जहां तक.....

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:** सवाल यह नहीं है ! आपने यह कहा है कि कोई भी विदेशी भारत में जायदाद खरीद सकता है! क्या यह खतरनाक बात नहीं है कि कोई भी आए और यहां आ कर जायदाद खरीद ले?

**श्री सुरेन्द्रपाल सिंह:** इस वक्त यही कानून है कि कोई विदेशी यहां आकर खरीद सकता है!

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:** इसको ठीक करो!

**श्री सुरेन्द्रपाल सिंह:** यह सोसाइटी रजिस्टर हो चुकी है! इसके एम्ज़ एंड आबजैक्ट्स सब हमें मालूम है! इसलिए कोई एतराज़ की बात नहीं है!

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:** कोई भी विदेशी यहां ज़मीन खरीद सकता है जो यह कानून है यह गलत कानून है! उसे आप ठीक नहीं कर सकते? यह बड़ा खतरनाक है कि कोई भी आ कर ले सकता है!

**श्री सुरेन्द्रपाल सिंह:** कानून गलत है या सही है, हाउस ने बनाया हुआ है और इसको बदलना भी हाउस के हाथ में है!

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:** निती सम्बन्धी प्रश्न का उत्तर कौन देगा?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** यह पालिसी मेटर है! कैबिनेट को इनके बारे में डीसिशन लेना होता है! मिनिस्टर नहीं ले सकता

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### तिब्बती लोगों द्वारा नेपाल जाने के लिये अनुमति का मांगा जाना

295 श्री रामजी राम:

श्री रामावतार शर्मा: क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि 400 तिब्बतियों के एक दल ने दारचुला के रास्ते नेपाल जाने के लिए सरकार से अनुमति मांगी थी;
- (ख) क्या यह भी सच है कि सरकार ने उक्त अनुमति नहीं दी; और
- (ग) यदि हां, तो इसके क्या कारण हैं?

प्रधान मंत्री, अणु शक्ति मंत्री, योजना मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी)

- (क) से (ग): नेपाल के महामहिम की सरकार ने लगभग 400 तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के भारत से होकर जाने के लिये भारत सरकार से अनुमति मांगी थी क्योंकि ये लोग मौसम के कारण नेपाल के एक भाग से दूसरे भाग में जाना चाहते थे! चूंकि प्रकृतिक मार्ग के कारण पहाड़ी इलाके में इस तरह आवागमन ज़रूरी हो जाता है इस लिए अनुमति दे दी गई है!

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February 14, 1968

Written Answers to Questions

### POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF TIBET

\*883. Shri Bedabrata Barua:

Shri Swell:

Shri K.P. Singh Deo: will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Dalai Lama has recently appealed to Government for increased political support to Tibetans' struggle for regaining independence; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):

- (a) and (b). The Hon'ble Members are presumably referring to the reports which appeared in the press about the statement made by the Dalai Lama recently. The broad framework of Government of India's policy remains as stated in reply to part (c) of Starred Question No. 12 answered in the Lok Sabha on the 13<sup>th</sup> November, 1967.

21 February 1968

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN REFUGEES

1479. Shri Jugal Mondal: Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Tibetan fugitives are still coming to India; and
- (b) if so, what arrangements have been made to screen them?

The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):

- (a) Yes Sir, the last batch of 126 Tibetan refugees entered India on 18/19-11-67.
- (b) Tibetan refugees are thoroughly interrogated by a team of interrogators to detect and prevent infiltration of subversive elements. In cases where their bonafides are suspected they are detained under the Preventive of Detention Act.

This information was given in answer to Lok Sabha Starred Question no. 1348 on the 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1967 and in answer to Lok Sabha Starred Question no. 772 of 18<sup>th</sup> December, 1967.

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**POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR THE FREEDOM OF TIBET****\*883. Shri Bedabrata Barua:****Shri Swell:****Shri K. P. Singh Deo:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Dalai Lama has recently appealed to Government for increased political support to Tibetans struggle for regaining independence; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) and (b). The Hon'ble Members are presumably referring to the reports which appeared in the press about the statement made by the Dalai Lama recently. The broad framework of Government of India's policy remains as stated in reply to part (c) of Starred Question no. 12 answered in the Lok Sabha on the 13<sup>th</sup> November, 1967.

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**विदेशी ईसाई धर्म-प्रचारकों द्वारा तिब्बती शरणार्थियों का धर्म-परिवर्तन****5407 श्री ओ.प्र. त्यागी:** क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या विदेशी ईसाई धर्म प्रचारकों द्वारा तिब्बती शरणार्थियों का धर्म परिवर्तन किये जाने के मामले सरकार की जानकारी में आये है;
- (ख) क्या यह सच है कि विदेशी ईसाई धर्म प्रचारकों ने इन शरणार्थियों के बच्चों को गोद ले लिया है और उनका धर्म परिवर्तन करने के लिए उन्हें विदेशों में भेज दिया है; और
- (ग) यदि हां, तो अब तक कितने शरणार्थियों का धर्म परिवर्तन किया गया है तथा कितने बच्चों को विदेशों में भेजा गया है तथा उन्हें किस किस देश में भेजा गया है?

**प्रधान मंत्री, अणु शक्ति मंत्री, योजना मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी):**

- (क) और (ख) सरकार के ध्यान में इस प्रकार का कोई मामला नहीं आया है!
- (ग) प्रश्न नहीं उठता!

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**INSTITUTES FOR TIBETAN STUDY****5623. Shri Baburao Patel:** Will the **Minister of Education** be pleased to state:

- (a) the names and places of Institutes established in India for Tibetan Study under the sponsorship of the Dalai Lama;
- (b) the number of students, Indian or Tibetan, studying in these institutes;
- (c) the amount of monetary grants given to each institute annually by Government; and
- (d) whether Hindi is being taught in these institutes as a compulsory language and if not, the reasons therefore?

**The Minister of State in The Ministry of Education (Shri Sher Singh):**

- (a) to (d). The information is being collected.

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### तिब्बती शरणार्थी

**2063. श्री मोहन स्वरूप:** क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि तिब्बत से आ रहे शरणार्थियों के लिये पीलीभीत और बिजनौर जिलों में शिविर खोले गये हैं;
- (ख) यदि हां, तो इन शिविरों में अब तक ऐसे कितने शरणार्थी बसाये जा चुके हैं; और
- (ग) उन्हें स्थायी रूप से बसाने के लिये क्या कार्यवाही की जा रही है?

**प्रधान मंत्री, अणु शक्ति मंत्री, योजना मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी)**

- (क) जी हां!
- (ख) इस समय पीलीभीत में २४३ शरणार्थी हैं और बिजनौर में १९३।
- (ग) छानबीन करने के बाद में जो तिब्बती वाकई में शरणार्थी पाए जाते हैं, उन्हें किसी तिब्बती शरणार्थी पुनर्वास शिविर में पुनर्वास के लिये भेज दिया जाता है! कुछ समय पहले इन शिविरों से १८२ तिब्बती मैसूर राज्य में मुंदगोद भेज दिये गये थे! १८५ और तिब्बतियों को भेजने का भी आदेश जारी कर दिया गया है!

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**3 April 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### UPRISING IN TIBET

**6225. Shri Shiva Chandra Jha:**

**Shri Hem Barua:**

**Shri Rabi Ray:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is fact that there has been an uprising in Tibet recently about which the Dalai Lama made a reference in his speech from his Indian abode on the 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1968; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) Government of India have seen reports of disturbances in Tibet as also in other parts of China.
- (b) While the disturbances in Tibet arising from the Cultural Revolution are no concern of the Government of India, the continued violation of the human rights of the Tibetan people and repression of their fundamental freedoms evokes our sympathy.

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**3 April 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### TIBETANS COMING TO INDIA

**6282. Shri B. K. Daschowdhary:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that in view of the serious situation now prevailing in Tibet, many Tibetans are seeking shelter in India and many are entering India through Indo-Nepal border; and
- (b) if so, the attitude of Government towards such Tibetan refugees?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) (i) In 1967, 945 Tibetan refugees entered India through different sectors as against 240 in 1966. The main reason given by them, for entering India, was religious persecution by the Chinese. So far, this year, only one Tibetan is reported to have entered India.
- (ii) Reports have been received of two batches of 68 and 43 Tibetans having entered India clandestinely from

Nepal in January-February, 1968. Some members of these batches are reported to have stayed in Nepal for a few years before entering Indian territory.

- (b) (i) Attempts are made to dissuade the migrants from Tibet from entering India. They are however, permitted entry on humanitarian grounds. On entering India, the migrants are screened with a view to detecting Chinese agents, if any. Refugees whose bonafides cannot be established are detained under the Preventive of Detention Act. Migrants found to be genuine refugees are given rehabilitation facilities in different parts of India. This information was given in answer to Lok Sabha Starred Question no. 1348 on 24 July, 1967 and 18 December, 1967 respectively and in answer to Lok Sabha Unstarred Question no. 1479 dated 21 February, 1968.
- (ii) We do not favour Tibetan refugees resident in Nepal entering India due to non-availability of sufficient land even for those who are already here. In keeping with our policy, instructions have been issued to the State authorities to deport them back to Nepal when detected.

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**17 April 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**\*7497. Shri Baburao Patel:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Tibetan refugees that entered India during the last year ending the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1967;
- (b) the names of the types of tribes to which these Tibetan refugees belong and whether they are all hostile to the present Chinese rule in Tibet;
- (c) the names of Passes through which these Tibetan refugees came and the steps taken to screen them before allowing them to enter India; and
- (d) the steps taken to rehabilitate these Tibetan refugees and the parts of India where they have been settled and their number?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) 945.
- (b) The names of the tribes are not known to us. All these refugees belong to areas close to the Indo-Tibetan border. They had to leave their homes and take shelter in India on account of religious persecution at the hands of Chinese authorities.
- (c) It would not be in the interests of the refugees and their families left behind in Tibet to furnish this information. As for the arrangements about screening them, details have been furnished to this House on many occasions, the more recent being in answer to Starred Question no. 722 dated 18<sup>th</sup> December, 1967, Unstarred Question no. 1479 dated 21<sup>st</sup> February, 1968 and no. 6282 dated 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1968.
- (d) It is proposed to settle 113 Tibetan refugees in Ladakh, about 125 in Himachal Pradesh and the rest in Mysore.

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**1 May 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **FOREIGN NATIONALS WORKING WITH TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**9145. Shri Baburao Patel:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number and names of foreign nationals working either as specialists or as technicians with Tibetan refugees in India and the names of places where those foreign nationals are stationed;
- (b) the expenditure incurred by Government on these foreign nationals by way of salary, accommodation and other incidentals;
- (c) whether it is a fact that one Mr. Keith Satterthwaite was asked to leave the country because of his anti-national activities among the Tibetans; and
- (d) if so, the steps taken by Government to see that the other foreign nationals do not indulge in similar anti-national activities?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- (a) Information is given in the list laid on the Table of the House. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-I 117/68].  
(b) Nil.  
(c) No, Sir. Mr. Keith Satterthwaite was advised to stop working with the Tibetan refugees, as his services as a farm adviser were not considered necessary at Dalhousie. Attention is invited to reply given to the Lok Sabha Starred Question No. 723 on 18<sup>th</sup> December, 1967.  
(d) Does not arise.

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**1 May 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के लिए कृषि बस्तियां**

**9162. श्री यशवंत सिंह कुशवाह:**

**डा.सूर्य प्रकाश पुरी:**

**श्री शिव कुमार शास्त्री:** क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि तिब्बत से आए हुए शरणार्थियों को बसाने के लिए कहां कहां पर कृषि बस्तियां राज्यवार स्थापित की गई है और उनके द्वारा कौन कौन से उद्योग चलाये जा रहे हैं, और वे उद्योग कहां कहां तथा किन किन राज्यों में चला रहे हैं?

**प्रधान मंत्री, प्रमाणु शक्ति मंत्री, योजना मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी):** सदन की मेज पर एक वक्तव्य रख दिया गया है जिसमें यह सूचना दी गई है! (पुस्तकालय में रख दिया गया देखिये संख्या LT-I 118/68)

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**10 May 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBETAN SCHOOLS SOCIETY**

**10426. Shri Sradhakar Supakar:** Will the **Minister of Education** be pleased to state:

- (a) the names of members of the Tibetan Schools Society; and  
(b) the grants given to the Society during the last five years?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad):**

- (a) 1. Dr. Triguna Sen, Minister for Education, Govt of India Chairman (Ex-Office)  
2. Shri G. K. Chandiramani, Education Secretary, to the Govt of India Member  
3. Shri A. B. Bhad Kam Kar, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, (Representative of Ministry of External Affairs)..Member  
4. Shri M. S. Sundara, Financial Adviser to the Ministry of Education Member  
5. Shri N. T. Barshi .....Member  
6. Shri J. Taring .....Member  
7. Shri T. Lawang (Representatives H.H the Dalai Lama).....Member

(b)

| YEAR    | AMOUNT OF GRANT (Rs. In Lakhs) |
|---------|--------------------------------|
| 1963-64 | 19.00                          |
| 1964-65 | 32.50                          |
| 1965-66 | 44.00                          |
| 1966-67 | 43.00                          |
| 1967-68 | 50.00                          |

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## INDIA'S POLICY ON TIBET

**658. Shri. M.L. Sondhi:** will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- Whether Government are aware of the widespread international concern for the Tibetan people whose suffering and hardships have increased following the eruption of hostilities between the different factions of the occupying Chinese forces in Tibet;
- Whether Government have reviewed their policy on the Tibet question at the United Nations in the context of new developments; and
- Whether Government propose to take any initiative to bring the Tibet question before the next session of the U.N. General Assembly?

The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati. Indra Gandhi):

- Yes, Sir
- and c. This question is receiving consideration

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**July 24, 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

## दलाई लामा

**317. श्री निहाल सिंह:** क्या वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- क्या यह सच है कि दलाई लामा इस समय धर्मशाला कांगडा (हिमांचल प्रदेश) में रह रहे हैं; और
- उनकी सुरक्षा और निवास आदि पर अब तक कुल कितना खर्च किया है?

**प्रधान मंत्री, अणु शक्ति मंत्री, योजना मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी):**

- जी हां!
- सरकार परम पावन दलाई लामा पर हुए खर्च को बताना कुछ अच्छा नहीं समझती क्योंकि इस देश के लोगों ने और सरकार ने उन्हें एक महान और पूजनीय धार्मिक नेता की हैसियत से ग्रहण किया है!

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**July 24, 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

## CHINA AS A NUCLEAR STATE

**657. Shri M.L. Sondhi:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- whether China would be recognized as a Nuclear State under the terms of Non-proliferation Treaty and has by implication a privileged status;
- whether any assurances have been to India that Nuclear Powers will take steps to decrease their stockpile or at least not increase them; and
- if so, Government's reaction thereto?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):**

- China is a "nuclear weapon State" with reference to the Treaty, as it had exploded a nuclear explosive device prior to 1<sup>st</sup> January 1967.
- No, Sir.
- Does not arise

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## TIBETANS IN INDIA

**3101. Shri. Babu Rao Patel:** will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- The total amount spent by Government on the education, resettlement and other relief measures of Tibetans so far;
- The number of Tibetans in India at present, camp-wise;
- The reasons why these Tibetans have refused to accept Indian citizenship offered to them;
- Whether it is a fact that a large number of these Tibetans have recently embraced Christianity and expressed a desire to migrate to foreign countries; and
- If so, how many and for what reasons?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati. Indra Gandhi):**

- The total amount of money spent by Government till 31-3-67 on relief rehabilitation, resettlement and education of Tibetan refugees in India, is Rs. 5.50 crores. Final figures of expenditure for the year ending 31-3-68 are not yet available, but the expenditure is expected to be approximately Rs. 90 lakhs.
- The total number of Tibetan Refugees in India is approximately 51,000. Camp-wise statement is laid on the Table of the House. (*Placed in Library. See No. LT-1653/68*).
- Under the existing laws, Indian citizenship is not offered to a foreigner or to a community. Those desiring to become Indian citizens have to make individual applications in accordance with the Indian Citizenship Act, 1955. The question of Tibetans having refused Indian Citizenship offered to them, therefore, does not arise.
- No such case has come to the notice of the Government of India.
- Does not arise.



August 21, 1968

Oral Answers to Questions

## DEPRIVATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN TIBET

**\*571. Shri Ranga:**

**Shri K.M. Koushik:**

**Shri Gadilingana Gowd:**

**Shri C.C. Desai:**

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:**

**Shri N.K. Somani:** will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state whether, in view of the changed circumstances in the Asian political situation and of the delegation of 1968 as the Human Rights Year by the United Nations, the Government of India would sponsor or co-sponsor a Resolution in the next session of the U.N. General Assembly against the continued deprivation of the Human Rights in Tibet and an appeal to humanity as a whole to the conscience of China to release the Tibetans from her stranglehold?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri B.R. Bhagat):** The government will support any General Assembly Resolution calling for the cessation of practices which result in the deprivation of fundamental Human rights in Tibet

**Shri Ranga:** Just now the House is so full of what is happening in Czechoslovakia and the destruction of her human rights. Now the House should be in a position to appreciate even much more poignantly what has been happening for the past twelve years, if not for a much longer period in Tibet. Why is it that the Government of India do not wish to take any initiative even now, at such a late hour, in asking the UN to take necessary steps and measures to get this question examined on the basis of human rights and enlighten the whole world as to what exactly to what extent and in what horrible manner the civil and human rights of the people of Tibet are being destroyed?

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** The two questions, Tibet and Czechoslovakia, cannot be compared because in one it is a question between two independent countries...



**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** So What?

**Shri Balraj Madhok:** Do not mislead the House. Tibet was never part of China.

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** Tibet was free prior to Czechoslovakia

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** Howsoever the hon. Member may shout, facts cannot be denied.

**Shri Balraj Madhok:** I shall challenge him. He is telling wrong facts. Tibet was never part of China.

श्री रवि राय: तिब्बत कभी चीन का हिस्सा नहीं था। इनको वापिस लेना चाहिये गलत बयानी कर रहे हैं।

**Mr. Speaker:** Nobody can put a question just now. The Minister has not completed his answer. If he thinks that the House does not want to listen to the answer, he is mistaken and it will be very wrong to go about in that manner. This cannot be allowed.

श्री रवि राय: गलत बयानी कर रहे हैं।

**Mr. Speaker:** *Galat* does not mean that he should be interrupted like this. I will give him a chance later to ask a question. But he does not allow the answer to be given at all. If he wants to put his words into the Minister's mouth, naturally he will not accept it. He must say what he wants to say

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** As for educating the world about conditions in Tibet, the House knows that this matter has been raised in the General Assembly and last time India supported a resolution the world known about the situation in Tibet, how the rights of the people are being suppressed there.

**Shri Ranga:** My point is this. Why should not the Government of India themselves sponsor this resolution, at least now? I am not asking the Government of India to do it for the first time. So many other countries which are not associated with Tibetan culture as intimately as we have to come forward to sponsor a resolution in the United Nations on several occasions. At least now, why is not this Government of India prepared to take courage in both hands and raise this question, not against a friendly country but against communist China which has invaded our country unprovoked? May I also draw attention to the fact that once the United Nations had appointed a committee on forced labour in Soviet Russia? At that time Soviet Russia did not allow that commission to come there. Still the Commission carried on its work and published a report on the conditions of life of humans in Soviet Russia. Many things came to light thereafter. Why should not our Government take some such step, take the initiative on this occasion and to the United Nations and invoke its aid in order to see that these people are helped to some extent at least?

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** While appreciating the point of the hon. Member, we should realize that this has to be looked into from all aspects. The first and foremost consideration is that it should help the people of Tibet. If because of the strained relations between India and China, if India takes the lead and initiates such a move in the General Assembly, probably the Chinese will exploit it. (*Interruptions*). The hon. Member may not agree with the reasoning given by me. I am only saying that it is probable. This question of Tibet should view more objectively without bringing in the India-China strained relations. According to our judgement, this will make the positions of the Tibetan people worse and China will deliberately exploit it to its political advantage. While agreeing with the wishes expressed that the suppression of the Tibetan people's rights should stop, I think the stand that we have taken is correct, namely, if this matter comes up in the General Assembly, we shall support it. That is the best stand that we can take.

**Shri K.M. Koushik:** An international committee of jurists have examined this question of violation human rights in Tibet and they have also recommended that it should be raised in the U.N. May I also remind the Government that the Jamshaheb of Navanagar as a representative of India in the steering committee the United Nations had given an assurance that the Tibetan question would be solved peacefully and gave a guarantee there. In view of this may I know from the government whether they are going to raise it on the floor of the United Nations?

**Mr. Speaker:** He has answered that question.

**Shri K.M. Koushik:** The point is whether they had it in mind.

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** That point is always before us.

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** Is it not a fact that according to wall posters appearing in Peking during the last year the Chinese Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, who was severely attacked—including physical assault by the red guards who scaled the walls of the Chinese foreign office, something which we do not do here—was charged that he advocated a so-called capitulatory policy towards Indonesia, Burma and presumably Tibet.

In this context may I know whether Government of India have considered the effects of the Cultural Revolution in creating wide ranging antagonisms within Chinese ruling elite on foreign policy issues including that of Tibet, and whether in objective terms the Prime Minister is in a position to accept the complete reversal of the international attitudes towards Tibetans exemplified by, in the case of China, the undermining of its professional diplomacy and the emergence of large-scale infighting in Tibet by the Red Guards and those opposing them, in the case of the Soviet Union unmistakable evidence of fresh scrutiny of the southern border of China along side Tibet, for example in the *Journal New Times*, and in the case of the United States—I hope my Communist friends will appreciate it—the emergence of a pro-Peking lobby which derives its confidence from the fact that while last year China was involved in ugly and violent incidents with nearly three score countries, there was no crisis with the USA and the Ambassadorial level talks at Warsaw continued in a satisfactory and comfortable manner....

**Mr. Speaker:** What is the question? The whole foreign policy you are giving by way of a supplementary.

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** This is an important background. I wish to make it clear that I am not one of those who want tension between India and China. I look forward sometime later for good relations between India and China—I do not hesitate to say that. May I know whether instead of passively voting for resolutions brought by others on Tibet, which are drafted by other people and which may actually lead to raise tension, there are other possibilities through which Government can in a sober manner simultaneously lower tensions with China while firmly supporting the favourable trends of thinking in favour of Tibet by taking initiative and themselves sponsoring a resolutions in their own words, which would be a balanced and carefully worded one, at the United Nations?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):** We are in touch with other nations and we can certainly influence the wording of any particular resolution which may come up. As the Minister has pointed out just now we have given very careful consideration to this matter and we do not think it will be in interest of the Tibetans for us to take a leading role in this.

**Shri Ranga:** Have they consulted the Dalai Lama, Sir?

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** I meant members of other countries in the Human Rights Commission. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Hem Barua:** Sir, Tibet has been reduced to a vast prison house by China by now. As the military occupation of Tibet by China has been complete and Tibet has been used the springboard of war preparations by China against India it has affected India's security also. In the context of that may I know what steps Government are taking or propose to take in the interest of our security to neutralize Tibet and to restore the status of Independence so far as Tibet is concerned. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in his book *Glimpses of World History*, 1939 Edition, page 842, has written "Tibet was independent".

**Shri Nath Pai:** It is in "a letter to his daughter".

**Shri Hem Barua:** If the position of Tibet is so, why is it that the Minister of External Affairs has said that Tibet was under the control of China? It is a very wrong thing to say. It contradicts Mr. Nehru and also this Government. In any case it contradicts the policy of the people. In the context of that, may I know what positive steps Government are taking or propose to take to ensure security by neutralizing Tibet and restoring the status of independence so far as Tibet is concerned and whether Government are prepared to recognize the émigré government under the leadership of Dalai Lama in this country or not?

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** We have recognized Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** Suzerainty.

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** Whatever the conditions were earlier on, world conditions do change and, I think, we have to live with the realities of the situation. We cannot ignore facts. We feel deeply concerned about the human problem in Tibet, about the atrocities which are committed there and about what we hear of young people, teenagers, being taken

away from their parents to Peking or other parts of China and so on. It is also true that Tibet is used as a base for propaganda against us.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Not only propaganda but aggression also.

**Shri Hem Barua:** I said, "war preparations".

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** As far as aggression is concerned, we have to look to our own security arrangements and to strengthen them, which we are doing. We have also to look to our own propaganda machinery and to strengthen it and make it more effective. But I do not really see the connection with the question that is asked about sponsoring this matter in the Human Rights Commission.

**Shri Nath Pai:** General Assembly.

**Shri Nambiar:** Why can an émigré government not be set up in India?

**Shri Swell:** The Prime Minister has rightly said that in all these things that are happening in Tibet or anywhere else in the world the most important thing for us is to look to the security arrangements of this country. In the international field two things have happened recently; the decision of the Soviet Union to sell arms to Pakistan and the invasion of Czechoslovakia the news of which we have heard only today. These two things have given rise to a widespread feeling in the people of this country and of the world that India should reappraise and reshape her foreign policy. It is wisely said that in this process of reshaping our foreign policy the most important thing is to mend our fences with our neighbours. I would like to know from the Government whether they subscribe to this fundamental policy of mending our fences with our neighbours. It is recognized that among our neighbours the most portentous is China. May I know whether this Government will reappraise its foreign policy with a view to mending its fences with China... (*Interruptions*)? Let me put my question. You are not to answer it; the Prime Minister is to answer it. You are entitled to my own. If the Government subscribes to this policy of mending fences with our neighbours, may I know whether it will be helpful to us even now to raise this question again, however much we may feel for the people of Tibet, at this moment?

**Shri Ranga:** Aha! Aha!

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** There is some validity in what the hon. Member has said. In this limited matter I must say I agree with what the hon. Member, Shri Sondhi, said that we must not regard our relationship with China to be hostile for all time to come. But an atmosphere has to be created or certain things must happen before we can have better relations.

**Shri Nambiar:** The best solution is to set up a Tibetan Government in India.

**Some Hon. Member:** Hear, Hear.

**Shri Piloo Mody:** I am beginning to see some hope for the country.

**Shri R.D. Bhandare:** I quite appreciate the difficulty that may be before the Government of India in sponsoring the resolution regarding Tibet. But in view of the fact that the Government of India is prepared to support the resolution in the United Nations, if moved, may I know from the Government if, in case small nations are prepared to sponsor and move the resolution, the Government of India will move a step forward and fall in line in co-sponsoring the resolution sponsored by the small nations?

**Shri Piloo Mody:** Let the co-Minister answer the question.

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** It has been made clear that we are not co-sponsoring any resolution. But we will support the resolution.

**श्री रवि राय:-** अध्यक्ष महोदय, भले ही सरकार की राय नहीं है लेकिन हम लोगों की तो पक्की राय है कि तिब्बत कभी इतिहास में चीन का हिस्सा नहीं था इसलिए मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार की फिलहाल जो चीनी नीति है क्या सरकार इस पृष्ठ-भूमि में कि वहाँ अत्याचार हो रहा है, जनोसाइड हो रहा है, अपनी नीति बदलने की कोशिश करेगी और जैसे कि पेकिंग सरकार को मान्यता दी है इस सिलसिले में ताइवान सरकार को मान्यता देने की कोशिश करेगी?

**श्री ब०रा० भगत :** माननीय सदस्य तिब्बत से ताइवान चले गए। इन दोनों का रिश्ता तो मुझे कोई मालूम नहीं पड़ता।

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The Prime Minister spoke about the interest of the people of Tibet. She has herself admitted of the atrocities committed by China on Tibet. Yet we have not taken any initiative to sponsor a resolution in the Human Rights Commission in this matter. In view of the fact that we committed a mistake earlier by accepting the sovereignty of China over Tibet, because of the changed situation, whenever the question of admission of China into the United Nations is raised would it be the stand of the government that they would not longer support any such move for admission of China?

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** I think the hon. Member is contradicting himself because the whole point of our sponsoring China's membership of the United Nations is that it would be easier to bring her to book about all these matters.

**Shri Ranga:** Never, never.

**Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah:** While appreciating the obvious embarrassment of Shri Anandan Nambiar whenever the issue of Tibet *vis-à-vis* China is raised in this House....

**Mr. Speaker:** Is it for Shri Nambiar to answer this question?

**Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah:** While government's point has been made very clear about sponsoring or co-sponsoring any resolution, I would like to know whether the government will take a leading role in mobilizing world opinion towards the inhuman treatment meted out to the Tibetans by the Chinese whenever this issue has been brought before the United Nations by some other country.

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** As the Prime Minister has stated, we are already in touch with other governments on this respect and if this resolution comes up in the United Nations General Assembly we would support it. While supporting it, the exchange of views with other governments also takes place. We will certainly make our views clear to other governments.

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok:** The hon. Minister began his speech by saying that there is no comparison of Tibet with Czechoslovakia and he also said that Tibet is part of China. May I know whether he is prepared to go into all the facts regarding Tibet in relations to China and India and arrive at a conclusion whether Tibet was ever part of China. You have made the original mistake of admitting that Tibet was under the suzerainty or sovereignty of China. Can't we rectify a *bona fide* mistake we have committed of historians to find out whether Tibet was ever part of China? If anything, it had friendly relations with India. But it had its own passport and foreign policy; it was never part of China. Then you said that we should improve our relations with China. I quite agree with you. But how can we improve our relations with China when by the occupation of Tibet the biggest barrier of geographical distance dividing India from China has been removed? Unless and until Tibet becomes free and our very confrontation with China disappears, there can be no peace with China. My question is this. Are you prepared to take concrete steps to see that Tibet is restored its autonomy or freedom, whatever name you may give it, so that the ground may be prepared for improving the relations between India and China in the times to come?

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** Is it the hon. Member's contention that by sponsoring this resolution, Tibet will become free?

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok:** What about my first question? Are you prepared to go into the question of independence of Tibet or its being part of China? I want a specific answer.

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** I do not know whether any useful purpose will be served by having a committee of historians. We have seen, whenever experts meet together, they always have different views on the subject.

**Shri P. Gopalan:** Last time, when this issue of so-called suppression of human rights was brought in the U.N., not a single non-aligned country supported it except India and some of the satellite of America....(*Interruptions*)

**Some Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri P. Gopalan:** I would like to know from the Minister whether the Government have tried to find out the reason why not a single non-aligned country supported the resolution when it was brought in the U.N.

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** I can give the list of the countries. The description I leave it to the hon. Member. The draft resolution was co-sponsored by Ireland, Malaysia, Malta, Philippines, Thailand and some other countries. (*Interruptions*) 43 countries voted in favour. I can lay the whole list on the Table of the House.

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** You name them....(*Interruptions*)

**Mr. Speaker:** Will you kindly sit down? You read out only 5 or 6 names. Either you read out all the names....

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** I do not have all the names now.

**Mr. Speaker:** All right. He will lay it on the Table later on.

**Shri Shivajirao S. Deshmukh:** Our hon. Prime Minister is the Prime Minister of the country of Buddha, Ashoka and Gandhi. In view of the fact that Buddhism as the Indian religion recognizes Dalai Lama as the living Buddha, may I know what specific steps the Prime Minister propose to take to translate into action the sentiments of sympathy and grievances which were expressed just now?

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** If I may go back to the earlier question, I shall read out the list of the country which I have just received. Those who voted in **favour were:**

Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Columbia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Malta.

Those who voted **against were:**

Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian, Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussia Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali.

And those who **abstained were:**

Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sweden, Tunisia, Afghanistan, Austria, Ceylon, Dahomey, Denmark, Finland, France, Ghana, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kuwait, Lebanon, Maldives, Islands, Mexico.

The resolution was adopted by 43 votes to 26, with 23 abstentions.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** She has not replied to Mr. Shivajirao Deshmukh's question.

**Mr. Speaker:** His question was also covered by the answer.

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** The question has already been answered earlier... (*Interruptions*). If the matter comes up, we will support it.

**श्री एस०एम० जोशी:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो सवाल इस समय सदन के सामने है, उस का जवाब देते हुए हुकूमत की तरफ से यह बताया गया कि यदि हम उस प्रस्ताव को को-स्पौन्सर करें तो हमको देखना होगा कि क्या वह तिब्बतन लोगों के हित में है या नहीं है। मैं हुकूमत से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि तिब्बती लोगों के हित में क्या चीज है या क्या नहीं है—उस का फैसला हम लोग खुद करने जा रहे हैं या उन लोगों के साथ, तिब्बत के प्रतिनिधि दलाई लामा यहां बैठे हुए हैं, उनसे बातचीत करके फैसला करेंगे? यदि उन्होंने उस को अपने हित में बताया तथा आपको स्पौन्सर करने के लिये कहा तो क्या आप स्पौन्सर करने को तैयार हैं?

**श्री ब० रा० भगत:** मेरे जवाब का माननीय सदस्य ने दूसरा अर्थ लगाया है। मैंने कई कारणों में एक कारण यह भी बताया था कि सम्भवतः चीन इस बात को लेकर कि हिन्दुस्तान इस मामले को उठा रहा है ओर चीन व हिन्दुस्तान के सम्बन्ध अच्छे नहीं हैं—वह इसका फायदा उठायेगा ..... (व्यवधान) ..... यह बात किस के हित में है या नहीं है— यह मैंने नहीं कहा था ..... (व्यवधान) .....

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** It is an insult. You are following Kutzen Bach. It is an American lie. You are following it completely. I can prove it. We can debate it anywhere.

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** I hope, the hon. Member will be more balanced in his approach. No country, no person, can influence my mind. I have paid through my blood for this country....

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** Shed it once again. Do not stand on your laurels. Do not think of the past. Think of the future.

**Shri B.R. Bhagat:** I was saying that a number of considerations are involved in this and when we determine this

question, we do it keeping in view all those considerations. One of the considerations, as I said, which is taken into account in determining and coming to a valued judgment in this matter is what would be the best course to adopt keeping in view the objective that we have to guard against suppression of human rights, fight it and do whatever is possible. With that objective, we have taken the steps which we considered to be the best. This is what I said....(Interruptions)

श्री रवि राय: दलाई लामा के साथ बातचीत करेंगे क्या?

**Mr. Speaker:** He has said that the decision is taken based on what is good for India and what is in the interest of India. It may not necessarily concern the Dalai Lama. You cannot force him to do that.

**Shri Nambiar:** May I know whether, in view of the fact that we have to render friendly assistance to Tibet and to the people of China and create a better understanding between the two countries, it will be possible for the Government of India to consider the feasibility of sending out the Dalai Lama from the borders of India? He is creating the trouble between India and China.

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** Let them try; let them try sending out the Dalai Lama. The Government will not.

**An hon. Member:** We want an assurance that the Dalai Lama is an honoured guest.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Question Hour has to be utilized only for getting information and not assurances if any hon. Member asks for an assurance during the Question Hour that will be wrong. Question Hour is meant only for eliciting information.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Let us know what the reply is, whether they will send the Dalai Lama out.

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** We have given, and from times immemorial, India has given, refuge to people who have been persecuted on religious or other grounds in other countries, this was the reason why we welcomed the Dalai Lama when he came here.

**Shri S.M. Krishna:** Let Shri Nambiar see what has happened to the Panchen Lama.

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** Not only the Dalai Lama himself but large numbers of other Tibetan refugees are in India; and the Government of India and other voluntary agencies are...

**Shri Ranga:** And the nation also...

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** Are helping to settle them and also to look after them.

**Shri Nambiar:** He is doing political work here.

**Shri Ranga:** My hon. Friend ought to behave properly. The Dalai Lama is our honoured guest he should not speak like this. (Interruptions).

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह प्रसन्ता की बात है कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने कहा है कि जो तिब्बत में हो रहा है उससे उन्हें चिन्ता है और वे पूरी तौर से तिब्बत के काज को आगे ले जायेंगी। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या कभी दलाई लामा ने यह प्रार्थना की कि तिब्बत के इन्टरेस्ट में यह बात है कि भारत यू.एन.ओ. में तिब्बत के काज को स्पान्सर करे? और क्या दलाई लामा ने, चीन तिब्बत में जो एट्रसिटीज कर रहा है उसकी तफसील दी? दूसरे यह कि जब चीन हमारे साथ होस्टाइल एटीट्यूड रखता है, मीजो, पाकिस्तान और नागाओं के सम्बन्ध में तो क्या भारत सरकार दलाई लामा की सरकार को यहां पर मान्यता देगी?

**Mr. Speaker:** I think all these questions have been answered here so many times. He wants to know whether the Dalai Lama's Government will be recognized.

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** I have talked to the Dalai Lama, though I must confess not recently. And as far as I recall, he had appreciated the Government's point of view. The Dalai Lama is not a political person, and, therefore, it is difficult for him to assess the political consequences of such moves.

With regard to the details of the atrocities committed we have had some information from the Dalai Lama and other Tibetans, as also from other sources.

With regard to the last question of the hon. Minister I would say that if we think that China is doing something wrong, then it is not proper for us to behave similarly. We must stand by certain values and principles.



**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** In view of the treaty signed by both China and India guaranteeing the autonomy of Tibet, to which we are a party, is it not a moral duty on our part to take the initiative in the matter of protecting the human rights of the Tibetans directly and not wait in the sidelines?

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** In political life, I think that one has to look at many aspects, and I do not think that we can just function in the air in a matter like this.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** क्या तिब्बत के एक मात्र धार्मिक और राजनीतिक शासक श्री दलाई लामा ने इस सम्बन्ध में भारत सरकार को कोई पत्र लिखा है कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की जनरल असेम्बली का एजेन्डा 29 अगस्त को पूर्ण हो जायेगा और यह अनुरोध किया है कि उससे पहले भारत सरकार अपना मन बना ले? यदि हां, तो उसमें उन्होंने क्या कारण बताए हैं और भारत सरकार ने उसका क्या उत्तर दिया है ?

**Shri M.L. Sondhi:** It is a direct question, and we want an honest answer.

**श्री ब०रा० भगत :** उनकी तरफ से ऐसी बात लिखी गई थी मगर जो हमारी नीति है वह हमने स्पष्ट कर दी है कि ऐसा कोई रेजोल्यूशन आए तो उसका समर्थन करने के लिए तैयार है।

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok:** A very unconvincing answer.

**Shri Chengalraya Naidu:** When the British were here they were exercising some control over Tibet. What are the circumstances now why we are not having that control? When the Chinese are committing such in-human acts in Tibet over the Tibetans, why are our Government so weak that they are not able to call a dog a dog? Further, there are so many Chinese agents in our country. Will Government consider the question of sending them to China from this country? My hon. Friend Shri Nambiar may be sent out from here.

**श्री विभूति मिश्र :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, ह्युमन राइट्स को दिलाना एक बहुत जरूरी काम है लेकिन तिब्बत को ह्युमन राइट्स दिलाने के लिए चाइना से बैर लेना होगा तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इधर के लोग और क्या उधर के लोग इस सरकार को मदद करते हैं कि सरकार खेती के मामले में ताकतवर हो, कल-कारखाने के मामले ताकतवर हो और एटम बम भी बना ले क्योंकि तभी हम चाइना का मुकाबला कर सकेंगे और क्या इस समय हमारी सरकार इस पोजीशन में है?

**Shri Chengalraya Naidu:** They are traitors to this country. People like Shri Nambiar should get out of this country.

**श्री विभूति मिश्र:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे प्रश्न को उत्तर तो दिलवाइयें।

**श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी :** अणुबम के बारे में कई दफा यहां पर बहस हो चुकी है।

**Shri S.A. Dange:** I just want to know from the Prime Minister whether when we are discussing the question of protecting human rights in Tibet she would do something to protect the human rights of the workers in India first.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** In view of the overwhelming opinion expressed in the House that Tibet matters should be taken up at the international forum, if possible sponsored by us or at least co-sponsored by us, is the Prime Minister willing to reconsider the Government's policy in this regard?

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** We have already replied to this question.

**Shri Nath Pai:** It is a demand from every section of the House.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** The majority opinion is in favour of a change of policy.

**Shrimati Indira Gandhi:** We have to look at our national interest. Government have to look at the long-term national interest. We feel that our present policy is framed having regard to that. We always welcome the expression of views by hon. Members and we always do take them into consideration. But we have to look as I said, to the long national interest of India.

**Mr. Speaker:** Short Notice Question No. 8.

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :** आज अध्यक्ष महोदय क्वेश्चंस चूंकि 17 मिनट बाद शुरू किये गये हैं इसलिए 12 बजे के बाद 17 मिनट और क्वेश्चंस को दिये जाने चाहिए।

**Mr. Speaker:** No.

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**DOCTORS FOR INDIAN TRADE AGENCIES IN TIBET**

**5649. Shri S.A. Dange:** will the Minister of Health, Family Planning and Urban Development be pleased to state:

- the number of doctors selected by the U.P.S.C. during 1959-60 for jobs in the Indian Trade Agencies in Tibet;
- the number of doctors appointed to the above posts out of the selected doctors by the U.P.S.C.;
- the number of those Doctors who were selected but not appointed to the above posts;
- whether they were offered any other equivalent posts; and
- if so, the details thereof?

**The Deputy Minister in The Ministry of Health, Family Planning and Urban Development (Shri R.S. Murthy):**

- One.
- None.
- One.
- Yes.
- Assistant Surgeon Grade I, in the Willingdon Hospital and Nursing Home, New Delhi.

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**13 November 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**ISING OF TIBET ISSUE IN U.N.O.**

**445. Shri. D.C. Sharma:**

**Shri. Beni Shankar Sharma:**

**Shri. Kameshwar Singh:Shri.**

**Rabi Ray:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state;

- Whether it has been decided not to raise the Tibet issue at the United Nations General Assembly session on the score of suppression of Human Rights;
- If so, the factors leading to the decision; and
- The steps proposed to be taken to tackle the issue?

**The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Planning and Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati. Indra Gandhi):**

- Yes, Sir, However, Government would support any move calling for the cessation of practices which result in the suppression of Human Rights in Tibet.
- and c. The position was explained in detail on the 21<sup>st</sup> August 1968 vide Lok Sabha Starred question No. 571

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**21 November 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**तिब्बत और पकिस्तान से आये शरणार्थी**

**1542 श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय:** क्या श्रम तथा पुनर्वास मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- गत छः वर्षों में तिब्बत और पकिस्तान से कितने शरणार्थी भारत आये;
- इस समय देश में विस्थापित व्यक्तियों के लिये कितने शिविर विद्यमान हैं;
- उपरोक्त अवधि में इन शिविरों की स्थापना तथा उन्हें चलाने पर प्रति वर्ष सरकार द्वारा कितनी धनराशि खर्च को गई; और
- क्या इन शिविरों का व्यय राज्य सरकार देती है या केन्द्रीय सरकार अथवा दोनों सरकारें मिल कर इसे वहन करती है?

**श्रम, रोजगार तथा पुनर्वास मंत्रालय में उप मंत्री (श्री द्व. रा. चहाण):**

- दिसम्बर, १९६७ में समाप्त होने वाले ६ वर्षों के अन्तर्गत तिब्बत से ५३३५ व्यक्ति तथा पकिस्तान से ८७३३९८ व्यक्ति शरणार्थियों के

रूप में भारत आये थे! इसके अतिरिक्त वर्ष १९६८ में ३१ अक्तूबर तक १९० व्यक्ति तिब्बत से तथा ९३५२ व्यक्ति पाकिस्तान से शरणार्थियों के रूप में भारत आये!

- (ख) इस समय तिब्बत से आने वाले शरणार्थियों के लिये १४ सहायता शिविर सहित पुनर्वास केन्द्र है और पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये नये प्रव्रजकों के लिये ३४ सहायता शिविर है! १९६४ में पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से हुये प्रवाह के फलस्वरूप, लगभग १०५ सहायता शिविर पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये प्रव्रजकों के लिये स्थापित किये गये थे! उन में से अधिकांश बन्द कर दिये गये हैं! विभिन्न राज्यों में चालू की गई पुनर्वास योजनाओं परियोजनाओं में अब तक पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये प्रव्रजकों के लगभग ३७,००० परिवार बसा दिये गये हैं!
- (ग) एक विवरण जिसमें जानकारी दी गई है सभा पटल पर रखा गया है! देखिये संख्या LT 2246/68
- (घ) इन शिविरों पर होने वाला सारा व्यय केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा वहन किया जाता है!

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**18 December 1968**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### लद्दाख के प्रमुख लामा द्वारा दलाई लामा का संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में समर्थन करने के बारे में वक्तव्य

**5015 श्री ओंकार लाल बेरवा:** क्या वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या लद्दाख के प्रमुख लामा द्वारा हाल ही में दिए गए वक्तव्य की ओर सरकार का ध्यान दिलाया गया है जिसमें उन्होंने भारत सरकार से अनुरोध किया कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र में दलाई लामा के मामले को उठाया जाए तथा उसका समर्थन किया जाए, और
- (ख) यदि हां तो इस बारे में सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया है?

**प्रधान मंत्री, अणु शक्ति मंत्री योजना मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी):**

- (क) ऐसी प्रथाओं को खत्म करने के लिए जिनकी वजह से तिब्बत में लोग मूलभूत मानवाधिकारों से वंचित रहते हो, संयुक्त राष्ट्र महासभा में जब भी कोई प्रस्ताव रखा गया है, भारत ने उसका समर्थन किया है और भविष्य में भी हर प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करेगा!

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**26 February 1969**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### तिब्बत में प्रवेश की सुविधाओं के लिए चीन से बातचीत

**1225. श्री कुशोक बाकुला:** क्या वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि भारतीय व्यापारी यात्री तथा विद्वान तिब्बत में जाने के अपने पारी यात्री तथा परस्परिक अधिकार का प्रयोग करने के तीव्र इच्छुक हैं;
- (ख) क्या प्रधानमंत्री द्वारा नव वर्ष के लिए अपने प्रेस सम्मेलन में इस आशय के संकेत के बाद इस संबंध में भारतीयों को सुविधायें प्रदान करने के बारे में चीन के साथ बातचीत आरंभ की गई है; और
- (ग) यदि नहीं, तो ऐसी वार्ता कब तक आरंभ होगी?

**वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री दिनेश सिंह):**

- (क) और (ख) भारत और तिब्बत के बीच व्यापारियों और यात्रियों के आवागमन और सांस्कृतिक आदान-प्रदान का प्रश्न १९५४ के करार द्वारा संचालित होता है! जैसा कि सदन को अच्छी तरह मालूम है, चीन ने इस करार का उल्लंघन किया और १९६२ में इसे खत्म हो जाने दिया! हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने फिर यह कहा था कि हमारी सरकार चीन के साथ ऐसे आधार पर बातचीत करने के लिए तैयार है जो, भारत का प्रभुसत्ता, प्रदेशिक अखण्डता और राष्ट्रीय गौरव के अनुकूल हो! चूंकि चीन की ओर से कोई जवाब नहीं आया है, इसलिए अभी तक कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई है!
- (ग) फिलहाल प्रश्न नहीं उठती!

### धर्मशाला ट्रांज़िट स्कूल का बन्द करना

**6850. श्री कुशोक बाकुला:** क्या शिक्षा तथा युवक सेवा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि भारत सरकार धर्मशाला ट्रांज़िट स्कूल को बन्द करने पर विचार कर रही है?
- (ख) क्या यह सच है कि अभी भी 300 तिब्बती बच्चे उस स्कूल में पढ़ रहे हैं और उनकी शिक्षा के लिये और कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है और उनकी वित्तीय स्थिति बहुत दयनीय है; और
- (ग) क्या सरकार उक्त स्कूल को बन्द करने के उपरोक्त निर्णय पर पुनः विचार करेगी?

**शिक्षा तथा युवक सेवा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन)**

- (क) से (ग) धर्मशाला के ट्रांज़िट स्कूल का सम्बन्ध भारत सरकार से नहीं है! इसको परम पावन दलाई लामा जी की तिब्बती शिक्षा परिषद ने खोला था, और इसमें 655 तिब्बती बच्चे पढ़ते थे! जब उनमें से 646 बच्चों को, जो कि निश्चित रूप से 'तिब्बती शरणार्थी बच्चें' थे, भारत सरकार द्वारा चलाई गई तिब्बती स्कूल सोसाईटी द्वारा संचालित स्कूलों में भेज दिया गया, तो परिषद ने अपने ट्रांज़िट स्कूल को बन्द कर दिया! शेष नौ बच्चे, जो कि शरणार्थी नहीं हैं, उनकी देख रेख स्वयं वह परिषद कर रही है!

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### तिब्बती बच्चों के लिये स्कूल की सुविधा

**6851. श्री कुशोक बाकुला:** क्या शिक्षा तथा युवक सेवा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) सरकार को मालूम है तिब्बत स्कूल समिति के पास ३००० ऐसे तिब्बती बच्चें जिनके लिये स्कूलों में सुविधा उपलब्ध नहीं है;
- (ख) क्या यह सच है कि तिब्बत स्कूल समिति ने भारत तथा विदेश में स्वेच्छित संघटनों से इस कार्य में सहायता करने की मांग की है, और
- (ग) क्या सरकार उक्त समिति को वित्तीय सहायता अथवा शिक्षा सुविधाएं उपलब्ध करने के किसी प्रस्ताव पर विचार कर रही है?

**शिक्षा तथा युवक सेवा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन)**

- (क) तिब्बती स्कूल सोसाईटी केवल तिब्बती विस्थापित बच्चों की शिक्षा का ही प्रबन्ध करती है! इस सोसायटी द्वारा चलाए जाने वाले तिब्बती विस्थापित छात्रों की संख्या ३१ दिसम्बर, १९६८ को ५५१२ थी! यह सोसायटी उन तिब्बती बच्चों की शिक्षा के लिए जिम्मेवार नहीं है, जो विस्थापित नहीं हैं!
- (ख) जी नहीं श्री मान!
- (ग) इस सोसायटी का सारा खर्च भारत सरकार द्वारा दिए सहायता-अनुदान से पूरा किया जाता है! इसके अतिरिक्त खाद्य सामग्री औषधित आदि के रूप में कुछ सहायता केन्द्रीय सहायता समिति भारत के ज़रिए स्वेच्छित संगठनों से प्राप्त होती है!

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### DUTCH HELP FOR SETTLEMENT OF TIBETAN REFUGEES

**\*1319. Shri Tulsidas Dasappa:** Will the **Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have received any offer from Holand to help setting up an agricultural project for the settlement of Tibetan refugees in India;
- (b) if so, the amount of help offered;
- (c) the total amount of expenditure likely to be incurred on this project; and
- (d) the total number of Tibetan refugees who will be benefited by this?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation (Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad):**

- (a) Government have received no offer from Holland to help in setting up an agricultural settlement for Tibetan refugees in India. However, the Board of Trustees for the Common Project of the European Refugee with its Headquarters at The Hague has offered financial assistance in some land settlement colonies which have been set up by Government for Tibetan refugees in this country.
- (b) The amount of financial assistance offered by the Board of Trustees mentioned above is Rs. 1,95,94,500/
- (c) The Total cost of these projects is likely to be Rs 3,24,28,846/
- (d) According to present indications, about 9600 Tibetan refugees will be resettled in these project areas.

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**April 25, 1969**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**उच्च तिब्बती अध्ययन संस्थान, वाराणासी को अनुदान**

**7666. श्री कुशोक बाकुला:** क्या शिक्षा तथा युवक सेवा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) गत दो वर्षों में प्रतिवर्ष केन्द्रीय सरकार ने वाराणासी के तिब्बती अध्ययन संस्थान को कितनी राशि अनुदान के रूप में दी,
- (ख) क्या सरकार का विचार इसमें कुछ वृद्धि करने का है, और
- (ग) यदि हां, तो कितनी और इसमें किस तिथि से वृद्धि की जाएगी?

**शिक्षा तथा युवक सेवा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन):**

- (क) तिब्बती उच्चतर अध्ययन संस्थान, वाराणासी को पिछले दो वर्षों में निम्नलिखित अनुदान दिए गए थे:-

1967 - 68 — 55,000 रूपये

1968 - 69 — 2,04,297 रूपये

- (ख) और (ग) मामला विचारित है!

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**April 25, 1969**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR TIBETAN REFUGEES.**

**7742. Shri S.M. Krishna:** Will the Minister of Education and Youth Services be please to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the educational institutions for the benefit of Tibetan Refugees are run by government;
- (b) whether the accounts of these institutions are audited by the Government auditors; and
- (c) the salary of the officer who looks after the Administration of these educational institutions and his educational qualifications?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of education and Youth Services (Shri Bhakt Darshan):**

- (a) No, Sir. These institutions are run by an autonomous organization, called the Tibetan Schools Society, which has been set up for this purpose and is wholly financed by the Government of India.
- (b) Yes, Sir.
- (c) The principal executive officer of the Society is its Secretary, who looks after the administration of the Society as well as the educational institutions run by it. The post carries a scale of pay of Rs 1100-50-1300-60-1600-100-1800. No educational qualifications have been laid down in the memorandum of Association or Rules and Regulations of the Society. The post has so far been held on deputation by officers of the Ministry of Education of or above the rank of an Assistant Educational Advisor to the Government of India.

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### RAISING OF SUPPRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN TIBET ISSUE IN U.N.O

**3351. Shri Jai Singh:**

**Shri Yajna Datt Sharma:**

**Shri Mahant Digvijai Nath:**

**Shri Hardayal Devgun:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to refer to his statement on the Demands for Grants pertaining to his Ministry on the 8<sup>th</sup> April, 1969 and state:

- (a) whether Government have since considered the question of taking the question of suppression of human rights in Tibet to the United Nations; and
- (c) if so, with what results?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) and (b) The matter is under consideration.

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**20 August 1969**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में तिब्बत का मामला उठाना

**\*636 श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री:**

**श्री शिवकुमार शास्त्री:**

**श्री वेणी शंकर शर्मा:** क्या वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या तिब्बत के मामले को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में उठाने के बारे में कुछ समय पूर्व प्राप्त हुए प्रस्तावों पर सरकार ने इस बीच विचार कर लिया है;
- (ख) यदि हां, तो इस बारे में क्या निर्णय किया गया है; और
- (ग) क्या यह सच है कि इस बारे में निर्णय न लिये जाने के कारण तिब्बतीयों की संस्कृति, सभ्यता और धर्म पर विपरीत प्रभाव पड़ रहा है?

**वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री (श्री दिनेश सिंह):**

- (क) और (ख) तिब्बत में मानवाधिकार के दमन के प्रश्न को भारत को संयुक्त राष्ट्र महासभा के अगले अधिवेशन में उठाना चाहिए या नहीं, इस बारे में सरकार विचार कर रही है।
- (ग) तिब्बत में तिब्बती लोगों की संस्कृति, सभ्यता और धर्म की रक्षा करने का दायित्व तिब्बत के लोगों और चीन लोग गणराज्य की सरकार पर है। हमें यह जानकर बड़ा दुख हुआ है कि तिब्बती लोगों के अधिकारों का हनन किया जा रहा है और हमें उनसे सहानुभूति है

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री:** श्रीमान मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह सत्य है जैसा मंत्री महोदय ने अभी कहा कि वहाँ अत्याचार कष्टा को पहुँच गया है शायद इसी का परिणाम यह है कि श्री पच्छेन लामा जिनके के बारे में किसी प्रकार की कोई जानकारी नहीं है, क्या उनकी मृत्यु कर दी गई है अथवा उनको किसी ऐसी जगह पर ले जाकर रख दिया गया है जहाँ से उनके बारे में किसी को कोई जानकारी न हो सके? और दूसरी बात ... ..जैसा अभी आपने कहा कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र के अगले अधिवेशन में इस प्रश्न पर भारत सरकार अभी विचार कर रही है तो इतनी ठोकरें खाने के बाद कब तक सरकार की नीति में कोई परिवर्तन होने की संभावना है?

**श्री दिनेश सिंह:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, पच्छेन लामा के संबंध में कोई निश्चित सूचना हमारे पास नहीं है! यह हमने अवश्य सुना है कि वह चीन में जहाँ पर नज़रबंद थे वहाँ से वह बाहर कहीं निकल गए हैं लेकिन वह कहां गए हैं इसके बारे में सरकार को कोई जानकारी नहीं है!

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री:** अध्यक्ष महोदय मेरा सवाल तो बिल्कुल स्पष्ट था कि जो इन्होंने कहा था कि अगले अधिवेशन में तिब्बत के सवाल को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में उठाने के संबंध में भारत सरकार विचार कर रही है तो क्या दिक्कत है भारत सरकार के रास्ते में अभी भी ऐसी है कि जो सरकार



विचार ही कर रही है और मानवाधिकार के प्रश्न को भी वहां नहीं उठा सकती !

**श्री दिनेश सिंह:** माननीय सदस्य जानते हैं कि कई साल से यह मामला संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में उठा नहीं है और जब तक कि काफी देश उसके लिए तैयार न हो कि यह मामला उठाया जाये और इस के बारे में बहस हो तब तक खाली हमारे.....(व्यवधान).....

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**19 November 1969**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **RAISING OF TIBET ISSUE IN U.N.O.**

- 450. Shri N. K. Somani:**  
**Shri V. Narasimha Rao:**  
**Shri Nihal Singh:**  
**Shri Bal Raj Madhok:**  
**Shri Ram Swarup Vidyarthi:**  
**Shri K. P. Singh Deo:**  
**Shri Raghuvir Singh Shastri:**  
**Shri Yashwant Singh Kushwah:**  
**Shri S. K. Tapuriah:**  
**Shri P. C. Adichan:**  
**Shri N. Shivappa:**  
**Shri N. R. Deoghare:**  
**Shri Prem Chand Verma:**  
**Shri Jai Singh:**  
**Shri Yamuna Prasad Mandal:**  
**Shri Yajna Datt Sharma:**  
**Shri Hardayal Devgun:**

**Dr. Sushila Nayar:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether some 200 members of Parliament have written to Government to re-think our Government Policy on Tibet issue;
- (b) whether Government are considering to raise the question in U.N.O Human Rights Commission;
- (c) whether Dalai Lama has also associated himself with this demand; and
- (d) if so, the details thereof and Government's reaction thereto?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) To (d). The matter is still under consideration.

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**19 November 1969**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **CHINESE PROTEST ON P.M'S MEETING WITH DALAI LAMA**

- 471. Shri J. Ahmed:**  
**Shri Sitaram Kesri:**  
**Shri S. Kundu:**  
**Shri S. M. Krishna:**  
**Shri J. K. Choudhary:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Chinese Charge d' Affairs in New Delhi has strongly protested to Government over the recent meeting of Dalai Lama with Prime Minister; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) On the 16<sup>th</sup> October, 1969 the Chinese Charge d' Affairs verbally "protested" to the Ministry of External Affairs

against the meeting of His Holiness the Dalai Lama with the Foreign Minister of India (not Prime Minister).

- (b) The reply of the Government of India was that appropriate courtesies due to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, including calls on leaders were, as usual extended to him. The Chinese Charge d' Affairs "protests" were categorically rejected.

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**19 November 1969**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **CHINESE ACTIVITIES IN TIBET**

**561. Shri S. Kundu:**

**Shri S. M. Krishna:**

**Shri Mohan Swarup:**

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the **Minister of Defence** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government is aware of the Chinese activities in Tibet and establishment of atomic energy head-quarters in Lop Nor in Sinkiang;
- (b) if so, the details thereof; and
- (c) the steps taken to strengthen the Indian Border security arrangements to counter Chinese activities?

**The Minister of Defence and Steel and Heavy Engineering (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) to (c). As stated in reply to Unstarred Question No. 2491 on 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1969, Government are aware of Chinese military activities across the border, including those in various military installations in Sinkiang. Government are aware that at Lop Nor, the Chinese have been testing missiles, nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. In Tibet, the Chinese have been constructing a number of bunkers, barracks, storage space for ammunition and in general improving the roads linking various military stations. These activities have been taken note of in making our defence arrangements.

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**27 November 1969**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **INFLUX OF TIBETANS IN WEST BENGAL**

**\*248. Shri Beni Shankar Sharma:**

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharya:**

**Shri Rabi Ray:** Will the **Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the West Bengal Government is facing influx of Tibetan refugees;
- (b) whether the West Bengal Government have been advised by the Centre to provide food and shelter to the Tibetan refugees who might enter the State in the wake of reports of Panchen Lama's disappearance from detention in Eastern Tibet;
- (c) whether the check-posts in the border areas of Bhutan are also understood to have been informed about the possible influx of Tibetan refugees;
- (d) if so the number of Tibetan refugees that have arrived so far; and
- (e) the arrangements made for their stay etc?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation (Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad):**

- (a) and (b) No, Sir.
- (c) No, Sir. Our border checkposts on Bhutan have standing instructions to prevent influx of foreigners.
- (d) and (e) Since 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1969, the Bhutan Government have handed over 33 Tibetans to our checkpost at Jaigaon (West Bengal). These Tibetans are being screened. Necessary arrangements for their stay and food have been made.

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**25 February 1970**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**CHINESE NUCLEAR INSTALLATION IN TIBET**

**595. Shri Samar Guha:** Will the **Minister of Defence** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that China has developed a part of her nuclear installations in Tibet;
- (b) whether she is making elaborate preparation for using nuclear weapons for offensive purposes from the bases built-up in Tibet region; and
- (c) if so, the likely impact on defence complex of India in the Himalayan region?

**The Minister of Defence and Steel and Heavy Engineering (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) to (c). We have no information that China has developed any nuclear installation in Tibet though it is known that China is engaged on the development of inter-continental ballistic missiles. Government's assessment of the Chinese nuclear strength as well as policy regarding nuclear weapons has been conveyed to the house on a number of occasions. Our plans to meet the threat are kept under constant review.

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**11 March 1970**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**CLASHES BETWEEN TIBETAN AND CHINESE IN LHASA**

**2467. Shri J. Mohamed Imam:**

**Shri C. C. Desai:**

**Shri Piloo Mody:**

**Shri D. N. Deb:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether attention of the Government has been invited to a report in 'Times of India' of January 18, 1970 regarding the serious clashes between the Tibetan and Chinese authorities in Lhasa and other parts of Tibet;
- (b) if so, whether Government of India have received any report in this regard; and
- (c) what action, if any, taken to help the Tibetans?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) and (b). Government have seen the news report but have no authentic information in the matter.
- (c) As is known, Government have indicated that they would be glad to support any move in U.N for the conservation of human rights of the Tibetan people.

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**18 March 1970**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**INDO-NEPAL TALKS ON TIBET**

**3457. Shri G. Y. Krishnan:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there has been any talk between the officials of India and Nepal regarding Tibet in New Delhi on the 4<sup>th</sup> September, 1969; and
- (b) if so, the details thereof?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) Does not arise.

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**23 November 1970**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**RAISING ISSUE OF TIBET IN U.N.O.**

**1825. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that recently quite a large number of M.P's have represented to Government to raise the question of Tibet in the U.N.O

- (b) if so, the broad details of the memorandum; and
- (c) the efforts made by Government and the success achieved in this regard?

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh:**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) and (c). Do not rise.

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**16 March 1972**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**STATEMENT OF DALAI LAMA REGARDING PLEBISCITE IN TIBET**

**414. Shri P. K. Deo:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Dalai Lama recently issued a statement preferring plebiscite in Tibet to ascertain the wishes of the Tibetan people; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government of India in this regard?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) Government have seen press reports regarding Dalai Lama's press interview, wherein reference to plebiscite in Tibet was made.
- (b) The Policy of the Government of India is quite clear. India has all along regarded Tibet as a part of China.

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**4 May 1972**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के पुनर्वास के लिये निर्धारित की गई भूमि**

**4983. श्री कुशोक बकुला:** क्या **श्रम और पुनर्वास मंत्री** यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या लेह में शेहा नामक स्थान पर तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के पुनर्वास के लिये आरम्भ में जो 1300 एकड़ भूमि निर्धारित की गई थी उसमें अब 200 एकड़ भूमि कम कर दी गई है; और
- (ख) यदि हां, तो इसके क्या कारण हैं और क्या सरकार शरणार्थियों के पुनर्वास के लिये और अधिक भूमि उपलब्ध कराने के बारे में विचार कर रही है?

**श्रम और पुनर्वास मंत्री (श्री आर.के.खडिलकर)**

- (क) और (ख) जम्मू और कश्मीर राज्य सरकार अबिचेनमोथांग नहर के सिचन-क्षेत्र के अधीन आने वाली सम्पूर्ण 1200 एकड़ भूमि को लेह के निकट शिवर में रह रहे 305 तिब्बती शरणार्थी परिवारों के पुनर्वास के लिए देने को सहमत हो गई है! बताया गया है कि नहर के सिचन क्षेत्र की विस्तृत पैमाइश का काम शुरू कर दिया गया है! तिब्बती शरणार्थियों के पुनर्वास के लिए उपलब्ध होने वाली भूमि का पता उस समय चलेगा जब पैमाइश का काम पूरा हो जायेगा!

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**18 May 1972**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**PROJECTS RUN BY TIBETAN INDUSTRIAL REHABILITATION SOCIETY, HIMACHAL PRADESH**

**6590. Prof. Narain Chand Parashar:** Will the **Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number and names of projects run by the Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society in Himachal Pradesh; and
- (b) whether any financial aid given by the Central Government to these projects?

**The Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation (Shri R. K. Khadilkar):**

- (a) The Tibetan Rehabilitation Society set up the following seven projects in Himachal Pradesh:
  - (i) Chauntra Tea Estate at Bir and Chauntra;
  - (ii) Hydrated Lime Industry at Sataun;

- (iii) Taopan Gapa Minerals Industry at Kumarao;
- (iv) Tibetan Craft Community Tashjong, at Paprola;
- (v) Sakya Land Settlement at Puruwala;
- (vi) Bir Tibetan Woollen Mill at Bir; and
- (vii) Tibetan Poly Fibre Industry at Paonta. The last two have since been closed.

- (b) The Central Government have not given any grant or financial assistance for these projects, except against certain aid received from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In 1970, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees gave an aid of Rs. 2,30,000/- to the Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society through the Government of India for providing working capital to all the mentioned projects except the Tibetan Craft Community Tashijong, Paprola. The Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society has also received other aid direct from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and foreign and international voluntary agencies. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has given an aid of Rs. 1,45,580/- recently for converting part of the Chauntra Tea Estate into an agricultural settlement. The details of the scheme and the procedure for passing on the aid to the Society are being worked out.

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**18 May 1972**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### INDIAN PILGRIMS TO TIBET

**6606. Shri S. N. Misra:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there have been any pilgrims from India to Tibet in the last 2 years;
- (b) if so, whether they experienced any difficulties; and
- (c) if so, the nature thereof?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) and (c). Do not arise.

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**16 November 1972**

**Oral Answers to Questions**

### CHINESE ALLEGATION REGARDING FORMING TIBETAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE IN INDIA

**Shri Rajdeo Singh:**

**Shri V. Mayavan:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether China has charged India in a United Nations Committee with forming a Tibetan Government in exile on Indian soil; and
- (b) if so, the action taken for the charges?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) The Chinese allegation is baseless and needs no new refutation. There is no question of India forming any Tibetan Government on Indian soil. In fact, as is well known, India regards Tibet as a part of China.

**Shri Rajdeo Singh:** In the statement he has stated that India has always regarded 'Tibet as a part of China'. I want to know whether by introducing the word 'always' Government has not shifted its stand on Tibet.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** That is not correct; in fact, I would like to correct it if it is not corrected. In fact, as is well known, India regards Tibet as a part of China.

**Shri Rajdeo Singh:** As a rebuff, why has not our representative at the UNO pointed out the interference of China in our internal affair by helping underground Nagas and Mizo rebels?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** It is not necessary to involve the UN in this. It is true that at one time some of the unlawful

elements amongst the Nagas did go to China, got some training and brought some arms also. The situation in Nagaland now is well stabilised. The State Government is fully in control of the situation.

**Shri Prabodh Chandra:** May I know whether the present change that India has always regarded Tibet as part of China is not different from the stand that the Government of India took at the time of occupation of Tibet by China because then emphasis was laid on the suzerainty and not sovereignty of China over Tibet? Is this not a departure from the previous stand held by the Government of India?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** There is no change. We have always regarded Tibet as part of China.

**Shri Piloo Mody:** That is not true.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** The point as to what should be the relationship of Tibet with the Government of China certainly is not inconsistent with Tibet being part of China. The question of autonomy or the quantum of autonomy, more autonomy or less autonomy, is a matter which is within the sovereign right of the Central Government of China.

It is an internal matter of state relationship or regional relationship of any part with the Central Government of China. I would request the hon. Members not unnecessarily to hammer this point when even in the rest of the world no one else accepts that position.

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**23 November 1972**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEES IN INDIA**

**Shri Ishaque Sambhali:** Will the **Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Tibetan Refugees living in India and the places where they are all put up;
- (b) the arrangements Government have made for them; and
- (c) the amount Government are spending on them annually?

**The Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation (Shri R. K. Khadilkar):**

- (a) There are about 58,000 Tibetan refugees living in India. They are mainly in the districts of Lohit and Kameng (Arunachal Pradesh), Kangra, Chamba, Kullu, Mandi and Sirmur (Himachal Pradesh), Ladakh (Jammu and Kashmir), Surguja (Madhya Pradesh), Bhandara (Maharashtra), Mysore and North Kanara (Mysore), Ganjam (Orissa), Dehra Dun (Uttar Pradesh) and Darjeeling (West Bengal).
- (b) Land settlements have been set up in Arunachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Orissa, for the resettlement of Tibetan refugees in agriculture. Facilities for educational and vocational training and assistance for development of Tibetan handicraft centres and small scale industries have been provided. Two Relief camps are still being maintained in Himachal Pradesh for Tibetan Refugees. A home for old and infirm Tibetan refugees has also been set up in Mysore State. Apart from the medical facilities provided in the Settlement, special arrangements for the treatment of the TB cases have also been made. Some Tibetan refugees have settled themselves on their own.
- (c) Based on the expenditure incurred by Government on relief and rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees in India during the last 3 years, the average annual expenditure is about Rs. 115 lakhs.

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**23 November 1972**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **CHINESE ALLEGATION AGAINST INDIA FOR INSTIGATING TROUBLE IN TIBET IN 1959**

**Shri M. M. Joseph:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether China had recently blamed India for instigating the 1959 trouble in Tibet resulting in the exodus of Tibetans to India; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of the Government thereto?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.



- (b) The Chinese allegations are totally baseless. Tibetan refugees were given shelter in India on humanitarian grounds only. India had nothing to do with what happened inside Tibet in 1959.

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**30 November 1972**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**REPORTED STATEMENT BY DALAI LAMA ABOUT CHINESE ROLE IN TIBET**

**Shri H. M. Patel:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to an interview given by Dalai Lama to the News Week Correspondent (published in the Indian Express, New Delhi dated the 20<sup>th</sup> September, 1972) that he was prepared to accept the Chinese rule in Tibet, if this was the wish of the people;
- (b) whether Government have studied the implications of Dalai Lama's statement; and
- (c) the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) and (c). The Dalai Lama and other Tibetans were given refuge in India on humanitarian ground and their attitude on political issues is their own concern. The Indian Government regards Tibet as a part of China.

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**21 December 1972**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**DROPPING OF TERMS 'CHINESE REFUGEES' AND 'TIBETAN REFUGEES'  
FROM U.N. ANNUAL REPORT**

**Shri P. Gangadeb:**

**Shri P. M. Mehta:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the terms "Chinese refugees" and "Tibetan refugees" have been dropped from the Annual U.N. Refugee Report;
- (b) whether China is still not satisfied and wants U.N. to drop relief to such people; and
- (c) if so, whether India has objected to Chinese proposal of dropping the relief to the Tibetan refugees and whether this will adversely affect the Tibetan refugees in India?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) and (b). During the 53<sup>rd</sup> Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and subsequently at the 23<sup>rd</sup> session of the Executive Committee of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and at the 27<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Chinese representative demanded, in similar statements, that the office of the UNCHR should "immediately and completely stop all the illegal activities on the question of so-called 'Tibetan Refugees' and 'Chinese Refugees' and abolish the organs for these illegal activities, and delete all the related parts from the report."

The report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to the 27<sup>th</sup> session of the U.N General Assembly does not contain the terms "Chinese Refugee" or "Tibetan Refugees". Instead the term 'refugees' is used in the relevant portion.

- (c) India has continued to extend full support to the UNCHR program of assistance to the Tibetan refugees in India. The UNCHR has not indicated any intention to discontinue or reduce these activities.

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**August 9, 1973**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **दलाई लामा का तिब्बत वापस लौटना**

**2727. श्री चन्दूलाल चन्द्राकर:**

श्री शिव कुमार शास्त्री: क्या विदेश-मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या दलाई लामा तथा उनके साथियों ने स्वदेश लौटने का निर्णय किया है; और
- (ख) इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार को क्या जानकारी मिली है?

**विदेश मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह):**

- (क) और (ख): सरकार के पास इस आशय की कोई सूचना नहीं है!

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**August 23, 1973**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **चीन द्वारा नेपाल-तिब्बत सीमा पर सड़क निर्माण**

**4071. श्री चिरंजीव झा:** क्या रक्षा मंत्री 26 जुलाई, 1973 के चीन द्वारा नेपाल-तिब्बत सीमा पर सड़क निर्माण के बारे में तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 77 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या सरकार का ध्यान 24 मई, 1973 के 'हिन्दुस्तान' में प्रकाशित 'चीन नेपाल-तिब्बत सीमा के साथ सड़क बनाएगा' शेषक के समाचार की ओर दिलाया गया है; और
- (ख) यदि हां, तो इस पर भारत सरकार को क्या प्रतिक्रिया है?

**रक्षा मंत्री: (श्री जगजीवन राम):**

- (क) जी हां, श्रीमान!
- (ख) नेपाल में पोखरा तथा जुमला के बीच चीन द्वारा एक सड़क के प्रस्तावित निर्माण के सम्बन्ध में सरकार के पास कोई सूचना नहीं है! हमारे रक्षा उपायों की योजना बनाते समय ऐसी सभी गतिविधियों को ध्यान में रखा जाता है जिनका हमारी सुरक्षा पर प्रभाव पड़ता है!

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**December 6, 1973**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **CHINESE REACTION ON VISIT TO EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BY DALAI LAMA**

**3739. Shri Rajdeo Singh:**

Will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether China lodged a strong protest with Government of India before Dalai Lama left on a tour of European countries; and
- (b) whether anti-Indian propaganda and noisy broadcasts are the special features of Chinese displeasure since then?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) China expressed "profound regret" about Dalai Lama's visit to Europe before he left on his tour but did not describe it as a protest.
- (b) Yes, Sir; news items and comments critical of India have increased in the past few weeks.

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**April 10, 1974**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### तिब्बतियां कालेज का बोर्ड

**7164. श्री भागीरथ भंडार:** क्या स्वास्थ्य और परिवार नियोजन मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या सरकार का ध्यान 22 मार्च के समाचार पत्र "हिन्दुस्तान" में तिब्बतियां कालेज के बोर्ड की धांधली के बारे में प्रकाशित समाचार की ओर दिलाया गया है;
- (ख) यदि हां, तो क्या सरकार के पास भी इस बारे में कोई शिकायत आई है;
- (ग) क्या सरकार ने इन शिकायतों के बारे में कोई जांच कराई है; और
- (घ) यदि हां, तो उस का क्या परिणाम निकला है तथा इस सम्बन्ध में क्या कार्यवाही की गई है?

**स्वास्थ्य और परिवार नियोजन मंत्रालय में उप मंत्री (श्री कोंडाजी बासणी):**

- (क) तिब्बतियां कालेज की आम स्थिति के बारे में सम्पादक, हिन्दुस्तान (हिन्दी) के नाम भेजा गया इस कालेज के श्री सत्य प्रकाश का एक पत्र २२ मार्च १९७४ को उक्त समाचार पत्र में प्रकाशित हुआ था।
- (ख) इस बारे में दिल्ली प्रशासन अथवा भारत सरकार को कोई विशेष शिकायत नहीं मिली है।
- (ग) और (घ) ये प्रश्न नहीं उठते।

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**April 11, 1974**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### BRITISH PRESS REPORT OF ALLEGED SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES BY INDIAN AGENTS IN TIBET

**6455. Shri N.K. Sanghi:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a news story published by *Daily Telegraph* to the effect that Indian agents are being sent to Tibet to encourage subversive activities there; and
- (b) if so, the facts of the matter?

**The Minister of State in The Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Surendra Pal Singh):**

- (a) Yes, sir.
- (b) The allegation is totally baseless.

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**April 18, 1974**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### CHINESE BUILD UP IN TIBET AND BURMESE TERRITORIES

**7161. Shri Samar Gupta:** Will the **Minister of Defence** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether China has made fresh build up of its Armed forces in Tibet and along or inside the Burmese territory, adjoining the Indian North Eastern frontier;
- (b) if so, the facts thereabout; and
- (c) the objective of such army mobilization in strategic areas by China?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Jagjivan Ram):**

- (a) to (c). There are no indications of any fresh build-up by the Chinese of its armed forces in Tibet or along and inside Burmese territory adjoining our North East Frontier. China continues to deploy, however, more than 1,00,000 troops in Tibet. Government keeps a continuous watch over the developments across the border.

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**May 8, 1975**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**DEMAND FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PEOPLE OF TIBET**

**\*951. Shri Kushak Bakula:**

**Shri Jambuwant Dhote:** Will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there is a growing public opinion in the country urging upon Government to voice demand for right of self-determination for the oppressed people of Tibet; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Deputy Minister in The Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Bipinpal Das):**

- (a) The Government of India is not aware of any growing public opinion of the nature mentioned.
- (b) The question does not arise.

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**May 5, 1976**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**INDIAN CITIZENSHIP TO TIBETANS**

**3320. Shri B. V. Naik:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Tibetan children born in India will automatically be treated as India citizens under the Constitution;
- (b) whether those Tibetans who have been residing for more than five years in India will acquire citizenship rights;
- (c) whether any requests in this behalf have been received; and
- (d) if so, the reaction of Government thereon?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri F. H. Mohsin):**

- (a) Every person born in India on or after the 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950, becomes a citizen of India by birth under sub-section (1) of section 3 of the Citizenship Act, 1955, subject to the exceptions under sub-section (2) thereof.
- (b) Tibetans who came to India and have been residing in India for more than five years will acquire citizenship rights only if they are granted certificates of naturalization by the Central Government under section 6 of the Citizenship Act, 1955.
- (c) and (d) A few applications have been received by the Government from Tibetans for grant of Indian citizenship by naturalization and these will be dealt with as per rules and regulations on the subject.

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**August 30, 1976**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**तिब्बत में चीनी जवान की तैनात करना**

**3060. श्री कृष्ण कुमार गोयल:**

**श्री चिन्तामणी जैना:**

**श्री के. मलत्रा:**

**श्री एन.ई.होरो:**

**श्री जी.वाई.कृष्णन:**

**श्री अर्जुन सेठी:** क्या रक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या सरकार का ध्यान इस प्रेस रिपोर्ट की ओर दिलाया गया है कि तिब्बत में पांच लाख चीनी जवान तैनात हैं और वहां बड़ी संख्या में हवाई पट्टियां तथा रडार केन्द्र स्थापित किये जा रहे हैं; और वहां एक मिसाइल अड्डे का भी विकास किया जा रहा है जिसके पूरे होने पर एशिया के कई देश, भारत सहित, चीनी मिसाइलों के आक्रमण क्षेत्र में आ जायेंगे; और
- (ख) यदि हां तो इन प्रेस रिपोर्टों पर भारत सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया है?

रक्षा मंत्री (श्री आर. वेंकटरामन):

(क) जी हां!

(ख) इस बारे में ऐसी कोई विश्वासनीय सूचना नहीं है जिससे पता चल सके कि तिब्बत में चीनी पक्षोपास्र या हवाई क्षमताओं में हाल में कोई वृद्धि की गई है या इस क्षेत्र में अतिरिक्त सेनाएं तैनात की गई हैं जिनसे भारत की सुरक्षा के लिए कोई नया खतरा पैदा हो सकता है!

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August 30, 1976

Written Answers to Questions

### TIBETAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

**1973. Prof. Narain Chand Parashar:** Will the **Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture** be pleased to state:

- (a) the names of the Tibetan research institutes, schools and libraries for which the Government give financial assistance; and
- (b) whether any assistance is also given for publication of manuscripts translation work at these institutions?

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare and in The Department of Culture (Shri Arvind Netam):**

- (a) The information is given in the statement laid on the Table of the House. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-I/1302/76].
- (b) No, Sir.

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June 23, 1977

Written Answers to Questions

### RETURN OF DALAI LAMA TO TIBET

**1538. Shri C. K. Chandrappan:** will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to a Chinese Government statement recently on the question of return and rehabilitation of Dalai Lama; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of the Government thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee):**

- (a) Attention of the Government has been drawn to the statement which appeared in the NCNA on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1977, reportedly made by a Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the subject to a visiting Japanese delegation.
- (b) It is for His Holiness the Dalai Lama to decide on the response.

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July 27, 1977

Written Answers to Questions

### CHINESE ARMED FORCES IN TIBET

**4964. Shri G.Y. Krishnan:** Will the **Minister of Defence** be pleased to state whether there has been any increase in the overall strength of the Chinese armed forces in Tibet particularly in the Indian border area?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** There are no indications of any increase in the overall strength of the Chinese armed forces in Tibet including areas along the Indo-Tibetan border.

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**TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**5597. Shri P. Rajagopal Naidu:** will the Minister of Works and Housing and Supply and Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there are Tibetans refugees, in our country;
- (b) their number; and
- (c) whether they were rehabilitated?

**The Minister of Works and Housing and Supply and Rehabilitation (Shri Sikandar Bakht):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) About 56,000. About 49,000 Tibetan refugees have been rehabilitated and others are in the process of rehabilitation.

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**15 December 1977**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**तिब्बत के दलाई लामा के साथ बातचीत:**

**4026: श्री केशवराव घोंडगे:** क्या विदेश मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या जुलाई-अगस्त में तिब्बत के दलाई लामा ने प्रधान मंत्री के साथ बातचीत की थी;
- (ख) यदि हां, तो उसका संक्षिप्त विवरण क्या है;
- (ग) उसमें भारत सरकार से क्या मांगे की गई है; और
- (घ) क्या दलाई लामा के साथ हुई उनकी बातचीत के बारे में चीन में ज़ोरदार प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त की है; और सरकार ने उसका क्या उत्तर दिया है?

**विदेश मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री एस.कुन्दू)**

- (क) से (ग) परम पावन दलाई लामा ने तिब्बती शरणार्थी संस्थापनाओं की यात्रा पर दक्षिण भारत जाते हुए प्रधान मंत्री श्री देसाई से 22 जून 1977 को शिष्टाचार मुलाकात की थी! भारत में तिब्बती शरणार्थियों को मानवीय सहायता दिये जाने से सम्बन्धित मामलों पर विचार विमर्श हुआ!
- (घ) नई दिल्ली स्थित चीनी कार्यदूत ने 4 अगस्त 1977 को भारत सरकार से इस पर मौखिक विरोध प्रकट किया! इसके बाद ही वहां की सरकारी समाचार एजेंसी, नव चीन समाचार एजेंसी में एक खबर छपी जिसमें उक्त विरोध का जिक्र किया गया और परम पावन दलाई लामा से मिलने के लिए भारत सरकार और उसके नेताओं की अलोचना की गई और इसे चीन के आंतरिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप कहा गया!  
भारत सरकार ने चीनी विरोध को इस आधार पर अस्वीकार कर दिया कि भारत में तिब्बती शरणार्थियों को शुद्ध मानवीय आधार पर ही सहायता दी जा रही है! किसी भी देश के अंतरिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप न करने की भारत सरकार की नीति इतनी सुविदित है कि इसे दोहराने की आवश्यकता नहीं है!

**April 20, 1978**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBET ISSUE**

**7642. Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) has Government changed its attitude over "Tibet Issue" vis-à-vis China:
- (b) if yes, give the details thereof along with its reasons; and
- (c) if not, what are the views of the Government over this issue?



**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Samarendra Kundu):**

- (a) to (c). Government of India's stand has been reiterated on many occasions in the Parliament as well as in the public. The Government of India has consistently held that Tibet is a region of the People's Republic of China. It is a well known fact that in 1959 thousands of Tibetans, led by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, fled to India from Tibet. His Holiness the Dalai Lama was granted political asylum by the Government of India on the condition that he and the Tibetans in India would not take part in activities vis-à-vis the People's Republic of China. This is in line with our policy of not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. However, the Government of India provides humanitarian assistance to rehabilitate the Tibetan refugees in India and supports the preservation of their cultural and religious traditions.

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**July 31, 1978**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**INSTITUTE OF TIBETAN STUDIES, VARANASI**

**2047. Shri Kacharulal Hem Raj Jain:** Will the **Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture** be pleased to state:

- (a) the amount of grants given by the Central Government to the Institute of Tibetan Studies, Varanasi, during the last three years; and  
(b) whether Government propose to increase the amount thereof and its details?

**The Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture (Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder):**

(Rs. Lakhs)

|             |   |   |   |   |   |   |             |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| (a) 1975-76 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 6.50        |
| 1976-77     | - | - | - | - | - | - | 6.50        |
| 1977-78     | - | - | - | - | - | - | 10,32,180/- |

- (b) An enhanced provision for the development of the Institute is being proposed in the Sixth plan. Details are being worked out.

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**August 2, 1978**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**SHOOTING OF AIDE OF DALAI LAMA**

**2489. Shri Anant Dave:** will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government has enquired into the shooting of a top aide of Dalai Lama at Dehradun;  
(b) whether Government apprehended a foreign hand in this murder; and  
(c) if so, the foreign countries involved?

**The Minister of State in The Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Dhanik Lal Mandal):**

- (a) No case of shooting of a top aide of H.H. Dalai Lama at Dehradun has come to the notice of the Government. However, a Tibetan national was shot at his residence in Dehradun by unknown assailants on 16<sup>th</sup> June, 1978 and a case has been registered U/S 302 IPC.  
(b) No, Sir.  
(c) Does not arise.

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**March 8, 1979**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**DALAI LAMA'S DIALOGUE WITH CHINESE**

**\*247. Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu:**

**Shri C. K. Jafer Sharief:** will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Dalai Lama said in New Delhi on 23<sup>rd</sup> January, 1979, that he could have a dialogue with the Chinese on Tibet only if a majority of the Tibetans were satisfied about conditions obtaining there; and

(b) if so, Government's reaction thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee):**

- (a) Government have seen newspaper reports on these lines which were based on interviews between His Holiness the Dalai Lama and journalists.
- (b) If the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans consider that the conditions are suitable for their return to the places of their origin, the Government of India on their part would not stand in their way in doing so.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu:** Would the Hon. Foreign Minister take the House into confidence and tell us whether, during his last visit, the issue of the Dalai Lama and Tibetans in India was discussed and, if so, what the details are.

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee):** In the statement in this House on the 21<sup>st</sup>.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu:** No, I want to hear a little more than that; we have seen that statement.

**Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee:** I did refer to this matter. The question of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans was discussed with the Chinese side. I reiterated the Government's policy.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** What is that policy?

**Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee:** The policy has been consistent. We regard to Tibet as a region of China. That was done in 1954 under an agreement between India and China. But we would be happy if the Dalai Lama and Tibetans go back if they think that conditions are suitable for them to return to their country.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu:** Very recently the Dalai Lama has said that he took a pragmatic approach to liberalization process adopted by China towards the Tibetans which was to be welcomed. He has also stated that he could have a dialogue with the Chinese on Tibet only when majority of the Tibetans are satisfied with the conditions obtaining there. In view of the two statements which are of great significance, will the Government of India take energetic and vigorous steps to induce the Tibetans and the Dalai Lama to go back to Tibet?

**Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee:** No, Sir. It is a matter between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese and we don't come in the picture so far as their return to Tibet is concerned.

**Dr. Subramaniam Swamy:** I believe that after the initial enthusiasm amongst the Tibetans amongst residing in India to visit Tibet, that initial enthusiasm has somewhat waned because there appears to be in their minds some uncertainty that if they were to go back to Tibet and wanted to come back to India, the Government of India would discourage that. I would like the Minister to tell this House whether the Government of India would take a consistent stand to stay on this question that those who want to stay in this country in terms of refuge would be allowed, no matter what their political beliefs are.

**Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee:** Sir, those who want to stay in India are welcome to do so. Nobody, will be sent from India against his or her wish.

**Dr. Karan Singh:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, apart from the question of Tibetans, the question of Indians going to Kailash and Mansarovar, I understand, was also discussed.....

**Mr. Speaker:** It does not arise.

**Dr. Karan Singh:** .....because it deals with Tibet and this is in the Tibetan region. Would the hon. Foreign Minister let the House know whether these pilgrims who look upon Kailash and Mansarovar as extremely holy and sacred will be given facilities to go there?

**Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee:** Sir, this question was also raised during the talks in Peking and I have already mentioned that in my statement. I myself would like to go to Kailash and Mansarovar.

**Mr. Speaker:** Not during the Session.

**Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee:** Not alone, not during the session. The Chinese side has promised to look into the matter.

**श्री केशवराव घोडगे:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, 1962 के अन्दर भारत पर जो चीन ने हमला किया था कई बजूहात में से एक वजय यह भी थी कि हमने

दलाई लामा की मेहमानबाज़ी की ! यह बात ध्यान में रखते हुए दलाई लामा साहब के बारे में कितने सालों के लिए हम और उनकी मेहमाननवाज़ी करने वाले हैं ?

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत में जो भी आश्रय लेने के लिये आता है भारत के द्वार उसके लिये हमेशा के लिये खुले हुए हैं और हम अपनी इस नीति से विचलित नहीं होंगे !

**Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu:** Only Iranian students, you were deporting.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:** दलाई लामा और उनके साथी जब स्वयं ही वापस जाने का निर्णय करेंगे तभी वह निर्णय कार्यान्वित होगा अन्यथा वह हमारे मेहमान हैं, हम उनकी सुख सुविधा की यहां व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं !

**श्री राम किशन:** मंत्री जी ने कहा कि जो भी शरण लेना चाहेगा हम उसको शरण देंगे तो क्या मंत्री जी ईरान के शाह को भी शरण देंगे ?

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, कोई शरण मांगी नहीं गई है इसलिये यह प्रश्न पैदा नहीं होता !

**श्री विनायक प्रसाद यादव:** अभी मंत्री महोदय ने कहा है कि 1954 के समझौते के अनुसार तिब्बत को चीन का रीज़न मानते हैं ! तो मैं मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूं कि 1954 के समझौते में और क्या क्या प्रावधान था, और इस समझौते से पहले तिब्बत की क्या पोजीशन थी ? वह चीन का रीज़न समझा जाता था या आज़ाद समझा जाता था ?

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:** अगर माननीय सदस्य चाहे तो मैं 1954 का समझौता सदन पटल पर रख सकता हूं !

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**March 8, 1979**

**Written Answers to Questions**

#### **TALK HELD WITH DALAI LAMA**

**2482. Shri Narendra Singh:** Will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether he had talks with Dalai Lama recently with regard to the problems concerning Tibetan displaced persons;
- (b) if so, details thereof; and
- (c) outcome thereof?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Samarendra Kundu):**

- (a) to (c). His Holiness the Dalai Lama met the Minister of External Affairs met on 22<sup>nd</sup> January, 1979, when he had come to Delhi in connection with the inauguration of Tibet House building in the Capital. Certain questions affecting the future of Tibetan refugees in India came up for discussion during his meeting with FM. Foreign Minister assured him of Government of India's continued commitment to help in the preservation of the culture, traditions and religious identity of the Tibetan community within India. Government of India's view on the question of Tibetans in India going back to their places of origin has been stated by Minister of External Affairs in his statement on his visit to China made in the Lok Sabha on 21-12-1979.

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**March 15, 1979**

**Written Answers to Questions**

#### **RETURN OF TIBETANS**

**3382. Dr. Bapu Kaldate:** Will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that since the People's Republic of China has invited the Tibetans in India to come back to Tibet, there has been a demand from Tibetans to leave the Tibetan camp in India;
- (b) if so, what is the estimated number of Tibetans who have taken advantage of this offer by People's Republic of China?

**The Minister of State in The Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Samarendra Kundu):**

- (a) and (b). As we made clear by the Minister of External Affairs in Parliament on the 21<sup>st</sup> February, 1979 if the

Tibetans consider that the conditions are suitable for their return to the places of their origin, Government of India would not stand in their way in doing so. As far as the Government is aware, no Tibetans have so far gone back to re-settle in the place of their origin.

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**May 18, 1979**

**Matters Under**

**(viii) Extension of Cooperation to The People of Tibet  
in Their Struggle for Freedom**

**श्रीमती पार्वती देवी (लद्दाख):** सभापति महोदय, मैं लोक सभा में कार्य संचालन तथा प्रक्रिया समन्धी नियमों के नियम 377 के अन्तर्गत निम्नलिखित विषय की ओर लोक सभा और सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहती हूँ:-

ब्रिटेन और चीन की विस्तारवादी नीति का शिकार हो कर सन 1959 में तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता समाप्त हो गई! दलाई लामा के नेतृत्व में तिब्बतवासियों ने जो संघर्ष आरम्भ किया था उसे चीन ने क्रूरतापूर्वक कुचल दिया! हज़ारों तिब्बतवासी मौत के घाट उतार दिये गये और पवित्र देव स्थान एवं गोम्पा रक्त रंजित हो गये! तिब्बत की सभ्यता, संस्कृति, रहन-सहन, धर्म, रीति रिवाज़ अब केवल इतिहास की वस्तु बन कर रह गये हैं!

आज विश्व की राजनीति में महान परिवर्तन आ गया है! देशों के परस्पर सम्बन्ध बदल गये हैं! पहले चीन और अमेरिका परस्पर विरोधी थे, अब दोनों नजदीक आ रहे हैं! पहले अमेरिका की नीति थी कि तिब्बत स्वतंत्र बना रहे किन्तु अब अमेरिका इस विषय पर मौन है! सन 1962 में भारत और इस वर्ष वीएनएम पर चीनी आक्रमण से अब इस विषय में किसी और उद्धारन की ज़रूरत नहीं है! चीन के मानचित्र आज भी तिब्बत, नेपाल और भारत के कुछ भागों को चीनी साम्राज्य का अंग बताते हैं! चीन ने आज तक इस मानचित्रों में संशोधन नहीं किया है! इस विषय में दिये गये चीन के वायदे असत्य सिद्ध हुए हैं! कैलाश और मानसरोवर भारत भूमि के अंग रहे हैं किन्तु अब चीन का उन पर अधिकार है!

हमारे विदेश मंत्री राष्ट्रीयता, देशभक्ति, भारतीय धर्म और संस्कृति, भारत की प्रतिष्ठा स्वाभिमान और गौरव के समर्थक हैं! उन्होंने सदा तिब्बत की स्वाधीनता का समर्थन किया है! कैलाश और मानसरोवर उन्हें हृदय से भी अधिक प्रिय हैं! देश को पूरा विश्वास है कि वह तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता के लिए पूरा प्रयत्न करेंगे!

आज तिब्बत में मुक्ति के लिये लोग अधीर और अशांत हो रहे हैं! भारत सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि वह तिब्बत की जनता को स्वाधीनता आंदोलन में पूर्ण योगदान दे! बौद्धों का प्रिय हृदय स्थल अब अधिक दिनों तक पराधीन नहीं रहना चाहिये!

सांस्कृतिक परम्परा और इतिहास की दृष्टि से तिब्बत और भारत में गहन एवं निकट सम्बन्ध रहा है! अतः तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता का प्रश्न प्रत्येक भारतीय का प्रश्न है! सरकार को इस विषय में ठोस रूप में योगदान देना चाहिये!

**Mr. Chairman:** I want guidance from the House. Actually the time now is 15:10 hrs. We will start our Private Members' Bill business at 3:30 p.m. But there are a lot of 377 notices and Mr. Roy is one of them.

(Interruptions)

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshanagabad):** It is not obligatory. Rule 26 is there. The last 2 and half hours, we shall devote to the Private Members' business and today the House has agreed to sit till 6:45 p.m.

**Mr. Chairman:** You will get 2 and half hours later.

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**June 19, 1980**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**CHINESE INVITATION TO TIBETANS TO VISIT THEIR HOMELAND**

**1312. Shri S.M. Krishna:** Will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that some Western countries are helping for the contact between the Tibetan exiles and the Chinese;

- (b) whether some Tibetan exiles have already visited Peking and Tibet;
- (c) if so, whether Government have been apprised of their impressions; and
- (d) whether any invitations to visit their homeland have been extended by the Chinese Government direct to the Dalai Lama's Head-quarters or through the Government of India?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao):**

- (a) Government are not aware of such efforts.
- (b) and (c). Delegations made up of Tibetans resident in India have visited China including Tibet. they have informed us that they had gone in response to invitations and appeals from the Government of China.
- (c) As an act of courtesy, a broad and general picture of impressions gained by the first delegation were given to the Government of India.

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**June 19, 1980**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **DALAI LAMA'S REQUEST FOR ACCEPTING TIBETAN REFUGEES**

**1359. Shri G.Y. Krishnan:** Will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Dalai Lama has stated that the Bhutanese authorities have softened their attitude towards Tibetan refugees;
- (b) if so, whether some of the Tibetans have got the citizenship of Bhutan also and if so, the number thereof;
- (c) whether the Dalai Lama has requested the Indian Government also to consider and accept Tibetan refugees; and
- (d) if so, the reaction of government thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) Several thousands Tibetan refugees in Bhutan got the Bhutanese citizenship but their precise number is not known as yet.
- (c) The Dalai Lama has requested that Tibetan refugees presently in Bhutan who have not accepted Bhutanese citizenship may be accepted for rehabilitation in India.
- (d) The question of the possible rehabilitation in India of some of the Tibetan refugees who are presently in Bhutan is being considered by Government in consultation with all concerned.

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**June 19, 1980**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **CHINESE WILLINGNESS IN TALKS OF TIBET**

**1369. Shri K.P. Singh Deo:** Will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attentions has been drawn to the news items appearing in Hindustan Times dated the 10<sup>th</sup> May, 1980 that China is ready to talk on Tibetan issue;
- (b) if so, whether Government consider this as an attitude on the part of the Chinese Government to normalize relations in Asia; and
- (c) if so, whether similar gesture has been shown to India?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao):**

- (a) Government have not seen any report in the newspaper of the date referred to, but have seen several press items on the various steps being taken by the Chinese Government in relation to Tibet.
- (b) and (c). In our view any action by the Chinese Government in regard to Tibet and China's relations with countries in Asia are separate matters.

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**MISSILE BASE BY CHINA IN TIBET**

**1886. Shri Madhavrao Scindia:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Government are aware that China has built a huge Nuclear Missile at Nagchu in Tibet;
- (b) whether it is also a fact that its hitting range is between 2,400 kilometers leading to endangering most of the cities in our country; and
- (c) if so, reaction of the Government?

**The Minister of State in The Ministry of Defence (Shri C.P.N. Singh):**

- (a) There is no reliable information to suggest that China has established a missile base in Tibet.
- (b) and (c). Do not arise.

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**NEWS ITEM, CAPTIONED "P.M. urged to Support Tibet's cause".**

**4560. Shri Mohd. Asar Ahmad:** Will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to a news-item appearing in the *Hindustan Times* dated 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1980 under the caption "P.M. urged to support Tibet's cause";
- (b) whether any letter or memorandum has been received by Government on 16<sup>th</sup> June, 1980 from Tibetan National Voluntary Defence Force or any other Organisation;
- (c) if so, what are its contents; and
- (d) if so, what is the reaction of Government in this respect?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao):**

- (a) and (b). Yes, Sir.
- (c) and (d). The contents of this memorandum have been summarized in the *Hindustan Times* report referred to in the question. It has been the consistent policy of the Government of India that Tibet is an integral part of the People's Republic of China. Government of India have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of any other country.

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**DEMAND OF PLEBISCITE BY TIBETANS**

**5311. Dr. Vasant Kumar Pandit:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government of India is aware of the news items appearing in the 'Tribune' dated 11 December, 1982 under the caption 'Tibetans demand plebiscite';
- (b) if so, whether Government of India have any information about the plebiscite demand put forth by the Tibetans to the United Nations for their self-determination;
- (c) if several M.Ps have sent Memorandum to the Prime Minister to support this demand; and
- (d) if so, what is the reaction of the Government of India to their demand and how Prime Minister is reaching to that demand?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) And (c) we have received copies of the Memorandum addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations from various Tibetan organizations in India. We have also received a copy of the Memorandum signed by 118 MPs of various parties pledging their "support and sympathy for the six million people of Tibet in their just and legitimate demand for the right to self-determination and self rule."
- (d) The Government of India regard Tibet as an integral part of China and the question of the Government of India's re-action to their demand does not arise.

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**6 April 1983**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBETANS COURTED ARREST IN DELHI**

**5939. Shri Pius Tirkey:** Will the **Minister of Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a large number of Tibetans courted arrest in Delhi on 9 March, 1983;
- (b) if so, the total number of Tibetans arrested; and
- (c) details the demands for which those Tibetans courted arrests?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri P. Venkatasubbiah):**

- (a) and (b) On 9<sup>th</sup> March, 1983, some Tibetan refugees had held demonstration on Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg near Link House in violation of the prohibitory order. 94 of them were arrested on that date.
- (c) The demonstration was reportedly organised to draw the attention of the members of the Non-Aligned Countries to the Tibetan cause and seek their support during the Non Aligned summit being held in the Capital.

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**1 December 1983**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TORTURE OF BUDDHISTS IN TIBET**

**1592. Shri M.V. Chandrashekhara Murthy:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Union Government has seen the statement made by the Dalai Lama in which he has stated that 10 Lakh Buddhist political prisoners in Tibet have died because of inhuman torture;
- (b) if so, is it also a fact that he had revealed that prisoners were killed and several died of starvation or inadequate medical facilities and even others committed suicide; and
- (c) action taken by Government in this regard?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao):**

- (a) to (c). Ministry of External Affairs have seen several newspaper reports according to which the Dalai Lama has expressed concern over arrests in Tibet and other happenings there in which he has included a number of deaths. Government have noted what has been reported.

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**10 April 1985**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBETANS DEMONSTRATION AGAINST OCCUPATION OF TIBET BY CHINA**

**2344. Shri Amar Roypradhan:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware that some Tibetans settled in India have demonstrated outside the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi and other places against the occupation of Tibet by China; and
- (b) if so, the details thereof?

**Speaker: The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Khursheed Alam Khan):**

- (a) and (b). A small number of Tibetans who have settled in New Delhi demonstrated mainly outside the Chinese Embassy, against the presence of Chinese forces in Tibet and that Tibet should be granted independence. Government of India recognize Tibet to be a part of China.

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**7 August 1985**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TRADE WITH TIBET**

**2419. Shri Balasaheb Vikhe Patil:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether China has proposed to resume trade with Tibet by the old traditional land route; and
- (b) if so, the reaction thereto?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Khurshid Alam Khan):**

- (a) During the third round of official level talks held with the Chinese Government in 1982, the latter had raised the

- matter of a possible resumption of the border trade between India and Tibet Autonomous Region of China.
- (b) The proposal is under consideration.

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**24 April 1986**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR BUDDHIST/TIBETAN INSTITUTIONS**

**Shri. P. Namgyal:** Will the **Minister of Human Resource Development** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Department of Culture has sanctioned a scheme for giving financial assistance for the development of Buddhist/Tibetan institutions functioning in the country;
- (b) whether it is also a fact that inspite of making financial allocation, the implementation of the scheme has not been put to action so far; and
- (c) if so, reasons for not implementing the schemes and when the scheme will be started?

**The Minister of State in the Departments of Education and Culture (Shrimati Sushila Rohtagi):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) And (c) Although a token provision was made in 1985-86, the modalities of selection could not be worked out in time to implement the scheme during that year. The scheme has since been circulated and the last date for receipt of applications for financial assistance is 30th April, 1986. The final selection will be made on the recommendations of an Expert committee and the scheme will be implemented thereafter.

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**10 April 1987**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**MEMORANDUM DEMANDING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PEOPLE OF TIBET**

**6410. Shri Yashwantrao Gadakh Patil:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a memorandum demanding self-determination for the people of Tibet had recently been submitted to the Prime Minister; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri K. Natwar Singh):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) The Government of India consider Tibet to be an autonomous part of the People's Republic of China.

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**7 August 1987**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**MILITARISATION OF TIBET**

**1867. Dr. G. Vijaya Rama Rao:**

**Shri T. Basheer:**

**Shri Kamal Nath:**

**Shrimati Kishori Sinha:**

**Shrimati Jayanti Patnaik:**

**Shri Jagdish Awasthi:**

**Shri A Charles:**

**Shri P. M. Sayeed:**

**Prof. Nirmala Kumari Shaktawat:**

**Shri Mahendra Singh:**

**Prof. K. V. Thomas:**

**Shri K. V. Shankara Gowda:**

**Shri Hari Rao:**

**Shri M Raghuma Reddy:**

**Shri Banwari Lal Purohit:**

**Shri Dharam Pal Singh Malick:**

**Shri Lakshmi Mallick:**

**Shri Krishna Singh:**

**Shri Manik Reddy:**

**Shri Mohd. Mahfooz Ali Khan:**

**Shri Vishnu Modi:**

**Shri Subhash Yadav:**

**Shri R. M. Bhoje:**

**Shri G. S. Basavaraju:**

**Shri Prakash Chandra:**

**Shri Jaganath Patnaik:**

**Shri H. B. Patil:**

**Dr. (Mrs). T. Kalpana Devi:**

**Shri Uttambhai H. Patel:**

**Shrimati Patel Ramaben Ramjibhai Mavani:** Will the **Minister of Defence** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government is ware of the reports regarding the alleged heavy militarisation of Tibet including deployment of N-Missiles;
- (b) if so, the details thereof; and
- (c) the steps taken by Government of India in this regard?

**The Minister of State in the Department of Defence Production and Supplies in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Shivraj V. Patil):**

- (a) to (c). Government have seen recent press reports about military build-up and deployment in Tibet. However, a spokesman of the Chinese Foreign office has denied the press reports regarding deployment of missiles in Tibet against India. All developments having a bearing on our security are constantly reviewed and effective steps taken to meet the emerging situation. It would not be desirable to disclose details in this regard.

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**24 February 1988**

**Written Answers to Questions**

#### **DUMPING OF NUCLEAR WASTE IN TIBET BY CHINA**

**294. Shri Krishna Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the news item captioned, "Tibet becoming nuclear waste bin" appeared in the "Hindustan Times" dated 21 December, 1987;
- (b) if so, whether Government have studied the effects of Chinese turning of Tibet into a dumping ground for nuclear waste, on India's environment and safety, if so, with what results; and
- (c) Government's reaction thereto?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Science and Technology and Minister of State in the Departments of Ocean Development Atomic Energy, Electronics and Space (Shri K. R. Narayanan):**

- (a) to (c). Government have seen the news item but have no information on the nuclear waste reportedly being dumped in Tibet. However, constant monitoring of the environment in all areas (including forests, vegetation and water resources) is done by the concerned agencies in India.

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**21 April 1988**

**Written Answers to Questions**

#### **TREATMENT OF PATIENTS WITH TIBETAN SYSTEM OF MEDICINES**

**7827. Shri Lakshman Mallick:** Will the **Minister of Health and Family Welfare** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a Tibetan Medical Institute has been set up in the country;
- (b) if so, the details thereof?
- (c) Whether this institute will cater to the needs of the people for cure of various diseases with Tibetan system and medicine; and

- (d) If so, the salient features thereof?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (Kumari Saroj Khaparde):**

- (a) to (d). The Government has not set up any Tibetan Medical Institute in the country.

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**30 November 1988**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**SETTING UP OF CHAMBER OF TIBETAN NATURAL  
AND HERBAL TREATMENT AT CALCUTTA**

**2730. Shrimati D. K. Bhandari:** Will the **Minister of Health and Family Welfare** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a permanent Chamber of Tibetan natural and herbal treatment for the people of Eastern Region has been set up at Calcutta;
- (b) if so, the expenditure incurred thereon and the details of services to be provided by the Chamber;
- (c) whether Government propose to set up such a chamber in Sikkim for the people of North-Eastern Region;
- (d) if so, the details thereof; and
- (e) if not, the reasons therefore?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (Kumari Saroj Khaparde):**

- (a) to (e). The Union Government has not set up any permanent Chamber of Tibetan natural and herbal treatment for the people of Eastern Region at Calcutta. There is also no proposal under consideration of the Union Government to set up any such chamber in Sikkim.

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**1 December 1988**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**LETTER FROM MPS REGARDING TIBET ISSUE**

**2833. Shri Uttambhai H. Patel:**

**Shri Chhitubhai Gamit:**

**Shrimati Patel Ramaben Ramjibhai Mavani:**

**Shri Ranjitsingh Gaekwad:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have received a letter signed by more than 200 members of Parliament dated 23 August, 1998 in connection with Tibet issue;
- (b) if so, the details thereof; and
- (c) the actions taken by Government thereon?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri K. Natwar Singh):**

- (a) Government have seen the letter to which the Question refers.
- (b) The letter expresses support for H. H. The Dalai Lama's 5-point Peace Plan.
- (c) Government's reaction is based on the promise that Government regard Tibet as an autonomous region of China.

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**5 December 1988**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**CHINESE MISSILES IN TIBET**

**3327. Shri Ranjitsingh Gaekwad:**

**Shrimati Patel Ramaben Ramjibhai Mavani:**

**Shri Chhitubhai Gamit:**

**Shri Uttambhai H. Patel:** Will the **Minister of Defence** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether China has at least 8 ICMs, 70 medium range missiles and 20 intermediate range missiles in Tibet which can easily be targeted within minutes on the atomic station and other Indian vital installations at Bombay and on other parts of the country;
- (b) if so, the details thereof;

- (c) what counter preparations have been made by India in this regard;
- (d) whether Government have taken up the matter with China; and
- (e) if so, the details thereof?

**The Minister of State in the Department of Defence Production and Supplies in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Chintamani Panigrahi):**

- (a) and (b). Government have seen reports about China possessing various types of missiles and some of these being in Tibet.
- (c) Government keep under constant review of all developments having a bearing on India's security and take appropriate measures for defence preparedness.
- (d) and (e). Our stand regarding the possession, stockpiling, testing and use of weapons of mass destruction has been expressed forcefully in all international fora. The Chinese Government are aware of our position on this issue.

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**15 March 1989**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**TIBETAN SCHOOL OF MEDICINE**

**2758. Shrimati D. K. Bhandari:** Will the **Minister of Health and Family Welfare** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have set up a permanent Chamber of Tibetan Natural and Herbal Treatment at Calcutta for the people of the Eastern region;
- (b) whether the treatment and consultation provide by the Chamber shall be free of charge, if so, the details thereof;
- (c) whether Government propose to set up such a centre for the people of the North-Eastern Region. If so, the details thereof; and
- (d) if not, the reasons therefore?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (Kumari Saroj Khaparde):**

- (a) to (d). The Union Government has not set up any Chamber of Tibetan natural and herbal treatment for the people of Eastern Region at Calcutta. There is also no proposal under consideration of the Union Government to set up any such Chamber in Sikkim.

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**8 May 1989**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**DEMONSTRATION BY TIBETANS**

**8408. Shrimati Patel Ramaben Ramjibhai Mavani:** Will the **Minister of Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a number of Tibetans held demonstration at India Gate, New Delhi in March 1989;
- (b) if so, what were their demands;
- (c) whether Government have received any memorandum from them; and
- (d) if so, the details thereof and the action taken by Government thereon?

**Speaker: The Minister of State in the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions and the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri P. Chidambaram):**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) The following were the main demands:-
  1. To restore human rights to the Tibetans in Tibet.
  2. To stop atrocities being committed on the Tibetans in Tibet.
  3. To make Tibet independent.
  4. To lift martial law in Tibet.
  5. To conduct an enquiry into the death of Panchen Lama.
  6. To implement the Five-point program of Dalai Lama and the resolutions passed by the U.N.O. in 1959, 1961 and 1965.
  7. To release the Tibetan political prisoners.
  8. Intervention by the United Nations.

- (c) and (d). Government are aware of Memorandum to which the question refers. Government regard Tibet as an autonomous region of China.

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**7 August 1989**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TIBETAN REFUGEE**

**2902. Dr. Krupasindhu Bhoi:** Will the **Minister of Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Tibetan refugees in the country presently;
- (b) the steps taken for their rehabilitation; and
- (c) the total expenditure incurred annually for their rehabilitation?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev):**

- (a) According to the information available at present there are about 80,000 Tibetan refugees in the country.
- (b) Tibetan refugees have been provided housing assistance and resettled in agricultural and handicrafts-oriented schemes in the States of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Karnataka.
- (c) The total expenditure incurred on the resettlement of Tibetan refugees from 1959-60 till 31.3.1989 is Rs. 13.86 crores. In addition, a sum of Rs. 24.40 crores has been spent on the education of Tibetan children in India, upto 31.3.1989.

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**9 August 1989**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **EXPERIMENT ON ACUPUNCTURE AND TIBETAN SYSTEM OF MEDICINE**

**3196. Shri Amarsinh Rathawa:**

**Shri Chinamani Jena:** Will the **Minister of Health and Family Welfare** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether steps have taken to introduce acupuncture and Tibetan System of medicines in the country;
- (b) if so, the results thereof;
- (c) whether there is any proposal to develop these system; and
- (d) if so, the steps being taken in this direction?

**The Minister of State of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (Shri Rafique Alam):**

- (a) and (b). The Acupuncture and Tibetan system of medicines are already being practiced in the country.
- (c) No, Sir.
- (d) The question does not arise.

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**10 August 1989**

**Written Answers to Questions**

### **TALKS BETWEEN CHINA AND DALAI LAMA REGARDING FUTURE STATUS OF TIBET**

**3327. Shri G. S. Basavaraju:**

**Shrimati Basavarajeshwari:** Will the **Minster of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government of India have been informed by Dalai Lama that China desired to discuss with him future status of Tibet;
- (b) if so, the position in this regard; and
- (c) whether Government of India are considering any move in this regard?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri K. Natwar Singh):**

- (a) Government are not party to the dialogue between representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government. This is a subject which concerns the relations between the Chinese Government on the one hand, and the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan community on the other. Government regard Tibet as an autonomous region of China.
- (b) and (c). Do not arise.



**11 August 1989**

**Answers to Questions**

**STATEMENT RE: INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON TIBET AND  
PEACE IN SOUTH ASIA**

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri K. Natwar Singh):**

1. We understand that an "International Convention on Tibet and Peace in South Asia" is to be held in New Delhi shortly.
2. The Government of India have consistently regarded Tibet as an autonomous region of China. There are close religious and Cultural ties between the people of India and those of Tibet. H. H. the Dalai Lama is a respected religious and spiritual leader. Our commitment to the welfare and well being of Tibetan refugees in India remains.
3. Activity that complicates the dialogue between His Holiness the Dalai Lama as well as the Tibetan community on the one hand and the Chinese authorities on the other is inopportune and should be avoided.
4. It is the view of the Government of India that the holding of the planned Convention will not contribute to the positive evolution of this dialogue. In its effects, it is likely to be counter productive.

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**5 April 1990**

**Written Answers to Questions**

**MEMORANDUM FROM HIMALAYAN COMMITTEE FOR ACTION ON TIBET**

**Shri Narasingrao Suryawanshi:**

**Shri Prakash V. Patil:**

**Shri Dharmesh Prasad Verma:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Himalayan Committee for Action on Tibet has submitted a memorandum inter-alia urging India to review its policy on Tibet;
- (b) if so, the details thereof and grounds on which such review has been sought; and
- (c) the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri I. K. Gurjal):**

- (a) and (b). Yes, Sir. The memorandum relates, inter-alia, to the subject of Tibet and Government's stand thereon.
- (c) Government's stand on the subject of Tibet is consistent and well known. Tibet is recognized as an autonomous region of China.

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**22 August 2000**

**Question to be Answered**

**CENTRAL TIBETAN SCHOOLS**

**4532. Shri Dharmraj Singh Patel:** Will the **Minister of Human Resource Development** be pleased to state:-

- (a) whether there is a provision for admission of children of Indian origin and teaching of Hindi in primary classes in the schools under Central Tibetan School administrations; and
- (b) if so, the number of Indian children admitted in the primary classes during the last three years?

**The Minister of Human Resource Development (Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi)**

- (a) & (b) Information is being collected.

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**25 April 2001**

**Question to be Answered**

**INDIA'S STAND ON TIBET**

**5742. Shri Y.S. Vivekananda Reddy:** Will the **Minister of External Affairs** be pleased to state:-

- (a) whether China has sought a meeting with India regarding latter's stand on Tibet; and
- (b) if so, the details thereof?

**The Minister of State for External Affairs (Shri U.V.Krishnam Raju)**

(a): No, Sir

(b): Does not arise

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**21 August 2001**

**Question to be Answered**

**TIBETAN STUDIES INSTITUTE**

**4272. Shri Thaawar Chand Gehlot:** Will the **Minister of Human Resource Development** be pleased to state:-

- (a) the details of the advanced Tibetan Studies Institutes in the country and the position with regard to its functioning;
- (b) the objectives of the said institutes and the assistance being received by these; and
- (c) the institution-wise details of Buddhist Research Publications Academy and Museums set up during the last three years?

**The Minister of Human Resource Development (Dr.Murli Manohar Joshi)**

- (a) to (c) :The Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi was established in 1967 by the efforts of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The institution remained associated with the Varanaseya Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya (now Sampurnanand Sanskrit University) till 1975. It was granted autonomy in 1978. In 1988, the Institute was declared a Deemed University, managed with financial support from the Department of Culture.

**Objectives of the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies are:-**

1. Preservation of Tibetan Culture and Tradition.
2. Restoration of Ancient Indian Sciences and Literature preserved in Tibetan Language but lost in the original.
3. To offer alternate educational facilities to the students of Indian Himalayan Border formerly availing the opportunity of receiving higher education in Tibet.
4. Accomplishment of gains of teaching and scope of research in traditional subjects through a modern university educational system with provisions for award of degrees in Tibetan studies.

The Govt. of India provided a grant of Rs. 125.00 lakhs (Plan) and Rs. 387.00 lakhs (Non-Plan) to the Institute during 2001-2002. No Buddhist Research Publication Academy and Museums have been set up during the last three years by the Department of Culture.

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**5 May 2003**

**Question to be Answered**

**PROTECTION OF TIBETAN DEER**

**6012. Kunwar Akhilesh Singh:** Will the **Minister of Environment and Forests** be pleased to state:-

- (a) the State-wise locations wherein Tibetan deers are found along with their present number;
- (b) whether these deers are reportedly being poached in large number in order to smuggle their skin; and
- (c) if so, the details of action taken or proposed to be taken by the Government against poachers and for protection of 'Chirup'?

**Minister of State in the Ministry of Environment and Forests (Shri Dilip Singh Ju Dev)**

- (a) In India, the presence of the Tibetan antelope has been reported from the state of Jammu and Kashmir, where it occurs in areas of Ladakh bordering Tibet. No scientific census has been conducted in the recent years for Chiru. However, the census conducted in 1996 by State Forest Department of Jammu and Kashmir and Wildlife Institute of India estimated their population between 250-300 individuals.
- (b) No incident of poaching of Chiru for procuring its skin has been reported from Indian side of its range.
- (c) The measures taken for protection of Chiru include:
  1. Chiru has been listed in the Schedule I of the J&K Wildlife (Protection) Act and the Wild Life (Protection) Act 1972 and therefore has been provided highest degree of protection under law.
  2. A comprehensive programme has been initiated to rehabilitate Kashmiri Shatoosh artisans to wean them away from Shatoosh based trade.

## REOPENING OF NATHULA PASS FOR TRADE

**Shri. Nakul Das Rai (Sikkim):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have come to know that the date for next round of Sino-Indian talks is being worked out, I would like to know, through you, from the hon. Minister, by when the final solution of all these border disputes can be had.

I would like to put one more question. In the event of achieving good Sino-Indian relations, will the Government of India expedite the opening of Indo-China trade route through the State of Sikkim, that is through Nathula boarder?

I would like to give more stress on these questions because the opening of new windows will provide growth in tourism, trade, pilgrimage and food industry.... (Interruptions)

**Mr. Speaker:** Let me reply. After that, you can put your second supplementary.

**Shri. Nakul Das Rai (Sikkim):** Sir, this will be about employment. It will not only provide growth in our mountain economy but also provide economic gains for the entire country. What is the present scenario? When will the final decision come out positively?

**Mr. Speaker:** You have put your question very well.

**Shri. K. Natwar Singh:** Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Member. First of all, no timeframe has been fixed for the resolution of the border issue between India and China. We have had three rounds of talks and the next round of talks will be held in the coming few months.

With regard to the trade from Nathula, I would like to read out, your permission, Sir:

“During the visit of Shri. Atal Bihari Vajpayee to China in June 2003, India and China signed a Memorandum on Expanding Border Trade, which adds Nathula as another pass on the India-China border and sets up an additional point on each side of the border. The Indian side designated Changgu of Sikkim State as the venue for the border trade market, while the Chinese side designated Reqinggang of the Tibet Autonomous Region as the venue for border trade market. The two sides agreed to use Nathula as the pass for entry and exit of persons, means of transport and commodities in the Indian border trade. The exact modalities operationalising the argument including setting up of necessary infrastructure are being worked out by the Department of Commerce, which is the nodal agency for this in consultation with the State Government and relevant Department.”

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, second supplementary. Have you got any other question?

**Shri. Nakul Das Rai (Sikkim):** No Sir. Thank you.

**Shri. Kharabela Swain (Balasore):** Sir, did we discuss with the Chinese authorities with regard to providing full autonomy to Tibet? If we have made, any discussion with regard to that, what was the Chinese response to that because His Holiness the Dalai Lama had given up his demand?... (Interruptions)

**Mr. Speaker:** It does not really arise from this Question. You have put your first question, whether any such discussion was held.

**Shri. Kharabela Swain (Balasore):** Let me complete my question. If you disallow it, that is all right. But let me put the question at least.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am only trying to find out how far it relates to this question.

**Shri. Kharabela Swain (Balasore):** Kindly allow me to put the question. If you disallow it, that is a different matter.

**Mr. Speaker:** Please carry on.

**Shri. Kharabela Swain (Balasore):** Sir, I am the convener of the Indo-Tibetan All Party Parliamentary Forum. Naturally, I have got the right to put such a question.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not denying your right. Please carry on.

**Shri. Kharabela Swain (Balasore):** His Holiness the Dalai Lama had given up his idea or demand about an independent Tibet. Have we asked the Chinese authorities for providing the real autonomy to Tibet? If so, what was the Chinese answer to that?

**Shri. K. Natwar Singh:** Sir, as you have said, the question raised by the hon. Member has no connection with the question that I am answering and that has been asked. Our policy with regard on Tibet is well known. We consider Tibet as an autonomous region of China and that is the Government's policy.

**श्री मोहन सिंह (देवरिया):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय मंत्री जी ने केवल व्यापारिक संबंधों के बारे में सदन के सामने अपना पक्ष रखा है लेकिन हज़ारों तीर्थ यात्री कैलाश मानसरोवर की यात्रा पर भारत से जाते हैं और जिस रास्ते से चीन द्वारा जाने की अनुमति है, वह ज्यादा दुश्कर और परेशानी वाला है! वहां अक्सर भूस्खलन होता है और यात्री रास्ते में रूक जाते हैं! एक और यात्रा का रास्ता जो लद्दाख़ होकर है, जिसके बारे में कहा जाता है कि वह आसान और सुलभ है! क्या भारत सरकार चीन की सरकार से बात करके भारत के तीर्थयात्रियों के लिए लद्दाख़ होकर जाने वाली जो कैलाश मानसरोवर की यात्रा है उसे भी खुलवाने की कोई पहल करेगी?

**Shri. K. Natwar Singh:** Sir, I will certainly make necessary enquiry. With due respect, I must also say that I am unable to give an assurance on this because it deals with our relations with China. There are set procedures as to where we have to go and how we have to go. But I take your point.

**मोहम्मद सलीम (कलकत्ता-उत्तर पूर्व):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत और चीन के बीच में नाथूला पास संबंधित एक एग्रीमेंट बार्डर ट्रेड और कामर्स का होगा! मेरा सवाल है कि क्या भारत सरकार की तरफ से पूरी तैयारी है? क्योंकि जैसा मंत्री जी ने अपने जवाब में कहा है कि उसके लिये इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर डेवलप करने पड़ेंगे! ऐसा केवल एक ही हाईवे है जो बंगाल से उत्तर बिहार और सिक्किम के अंदर जाकर नार्थ ईस्ट को जोड़ता है! हम जानते हैं कि भारत बंगलादेश सीमा के बीच इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर रैडी नहीं होने के कारण दिक्कतों का सामना करना पड़ता है और इससे कारोबार में डिले होता है! जिस तरह से चीन अपनी तरफ से पूरी तैयारी कर रहा है, क्या सरकार ने दूसरी मिनिस्ट्रीज़ सरफेस ट्रांसपोर्ट मिनिस्ट्री होम मिनिस्ट्री और कॉमर्स से बातचीत करके तैयारी का काम शुरू कर दिया है? यदि शुरू कर दिया है तो वह मामला किस लेवल तक है? इसके अलावा एक्सटर्नल मिनिस्ट्री ने चीन के साथ जो कमिटमेंट किया है, अंदरूनी तौर पर वे अपनी तैयारी किस लेवल तक ले गये हैं?

**Shri. K. Natwar Singh:** Various Departments of the Government are working on it. We attach the highest importance to this matter because when Shri. Atal Bihari Vajpayee went to China last year in June, a memorandum was signed with regard to trade, and the various Ministries concerned are taking up the job. If the hon. Member likes, I would request my friend, the Minister of Commerce, to certainly get in touch with him and inform him.

**Shri. Suresh Prabhakar Prabhu (Rajapur):** We are pursuing two different strategies with China. One is to solve our border problem. We are engaged in the talks with them for the last 42 years. On the other hand, China is growing as one of the largest and fastest growing economies of the world. Therefore, obviously we are interested to promote our economic relationship with China. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether there is any inherent contradiction. On the one side, we want to solve our vexed border issue with China and on the other side, we want to develop the economic relations. Is development of the economic relations coming in the way of solving the border problem? or is it that the border problem is not allowing us to grow as much as we should grow in the development of our natural economic relationship with our close neighbour?

**Shri K. Natwar Singh:** No, there is no contradiction. There is an instrumentality on both the sides for dealing with the border. Special representatives are discussing the border question. With regard to trade, I am glade to inform you, Mr. Suresh Prabhakar Prabhu, that our trade with China by the end of this year should touch 10 billion dollars. So, the discussions on the border issue are not coming in the way of improving our economic relations, which are doing extremely well.

**Shri. B. Mahtab (Cuttak):** My question is related to the border relations with China. Recently a news report has come out. We need a clarification whether it is true or not. I would like to know whether China has shown interest to open a new roadway through Myanmar to connect the North-Eastern States, specially Arunachal Pradesh and other neighbouring States of the country. What is the response of our government to the proposal?

**Shri. K. Natwar Singh:** I would be grateful if the hon. Member would tell me precisely where this report appeared and what is the authenticity of the report.

**Shri. B. Mahtab (Cuttak):** I will give you the details. A road was closed just after the Sino-Indian conflict in 1962 it was going through Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmar to China. That proposal is under consideration. That sort of news has come out. I will give you the specific date and the newspaper. It is an Indian newspaper. The Economic Times in which this has come out. I will give you that.

**Shri. K. Natwar Singh:** I will appreciate that.

**Mr. Speaker:** Thank you very much.

**Shri. Khiren Rijju (Arunachal West):** In the month of April, a group of officers led by Chief Commissioner of Excise visited Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh to see the feasibility of a trade route through Arunachal Pradesh to China. Now, I would like to know whether during the last round of talks the feasibility of a trade route through Tawang district in Arunachal Pradesh figured?

Secondly, I would also like to seek a clarification from the Government. One month ago, the hon. Minister of State Shri. Shriprakash Jaiswal had stated at Kolkata that the new Government is going to review the trade policy. So, I would like to know the stand of the present Government in this regard?

**Shri. K. Natwar Singh:** If I may respectfully say so, the question we are dealing with is about the talks we have had at the special representatives level on the border question. With regard to the statement by my colleague, I am certainly not aware of it but I would certainly ask him about it.

**Mr. Speaker:** All right, if you get any information you can let him know.

**Shri. K. Natwar Singh:** I will do that.

**श्री छेवांग थुपस्तन (लद्दाख):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, आजकल ऐसी चर्चा चल रही है और हमें खुशी है कि चीन के साथ हमारे रिलेशंस इम्प्रूव हो रहे हैं ! जिस तरह स्वतंत्रता दिवस पर अरुणाचल प्रदेश में दोनों तरफ की फौजों ने मिलकर इसमें शिरकत की, उससे इंडीकेशंस मिल रही हैं कि हमारे बार्डर पर रिलेशंस अच्छे हो रहे हैं ! लेकिन दूसरी तरफ यह भी चर्चा है कि अरुणाचल प्रदेश और सिक्किम में जो हमारा इंटेरेस्ट है, उस इंटेरेस्ट को प्रोटेक्ट करने के लिए लद्दाख क्षेत्र का एक बहुत बड़ा क्षेत्रफल जो १९६२ के बाद से चीन के कब्जे में है, भारत सरकार की तरफ से उसे चीन को सिसीड करने की बात चल रही है ! मैं माननीय विदेश मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह सदन हमारे देश के इतने बड़े क्षेत्रफल को अरुणाचल और सिक्किम में अपने इंटेरेस्ट को प्रोटेक्ट करने के बदले में चीन को देने के लिए राजी हो जायेगा ?

**Mr. Speaker:** It does not really come under this question. However, it is a sensitive issue and so I am allowing it.

**Shri. K. Natwar Singh:** I can only say that the matter raised by the hon. Member is a speculation. There is no substance in what he has said.

**मेजर जनरल (सेवानिवृत्त) भुवन चन्द्र खंडूरी (गढ़वाल):** माननीय अध्यक्ष जी, चीन के साथ व्यापार करने के लिए यहां नाथुला पर चर्चा हुई और माननीय मोहन सिंह जी ने लद्दाख के बारे में कहा ! इसी तरह से उत्तरांचल में जोशी मठ से माणा होते हुए बहुत पुराना पारम्परिक रूट रहा है, इससे बहुत अधिक मात्रा में व्यापार होता था, लेकिन १९६२ के बाद वह बंद हो गया है ! मैं माननीय मंत्री जी आपसे जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आपको जानकारी है कि इस रूट को अन्य रूट के साथ खोला जाए, क्या इस प्रकार की मांग है ! यदि जानकारी है तो कृपया बतायें, क्या स्थिति है, यदि नहीं, तो बतायें कि क्या आप इस पर विचार करेंगे ?

**श्री के. नटवर सिंह:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य खुद मंत्री रह चुके हैं और आपको इस बात का पता है तथा आप उसी इलाके से आते हैं ! मगर आपने जो सवाल उठाया कि बहुबली के पास या कहीं इधर से होता है कि नहीं, वहां हमारे यात्री रह जाते हैं, वहां कोई रूकावट नहीं होती है, यदि रूकावट होती है तो बातचीत कर लेते हैं ! मगर यदि आप इस बारे में स्पष्ट पूछ रहे हैं तो आपको बताने की कोशिश करूंगा !

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### INCIDENT REGARDING PREVENTION OF THREE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT BY DELHI POLICE WHILE SUBMITTING A MEMORANDUM TO THE CHINESE EMBASSY ON 2.12.2004.

**Shri Kharabela Swain :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I, hon. Member Shri Mohan Singh and hon. Member from Ladakh Shri Thupstan Chhewang, had gathered near Teen Murti Bhawan. We wanted to proceed on foot to the Chinese Embassy just to hand over a memorandum because the Chinese Government has given death sentence to one of the Buddhist monks. So, just to absolve him of this death sentence, we wanted to hand over a memorandum, but the police had stopped us and one police official .... \* told us that he would arrest all of us. We could see that all the people and vehicles were passing through that way. But we, Members of Parliament, have been stopped by the police. We said that we would only go and hand over this memorandum to the Chinese Ambassador. We said that we will come back if they do not accept it and we are not going to make a forcible entry into the Chinese Embassy. But the police behaved with us as if we are in China.

Sir, I agree that they may not agree with our contention. But India is a democratic country. In a democratic country, do we not have the right just to go and submit a memorandum? I was so startled yesterday that I could not believe my eyes to see that it is my own Government, my own police which is behaving in this manner with Members of Parliament.

So, I seek your protection. I wanted to move a Privilege Motion on this matter because the police prevented Members of Parliament from doing their duty. One ... \* DCP also came.

**Mr. Speaker:** Names to be deleted.

**Shri Kharabela Swain :** She said you go through the procedure, and the protocol says you will go to the Ministry of External Affairs to give a memorandum. Sir, I am not the Government. I am the people's representative. Should I go to the Ministry of External Affairs just to submit a memorandum?

Ultimately they asked us to come. We went. We submitted the memorandum and we came back. Nothing happened. The heavens did not fall. But I was very surprised. Sir, through you, I am drawing the attention of the Government that we want a good relationship with China, but not in this way. Why is the Government so panicky about China? So, let the Members of Parliament have the right to go. So I appeal to you to kindly instruct the Government that the police should not behave with us, the Members of Parliament, in this way because we do not want to break the law. Thank you very much, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** This is the first time, just now you have brought it to my notice.

**Shri Kharabela Swain :** Sir, I told you.

**Mr. Speaker:** While I was passing the corridor, you said you wanted to mention one thing. Certainly I shall look into it.

**Shri Kharabela Swain :** Thank you, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** You could have brought it to my notice earlier.

... (Interruptions)

**Mr. Speaker:** We are all working every minute.

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### FOREIGN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

**Shri Suresh Prabhakar Prabhu (Rajapur):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this subject.

Sir, China is another neighbouring country of us. The Foreign Minister, the other day, while replying to a question in Parliament, has said that while we are committed to resolve the border dispute with China, we would also like to further our economic relations with China. I am sure we cannot miss out an opportunity with China, which is now the



Therefore, our relation with China also assumes great importance. I just now said about our short-term, medium-term and long-term policies. While on the one hand, on the short-term we should know what is the policy that the Government is pursuing in respect of China, on the other hand, we should also explore the possibility as to whether we can have a common market with our close neighbour China which will really put us into a great advantage. I am saying this because India and China are the two largest populations of the world. India has 16 per cent of the global population and China has about 18 per cent of the global population. So, between India and China, we have more than 33 per cent of the global population and if they have a common market, it can influence the world economy in a very significant way.

Very excellent speeches have been made by many hon. Members. I will not repeat those points. I would just make two-three suggestions. The Nathu La Pass near Sikkim should be opened quickly so that the trade with China could be increased. In fact, I had been to Nathu La Pass about some months back. People are eagerly waiting that it should be opened so that India has bilateral trade relationship with China.

**Shri Asaduddin Owaisi (Hyderabad):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, thank you. At the outset, I would like to point out to the hon. learned BJP Member who talked about India not participating enough in the peace keeping troops....

Coming to Dalai Lama, what we are doing with Dalai Lama and what is our position, Dalai Lama knows very well. We have never allowed this great nation of ours to be used against any country. This is the principal that has been followed and it should be continued to be followed.

### Question to be Answered

**Salarapatty Kuppusamy Kharventhan:** Will the **Minister of Water Resources** be pleased to state:-

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- (f) whether India and China have reached any agreement to take joint steps; and
- (g) if so, the details thereof?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Water Resources (Shri Jai Prakash Narayan Yadav)**

- (a) (b) and (c) The Chinese authorities, during a visit of the Indian Technical Team to Lhasa during September 18-20, 2004, had informed that the artificial lake created due to blockage of river Parechu by a landslide on July 08, 2004 had started receding from August 20, 2004.
- (d) During the discussions, the Tibet Autonomous Region Authorities had agreed that structural measures for controlled removal of blockage leading to emptying of lake were necessary before the advent of next flood season and that matter has to be taken up with their Central Government through diplomatic channels.
- (e) (f) and (g) The matter was taken up with the Chinese authorities through diplomatic channels and a visit to Beijing by the Indian Team is planned during the last week of December, 2004 for further discussions.

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**18 April 2005**

**Question to be Answered**

**TIBETAN LINK IN POACHING OF TIGERS**

**3629. Shri Uday Singh**

**Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury:** Will the **Minister of Environment and Forests** be pleased to state:-

- (a) whether the Government is aware that some Tibetan poachers are active in the poaching of tigers in the country as reported in the Statesman dated March 23, 2005;
- (b) if so, the facts and the details thereof;
- (c) whether the census of tigers is being conducted by the three decade old method of pug mark counting;
- (d) if so, the extent to which such method of counting is accurate; and
- (e) the concrete steps taken to adopt latest method of counting of tigers and also to check poaching activities of Tibetans in the country?

**Minister of State in the Ministry of Environment and Forests (Shri Namo Narain Meena)**

- (a) & (b) Body parts of tiger, leopard, otter and other wild animals have been seized several times from persons of Tibetan origin.
- (c) & (d) The methodology in vogue for estimating tiger population through pugmarks yielded a total count rather than a statistical estimate. This has been refined with inputs from the Scientists of Wildlife Institute of India, and the refinement now addresses these concerns by mapping tiger distribution at the best resolution using pugmark as an index for tiger presence and abundance. Total number estimates will be inferred by sampling and intensive research level data collection within the sample block by using scientifically valid and peer reviewed techniques.

The following steps have been taken to protect wild animals in the country:

- (i) Legal protection has been provided to wild animals including tigers against hunting and commercial exploitation under the provisions of the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972.
- (ii) Financial and technical help is being extended to the States under Centrally Sponsored Schemes for enhancing the capacity and infrastructure to provide effective protection to wild animals.
- (iii) The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) has been empowered under the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972 to apprehend and prosecute wildlife offenders.
- (iv) The Ministry of Home Affairs has addressed all State Governments to lend a helping hand to the field formations to curb poaching and illegal trade in wildlife.
- (v) A National Wildlife Action Plan (2002-2016) has been launched with several action points and priority projects for conservation and protection of wildlife in the country.

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**JOINT PROJECT ON CAPTIVE BREEDING OF TIBETAN ANTELOPE**

**4381. Shri Thupstan Chhewang:** Will the **Minister of Environment and Forests** be pleased to state:-

- (a) whether the Union Government is aware that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and Laddakh Area Hill Development Council (LAHDC), Leh is in the process of funding a joint project to start Artificial/captive breeding of Tibetan Antelope (Chiru);
- (b) if so, the details thereof;
- (c) whether the Union Government is also aware that similar project is being undertaken by the Government of China in Tibet;
- (d) if so, whether there is any proposal to exchange information and technology with China; and
- (e) if so, the details thereof?

**Minister of Environment and Forests (Shri A. Raja)**

- (a) No, Sir.
- (b) Does not arise.
- (c) No, Sir.
- (d) & (e) Does not arise.

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