FOREWORD

On October 21, 1972, Bharatiya Jana Sangh completed 21 years of its existence and entered what may be regarded as its age of youth. In the life of a country as ancient as India a period of two decades hardly matters much, but for the Jana Sangh this period is of great importance, concerning as it does the story of the party's genesis, and of the formative years of its life.

At the time Jana Sangh was born, the country was enmeshed in problems arising out of partition. Congress hopes that the creation of a separate Pakistan would put an end to an agonising chapter of communal violence and animosity had been falsified. The Hindu-Muslim conflict had only become enlarged into an Indo-Pak confrontation. Pakistan's aggression in Jammu-Kashmir State continued. In East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), Hindus were being decimated in a systematic manner. There was widespread discontent in the public mind regarding the Government's Pak policy which in effect was only an extension of Congress' Muslim-appeasement policy. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji's resignation from Government brought into the open the fact that even the Nehru Cabinet was divided on this issue.

It was but natural that a political party formed in these circumstances should lay maximum emphasis on warning and preparing the country against the Pak danger. For any nation—and particularly so, for a nation like India just emancipated, and partitioned—no issue can be of greater moment than the preservation of its independence and integrity. But the Jana Sangh leadership was fully alive to the fact that for national security, economic and industrial strength was as imperative as military strength. It was, therefore, that in its very first manifesto adopted on October 21, 1951 Jana Sangh laid as much stress on making the country 'prosperous' as it did on making it 'powerful and united'. In its enunciation of the party's aim,
foreword

the manifesto expressed a resolve to rebuild India as "a social and economic democracy," guaranteeing equality of opportunity and liberty of expression to all individuals.

On economic issues, the Jana Sangh approach right from the outset has been based on pragmatic considerations and not on dogmas. It rejected both complete nationalisation as well as free enterprise and favoured a middle course. It advocated nationalisation of defence industries but in respect of other industries suggested an approach which under overall State-regulation, "encouraged private enterprise to expand in the interests of consumers and producers alike". The three-pronged approach—growth in production, equity in distribution and restraint in consumption—commended by the Jana Sangh in 1951, is as valid today as it was then.

Jana Sangh has all along stood for abolition of Zamindari and the principle 'land to the tiller', for measures to prevent concentration of economic power in the hands of a few individuals, for the imposition of curbs on profiteering, and for the adoption of fiscal and taxation steps to remove the vast disparities in incomes of various sections. These attitudes of its have made it clear that it has not emerged on the political arena as a defender of the status quo, but as a champion of change, though it would like such change to be in conformity with Bharatiya values and brought about through democratic means.

Between 1951 and 1972, Jana Sangh has traversed through many ups and downs. It has fought five General Elections. Taking victories and defeats of electoral battle in its strides, it has carved out a permanent place for itself in Indian politics. During these 25 years of independence, the introduction of adult franchise, spread of education, expansion of means of communication, and of Radio and the Press have brought about a new awakening in the common mind. The common man has become more conscious about his rights. Sections oppressed and neglected since centuries have risen for the improvement of their social and economic conditions. The common man's desire to become a co-sharer in national prosperity is extremely natural. A party dedicated to the public good has to be alive and responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people and identify itself with them. This is exactly what the Jana Sangh has done. The focal point of all its economic policies and programmes has been the 'Dartika' (the poor) in whom it has seen the manifestation of 'Narayana' (divinity). Making him happy and contented is for the Jana Sangh the highest form of worship.

As a centrist party, the Jana Sangh has been subjected to attacks both from the extreme right as well as the extreme left. Protagonists of complete freedom in the economic sphere have assailed it being worse than Communists. On the other hand in the eyes of the so-called progressives, the Jana Sangh has been a reactionary and a defender of vested interests.

There is a third category of critics which accuses Jana Sangh of sailing with the wind and of having deviated from its original path. Jana Sangh's decision at Ghaziabad about ceiling on urban property is cited as an example of such deviation. So also is the suggestion that the ratio between maximum and minimum incomes be limited.

The question of ceiling on urban property came up before the Jana Sangh even at its initial stages when the party decided in favour of agricultural ceilings. It was strongly argued then that there ought to be similar ceiling in the urban sector also. The suggestion was not rejected in principle but it was felt that the time for undertaking such a programme had not yet come. Generally speaking, however, a party resolved to rebuild Indian society on the basis of Bharatiya Sanskriti and Maryada as a modern and progressive nation cannot accept that an individual's right to amass wealth, and spend on consumption should be absolute and untramelled.

In this context it must be mentioned that the Jana Sangh's rational for supporting agricultural ceilings or urban ceilings is different from that which motivates other parties. We have never shared their illusion that imposition of agricultural ceilings is going to make available large areas of land for distribution to the landless and thus help solve the problem of rural unemployment. The experience of the last 25 years has borne this out. Jana Sangh had its own reasons for supporting land ceilings, the most important one being that growth in agricultural production can be achieved only through intensive
farming which in turn demands that the size of a land-holding be such that the farmer can bestow personal attention on it. The Jana Sangh has also been of the view that in the present circumstances mechanised farming is not suited to India.

Similarly, Jana Sangh’s advocacy of urban ceilings is prompted by a desire to ensure optimum use of urban land. In its Ghaziabad resolution, therefore, Jana Sangh suggested that while fixing the ceiling, the price of land and the construction thereon should be assessed separately. This rational approach has been widely welcomed. In the present conditions, construction of palatial buildings adorned with spacious gardens and swimming pools, etc. is nothing but vulgar display of wealth. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the opinion that for residential houses in urban localities, no plot should be more than 1000 square yards in area.

When in its economic resolution at Ghaziabad, Jana Sangh said that the ratio between the minimum and maximum expendable income of citizens should be 1 : 20, many people were surprised. They promptly pronounced the verdict: Jana Sangh is turning left. Many newspapers made the same comment. Some comments were critical, while others praised Jana Sangh for this ‘new line’. In this din of jeers and cheers, both kinds of commentators seemed to forget that as long back as in 1952, Party’s Central Working Committee had mooted this suggestion at its Delhi meeting and later on in 1954, Bharatiya Jana Sangh’s General Council at its Indore Session had formally incorporated it in its Manifesto thus:

“For reducing the inequality in the incomes of the different classes, Jana Sangh will take steps towards more equitable distribution of national wealth and guarantee to all nationals the minima of decent living. In the present circumstances, incomes may be limited to a maximum of Rs. 2000 p.m. and a minimum of Rs. 100 p.m. with efforts to raise the minimum so that in the foreseeable future the highest and lowest incomes may bear a ratio of 10 : 1.”

Two years later, that is, in 1956, at its Delhi Session, this issue was again discussed and it was clarified that in this context income meant ‘expendable income’. It was further stated that if an individual by dint of honest labour or his ability earns more than the permitted maximum, the excess income would be procured for “development needs through contribution, taxation, compulsory loans and investment.” All manifestos issued for various elections held since, have reiterated the Party’s stand on limiting the disparity between maximum and minimum expendable incomes. The critics have either not read them or have read them too casually to be able to grasp their implications.

Even while adhering steadfastly to its fundamental credo and without compromising with any of its basic tenets, the Jana Sangh has lent a responsive ear to the demands of the changing times and adapted itself accordingly. As its very name signifies, Jana Sangh is the Party of the People, an overwhelming majority of whom even after 25 years of Freedom and four Plans are victims of scarcity, ignorance and disease. This situation has to be remedied. Every individual has to be enabled to procure his minimum requirements of food, clothing, shelter, education and medicine; the necessary expansion programme of materials and services has to be undertaken; and a technology evolved to suit Indian conditions—a technology which ensures not only mass production but also production by masses. These are tasks which deserve priority side by side with the demands of national security. It is precisely these objectives, priorities and strategies which are reflected in the Jana Sangh’s SWADESHI PLAN. Jana Sangh is perhaps the only party which has not merely urged a radical revision in our economic planning, but has also itself suggested the outlines of an alternative plan. Of course one may disagree with Jana Sangh’s economic thinking and even criticise it but no serious student of Indian affairs can afford to ignore it.

In fact if today Jana Sangh has become the prime target of attacks from our rulers and their communist and communist allies, this is essentially because these elements are increasingly becoming conscious of the fact that unlike other opposition parties, Jana Sangh is not a splinter party formed by any group of malcontents belonging to another party nor is it a lobby of any vested interests, but is a party which offers a powerful alternative to the Ruling Congress and seeks to inspire and consoli-
date the people on a three-plank credo of Nationalism, Democracy and Social Justice.

I am happy that Documents pertaining to Jana Sangh’s principles, policies and programmes are being compiled subject-wise and published. These documents will no doubt be very useful for all interested in Indian public affairs.

Makar Sankranti,
January 14, 1973

—Atal Behari Vajpayee

PREFACE

Bharatiya Jana Sangh was born on October 21, 1951. Over the period, the Jana Sangh contested almost all the general and mid-term elections. Its representatives had occasion to project the party’s point of view in various legislatures as well as outside. Its resolutions, declarations and manifestos have naturally attracted wide public attention and frequently occasioned general debate. There is, therefore, an increasing desire to know and understand the Party’s mind. Need is being felt to make the documents of the Party available for researchers and students of Political affairs no less than for politicians and writers, not to mention the workers of the Party. The present compilation of the Party Documents is the result of this necessity.

In addition to ‘Principles and Policies’, only All India manifestos and resolutions passed by Central Working Committee, All India General Council and Plenary Sessions have been included. Obituary resolutions have been omitted.

The first volume contained the document ‘Principles and Policies’ which was adopted at the XII BJS Plenary Session in January 1965 at Vijayawada, all manifestos and Party’s constitution as amended by the AIGC in May 1972 at Bhagalpur. Resolutions on Economic Affairs divided into 4 chapters comprised the second volume. The present volume contains two chapters, the first on Defence and the second on Foreign Affairs.

Generally topics have been grouped according to the Ministries of the Central Government. Many resolutions embrace topics pertaining to both the chapters. As such they could be split or included in any of the two. Instead of the resolutions being split up, headings to important paragraphs have been given and listed in the index where cross-reference to both the chapters may be had. Resolutions containing border-
line topics which could justifiably be assigned to one or the other chapter, have been placed where their relative importance was assessed to be higher.

To enrich the chapter on Foreign Affairs, an appendix has been added to this volume giving the text or textual excerpts of important Treaties and Agreements between India and other countries, which have been referred to in the resolutions.

All resolutions have been numbered in a chronological order, the first two digits indicating the year and the next two ones the serial number of the resolution in that year. Thus 52.19 indicates the 19th resolution passed in 1952 and 72.06 means the 6th resolution of the year 1972. At the end of each resolution, have been given the date, place and name of the body which passed it, wherein CWC, AIGC and AIS mean respectively the Central Working Committee, All India General Council and the All India Session.

A gist of resolutions in each chapter has been given in the beginning.

It is hoped that this compilation will be of benefit to those for whom it is intended.

—Compiler

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#### APPENDIX B LIST OF RESOLUTIONS ON DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

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Today no one questions the unique importance of defence in national affairs. But there was a time when in the Government of India’s scheme of things Defence occupied a very minor place (54.08). It needed a major invasion by the neighbouring China to shake it out of this indifference.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh, however, has from its very outset realised the importance of Defence and has stressed, for the “evaluation of a National Defence Programme.” (53.16). Much before the 1962 Chinese and 1965 Pakistani attacks on India, Jana Sangh had insisted on “arming ourselves and prepare for the worst” and in view of such preparations while demanding austerity, had assured the Government that “there is no doubt that the people will also tighten their belts and do their best to strengthen our defence potential and ensure that the balance of power in South Asia is not disturbed” (53.16).

When Jana Sangh first made the call for India to manufacture Nuclear weapons (64.13), there was widespread amazement, and even ridicule. But Jana Sangh persisted and persuaded. Today this is a National demand. Cynical foreign observers such as those of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, now see it as ‘inevitable’ in view of the domestic political opinion. Influenced by the climate generated in this country during this last decade the Government of India has refused to sign the Non-proliferation Treaty, in spite of heavy foreign pressures. Jana Sangh can well claim to have made a major contribution towards building of this climate.

The key plank of Jana Sangh’s defence strategy is Self-reliance. The party wants the nation to develop its own independent deterrent in both the conventional and nuclear fields. Although it is in favour of complete disarmament as a step towards peace, it has made it clear in its resolution on the Non-proliferation Treaty (68.04) that partial disarmament would encourage the big powers to accumulate arms while the smaller powers would become more dependent on them.

Another important plank of its defence strategy has been the integration of defence with economic planning (54.08, 62.14). The party is of the view that without this integration, the nation will have neither defence nor economic development. India’s own experience has amply borne this out. Government now appears to have partially accepted this view, although belatedly. From 1974-75 on, the Defence Plan will commence simultaneously as the Economic Plan and will be of the same duration.

Besides, Jana Sangh has powerfully highlighted the economic conditions of our soldiers. It has demanded adequate pay-scales for the jawans, employment-opportunities for the maimed and discharged armed forces personnel, and sufficient defence training for the civilian population. For the youth it has urged compulsory military training (53.16, 62.17, 66.06, 71.06).
62.16. WAR HEROES

Bharatiya Jana Sangh pays its respectful homage to the valiant heroes who have laid down their lives fighting the Chinese aggressor in defence of India's freedom and integrity. History will record with pride the amazing exploits of our brave jawans who had to contend against superior numbers and superior arms. Future generations would always draw inspiration from their performance. Jana Sangh salutes the gallant armed forces of the country and assures them that the entire country stands squarely behind them in the sacred task of defending the Motherland.

[December 30, 1962; Bhopal X AIS]

62.17. CHINESE INVASION

War and Cease-fire—The massive attack launched by Communist China in NEFA and Ladakh on October 20, 1962, has made it clear that China aims not only at asserting its border claims by use of force, but that, in furtherance of its traditional and Communist expansionist designs, it is also striving to establish its own bases south of the Himalayas, to strike an awe in the minds of other neighbouring countries of Asia and to humiliate India in their eyes. War as well as cease-fire have been alternately used by China for the attainment of this objective. To meet China's aggression it is essential to understand its aims and strategy, draw up our own war-objectives accordingly and then get down to their fulfilment.

War Objectives—Only by ousting China from Indian territory with our military might can we retrieve the area and prestige, we have lost. For enduring security and peace on the northern frontiers it is necessary that Tibet be re-established as an independent State. It is evident that these objectives cannot be achieved by leaving the initiative entirely to China and by taking steps just in defence and in reaction to China's moves.

It is paradoxical to continue diplomatic relations with China or hold negotiations with it or talk about taking the border question to the International Court after we have declared China an aggressor. This gives the impression that we are not willing to accept this war as war, and to face it as such. This
attitude encourages the enemy, confuses the public mind and deprives our policies of clarity of purpose. By accepting China's unilateral cease-fire and by continuing veritably to negotiate with it in the name of having its proposal clarified, the Government has weakened the war-effort. The Government's readiness to resume regular talks if China withdraws to the September 8, 1962 line, can only mean that the Government is prepared to condone the aggression prior to that date. India ought to make it clear that so long as the aggressor stays put on Indian soil, it can accept no proposal of mediation or negotiation. India has been deceived by China quite for long now. Let it not entertain any further illusions about China's intentions, military preparedness and peace talks.

War Preparedness—Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly urges that for full-fledged war preparations in the country, the following steps be taken:

1. The army, the navy and the air-force should all be expanded as rapidly as possible and its strength as well as calibre be made to match China's.

2. For this purpose procurement of massive military aid from friendly countries should continue. For our immediate needs our army should have 20 lac soldiers. Arrangements should be made for emergency training courses so that India be fully ready to meet any Chinese attack after this winter.

3. As a long-range plan, compulsory military training for all youths must be introduced so that every year we have some 45 lac trained youngmen of 21 years age and over.

4. The Air Force should be expanded with a view to match that of China. India needs to procure at least 5,000 military planes. At the same time to prepare against possible air attacks we must have adequate radar-equipment and anti-aircraft guns.

5. Defence industries for immediate needs and for long-term needs, ought to be set up to manufacture all types of equipments including atomic weapons. In conformity with security requirements these industries should be underground, and away from the border. Persons with doubtful loyalties must be scrupulously excluded from defence industries and from all works related to defence and the army.

6. Citizens' Defence Schemes should be enlarged and strengthened. Citizens whose loyalty is unquestionable should be allowed to keep arms.

[December 30, 1962; Bhopal, X IAS]

64.13. NUCLEAR DETERRENT NECESSARY

The Central Working Committee deeply regrets the Government's failure to realize the seriousness of the threat posed to India's security by China's entry into the nuclear club. The lackadaisical manner in which the Government of India has been dealing with this matter is evidenced by the fact that an issue of such vital importance has not even been referred to the Central Cabinet for its considered opinion. Bharatiya Jana Sangh has always been of the view that the nation's determination to build up military strength adequately enough to frustrate the gravest challenge to its independence and integrity should not be limited by any pseudo-pacifist inhibitions. For the last two years India has been at an undeclared war with China. The fact has been known for quite some time that China was feverishly trying to detonate nuclear device of its own. The serious implications which China's success would have in regard to this Sino-Indian involvement, and the psychological impact, an atomic bang by Peking would have on other Asian countries, both could have easily been foreseen by the Indian authorities and a suitable policy chalked out to meet the impending development.

Economics of Nuclear Deterrent—In its smug ostrich like complacency, the Government of India not only refused to do anything of the kind but it further kept on confusing and misinforming public opinion by raising an economic bogey to silence the growing popular demand that India should build up its own atom bomb. India's economy, it was contended, could not bear the cost of producing an atomic weapon. Jana Sangh disagrees basically with this approach. No price can be considered too high where the country's defence is involved. But in the matter of this particular debate, recent statements made by the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission have made it clear that the question of cost at least cannot be pleaded to justify a policy of nuclear self-denial.

It is jejune in the extreme to argue that China's nuclear threat can be faced by mobilising world opinion against it. India's recent experience at the Cairo Conference and the fact that not a single Asian country has joined India in condemning China's nuclear explosion should have been an eye-opener for
65.24. **WAR HEROES**

In the battle with Pakistan, India’s Armed Forces have displayed great valour and military skill. Inflicting severe losses on the enemy, they have won a victory. We salute the army on its success. Bharatiya Jana Sangh pays its tributes to the jawans who have in the course of this successful campaign laid down their lives performing their duty and thus attained hallowed martyrdom. They have defended the honour of the country with their lives. Their memory would always be for the people a source of inspiration for heroism and victory.

[September 27, 1965; Delhi, CWC]

65.25. **PAK VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL CODE OF WAR**

Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly condemns Pakistan’s reckless bombing of civilian areas including hospitals and jails, in violation of accepted canons of war and international conventions. The shooting down of the civilian plane carrying Gujarat Chief Minister, Shri Balwantrai Mehta, and the brutal bombing of Amritser even after acceptance of the cease-fire are pertinent instances in this regard. The Government of India should take steps to inform world opinion adequately about these dastardly acts.

Jana Sangh pays its homage to the deceased and offers its condolences to their relations. Their sacrifice has made its own contribution to the successful culmination of the war.

[September 27, 1965; Delhi, CWC]

**66.06. PINDI-PEKING AXIS**

The bravery, resistance and superior generalship displayed by the Indian Defence Forces during the conflict with Pakistan have added to its prestige as also to the prestige of our country. Bharatiya Jana Sangh salutes the Defence Forces and offers its humble tributes to those who laid down their lives on the battlefield in defence of the Motherland.

**Tashkent Declaration**—The people and the Government of India had realised during the war the importance of defence preparedness and the necessity for formulating all the national policies with an eye on defence needs. The Tashkent Declaration has not only forced our defence forces to fall back but has also pushed defence considerations to the background in the formulation of Government policies. The Tashkent Declaration was a betrayal of national interests. Through it, the victory won by our defence forces on the battlefield was lost at the diplomatic table.

**Pak Attitude**—With the completion of withdrawal of our forces from the strategic areas of Hajipur and Kargil, Pakistan has once again come back into her true colours. She has further strengthened her alliance with Communist China which has been faithfully supplying all kinds of armaments, etc. to Pakistan who may develop atomic weapons also with her help. Pakistan is also purchasing arms from other countries of the world. Western arms are reaching her through Iran and Turkey. The Pakistan lobby is active in USA also to secure resumption of American arms-aid. Pakistan is extending all kinds of help and cooperation to Naga and Mizo rebels. At the same time, the Pakistans and the Chinese fifth columnists have stepped up their disruptive activities in the country. It is thus clear that the ground is being prepared for a new major invasion on the country. India can ill-afford to remain complacent about this dangerous situation.

**Expansion and Improvement of Defence Forces**—Even though our defence forces gave ample proof of their bravery and capability during the last conflict, the length and nature of our frontiers and the impending danger of attack on all the three frontiers demand a rapid expansion and improvement of our defence forces both in quantity and quality of its equipment. Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, once again demands that:

(1) The strength of land forces must be increased to 20 lacs
DEFENCE

(5) We must stop extending our support to Communist China’s entry into UN and must strive for securing a permanent seat for us in the Security Council.

(6) We must develop close economic and cultural ties with countries of South East Asia.

[May 1, 1966; Jullundhur, XIII AJS]

68.04. BEWARE OF NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

Soviet Russia and USA are mounting their pressures on India to sign the non-proliferation treaty. Government of India seem to be somewhat weakening in its resolve not to sign the treaty in its present form.

Since 1954, India has been stressing, not only to check the spread of atomic weapons but also to reduce their existing stock-piles. It is incomprehensible that while on one hand the non-atomic nations bind themselves down not to head for making atomic weapons, on the other hand those nations which are well equipped with atomic weapons be allowed to continue in their efforts to increase their stock-piles of atomic weapons, increase their devastating powers and perfect their delivery systems. The General Assembly of the UNO had in its 20th Session clearly laid down in a resolution that a non-proliferation treaty should embody an accepted balance of mutual responsibilities of nuclear and non-nuclear powers which implied that Super Powers must undertake certain responsibilities to halt and reverse the arms-race if they expect non-nuclear powers to deny themselves voluntarily nuclear weapons for all times. It is a painful fact that nuclear powers have failed to shoulder this responsibility.

The non-nuclear nations cannot accept a treaty which at one hand would allow the nuclear powers to stock-pile nuclear weapons and on the other make the non-nuclear nations dependent upon others for their security. The guarantee which is being offered to non-nuclear nations against atomic attack is altogether insufficient, unsatisfactory and unacceptable. This guarantee is being made a subject of veto by bringing in the Security Council. It would not only amount to further strengthening the dominance of big powers over the world but would also entirely leave the non-nuclear countries at their mercy. In a nuclear conflict time is a crucial factor. Before Security Council is arranged for a decision to thwart the nuclear attack, the country faced with such attack would have

at least.

(2) Indian Air Force must be increased at least to three times of its present strength.

(3) Indian Navy must acquire submarines and more warships.

(4) Atomic weapons and missiles must be manufactured, and pace of manufacturing of arms and military equipment within the country must be speeded up. Steps must be taken to make the country self-sufficient in defence needs at the earliest.

(5) Provision must be made for compulsory military training for all youth between the age of 20 and 23.

(6) Civil defence activities must continue and arrangements must be made to provide military training and arms to persons of undoubted loyalty residing in the border areas.

India’s foreign policy must also be formulated and implemented primarily with an eye on the defence needs of the country. We must muster friends against Pak-China combine.

It is a matter of deep regret that even those countries which should know better about the threat posed to the freedom and integrity of the Asian and the African States by the new imperialism of China through external aggression and internal sabotage and disruption, are trying to minimise the dangerous potentialities of the opportunistic alliance of Pakistan with her. India can count only on those countries which are prepared to stand by her against the Pindi-Peking axis.

India must also take note of the proposed Islamic alliance and the interest being taken by Pakistan in it.

Independence of East Bengal and Pakhtoonistan—It is the considered view of Bharatiya Jana Sangh that:

(1) Diplomatic relations must be established with nationalist China on the condition that she will extend full support to India in the Security Council on the question of Kashmir.

(2) India’s relationship with individual Arab States and other countries of West Asia must be determined on the basis of strict reciprocity.

(3) India must lend support to the independence for Tibet and Sinkiang and must extend recognition to the Dalai Lama as Government of Tibet in Exile.

(4) We must give every encouragement to the movement for independence of East Bengal and Pakhtoonistan from the totalitarian control of Pakistan.
been annihilated. The guarantees given by the Soviet Russia and USA jointly or severally would be of no avail for the non-aligned nations.

**Nuclear Deterrent Necessary**—As far as India is concerned, since Red China has begun manufacturing nuclear weapons and it has been universally accepted that Peking has surpassed all assessments regarding her progress in the nuclear field the eminent danger of nuclear attack is no more a subject of academic interest but has become a question of life and death for her. India has not only to prepare herself for defence against any possible nuclear attack but has also to acquire the deterrent against such a danger. Although China’s threat lies mainly in the field of conventional armaments, India shall have to develop an independent nuclear deterrent.

**Balance of Power in South East Asia**—In a way the nuclear weapons could rightly be described as ‘political’ because with their mere possession (even without using them) many objectives could be achieved. With China joining the nuclear club, the balance of power in South East Asia has shifted in her favour and small countries are feeling its pressure increasingly. To bridge the ‘power gap’ between India and China and to re-establish the balance of power in this area, it is necessary that India should revise its decision of not producing nuclear weapons. This would not only heighten the morale of the nation but also transform the attitude of our hostile neighbours.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers this its duty to warn the Government of India that it should not commit the folly of allowing itself to be pressurised into signing the proposed treaty. If the government today is not in a position to take courage in both hands and decide to produce the atom bomb, the option for India going nuclear must not be given up. The Indian people will not forgive any weakness or vacillation in this respect.

[March 22, 1968; Bhopal, CWC]

**71.08. NATIONAL SECURITY**

The country is passing through a grave crisis. Pakistan has forced 1 crore displaced persons on India. Its armies stand poised menacingly on the East and West, and daily intrusions into Indian territory and air-space are taking place. Gangs of saboteurs have been let loose on our border-states to blow up our roads, bridges and trains. Having thus unleashed an undeclared war on India, General Yahya Khan has been threatening total war if the Mukti Bahini succeeds in liberating areas of Bangladesh.

Here is a situation whose solution brooks neither delay nor half-heartedness. The All India General Council regrets to observe that the Government of India's response to the situation does not measure up to the challenge posed. Its present policy of limited assistance to the Mukti Bahini is unnecessarily prolonging the agony of Bangladesh and is contributing besides to swelling of the numbers of refugees.

**Recognise Swadhin Bangladesh**—If India had recognised Bangladesh step back in April last and given it all necessary military assistance, by now Bangladesh would have been freed from the shackles of Pakistan. Also, India would have been spared the oppressive burden of refugees now inflicted upon us. By failing to act then, the Government of India has been guilty of a monumental blunder.

Even now, we hold, it is in the best interests of both, Bangladesh and India that we recognise the Bangladesh Government immediately and help it liberate its land at the earliest. Recognition of Bangladesh, the General Council demands, should be followed by a mutual security-pact with provision to ensure the speedy return of the displaced persons and restoration of their properties, freedom of Bangladesh and the security and integrity of India.

This week, Yahya Khan has talked ominously about having arrived ‘at the brink’ of war. Obviously, Pakistan is upset over the success scored by the Mukti Bahini in freeing large chunks of territory. Large-scale hostilities breaking out on the western front should now be regarded imminent. Jana Sangh feels that the enemy should not be allowed to launch a surprise offensive at a time and place of its choosing. Any such adventure on its part should be effectively forestalled.

The Mukti Bahini’s achievements are showing effect on the international plane also. A move is already afoot to bale Pakistan out of its present discomfiture through the intervention of the UN Security Council. The Government of India must firmly resist all moves aimed at obstructing the liberation movement of Bangladesh.

**Normalcy with China**—The General Council wishes to take note of the bitterly anti-India position taken by China at the
UN in respect of the border situation. Lately, India's External Affairs Minister has been making exuberant statements about 'improvement' in Sino-Indian relations. In Parliament, yesterday, he expressed willingness to send an ambassador to Peking unilaterally. During her trip abroad, the Prime Minister went to the length of suggesting that even the Aksai China issue could be overlooked to establish 'normals' with China. Peking's outburst at the UN has served to highlight the immaturity of this assessment and approach. The General Council cautions the Government against any relaxation of vigil on our northern frontiers.

The General Council felicitates the Mukti Bahini on its successes and congratulates our soldiers, sailors, airmen and members of the Border Security Force on their gallant resistance to Pakistani intrusions. Jana Sangh assures the Government its whole-hearted support in the defence of the country and liberation of Bangladesh. It appeals to the citizens in general and the Jana Sangh workers in particular to supplement the official effort with popular support. It specifically resolves to observe the week commencing on December 12 as 'Blood Donation Week'.

**Public Participation in Defence**—It is a matter of regret that the Government has till now made little effort to secure public participation in defence activities. In fact, the ruling party has been keen to exploit the present critical situation only for the promotion of petty partisan ends. Both at the national level as well as at the State levels, there is a conspicuous reluctance to associate opposition parties with civil defence activity and where such association is at all sought, it is seldom purposeful. The main responsibility in this regard lies with the Central Government which is yet to give evidence of an awareness of the gravity of the present crisis. The situation demands that the Central Government conduct itself as a National Government and cease to behave as a party outfit.

**Ad-Hocism in Defence**—Jana Sangh has always been of the view that national security should be deemed of paramount importance in formulating the foreign, political and economic policies of the country. Unfortunately, the ruling party's attitude to problems of national security has been marked by ad-hocism. For the first 15 years after Independence, the country's defences were criminally neglected. The Chinese attack of 1962 proved a blessing in disguise inasmuch as it shook us out of complacency and forced us into paying attention to defence. Even so, there is need for tackling problems of national defence with a long-range perspective.

With this in view, and also in order to meet the immediate situation that has arisen on the Indo-Pak borders, the All India General Council demands:

1. Without delay, India must decide to go nuclear.
2. India's present defence strength should be doubled.
3. The presence of foreign navies in the Indian Ocean should be taken serious note of; the Government of India must strengthen the Indian Navy to make it the biggest in the Indian Ocean for the security of India and peace in South Asia.
4. The present structure of the UN and particularly its Security Council is quite out-of-date; this international organisation should be re-structured in the light of the emergence of Asia and Africa since 1945, when the UN was founded. As a first step in this direction, India should be given a permanent seat in the Security Council.
5. A special Pay Commission should be constituted to review the pay-scales and emoluments of our defence personnel so as to make these commensurate with the onerous responsibility entrusted to them.
6. A scheme of war-risk-insurance should be immediately implemented in the border areas.
7. Strict action should be taken to weed out infiltrators from the border states, a close watch should be kept on pro-Pak elements throughout the country and salutory punishment should be meted out to those colluding with the enemy; deterrent punishment should be prescribed for sabotage.
8. Government's pledge about the return of displaced persons in 6 months is now 8 months old; a new deadline be announced for the early return of these refugees.
9. The Central Citizens Council and its state units should be so constituted as to make them truly representative.

**November 27, 1971; Ghaziabad, AIGC**

**72.01. BANGLADESH WAR**

The Central Working Committee pays its tearful tributes to the memory of thousands of soldiers, sailors and airmen who have laid down their lives for the defence of India and the liberation of Bangladesh. Their glorious performance is a
golden page in the Indian history.

War Rehabilitation—Proper rehabilitation of their families, suitable employment to the wounded and satisfactory education to their children must be the first responsibility of the State.

Jana Sangh is worried by reports about maiming and murder of Indian soldiers captured by Pakistanis. These fears are confirmed by the fact that while 2,163 jawans are missing, Pakistanis claim to hold less than 600. The Working Committee calls upon the Government to take the assistance of the Red Cross and other appropriate agencies to ascertain facts and demand punishment of the guilty.

Civilians, particularly in the border areas, have also suffered loss of life, limb and property. Their rehabilitation and compensation must also be undertaken by the State.

While Bangladesh has been liberated, and more than half the refugees have gone back, Government continues to collect refugee taxes. Jana Sangh is of the definite opinion that the high cost of the reconstruction of Bangladesh—put at a minimum of Rs. 600 crores by experts—should be paid by Pakistan and not by India. To this end, adequate reparations should be an integral part of any truce Agreement.

[January 27, 1972; Bhopal, CWC]

72.03. PAY-SCALES OF DEFENCE PERSONNEL

Jana Sangh demands revision of pay-scales of the defence personnel to make them commensurate with the responsibility and risk involved in their duties.

The Working Committee feels that the salary scales of armed forces personnel are neither commensurate with the responsibility and risk involved in their duties, nor do they correspond to the pay-scales of civilian jobs of similar qualifications. The minimum that the people owe to these brave defenders of the Motherland is that at least today in this hour when they have earned the country pride and glory, this injustice should be removed.

The Committee, therefore, calls upon the Government to accept the recommendations made by the Army Headquarters lately for a revision of the pay-scales and service conditions of all the military ranks. It also recommends that a special reward by way of war-bonus may be given to every jawan in appreciation of his services in the recent war with Pakistan.

[January, 27, 1972; Bhopal, CWC]
If defence strategy is to be integrated with economic planning, foreign policy should be formulated on the requirements of defence. This has been a basic postulate for Bharatiya Jana Sangh (66.06, 67.20). Therefore Jana Sangh has formulated its foreign policy pronouncements from the very beginning on the calculations of national interests. It has rejected very emphatically the starry-eyed moralising attitude to international problems, which has characterised GOI’s Foreign Policy ever since Shri Nehru.

Jana Sangh has been of the view that India’s enlightened self-interests would be best served by remaining non-aligned with either of the two major powers—the USA and the USSR (52.09). But it regarded non-alignment as a sound policy suited to a specific situation, and not an inalienable dogma or creed as the Congress Government has been trying to project it. Also Jana Sangh has been a proponent of non-involvement in power-bloc politics (53.16) and has been cautioning the Government against involving itself in issues which have little to do with our national interests (59.12).

Jana Sangh has shown a keen perception of the change in world power-equation following China’s attempt to break away from the Soviet camp. It pointed out that the world had ceased to be bi-polar, and in the emerging multi-polar context, India must exert to become a separate and independent pole (63.02).

Jana Sangh has been strongly anti-imperialist (54.18). It condemned the Anglo-French action in Suez (56.25) and supported Egypt’s take-over of the Suez canal (56.18). The party has been vigorously opposed to Colonialism and Apartheid (52.09, 52.13). It has demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops and an end to all military-pacts since they lead to “intensification of world-tensions” (59.09). Jana Sangh repudiated USSR’s preaching of “limited sovereignty” and her invasion of Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968). It has denounced the US/UK intervention in Lebanon and Jordan as “shameful” (58.09).

Jana Sangh has been consistently of the view that the Super-powers USA and USSR are in collusion or competition to carve out spheres of influence and to make India a “cock-pit of intrigues” (58.09). The party has felt therefore that the present structure of the United Nations is out-dated and that India should be given a permanent seat in the Security Council (71.08).

Jana Sangh’s China policy has been clearly formulated from the beginning. The party “desires friendship between India and China” but not by appeasement or surrender (59.10). It has urged the nation “to establish a balance of power with China as the only guarantee against her further aggression” (60.14). On the border-war of 1962, Jana Sangh’s accent is more on calling the explanation of the Government of India for its failure to understand the intentions of China and to prepare the country in that regard (62.14). It has been warning the Government since 1953 about China’s evil designs (53.15). Twice it demanded rupture of diplomatic ties with China, first in 1962 (62.03) and then again in 1967 after the assault by Red Guards on two young Indian Diplomats. With regard to Taiwan it
has favoured its diplomatic recognition conditional on the latter’s acceptance of India’s stand regarding Kashmir and its Northern borders (66.06).

Jana Sangh’s Pakistan policy has also been lucidly formulated. Since there are many outstanding problems with Pakistan, the party has been urging a policy of reciprocity (63.18) and “package” solution, instead of appeasement and piece-meal solutions. When the Bangladesh problem erupted, the party efficiently mobilized public opinion for India’s intervention. Jana Sangh had from the earliest advocated a soft-border with East Bengal (52.26), and this proved prophetic.

Jana Sangh believes in uni-fication of all countries that were partitioned by Imperialism. It has advocated the uni-fication of Korea, Germany and Viet-nam. The party supports the recognition of Israel, but urges it to behave more as an Afro-Asian nation and less as a European power (67.09).

If any party has an enviable record of forecasting correctly the distant dangers, it is the Jana Sangh. It forecast the 1962 Chinese attack in 1953. It prophesied the Pakistani attack in 1965, and accurately predicted the consequences of the Tashkent betrayal (1966) and sell-out at Simla in 1972. In spite of its fearless criticism of Government’s basic and unrealistic policies, the party has always cooperated with the Government during national Emergencies such as 1962 and 1965. In 1971 Jana Sangh announced in advance its intention to cooperate with the Government in the event of a war with Pakistan (71.08).

52.09. FOREIGN POLICY

Objective of Foreign Policy—The Central Working Committee reviewed the foreign policy of the country. In its opinion the objective of Indian foreign policy should be to avoid involvement in the power-blocs and to win the friendship and support of as many countries as possible so that she may be able to reconstruct her shattered economy and successfully execute her plans for the future and to strive for maintenance of world peace and better understanding among peoples of the world. The spirit of India is fundamentally opposed to totalitarianism. India, therefore, must stand for the development of freedom and democracy in the world. Her natural sympathy lies with all those countries which are struggling against colonial domination.

While India must stand for peace, her love of peace should not be carried to the limit of self-efacement and national humiliation. The treatment being meted out to the Hindus by the Pakistan Government which is persistently squeezing out the remaining minorities in East Bengal in spite of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, has created a situation that affects not only peace and happiness of millions in Pakistan, but also the peace, security and stability of our own country.

Foreign Pockets—As regards foreign pockets in India, the policy pursued by the Government is weakened and halting which has enabled the Portuguese and the French Governments to adopt a challenging attitude towards India. It must be the duty of the Government of India first to address itself to the liberation of Indians living in these pockets.

Plight of Overseas Indians.—The treatment being meted out to Indians in foreign countries such as South Africa and Ceylon demands immediate attention of the people and Government of India. The impunity with which the rights of Indians are disregarded and the protests of our Government are ignored shows the low ebb to which the prestige of India has reached in foreign countries.

[June 14, 1952; Delhi, CWC]
52.13. SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEIDED POLICY

The policy of apartheid as practised by the Malan Government of South Africa is against the Honour, Equality and Human Rights as accepted by the United Nations. It is also an insult to Asian and African nations. It is natural for every self-respecting individual and society to oppose this policy. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Indian and African peoples of South Africa are agitating in a peaceful manner for their rights. Jana Sangh supports their agitation and wishes it success. It requests the Government of India to persuade Commonwealth Governments to use their influence with the South African Government to compel it to give up its inhumanity policy.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

52.14. FOREIGN POCKETS

Jana Sangh is clearly of the view that the continuance of small French and Portuguese colonies in India is highly intolerable. The natural evolution of Independent India and its urge of Nationhood that has now been roused, are against this. The people of these colonies want to merge with India, but it is a matter of regret that instead of learning a lesson from the experience of the British, the governments of these small European countries are barbarously suppressing nationalist forces there. India cannot be a silent spectator of this oppression. In addition to a strong public demand, even from the viewpoint of the security of India, the existence of these small coastal colonies can prove dangerous for the country. Hence Bharatiya Jana Sangh requests the Government to take concrete steps for the merger of these colonies into India.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

52.26. EXODUS FROM EAST BENGAL

The people of India are gravely concerned over the continuously deteriorating condition of the Hindus in East Bengal. This anxiety has grown all the greater since it became clear that the policy of Pakistan is to drive out all those who are of strong will and to force through atrocities the weaker to embrace Islam. They are already on the move in this direction.

Pak Constitution—This policy is clearly reflected in the report of a committee set up in Pakistan to outline the principles of a constitution for that country. According to this report, no non-Muslim can become the President of Pakistan. The Hindus are to be further weakened by being divided into three separate categories of Buddhists, Harijans and other Hindus. The minorities have not been given the power of joint election. It is a travesty of democracy to arrange a separate election for the majority so that they can always remain a political majority and rule over the rest. Not only this, there will even be boards of Muslim Divines to see if any law is against the Quran and Shariat. But there is no provision for the protection of religion and culture of the minorities. The mention of their rights also appears in the directive part and not in the part relating to rights of the people. All this clearly shows that the religion of Hindus, their social system, their economic and political conditions—nothing is safe and they would be completely enslaved. They would be able to shed the status of slavery only when they become Muslim citizens. This may be Islamic democracy but it is a terrible atrocity on humanity and barbaric medieval bigotry in all its nakedness.

India cannot watch all this in silence, for it had accepted the responsibility of the protection of Hindus of Pakistan. The Hindus in Pakistan had not asked for partition but it was thrust upon them against their wishes, and at the time of partition leaders of India including Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Shri Nehru had given them the clear promise that it would be the duty of the people and the Government of India to always consider protection of their interests.

At the same time, if the exodus of Hindus from East Bengal continues as at present and if they have to take shelter in India, nearly 1 crore people will have to be settled and given employment. This is beyond the means of India and would break the economic back of the country. We also cannot forget that the solemn assurance by the Governments of the two parts of the partitioned country that minorities will be given equal rights and protection, was the fundamental basis of partition of India. Pakistan has deliberately thrown this fundamental understanding to the winds. So the protection of minorities in Pakistan has become not only the right of India but also its duty.

Hence Jana Sangh urges the Government of India to put forceful pressure on Pakistan for putting an end to the exodus, stop sending any type of goods to it and break commercial ties. All other steps necessary for a lasting solution of this problem...
should also be taken.

Visa between the Two Bengals—This problem is neither communal nor provincial. It is political and national and should be solved on a national basis. This plenary Session of Bharatiya Jana Sangh welcomes the decision jointly taken by all progressive parties of West Bengal in this connection.

This Session condemns the visa system between East Bengal and India. It is in complete contravention of the Delhi Agreement of 1950, in which it is clearly stated that there would be no restrictions on freedom of movement between the two Bengals.

The introduction of the visa system last October has reduced the number of refugees to such an extent that it has given a false sense of complacency in Government quarters including the Prime Minister. They think that the refugee problem is almost at an end. This Session is convinced that the visa system has thrown an iron curtain over the lives of helpless people. Most of them are illiterate and suffering untold atrocities at the hands of Pakistan's reactionary elements which have the support of Pak officials. They would finally surrender themselves and accept Islam. If there is peace today in East Pakistan it is not the peace of life but the peace of the graveyard.

Hence this Session demands that the visa system should be abolished and the iron curtain removed.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

53.03. FOREIGN POCKETS

The continued existence of Portuguese and French pockets in free India is a danger to our country's security and integrity. They have become centre of anti-India propaganda and activities. The popular demand for their merger into India being raised by the people of these pockets is being suppressed by the colonial powers by letting loose a reign of terror there with the help of mercenary troops. This is a situation which demands immediate attention of the country.

The Central Working Committee while welcoming the closure of Indian Consulates in Portugal as a mark of protest against the Portuguese, is of the opinion that the situation demands more radical and effective remedy. It is a painful fact that while opposing colonialism all over the world the Government has failed so far to liquidate it from India itself. It assures the Government of fullest support in any step it may decide to take to remove these last vestiges of colonialism in India.

[July, 4, 1953; Delhi, CWc]

53.04. INDO-PAK TALKS

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh notes with watchful interest the proposed talks between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan regarding outstanding problems between the two countries. While it is the firm opinion of Jana Sangh that India should always welcome peaceful solutions of international affairs as far as possible, the committee demands that the Prime Ministers should take other parties too into confidence with a view to evolve a national policy on such issues before entering into negotiations.

[July 4, 1953; Delhi, CWc]

53.09. INDO-PAK RELATIONS

The All India General Council of Jana Sangh welcomes the recent efforts by Pakistan towards having friendly relations with India. It feels, however, that the present bitterness and tension in the Indo-Pakistan relations is chiefly the outcome of the communal and anti-Indian attitude of Pakistan. The doubts persisting in the minds of the people of India for the last six years can be allayed only when Pakistan offers not only sweet words and nice pacts but transmutes them into practice in the same spirit. Mere paper-arrangements between the two Governments are no guarantee of friendship between their countries. The minds of the people need be freed of all fears and suspicions and mutual goodwill and faith have to take their place.

Indo-Pak Problems—To that end Jana Sangh considers it essential that Pakistan evidences a change of heart on its part through practical steps. The most immediate problem, which is in fact a touchstone of the pious wishes that of East Bengal. Let her assuage the problem of nearly 10 million Hindus of East Pakistan, who have today scarcely any security of life, property, self-respect or religion, and who are dragging on a miserable existence. Those Hindus who have lost their all in the orgy of communal hatred and have had to migrate to India must be given all opportunities for a life of freedom, comfort and honour in their old homes and possession of their original properties. This is Pakistan's sacred duty and all talk
of Indo-Pakistan friendship will remain pure moonshine unless and until Pakistan honours it. In the same way, compensation of the evacuee property, a return of all abducted girls and free access to and control of the temples and gurdwaras and redemption of two-fifth part of Jammu-Kashmir still under forcible occupation of Pakistan are questions which have to be satisfactorily settled for the establishment of friendly relations. Similarly important is the need for the abolition of passport restrictions between the two parts of Bengal.

In the opinion of the General Council the principle chosen as the basis for their constitution is at the root of hate-India and resultant policies pursued by Pakistan during the last 6 years. Whereas India has kept the secular basis of its political structure and all minorities have not only perfect security of life but also opportunities in the social and political fields, Pakistan is an Islamic State and where there is neither any security of honourable existence, nor any equality of social, political or economic opportunity.

The General Council, therefore, while welcoming the new direction in the Indo-Pakistan relations, urges upon the Government of India that while it should press for the solution of the problem mentioned above, it should also exert its influence upon the Pakistan Government to formulate the structure of its constitution including the system of joint elections on secular ideals like those of India so that minorities have the same security and confidence in Pakistan as they have in India.

[August 15, 1953; Allahabad, AIGC]

53.15. WARNING ABOUT CHINA’S AGGRESSIVE POLICY

Menacing Chinese Military Bases—The Communist Government of China is increasingly becoming more aggressive on the northern frontiers of India. She has overrun Tibet through her troops destroying her age-old freedom and she has closed in Sinkiang the Indian Consulate. Furthermore it is constructing military bases there within striking distance from Northern India. She is also molesting Indian pilgrims to Mount Kailash and Mansarover and Indian traders trading with Tibet.

Indian Territories in Chinese Maps—It is also noteworthy that she is issuing maps containing large areas of Indian terr-i
tory in the north-eastern zone and showing them as her own territory. Therefore, Jana Sangh is of the opinion that the Government of India should instruct her representative in Peking to protest emphatically against this aggressive policy of China and to declare categorically that the MacMohan line (existing between Tibet and India) must stand intact and in no way interfered with and urges that the molestation of Indian pilgrims and traders in Tibet must stop and that the Indian Consulate in Sinkiang must be allowed to be reopened.

[December 20, 1953; Delhi, CWC]

53.16. ARMS AID TO PAKISTAN

The USA-Pakistani pact portends the gravest danger to the security of India and the whole of South Asia. It will bring the cold war into this area immediately and will divert their energy and resources away from the task of economic and industrial development so essential to raise the standard of living of the common man, to an armament race which will be ruinous as it might any day culminate in a hot war.

Pakistan has all along behaved as an enemy of India. Her persisting aggression in Kashmir and her decision to establish a theocratic Islamic State where 10 million non-Muslims of Pakistan will live as subjects and not as citizens whose life, property, religion and honour will have little protection, are facts which when seen with the repeated threats of Jehad against India by responsible politicians of Pakistan clearly indicate Pakistan’s aggressive designs against India. USA has chosen to render military aid to Pakistan under such circumstances and after clear warning that India would regard it as an unfriendly act.

Unnecessary International Involvements—The Prime Minister has admitted the gravity of situation. But it should be clear to the people that the responsibility for this lies on our own Foreign office which has grossly mishandled our international policies. Many countries including USA tried to win our friendship but our Government have followed policies which have repulsed them and lost us all their goodwill. India decided to keep away from both the power-blocs but our Government has unnecessarily indulged in international involvements which have brought about this grave situation. Jana Sangh calls upon the Government to reorientate its foreign policy which should be guided solely by considerations of national interests rather than by
moralising impulses and in a manner which will reduce these involvements and make it possible for India to continue to be neutral.

India stands for democracy and world-peace. USA also professes to do so. Let USA understand that her present move will be the most potent factor in defeating these very objectives in Asia. She could not have done more to help her own enemies and it would really be tragic if American statesmanship proves so blind to stark realities.

Universal Military Training—Events are moving fast and India must not tarry. We must arm ourselves and prepare for the worst. The Jana Sangh programme for universal military training should be adopted immediately. The Government should cut down its expenses and enforce austerity standards and there is no doubt that the people will also tighten their belts and do their best to strengthen our defence potential and ensure that the balance of power in South Asia is not disturbed.

National Defence Programme—Jana Sangh feels that great harm has been done by ill-conceived policy followed on the home front to suppress national elements, who can be depended upon to stand by the country in the gravest emergency merely with a view to appease certain sections of dubious loyalty with secret foreign affiliations. It appeals to the Government that in view of the developing crisis, this suicidal policy should be reversed and calls upon the Government to rise above considerations of party and prestige and take all nationalist parties into confidence and in consultation with their leaders evolve a National Defence Programme. Jana Sangh assures the Government of its full cooperation towards this end.

The Committee calls upon its branches all over the country to educate the people about the gravity of the situation and raise the public tempo to ensure that the Government does not weaken or go slow about it. The week commencing from the 27th of December 1953 may be observed as 'Rashtra Suraksha Saptah' (National Defence Week).

54.08. ARMS AID TO PAKISTAN

The USA Pakistan pact portends the gravest danger to the security of India and the whole of South Asia. It will bring cold war into these areas immediately and will divert their energy and resources away from the task of economic and industrial development so essential to raise the standard of living of the common man, to an armament race which will be ruinous as it might any day culminate in a hot war.

Pakistan has all along behaved as an enemy of India. Her persisting aggression in Kashmir and her decision to establish a theocratic Islamic State where 10 million Hindus and other non-Muslims of Pakistan will live as subjects and not as citizens, whose life, property, religion and honour will have little protection, are facts which with the utterances of Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali that arms aid would bring about an early solution of the Kashmir issue and with the repeated threats of Jehad against India by responsible leaders of Pakistan clearly indicate Pakistan's aggressive designs against India. USA has chosen to render military aid to Pakistan under such circumstances and after being warned that India would regard it as an unfriendly act.
Unnecessary International Involvements—The Prime Minister has admitted the gravity of the situation. But it should be clear to the people that the responsibility for this lies mainly on our own Foreign office which has grossly mishandled our international policies. Many countries tried to win our friendship but our Government have followed policies which have repulsed them and lost us the goodwill that we enjoyed. India decided to keep away from both the power-blocs, but our Government has unnecessarily indulged in international involvements which have brought about this grave situation. Jana Sangh calls upon the Government to reorientate its foreign policy which should be guided solely by considerations of national interest, rather than by moralising impulses and in a manner which will reduce these involvements and make it possible for India to continue to be neutral.

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Universal Military Training—Events are moving fast and India must not tarry. We must arm ourselves and prepare for the worst. The Jana Sangh programme for universal military training should be adopted immediately. The Government should cut down its expenses and enforce austerity standards and there is no doubt that the people will also tighten their belts and do their best to strengthen our defence potential and ensure that the balance of power in South Asia is not disturbed. Jana Sangh feels that the expansion of India’s defence potential need not adversely affect country’s programme for economic and industrial prosperity. The nation must live first before it can aspire to live well.

National Defence Programme—Jana Sangh is second to none in recognising the importance of moral and spiritual values. But it considers it its duty to warn the country men against the ostrich-like policy of blind complacency in the belief (as exhibited from certain political platforms) that India need not attend to the need for adding to its defence potential. In the crude matter-of-fact world of today that we live in, an unarmed nation can be no match for any barbarian hordes that may threaten its security. That for the defence of Kashmir we

had to rely on our armed forces which even Mahatma Gandhi did not oppose, is sufficient to establish that mere pious wishes are not enough to make the rest of the world pious.

Jana Sangh feels that great harm has been done by the ill-conceived policy followed on the home front to suppress national elements who can be depended upon to stand by the country in the gravest emergency, merely with a view to appease certain sections of dubious loyalty with secret foreign affiliations. It appeals to the Government that in view of the developing crisis this suicidal policy should be reversed and calls upon the Government to rise above considerations of party and prestige and take all nationalist parties into confidence and in consultation with their leaders evolve a National Defence Programme. Jana Sangh assures the Government of its full cooperation towards this end.

But a policy in the formation of which nationalist parties are not even consulted, cannot be truly termed as national. The voluntary offer of cooperation on the present occasion of national emergency, made by nationalist parties deserves a better response than the indifference hitherto shown by the Prime Minister.

[Januray 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

54.10. FOREIGN POCKETS

The existence of small territories in possession of foreign powers on the soil of India is inconsistent with the sovereignty of the people of this country and anachronistic aftermath of medieval colonialism. India which stands for the abolition of colonialism all over the world cannot tolerate its existence on its own soil. The struggle for independence carried on by the peoples of these areas has recently been subjected to ruthless suppression. The recent military concentration in Goa is particularly significant as a pointer to the direction the events are taking. The sinister nature of this move becomes obvious when it is remembered that such show of military force by a small country like Portugal has been made possible by the help that it receives both in money and weapons from USA.

Considering that USA has decided to enter into a military pact with Pakistan, these territories are likely to be used as military bases on the soil of India. Sandwiched between the two wings of Pakistan and studded with these foreign-pocket bases on the sea-coast, India might virtually be turned a
prisoner in her own home—an eventuality which cannot be contemplated with equanimity. Jana Sangh urges upon the Government to take energetic action to liquidate these pockets while there is still precious little time to do so.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

54.18. EAST BENGAL’S OPPOSITION TO PAK COMMUNALISM

Liquidation of Colonialism—The Central Working Committee is glad to record that a large volume of opinion all over the world is veering round to the policy consistently emphasised by India to bring about the end of colonialism and all its vestiges, wherever and in whatever form they are found, so that these nations become fully independent to work out their own destinies without interference from any foreign power, and that they get an opportunity to undo the ravages wrought by western imperialistic misrule and exploitation and to raise the standard of living of the common man so that he does not fall an easy prey to international bribery or slogans of unsuited foreign ideologies. In this context this Committee welcomes the decisions taken by the South Asian Prime Ministers at Colombo.

This Committee affirms that given an opportunity to develop along their own genius the democracies of South Asia may be able to evolve a political, social and economic order, which may prove the appropriate solution of the ideological conflicts of the two power-blocs of today.

This Committee assures all the peoples of Asia and Africa who are fighting European colonial powers for their freedom that the entire people of India are with them in their freedom-struggle. The forces of liberation released by the epic fight of India for her independence must find their consummation in the independence of all these nations and inaugurate an era of equality between different peoples of the world irrespective of their races and colours.

East Bengal and Pak Policies—While condemning the US-Pak military-aid pact this Committee notes with satisfaction that the people of East Bengal have unequivocally expressed their disapproval of this pact and of the communal policies of the Central Government of Pakistan and welcomes the recent utterances of the leaders of East Bengal. The Committee is glad to note that the Jana Sangh stand of India being one and undivided, in spite of the recent political division, has received support from across the unnatural barriers raised by the division. This committee hopes that people and parties on both sides of these barriers will continue to consolidate a feeling of oneness.

[May 8, 1954; Delhi, CWC]

54.19. FOREIGN POCKETS

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh congratulates the people of French and Portuguese possessions in India on their heroic struggle for the integration of these territories with the Motherland and assures them of the fullest support of Jana Sangh in this matter.

It is regrettable that these foreign possessions still continue to disfigure the map of free India. This foreign domination over some parts of India is not only a challenge to India’s national honour but also a danger to its security. Had the Government of India followed a firm policy to end these foreign possessions just after the attainment of freedom, there might not have arisen any need today for their people to launch a struggle and suffer extreme suppression for demanding their birth-right.

It is the considered view of the Committee that these foreign settlements form integral part of India and there is no need for a plebiscite to bring them back in India. It strongly condemns the policy of repression adopted by the French and the Portuguese imperialists to suppress the movements for merger. Attacks on Indian nationals and Indian police within Indian territory may create a reaction in the whole country for which the French and the Portuguese alone will be held directly responsible.

In the opinion of the Working Committee, immediate and de facto transfer of these colonies to India can be the only basis for any negotiations with the French and the Portuguese governments. It hopes that the talks to be held shortly between India and French settlements to India.

The Committee considers it essential for the success of these talks that France should stop its policy of repression in its possessions and hand over their Government to the elected representatives of the people who were improperly removed from the office when the present struggle began.

This Committee strongly condemns the dictatorial, reactionary and repressive Portuguese policy towards the demand for merger of Portuguese possessions into India. It urges upon the Government of India to take effective steps for the liberation of
these areas without any further delay.

[May 8, 1954; Delhi, CWC]

55.08. FOREIGN POLICY

Of late the trumpeting about the success of the foreign policy of the Government of India has resulted in creating an unrealistic attitude among the people and their attention is being diverted from domestic problems. Non-alignment and peaceful coexistence are the declared principles of our foreign policy, but on the practical plane it appears that India is gradually inclining towards the totalitarian camp and this is creating a reaction in the other bloc. This situation is being exploited by the Communists to increase their activities, while the Americans are also busy increasing their sphere of influence under cover of containing Communist activities. As a result India is becoming a cockpit for these two powers, which is against its national interests and requirements.

There are merits in the policy of coexistence based upon Panchasheel, but there is nothing new in it for India. And we cannot forget that a country that cannot tolerate the existence of different systems of thought within its borders, can never have a relation of genuine coexistence with a country that believes in a different system of thought or policy.

The peace for and non-alignment of India largely depend upon our neighbour Pakistan. It has generally looked upon India as an enemy, and even today there exists an undeclared state of war between the two countries because of Pakistani aggression on Kashmir. How can we practise the principle of peaceful coexistence with aggressor Pakistan? Actually the possibility of enduring peace between India and Pakistan is remote, because the partition of India is as unnatural as the partition of Korea, Indo-China or Germany.

Success of Foreign Policy—The success of India’s foreign policy will depend upon the protection of our national interests and our capacity to successfully solve problems relating to our security. In the opinion of Jana Sangh India’s foreign policy should be so conducted that it would give our country more and more friends and would prepare a strong public opinion all over the world for the integrity of India, liberation of Goa and protection of the interests of Overseas Indians.

While remaining aloof from the two opposite power-blocs India should also give immediate attention to increasing its own strength without which neutrality has no meaning.

Special attention should be paid to countries of South-East Asia, with whom we have age-old cultural contacts. We should send cultural delegations to these countries so that these old contacts could be revitalized. From this point of view, Jana Sangh welcomes the Afro-Asian conference and considers that diplomatic relations with Cambodia and Laos are steps in the right direction.

[January 1, 1955; Jodhpur, III AIS]

55.09. LIBERATION OF FRENCH COLONIES

Jana Sangh heartily congratulates the people of French colonies in India on their brave struggle for Independence and considers that their success is a step towards Akhand Bharat. Jana Sangh believes that this effort will continue so long as these colonies are not completely integrated with India. Jana Sangh appeals to the Government of India and to the people of these colonies to be on guard against fissiparous tendencies, otherwise there is a danger of their efforts falling futile.

[January 1, 1955; Jodhpur, III AIS]

55.10. GOA LIBERATION AGITATION

Seven years have passed since India became Independent but the Indian people in Portuguese colonies who have been carrying on a struggle for liberation from the fetters of colonialism for the last so many years have still not succeeded in fulfilling their desire to rejoin their Motherland. This is a matter of great shame for the Government of independent India.

The Government of India’s attitude in looking at this matter is basically wrong. By limiting the All-India problem of the liberation of Goa to only the residents of Goa, our Government has not only hurt the sentiment of national oneness but has also deeply damaged the liberation struggle itself.

The situation is becoming more and more serious day by day. People are being mercilessly crushed under the atrocities of the Salazar regime. Threats of war and regular encroachments of Portuguese armed forces into Indian territory are a challenge for India.

Jana Sangh demands that the Government should take immediate and effective steps for the liberation of Indian territory under foreign occupation and gives the assurance of full cooperation with the Government in this respect. This
Session expresses satisfaction with the popular agitation being conducted by Jana Sangh for the liberation of Portuguese colonies and directs that this agitation be made more intense.

[January 1, 1955; Jodhpur, III A31]

55.16. EAST BENGALI MINORITIES

The Central Working Committee views with great concern increasing exodus of the Hindus from East Bengal. During the last 71 years of its existence, Pakistan has not only demonstrated its incapacity to protect life, honour and property of its minorities, but has also been guilty of deliberate strangulation of their economic life with a view to squeeze them out of Pakistan. Adequate protection to minorities formed one of the basic principles of the formula that underlay the process of the partition. Pakistan has been violating this principle persistently. Consequently the very basis of partition has been shaken.

Moreover, frequent heavy influx from East Bengal has been adversely affecting the economic structure of Bharat in general and the State of West Bengal in particular. Internal security and social balance are also disturbed. We also cannot be oblivious to our moral responsibility towards our helpless brethren in East Bengal who have been victims of worst repression and atrocities on account of the partition which was imposed upon them much against their will.

In view of all these considerations, the Working Committee is of the opinion that the partition should be deemed to have been annulled and the Government should take promptly energetic and effective steps to control the deteriorating situation. Nothing less than close ties between free East Bengal with India will really ease the situation which is fraught with grave dangers not only to economic and social health of West Bengal and the rest of India, but also to the peace of this region as well.

Karanchi Agreement—The paper-pacts and agreements with Pakistan are no solutions of the problem because Pakistan Government has never been serious about them. Jana Sangh is, therefore, very sceptical about anything tangible coming out of the recent Agreement arrived at between Shri M. C. Khanna the Indian Minister for Rehabilitation and his counterpart at Karachi. Even if the Government of Pakistan at this moment is serious, which is very doubtful, the Agreements is bound to be wrecked by the partiality of the civil servants from W. Pakistan who run the Government of East Bengal.

If, however, the Government are really keen about giving present Agreement a fair trial, they must take the following steps to create a necessary psychological atmosphere for its success:

1. Men of influence in the social, economic and political life of East Bengal who have migrated to India must be persuaded to go back to their original homes in East Bengal. The Congress leaders some of whom now hold power in West Bengal must give the lead in the matter. This fact more than anything else will restore confidence in Hindus still living in East Bengal.

2. Shri Mehar Chand Khanna should go to East Bengal and stay there till the Agreement is properly implemented. His presence there can go a long way in counteracting the antipathy of the West Pakistani civilian servants towards the Agreement.

[April 15, 1955; Gokak, CWC]

55.23. EXODUS FROM EAST BENGAL

Ever since the ill-advised and unfortunate partition of India at the instance of the Congress leaders 8 years ago in August 1947, there has been a continuous exodus of minorities from Pakistan into the Indian Union. So far as the West Pakistan provinces are concerned, practically the entire Hindu population there had to flee for their lives and come away due to the in-human atrocities perpetuated on them. As such, there has resulted an almost entire ‘Exchange of Population’. No further exodus from West Pakistan is now taking place. But the situation with regard to East Bengal is different. In this area, there has been no such exchange of population. It has been really a one-way traffic—Hindus from East Bengal are coming away, but no Muslims of the (Purbanchal) Eastern zone (West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa) are leaving for East Bengal. In fact, in West Bengal itself some 50 lacs of Muslims are residing.

As to the exodus of Hindus from East Bengal, it has been going on ever since the partition in 1947. Sometime the influx of East Bengal refugees comes like a flood, as happened in the terrible days of 1950, when a deliberate anti-Hindu campaign was engineered in East Bengal, resulting in the massacre of some 50,000 Hindus—men, women and children—and in the expulsion of some 50 lacs of Hindus in a destitute condition. Sometimes the influx comes in a trickle; but the influx is always there. About a year ago, in the spring of 1954, when the Muslim
League was clean swept out in the elections in East Bengal and Fazul Haq Ministry was installed in office, it was expected that the exodus would come down. But the dismissal of the popular Ministry and the installation of an almost military regime in East Bengal dashed this expectation to pieces. The exodus was resumed with renewed vigour.

This time, the exodus has affected not merely the educated ones but also the agricultural and artisan classes which are usually rooted to the soil and scarcely take any interest in politics. This big exodus of the Hindu masses still continues in alarming dimensions. The reasons are obvious. The Hindus in East Bengal, both masses and classes alike, are convinced that so long as Pakistan exists and is ruled as an Islamic State, there is no room for Hindus there to lead a decent and honourable life. They are oppressed and suppressed in thousand ways. Their complaints go unheeded by the authorities, their economic life is strangled and their cultural and educational life is sought to be prevented. In spite of the Congress Government’s tendency not to face these unpleasant facts and indeed to suppress them, this most unhappy state of affairs was brought home to the Deputy Minister of External Affairs of the Government of India, when he was on a tour through East Bengal some months ago. He had to admit it.

Jana Sangh feels that an abiding solution to this baffling problem of refugees from Pakistan can be satisfactorily solved only when the unnatural partition is annulled and the refugees are honourably reinstated in their homelands. But pending that solution, the Government has an inescapable duty towards these refugees, because it is the Government of India which is responsible for their present condition. It has to see that the refugees from East Bengal are properly helped and rehabilitated. The Government’s efforts in this direction until now have been half-hearted and inadequate. They have now to visualise the full dimensions of the problem as a whole and shape their policy accordingly.

In this context Jana Sangh demands:

1. Adequate steps be taken to rehabilitate the Hindu refugees from East Bengal, so that they can become economically self-supporting and stand upon their own legs and become useful members of society, instead of remaining as helpless and floating derelicts without any hope for future.

2. In the matter of resettlement of refugees from East Bengal, care should be taken that piece-meal settlement of isolated families in uncongenial and unsuitable surroundings are avoided.

3. Immediate steps be taken by the Government of India to realise from Pakistan Government the full value of the assets and properties left by the Hindus in East Bengal and to create out of this a ‘Compensation Fund’ from which the refugees are to be paid the full value of the properties left behind by them.

4. The refugees from Pakistan must be given full citizens’ status in India automatically, without the troublesome procedure of registration, etc.

5. The policy of auctioning the shops and tenements so far built to rehabilitate refugees to the highest bidder must be given up, as it will displace many of refugees once again. Such shops and tenements should be transferred to their present refugee occupants on a ‘no-profit-and-no-loss’ basis.

6. A highpower Commission be set up to go into the entire question of the rehabilitation of refugees from both wings of Pakistan to ascertain the extent to which the problem has been solved and to suggest ways and means for the speedy and effective completion of the remaining rehabilitation work.

[August 28, 1955, Calcutta, AIGC]

55.25. INDIAN SETTLELS IN CEYLON

Jana Sangh deplores that in spite of long negotiations between the Governments of India and Ceylon resulting in various pacts and agreements, the position of persons of Indian descent settled in Ceylon shows no improvement; but that on the contrary, it appears that the Government of Ceylon is bent upon expelling such persons from Ceylon by hook or by crook, throwing the agreements to the winds in their actual implementation.

Jana Sangh accordingly urges upon the Government of India not to allow this most unsatisfactory state to continue any more but to take immediate and effective steps so that Indian settlers in Ceylon may lead a decent and honourable life there.

[August 28, 1955, Calcutta, AIGC]

55.26. BURMESE GOVERNMENT’S ATTITUDE

Jana Sangh regrets that financial relations between the
Governments of India and Burma are not satisfactory as Burma has defaulted completely in the payment of her dues towards India (amounting to about 70 crores of rupees). Jana Sangh also regrets that the Government of India has taken no steps for the realisation of these dues. On the contrary it has practically condoned Burma’s default in this regard resulting in much financial loss for India which she is hardly in a position to bear.

Nationalisation in Burma—Moreover, money and property of Indian and other settlers in Burma have been practically confiscated through nationalisation, resulting in grave distress to them. Many obstacles have been placed by the Government of Burma in the remittance of money to India causing immense inconvenience to Indian settlers there and their dependents in India.

While Jana Sangh appreciates that Burma is a friendly neighbour, it feels that she must honour the financial commitments and accordingly urges upon the Government of India to be serious about her dues and ensure their realisation without further delay. Injustice and inconvenience to Indians there should also be immediately stopped.

[August 28, 1955; Calcutta, AIGC]

55.31. EAST BENGALI MINORITIES

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses deep concern over the increasing influx of Hindus from East Bengal. The hopes created by the formation of a non-Muslim League Ministry in East Bengal have been belied by the figures of the Hindu refugees coming from there during the recent months. Now it has become clear that the plight of Hindus there continues to be precarious and that they have no alternative except to become converts to Islam or migrate to India sooner or later. In the opinion of the Working Committee this situation demands that Governments of India should review its policy about East Bengal de novo.

Territory from Pakistan—It is the considered view of the Working Committee that the only feasible solution of the problem left now is to demand territory from East Bengal for the resettlement of the Hindu minority of that State.

[October 23, 1955; Delhi, CWC]

56.04. EXODUS FROM EAST BENGAL

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses its deep concern over the continued and increasing exodus of the Hindus from East Bengal. The situation there seems to have so deteriorated particularly since the publication of the draft Constitution of Pakistan which has definitely relegated the Hindu citizens of Pakistan to an inferior status before the law and the Constitution, as compared to the Muslims, that now no Hindu may be able to live in the Islamic State of Pakistan for long. Indian people and government cannot ignore this development, because it directly affects the economy, security as also national honour of our country.

Territory from Pakistan—The Committee, therefore, calls upon the Government to give this problem a serious thought and take effective steps to solve it. Demand must be made for territory from Pakistan so as to serve homeland for Hindus, who are being expelled for no fault of theirs and in contravention of the basic understanding on the basis of which partition was accepted by the Congress and the Muslim League and numerous pacts agreed to thereafter. World opinion must also be educated and mobilised over this most distressing human problem.

[February 19, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

56.07. PROBLEM OF EAST BENGALI MIGRANTS

Restrictions on Migration Certificates—Jana Sangh is profoundly shocked at the sudden reversal of the policy of Government of India with respect to the exodus of Hindus from East Bengal. It appears that following the outcry for sealing the border raised by Raja Ghazanfari Ali Khan (Pakistan High Commissioner in India), presumably at the instance of the Pakistan Government, secret instructions from New Delhi were issued to the Indian Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca some months ago to restrict severely the issuing of migration certificates to intending Hindu migrants who had to leave their hearths and homes in East Bengal in view of the intolerable conditions prevailing there for the Hindu minorities, particularly after the declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic Republic. This restriction has virtually amounted to ‘banning’ further the migration from Pakistan to India. This banning is in gross violation of the basic conditions of the partition of India, i.e., the minorities must be assured honourable existence,
with absolute security of life, property and equality of opportunities for livelihood and failing which, the minorities must have the freedom to migrate. These assurances were further confirmed by the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of 1950.

Surrender to Communalism—This virtual banning of Hindu migration from East Bengal at the behest of Pakistan, has thus been India Government’s abject surrender to the forces of communalism let loose in the Islamic Republic; and it is calculated to result in the extermination and/or forced Islamization of Hindus in East Bengal. Jana Sangh accordingly condemns this weak-kneed policy of the Government of India and demands that it be given up immediately.

While Jana Sangh is convinced that the refugee problem (whether from West or East Pakistan) cannot effectively be solved until the partition of India is annulled and the refugees return back to their homes, Jana Sangh feels that in the meantime pressure must be effectively brought by the Government of India on the Government of Pakistan so that decent and honourable treatment of the Hindu minorities as equal citizens be assured in Pakistan, e.g., adoption of a policy of ‘reciprocity’ in its relations with Pakistan, or of exchange of population or of demanding additional territory from Pakistan to accommodate the teeming millions of Hindu migrants. Jana Sangh feels that the Government of India cannot in any case shrink its responsibility in this matter whatever steps it may have to take to bring Pakistan to reason.

So long as the stream of migration continues Jana Sangh feels that the problem must be visualised in its proper dimensions. The Government of India must not live under the illusion that the migration is going to cease or that it is only temporary and that the migrants may even possibly return to Pakistan and so on, but must proceed on the basis that, if present conditions in Pakistan are allowed to continue, the whole of the Hindu population in East Bengal amounting to nearly 1 crore may come over and the government must make provision for accommodating and rehabilitating the entire migrant population. In making this provision care must be taken to see that, as far as possible the migrants are settled in West Bengal or in provinces adjacent to West Bengal in congenial surroundings, or in case they have to be settled further away in more distant parts of India, migrants must be settled in large blocks so that they may not feel isolated, but may be able to live and develop in the midst of a fairly large community of their own and become useful citizens of India.

[April 21, 1956; Jaipur, IV AIS]

56.10. MILITARY AID INCREASES PAK DANGER

Hostility of Pakistan towards India which has been manifesting itself in many ways during the last 8 years has assumed dangerous proportions since the inflow of American military aid into Pakistan began. Growing number of border raids, persistent preaching of Jihad against India by the Pakistani press and misleading propaganda against India by Pakistani leaders and rulers who have joined the Baghdad Pact and SEATO to encircle India and to be able to deal with India from a position of strength give a clear indication of the seriousness of the situation.

Infiltration from Kutch to Kashmir—At the same time a planned and large-scale infiltration of Pakistani Muslims is going on in the border areas of Kutch, Rajasthan and Jammu- Kashmir to increase the numerical strength of Muslims in the border areas of India. Pakistani spies and agents are entering India in hundreds in various ways to create internal disruption in India with the help of anti-national elements within. Recent happenings in Lucknow, Sambhal, Satna and Bhopal where secret transmitters were discovered are a clear indication of the fact that successful efforts are being made to sabotage India’s security from within. Construction of military bases in Goa, Dieu and Daman by Portugal which is getting full support from Pakistan also point to the growing menace to India’s security.

The people and Government of India cannot remain complacent about this situation. Security of the country is the primary responsibility of a free nation and it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to do his best in this regard. Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, takes this opportunity to warn the people and Government of India to get ready to meet this situation.

This demands that national feeling in the people must be intensified more. Country must be made self-sufficient in the matter of weapons and other equipment of defence. Effective steps should be taken to check infiltration of Pakistani citizens and spies into India and plan should be made to impart compulsory military training to all young men in the country.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh also calls upon all its branches and
workers to be alert and active in educating the people about their responsibilities regarding defence of the country.

[April 21, 1956; Jaipur, IV AIS]

56.11. TAMIL IN CEYLON

The Central Working Committee deprecates that the question of the registration of Ceylonese Indian settlers as citizens of Ceylon has been allowed to hang fire for years past and despite various Indo-Ceylonese agreements entered into from time to time, the bulk of the 10 lacs of Ceylonese of Indian descent still remains without citizenship. The Working Committee condemns the supine attitude of the Government of India in this regard, as also the Ceylonese Government's unsympathetic attitude and demands that the Government of India should without delay insist that the registration be completed.

The Working Committee further regrets that the Government of Ceylon should have, by formal legislation, deprived the Tamil language (which is spoken by one-third of the inhabitants of Ceylon) of the status of a State language. This move has been unjust and unfortunate, practically reducing the vast Tamil speaking section of Ceylonese citizens to the status of second class citizens and disrupting the solidarity of Ceylon herself and the Working Committee accordingly requests the Government of Ceylon to recognise Tamil as one of the two State languages of Ceylon. Jana Sangh also feels that the Government of India should move in this matter the Government of Ceylon.

[July 21, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

56.18. SUEZ CRISIS

It is a matter of satisfaction that the tension created by the sudden action of Egypt about Suez and the violent Western reaction to it has been somewhat relieved and both sides are exploring the path of negotiations through the UNO. The claim of Egypt of its sovereignty over Suez Canal which passes through Egypt is justified and deserves support, but at the same time the fact cannot be ignored that Suez is the most important International Highway in the world as it provides the shortest Sea-link between Asia and Europe and as such not only trade and commerce, but also normal cultural and social intercourse in between Europe, Asia and Australia depends very much upon free and unrestricted navigation through this Canal.

Navigation in Suez—It is, therefore, not only desirable, but also in the interest of all concerned that freedom of navigation through the Suez canal be guaranteed by an International agency. The Working Committee, therefore, urges upon the Government of India to exert its influence for securing an international guarantee of free navigation for ships of all countries at all times through the canal. The Committee feels that such a guarantee is not incompatible with the sovereignty of Egypt over the Suez.

[October 6, 1956; Poona, CWC]

56.25. HUNGARIAN AND SUEZ CRISIS

Jana Sangh condemns the aggression of the Anglo-French powers in Egypt, though they might have acted under great provocation because of President Nasser's unilateral violation of an International Agreement. The Anglo-French powers have, however, somewhat redeemed their past conduct by yielding to the directive of UNO and withdrawing their forces.

Jana Sangh equally condemns the Russian intervention in Hungary and the brutalities committed there against Hungarians struggling for National Independence and further condemns the Russian refusal to abide by the directive of UNO to withdraw her forces from Hungary and even to admit the UN observers there.

Jana Sangh which detests the domination of one nation by another under any pretext whatsoever, feels that such attempted domination from whatever quarter it may come, is to be opposed stoutly.

Further in the matter of the Suez canal, Jana Sangh feels that free passage through the canal is necessary for all countries without exception, and therefore, freedom of traffic along the Suez canal must be assured without delay by an international Agreement.

[December 30, 1956; Delhi, V AIS]

56.28. RELEASE OF GOAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

In the considered opinion of Bharatiya Jana Sangh the policy of Government of India regarding Goa has been marked by confusion, vacillation and inaction. It has, therefore, proved to be ineffective. Sixteen months have passed since the government thought it fit to step in between Portuguese authorities and the determined and peaceful march of Indian people.
to liberate that part of the Motherland. The Government thereby took the responsibility of liberating Goa on its own. But it is a matter of regret that so far it has not taken any effective steps to discharge that responsibility. The policy of economic blockade has simply proved to be a means of diverting the public attention from the demand of police action. It has only caused hardships to our brethren in Goa without putting any pressure on the Portuguese Government. The Government of India has failed to mobilise world opinion on this question of vital concern to India. Leave aside the liberation of Goa, the Government has failed to secure even the release of Indian patriots now languishing in Portuguese prisons. Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that the Government take all possible steps to secure an early release and repatriation of these Indian prisoners.

Jana Sangh expresses satisfaction at the facilities provided for enabling the prisoners in Goa to stand for ensuing general elections. As a gesture of regard and homage to them it resolves not to oppose any of them who are put up for election by whichever Party. It also expects all other Parties including the Congress to do the same as an indication of national unity over the question of Goa.

[December 30, 1956; Delhi, V AIS]

57.03. INTEGRATE KASHMIR

The Central Working Committee considered the recent developments in regard to Kashmir at the Security Council and the attitude adopted by the Government of India about it. It was happy to note that the Government has after all accepted the often repeated Jana Sangh stand that Kashmir was an integral part of India, that its accession to India by virtue of the instrument of accession executed by the Kashmir Ruler was final and irrevocable and that there was no question of plebiscite to resettle the settled fact. Fundamental and the only question in regard to Kashmir is that Pakistan has committed an act of aggression against India by forcibly occupying one-third of the Kashmir State. The real problem of Kashmir, therefore, is how to end this aggression and liberate the territory still held by Pakistan. The Working Committee urges upon the Government to take all necessary steps for the liberation of the Pakistan-held territory, which is the logical corollary of the stand now adopted by it.

Abrogate Article 370—To stabilise India's position in Kashmir and to guard against the dangers of separatism, it is essential that steps be taken to create complete emotional, cultural and administrative oneness between Kashmir and the rest of India. This cannot be achieved so long as the present distinctions manifested through separate Constitution, separate Flag, separate President, separate Election Commission and separate Law of Citizenship for Jammu-Kashmir State continue. The Working Committee, therefore, reiterates its demand that immediate steps be taken to bring JK State completely in line with the rest of India by deleting Article 370 of the Indian Constitution and applying the Constitution to Kashmir also in full. This, the Working Committee feels, is essential to give an air of reality to the declarations and professions about Kashmir being an integral part of India.

[April 20, 1957; Jaunpur, CWC]

57.12. PROBLEM OF EAST BENGALI MIGRANTS

Basis of Partition—Ten years ago, without consulting the people of India and indeed against the wishes of the vast majority of them, the Congress leaders accepted and fell victim to the unholy conspiracy of Muslim League and the British Rulers to vivisect India and partition our Motherland, on communal lines, setting up the State of Pakistan consisting of two big parts of Indian territory to the east and to the west. It was an act of disgraceful surrender to the forces of communalism and disruption.

The only redeeming feature of this infamous deal, however, was that solemn assurances were held out by the authorities on either side, that the minorities in either State would be accorded full rights of citizenship and their lives and properties and honour would be ensured: and if these conditions were not fulfilled, the minorities were, if they so desired, free to migrate without any restrictions and that the full responsibility for their resettlement and rehabilitation would be with the State to which they migrated. That was the fundamental basis of the partition arrangement.

Since then, 10 long years have passed during which this fundamental basis of the partition has broken down. Pakistan has thrown these assurances to the winds. It has been declared an Islamic State. The non-Muslim minorities have been reduced to be status of second class citizens. Further so far as the west...
wing of Pakistan is concerned, almost the entire Hindu population had been turned out immediately after the partition. But in East Bengal this operation of expulsion has been a long-drawn process which is still continuing. Out of about a crore-and-a-half of Hindus there, some 50 lacs had to stay for their lives following the measures engineered there in the spring of 1950, and since then the stream of migration of East Bengal Hindus has steadily continued, on account of intolerable and humiliating conditions there.

Restrictions on Migration Certificates—About 2 years ago following an outcry from Pakistan, the Government of India adopted dubious means to stem the tide of this migration from East Bengal. These attempts are further being intensified today to such an extent that migration of East Bengal Hindus has been virtually stopped by force by the Government of India through the withholding of migration certificates to the intending migrants. Lacs of Hindus who sold out all their possessions in East Bengal because of their desire to come over to the Indian Union have been literally stranded. This callous, heartless and disgraceful policy is being followed by the Government of India, in utter violation of its solemn pledges to the minorities in Pakistan given at the time of partition. Jana Sangh emphatically condemns the government's policy of restricting the entry of intending migrants and demands that it should redeem its pledges to the minorities in Pakistan and remove all restrictions on their free movement from across the frontiers where they are being compelled to leave their homes under circumstances resulting from the partition of India for which not these unfortunate victims but the Government were responsible.

Rehabilitation Alternatives—Next comes the question of the resettlement and proper rehabilitation of the migrants. Although the problems of refugees from West Pakistan have not been settled quite satisfactorily the stream of migration from that area ceased long ago. But as to the refugees from East Bengal, even the fringe of the problem has hardly been touched. At present, the Government is following a hap hazard policy of sending these unfortunate to all sorts of far and distant places which are not even contiguous to Bengal, where they might have found a congenial environment. Until now most of these experiments have ended in failure and in great sufferings of the displaced persons. The ostensible plea of the Government has been that West Bengal has reached the 'saturation point' and so no more East Bengali refugees can be allowed to settle there. The latest in this connection is the Dandkaranya Scheme where, in a vast forest area—trackless, undeveloped and sparsely inhabited by tribals—the East Bengali refugees are proposed to be settled. This scheme is estimated to cost Rs 100 crores. Jana Sangh is not convinced by these spurious plans. It demands immediate appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to ascertain whether rehabilitation capacity and employment potential, both in the agricultural and industrial fields in West Bengal have been really exhausted; and that, pending the findings of the commission the refugee will not be compelled against his free will to go outside Bengal. Further, the Jana Sangh demands that representatives of refugees and leading non-official public men be allowed to inspect personally the site and examine the conditions of the Dandkaranya Scheme before any further steps are taken in connection with this costly project.

[August 16, 1957, Bilaspur, AIGC]

57.18. KASHMIR IN UNO

The recent developments at the UN Security Council regarding Jammu-Kashmir have demonstrated once again that the UNO has got itself involved in power politics so much that it would be futile to expect justice and fairplay from it.

The Central Working Committee, therefore, feels that no useful purpose can be served by keeping the question open for discussion at the UNO. It urges upon the Government to withdraw the Kashmir issue from there and desist from wasting any more mony, time, and energy in trying to convince those who are determined not to be convinced. It further urges upon the Government to take all immediate effective steps to recover possession of the Kashmir territory now aggressively occupied by Pakistan.

Kashmir is essentially a domestic issue and must be tackled as such with the cooperation of all sections of the Indian opinion who are united on this vital national issue.

Abrogate Article 370—The Committee further feels that time has now come when the temporary distinction, between Jammu-Kashmir State and the rest of India as envisaged in Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, be removed once for all and the Jammu-Kashmir State be brought in line with the
rest of India in all respects. This, the Committee is convinced, is essential to bring about the emotional integration of the people of that State, with their co-citizens of the rest of India and checkmate the designs of separatist and anti-national elements within and outside Kashmir who have been exploiting these distinctions to the detriment of the wider interests of India including Kashmir.

[November 24, 1957; Hyderabad, CWC]

57.19. INDIAN SETTLERS IN CEYLON AND BURMA

'Stateless' Indians—The problem of Indian settlers in Ceylon has been hanging fire for a long time. In spite of the long negotiations that have taken place between the Government of India and successive governments in Ceylon relating to this issue, nothing has practically been achieved. The so-called provision of 'registration' of Indian settlers as 'Ceylonese citizens' has remained a dead letter. The latest position is that out of over 2 lacs of applications for registration made by Indian settlers, only about 22,000 (or 10 per cent) have been granted and the remaining 90 per cent have been rejected—rendering the latter 'Stateless' persons. This involves about 3 lacs of settlers. If no satisfactory solution is reached on this issue, the Government of India will find another refugee problem of vast dimensions on their hands—this time in South India.

The position of Indians in Burma is no better. Their settlement in Burma was, however, different in nature. For as late as 1937 (only 20 years back) Burma was a province of India, and naturally many Indians in search of livelihood, proceeded to Burma. They settled down there in services or business or other professions. Now, the Indians there find themselves 'alien and foreigners' for no fault of theirs. The Burmese Government has been very stringent in its treatment towards them. On the plea of nationalisation, most of the property of Indian merchants and businessmen (mostly from South India) has been virtually confiscated, with nominal compensation rendering them derelict. Besides, restrictions on remittance of earnings to India are so stringent that no person is allowed to remit more than Rs. 20.00 per month to his family in India. Exchange restrictions too are very oppressive. All these sufferings have been brought to the notice of the Prime Minister of India recently in a memorandum submitted to him when he was at Rangoon.

Jana Sangh feels that on both these issues, viz., Indian settlers in Ceylon and Burma, the Indian Government must give up its indifference and imbecile attitude and take without delay effective action so that just and honourable treatment may be assured to Indian settlers there. It affects the honour and dignity of India.

[November 24, 1957; Hyderabad, CWC]

57.20. REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION WORK

India's Responsibility towards East Bengali Hindus—The Central Working Committee of Jana Sangh feels that the question of East Bengali refugees has reached an acute stage. Until now about 50 lacs of Hindus from East Bengal (out of a total Hindu population of about a crore and a half) have migrated to India. The tendency of migration has not ceased because of the terrible economic discrimination against the Hindus there. They are being eliminated from services, business and commerce, etc. They are molested day in and day out by Muslim neighbours. Pakistan Government's attitude is of indifference towards the same. In fact some 60,000 applications for migration certificates (involving 3 lacs of helpless people) are pending before the Chief Migration Officer at Dacca.

About 2 years ago in response to outcries from Pakistani quarters for sealing the borders, Government of India sent secret instructions to its Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca instructing him to issue migration certificates most stringently while publicly denying the same. Of late, however, the Government of India have openly come out in favour of forbidding the entry of East Bengali Hindus as refugees after setting a time limit. It has also publicly declared now that India is not responsible for the welfare and security of Hindus in Pakistan and cannot shoulder the responsibility in this regard indefinitely.

Jana Sangh emphatically condemns this attitude of the Government to shirk their solemn responsibility and to go back upon the assurances given to the minorities in Pakistan at the time of partition that India would see to it that the minorities in Pakistan received just and honourable treatment. Jana Sangh demands that India must take effective steps on governmental level to compel Pakistan to discharge her duty to the minorities. In this context the Jana Sangh suggests the following measures:

(i) Demand of adequate territory from East Bengal to settle the Hindu migrants from there; and

(ii) Abolition of the passport-cum-visa system which goes
against even the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of 1950, thus
restoring free movement between the two Bengals.

The Government of India, if it fails to take any of such
steps, must take upon itself the duty and responsibility of receiv-
ing and rehabilitating all migrants from East Bengal, even if it
involves all the Hindus still remaining there.

Incomplete Rehabilitation—Regarding rehabilitation of
refugees from West Pakistan the Working Committee feels that
progress of the task is not satisfactory enough to warrant stop-
page of the work by 1960. Lack of refugees from West Pakistan
still remain to be rehabilitated. In fact, many of them are be-
ing uprooted once again by selling out to other buyers the
tenements allotted to non-claimant or small claimant refugees.
The decision of the Government to lower the cash limit of com-
penation to be paid to the refugees from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 1,000
when not even 20 per cent of the claimants have been paid com-
penation so far, will hit very badly a large number of refugees
who had been living on the hope of getting cash compensation
to meet their present pressing needs. The Committee demands
that the Government shed its attitude of complacency and adopt
a sympathetic and humanistic approach in dealing with the
refugees from West Pakistan. It must not squander away the
evacuee property-pool by restoring these properties to such
Muslims who first opted to go to Pakistan and now are returning
from there.

[November 24, 1957; Hyderabad, CWC]

58.07. FOREIGN POLICY

Disarmament—The armament race between the two blocs
together with talks about disarmament and universal desire of the
common man for peace are two mutually contradictory aspects
of the world situation today. Finding it difficult to ignore and
overlook the popular urge for peace, the leaders of both the
power-blocs vie with each other in their professions of peace.
But their actions betray their professions. Unless the manufac-
ture and use of atomic weapons is totally banned, debates about
accepting or rejecting the ban on tests of atomic weapons have
little meaning.

Power-blocs—The reassertion of totalitarian trends in Russia
and her growing stranglehold over the satellite countries of
Eastern Europe (of which the case of Hungary is the most
painful) coupled with her bid for a Communist Empire in one
bloc and brazen faced support from countries of the other bloc
to the Portuguese colonialism in Goa and French repression
in Algeria and rabid racialism in Africa, have made both the
power-blocs suspects in the eyes of peace loving peoples and
uncommitted States of the world.

Just and Stable Peace—True democracy based on freedom
of the individual and equality of opportunity to all, irrespective
of caste, creed, clime or colour and the right of all people to
decide freely about the form of the governments they would like
to have, are essential requisites for just and stable peace in the world. Injustice and peace cannot go together.

The democratic countries of the West have a special responsibility in the matter. Democracy can be the greatest factor for peace if it is truly practised. But by supporting tottering and thoroughly discredited reactionary regimes in different parts of the world, e.g., in Pakistan, they are undermining the faith of Asian and African nations in their professions of democracy. The Central Working Committee feels the uncommitted nations of the world are a solid factor for peace in this situation. It is imperative, therefore, that peoples of such countries should resist all attempts to get them committed through military or economic pressures to one bloc or the other.

Non-aligned and Independent Policy—Bharatiya Jana Sangh is a firm believer in democracy and wants it to succeed so that the world might be saved from the rising tide of totalitarianism, and demands that while professing to pursue an independent policy of non-alignment, Government of India should not create the impression—even by implication—that they are inclined towards one camp or the other. Such an impression if it is allowed to grow is neither in the enlightened self-interests of India nor of peace and democracy in the world as a whole.

[April 5, 1958; Ambula, VI AIS]

58.09. POWER-BLOC INTRIGUES

The recent happenings in West Asia involving violence and coups and the interest evinced and active intervention made in them by outside powers has created a serious threat to world peace. These developments are in fact result of cold war going on between the two power-blocs with a view to extend their respective spheres of influence. It is a matter of regret that even though both the power-blocs swear by Panchasheel and the UN Charter, yet whenever opportunity arises to translate these professions into action, they subordinate them to their expansionist ambitions and vested interests.

Right of Self-determination—Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the definite opinion that forces of Nationalism and Democracy should be respected and every country should have the freedom to mould its own life-pattern, i.e. 'Right of Self-determination'. Both the power-blocs on the other hand, have been following a policy of opposition to these natural sentiments. They are trying to force puppet regimes on peoples of different countries against their democratic will and aspirations. The Russian attempts to suppress popular upsurges in Poland, Hungary and other East European countries and gruesome murders of IMREY NAGY and other Hungarian patriots on the one side, and recent intervention by USA and UK in the internal affairs of Lebanon and Jordan on the other are shameful examples of this policy of the two power-blocs.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly condemns all such moves and demands that:

1. All outside armed forces posted in other lands should be immediately withdrawn. Presence of foreign troops in any country goes counter to its national freedom and sovereignty.

2. All military pacts, whatever power-blocs they may be connected with, should be ended. Instead of being helpful in maintaining world-peace, such pacts have actually contributed towards intensification of world tensions by creating an atmosphere of fear and suspicion in different countries.

Jana Sangh further believes that the forces dragging the world towards destruction can be checkmated only by free people having unshaken faith in nationalism, democratic way of life and world peace.

[July 19, 1958; Bombay, CWC]

58.10. INDO-PAK RELATIONS

In spite of the best efforts of the Nehru Government to cultivate good grace in Pakistan even at the cost of India’s interests or perhaps because of this ‘appeasement mentality’ encouraging Pakistan’s intransigence—the Indo-Pak relations have been steadily deteriorating.

Campaign against India—Hostility and hatred towards India are being deliberately whipped up in Pakistan—both officially and non-officially—on all possible counts. About Kashmir—a 10-year old issue—not content with her mal-propaganda in the UNO and in the outside world against India, Pakistan has for sometime past been engaged in instigating sabotage and violence inside Kashmir itself. In these sinister activities, Pakistan is being helped by Pakistani agents and stooges in India itself at Delhi and elsewhere. They are working as Pakistan’s ‘fifth columnists’. Strangely enough, the Nehru Government sleeps over all these activities, keeps quiet and takes hardly any step to stop them. As to the Punjab Canal Waters dispute another old issue—Pakistan is trying to muddy the
waters as much as possible, never coming to terms, and always evading the issue.

Border Provocations—Besides, of late Pakistan is trying to open new offensive fronts—in fact trying to create a regular ‘Second Front’, in Eastern India on the borders of Assam and Bengal—in addition to the Kashmir front, which she has more or less stabilised thanks to the weakness, incompetence and masterly inactivity of the Nehru Government. On the Assam-Bengal border, Pakistan has been bringing forward her army units, fortifying her borders, encroaching upon Indian territory, contacting Naga rebels firing frequently on, and creating practically a zone of “No Man’s Land” there. And the Nehru Government is resting content with sending verbal notes of protest which are continuously ignored. On the Western borders too, as at Fazilka, for instance, such instances of wanton and unprovoked intrusions by Pakistani forces are not rare.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels and has repeatedly impressed upon the Government of India that this supine and appeasing attitude towards a deliberately malignant and hostile State which had its origin in hatred towards India and is steadily nurturing itself on the same hatred, cannot bring Pakistan to its senses, but that somewhat stronger measures are required.

The Central Working Committee of the Jana Sangh, accordingly, demands that:

1. With reference to Pakistani provocations whether in the East on the Assam and Bengal borders or in the West Punjab borders the Central Government should take upon itself the task of guarding the frontiers, in order to silence the enemy guns and stop all enemy activities in these regions. Besides a militia should be raised from among the Civil population of these areas to supplement the action of the army in protecting the hearths and homes of the border people.

2. With reference to Pakistan’s attempts to sabotage activities inside Kashmir, the Government must take immediate steps to hunt out the nests of the conspirators and stamp them out.

3. With reference to ‘fifth column’ activities of Pakistani agents and stooges in India, the Government must launch a campaign for unearthing these treasonable activities, effectively scotching them and meting out deterrent punishment to the guilty.

(4) With reference to the Punjab Canal Waters issue, the Government of India must not allow herself to be dragged into interminable discussions to the detriment of the interests of its own people. It should insist that in default of up-to-date payment of dues towards Pakistan on this account, no further release of Punjab waters from India’s side will be made.

Besides all these, Pakistan is steadily evading to settle the problems of evacuee property and payment of her pre-partition debts and other dues. Effective steps should be taken by the Government of India to settle these matters.

[July 19, 1958; Bombay, CWC]

58.17. INDIAN SETTLERS’ PLIGHT IN CEYLON

The Central Working Committee expresses its concern over continued worsening of the situation in Ceylon regarding the status of Indian settlers there who number about 10 lacs. Repeated agreements reached between the Governments of India and of Ceylon in this connection have been rendered practically null and void and reduced to mere scraps of paper due to intransigent attitude of the Ceylonese Government. The result has been that registration of these Indian settlers as citizens has been reduced to a force. Not more than a few thousands out of these 10 lacs have so far been registered. The rest may be rendered as ‘Stateless persons’ and be subjected to suppression and indignities. Jana Sangh calls upon the Government of India to take effective steps in this regard so that the problem may be satisfactorily solved without further delay.

[July 19, 1958; Bombay, CWC]

58.18. NEHRU-NOON AGREEMENT

Dangerous Implications—The Nehru-Noon Agreement recently entered into after prolonged Pakistani incursions across the Assam-Tripura borders, is surprisingly silent about these incursions and damages on Indian life and properties inflicted thereby and demands no apology or compensation from Pakistan for the same. Even the villages of Tukergram (Assam) and Lakhimpur (Tripura) which have been illegally occupied by Pakistan are allowed to be still under her forcible occupation. On the other hand, the Agreement reopens issues about which there have been no disputes since the partition. The Agreement offers half of the Berubari Union (Jalpaiguri district) in which thousands of East Bengali refugees have been settled. It also
offers the use of Ichhamati river to Pakistan (even in areas where the Indo-Pakistan border is miles away from the river). On Tripura border again, a portion of Indian territory has been offered to Pakistan for the smooth working of her railways. All these features of the Agreement are against the national interests of India and the Working Committee accordingly condemns the same strongly. It calls upon the Indian Parliament to repudiate it lock, stock and barrel.

The Working Committee calls upon all its branches in the various states to educate public opinion on the anti-national nature of this ‘Agreement’ and the dangerous implications thereof.

_Tukergram and Lakhimpur Tragedy_—The Indo-Pakistan border areas, particularly those of Assam-Tripura and of West Bengal (near the Ichhamati river in 24-Parganas and elsewhere in central and northern Bengal), lie practically defenceless. Any day if Pakistan so desires, the tragedies of Tukergram and Lakhimpur may be repeated in these areas also. The Working Committee accordingly calls upon the Government to strengthen immediately defence forces in the border areas and to remove suspicious elements from these areas so that they may not conspire with Pakistani agents.

_Self-defence Parties_—While the official failure to arrange for the proper defence of the sensitive border areas is most deplorable and to be severely condemned, the public can no longer afford to continue in these helpless conditions. They have to be ever ready for their own protection. Jana Sangh accordingly calls upon the people of these border areas to form ‘Self-defence Parties’ to act as Home Guards for the protection of their lives, properties and the honour of their women folk. The Jana Sangh assures them all possible help and cooperation in this regard.

[October 12, 1958; Delhi, CWC]

58.19. MILITARY COUP IN PAKISTAN

The startling developments in Pakistan resulting in the abrogation of its Constitution and the installation of a military _junta_ in power, have naturally caused a great deal of concern in India. Events in Pakistan which is on the borders of India and which indeed formed a part of India only a few years ago, are bound to cause immediate repercussions in India for obvious reasons.

_Ominous for India_—These events, regrettable in themselves as they are, meaning a good-bye to whatever Democracy there was and the setting up of a military dictatorship, are also ominous for India. Any day, to divert popular discontent the military _junta_ may be tempted to launch upon aggressive activities against India. There is indeed reason for apprehension. The recent pronouncements of the new military Rulers reveal no change whatsoever in Pakistan’s hostile attitude towards India or towards the Hindu minorities there. Repeating Pakistan’s so-called ‘grouses’ against India, General Ayub Khan says, “If there is war with India, it will be most popular in Pakistan” and Shri Mirza says, “The new Constitution for Pakistan will be more suitable to the genius of the Muslim people.”

Besides, as our unfortunate experience in the past has been that whenever serious trouble arises in Pakistan, the Hindu minority there is made the target of attack and repression. A new wave of migration from Pakistan to India may be inevitable. For instance, the so-called ‘closed-door operations’ by the military in East Bengal have entailed a good deal of repression on the Hindu minority there. On all these grounds, India should be particularly watchful regarding these developments in Pakistan.

Jana Sangh also feels that democracies all over the world should take serious note of this anti-democratic coup in Pakistan which has come in the wake of similar developments in many other countries in the recent past. The people and the Government of India nevertheless should continue their best to strengthen democratic forces in India.

[October 12, 1958; Delhi, CWC]

58.22. RACIAL RIOTS IN CEYLON

The position of Indian settlers in Ceylon which has long been causing anxiety in India has recently taken a serious turn. The fierce racial riots that shook Ceylon to its foundations affected the Indian settlers in many places. The echoes of these riots have not yet dies down. Emergency regulations introduced at the time are still in force.

Besides, the question of registration of persons of Indian descent (whose forefathers had settled down in Ceylon generations ago), as Ceylonese citizens over which the Ceylonese Government procrastinated for years despite the Indo-Ceylonese agreements in this connection, has been recently disposed of in a fashion that has shocked India. What has happened is that
uptil now, about 7 lacs of Indian settlers have been refused registration as Ceylonese citizens and declared "stateless". And possibly out of the remaining 3 lacs, the bulk would be similarly treated.

Jana Sangh feels that in acting in this manner, the Ceylon Government has acted contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Indo-Ceylonese agreements and calls upon the Government of India to take immediate steps to see that a satisfactory solution may be reached without further delay.

[October 2, 1958; Delhi, CWC]

58.26. FIRM AND REALISTIC POLICY TOWARDS PAKISTAN

Indo-Pak relations have remained strained since the day Pakistan was established as a separate State. In fact this estrangement is inherent in the circumstances in which Pakistan was born. Pakistan came into existence through the planned working up of Muslim hostility towards the Hindus and India. It is naturally keeping that hostility alive to sustain itself against the natural historical, economic and cultural factors that tend to reunification of the two States. To this end its Rulers have, from the very first day, been declaring India as their enemy No. 1 and behaving accordingly.

Pakistan's Hostility—Expulsion of all Hindus from West Pakistan and squeezing out from East Bengal today as many Hindus as possible and contemplating a distant but distinct possibility of ultimate conversion of the rest to Islam there, has been their planned policy. Kashmir and Punjab Canal Waters issues are being deliberately kept alive for the same purpose. Pursuit of a foreign policy motivated by a desire to harm India, planned military build-up and systematic ejection of all Hindus from Pakistan's border areas, infiltration of Pakistani Muslims to settle along the Indian side of the border and recurring incursions into Indian territory in spite of repeated protests have been some of the outward manifestations of Pakistan's hostility towards India.

The situation took a turn for the worse in March last when Pakistan started continuous firing on the Eastern borders and forcibly occupied Lakhimpur in Tripura and Tukergram—a strategic Indian village in Assam. The Nehru-Noon Agreement that followed not only failed to put a stop to Pakistan's intransigence but, what is worse stipulated transfer of large chunks of undisputed Indian territory to Pakistan.

Insults to India—The developments that have taken place in Pakistan since then have further aggravated the situation. The new military regime of General Ayub has made no secret of its open hostility to India. It has gone to the extent of openly involving the support of religious leaders to create the spirit of Holy War against India in the Pakistani youth. At the same time it has started a systematic policy of hurling insults on India such as by beating officials of Indian High Commission in Dacca and the Deputy Director of Survey of West Bengal together with continuous and concentrated firing on Indian territory across the border. Reports of heavy concentration of troops on the Kashmir and Bengal borders are also pouring in.

All this confirms with the reports about the pledge taken by the ruling military junta of Pakistan to conquer Kashmir and secure a corridor to unite East Bengal with West Pakistan. These are portents of a danger about which India can remain complacent only at her own peril. The attitude adopted by Prime Minister Shri Nehru towards these exhibitions of Pakistan's aggressiveness is most regrettable inasmuch as it not only encourages Pakistan to persist in its policy of aggression but also creates a false sense of complacency in the Indian people.

This Session of Bhartiya Jana Sangh, therefore, warns the people and the Government of India to wake up to the realities and implications of this grave situation in time, if a repetition of a catastrophe analogous to that of 1947 is to be avoided.

Twelve Thanas of Sylhet District—It calls upon the Government to adopt a firm and realistic policy towards Pakistan on the following lines to put a stop to Pakistan's aggressiveness and create confidence in the people.

1) Pakistan be given a clear warning to clear out of Tukergram and Lakhimpur by January 15, 1959 failing which the Government of India should take all steps within its power and capacity to throw back the aggressor.

2) Pakistan should be told that any unilateral breach of cease-fire line whether in Kashmir or in East Bengal or Assam will be treated as an act of aggression against India as a whole, and dealt with as such.

3) The military regime of Pakistan has by its violent and aggressive actions against India, rendered the Nehru-Noon Agreement null and void. Therefore, the Bill regarding its implementation, now before the Parliament should be with-
drawn.

(4) Supply of coal, steel and cement and other strategic materials to Pakistan be stopped forthwith.

(5) Steps be taken to recover the twelve Thanias of Sylhet District which were given to India by the Radcliffe Award but which have since been in the wrongful occupation of Pakistan.

(6) Survey should be made about the increase of Muslim population on the Rajasthan and Bengal-Assam borders and those who have infiltrated into Indian territory from Pakistan be driven out. Steps should also be taken to make the border areas more secure by checking anti-national activities there with all determination.

(7) Arms should be supplied to citizens of unquestionable loyalty living in the border areas to enable them to defend themselves and the borders, against the recurring Pakistani incursions.

(8) Immediate steps should be taken to give compulsory military training to all Indian Youth.

[December 28, 1958; Bangalore, VII IAS]

58.27. 'STATELESS' OVERSEAS INDIANS

Bharatiya Jana Sangh has repeatedly drawn attention to the deplorable plight of overseas persons of Indian descent and the inability of the Government of India to take any effective measures to bring about the much needed amelioration in their conditions. Their conditions have in fact further deteriorated.

Disfranchisement of Indians—In spite of the long-drawn negotiations between the Indian and the Ceylonese governments and various agreements entered into from time to time, the conditions of the Indian settlers in Ceylon, far from improving, have gone steadily worse, so much so that out of about 10 lacs of such persons, already over 7 lacs have been declared 'Stateless', and the apprehension is that out of the rest, the bulk will share the same fate. Besides, even those persons of Indian descent who have been declared Ceylonese citizens are proposed to be disfranchised as voters.

In Burma, Indian settlers in business (mostly persons from South India) have been despoiled and their properties confiscated on the pretext of 'nationalisation', with hardly any compensation. Besides, they are being subjected to hardships in respect of remittances and severe exchange-regulations.

In Singapore, the present position is that some 20 thousand persons of Indian descent who opted for Singapore citizenship are now practically 'Stateless'.

In South Africa, the operation of the Group Areas Act has created a most humiliating and intolerable situation.

Generally speaking, almost throughout those countries where there are sizable settlements of persons of Indian descent, their conditions are deteriorating and the dignity and prestige of India are suffering.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh, accordingly, demands that the Government of India should take all possible steps to bring pressure to bear upon these countries and see that the position of overseas Indian settlers improves.

[December 28, 1958; Bangalore, VII IAS]

59.02. ARMS AID TO PAKISTAN

It is about 4 years since an agreement was entered into between Pakistan and USA for military aid to the former by the latter. The effect has been that, flushed with American arms obtained free, Pakistan has become increasingly truculent in her dealings with India, and has gone even to the extent of constant incursions on India's borders. These facts have created a very unfortunate impression in India about American intentions, in spite of the formal declaration by the USA that American military aid is meant solely for use in case of Communist aggression and not for use against India at all.

USA-Pak Bilateral Agreement—Later on radical changes have occurred in Pakistan. Since October last, Pakistan has been under a military dictatorship and there is no trace of Democracy left there. Still, only a few days ago, the US has entered into a bilateral agreement with Pakistan, promising to come to her aid in case of aggression. Pakistan says that such aid will be available in case of aggression from any quarter and not merely Communist aggression. The wording in the agreement itself, to say the least, is ambiguous.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh deeply regrets that in spite of the collapse of democracy in Pakistan and all that is happening there, particularly, continued Pakistani incursions into India and her general attitude of hostility towards India, the USA should continue its policy of military alliance with Pakistan. This is naturally being looked upon by the people of India as distinctly an 'unfriendly act' towards India. Accordingly the Jana Sangh
feels that the USA is jeopardizing in India—now practically the sole bastion of democracy in the East—the very Cause which she professes to have so much at heart, namely, the protection of Democracy in the World.

Jana Sangh accordingly considers this policy of the USA as extremely ill-advised.

[March 15, 1959; Delhi, CWC]

59.06. TIBET'S INDEPENDENCE

Panchasheel (1954) Agreement—Since March last, the outrageous atrocities of the Chinese occupation authorities in Tibet have shocked public opinion in India and elsewhere in the world, and in India all the more because of her very close and long-standing relations with Tibet. These have, however, had their origin some 9 years ago, when in 1950-51, Communist China overtook Tibet by sheer force of arms and imposed an agreement upon the Tibetan Government of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama under duress, effecting the subjugation of Tibet and conceding her only a semblance of autonomy. At the time, India did protest against the forcible occupation of Tibet, but very feebly; and that feeble protest was contemptuously brushed aside by the Communist rulers of China. What followed however, was still more unfortunate. In 1954, India entered into an agreement with China popularly known as the Panchasheel Agreement, by which India formally recognised Chinese occupation of Tibet, and handed over—not to the Tibetan Government but to the Chinese occupation authorities—Indian outposts and installations in Tibet, and all India’s rights there which had been in force for half a century, mainly for security reasons in defence of India’s rightful interests. Further, in 1956, when the Chinese authorities in Tibet made their occupation still more rigorous, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, felt so uncomfortable that he came over to India. But about the same time Communist China’s Prime Minister also came down to India, and assured the Prime Minister of India that Tibet’s autonomy would be respected and that there would be no interference with Tibet’s economic, social and religious life and institutions. On this assurance being conveyed to His Holiness, the Dalai Lama by the Prime Minister of India and at his request, the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet.

Chinese Atrocities—All these assurances have been thrown to the winds and the Communist regimentation is now being introduced. Tibet’s social economy is being upset, her religious institutions and monasteries are being defiled and desecrated, and millions of Chinese Hans are being settled in Tibet to outnumber and swamp the Tibetans on their own soil. The position has become so unbearable that even the peaceful, harmless, and religious-minded people of Tibet have arisen in widespread rebellion against the Chinese who are seeking to put down the national uprising by merciless slaughter. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been forced to seek asylum in India, along with thousands of Tibetans fleeing from the Chinese terror. In deference to India’s public opinion, the Government of India has very properly offered asylum to them all.

Security of India Imperilled—it appears, therefore, that for the tragedy that has now overtaken Tibet, India cannot escape her share of responsibility. In fact, it has been the weak-kneed and short-sighted policy followed by the Nehru Government that has encouraged Communist China in her aggressive policy in Tibet, and which has brought a big military and aggressive power, right on the borders of India herself, imperiling her own security.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels that it is morally incumbent on India to redeem her past remissness with regard to Tibet, and so India should take immediate and effective steps to see that China’s aggressions in Tibet may cease, her armies of occupation are withdrawn from Tibet, and that Tibet’s independence is secured.

Jana Sangh accordingly proposes that:

1. India herself should move the United Nations to take up Tibet’s case. In fact, the Tibet issue had been raised in the UN when China overran her about 9 years ago, but it was at India’s request and insistence that the matter was shelved and practically dropped. Now that China has gone back upon her pledge of respecting Tibet’s autonomy, and her words have proved undependable, India owes it to herself to raise the Tibetan issue at the UN.

2. India should approach the Free Nations of Asia (outside Communist orbit) on the issue of China’s aggression in Tibet—so that they might make common cause in support of Tibet’s independence. Already, China’s aggression in Tibet has caused apprehension in Eastern Asia; and people there are beginning to feel that the occupation of Tibet is only the first step of China’s ambition towards imperialistic expansion. The banding together of the Free Nations of Asia in an attitude of protest
may produce some sober effect even on the ruthless and ambitious rulers of Communist China who may yet pause in their predatory activities. Even at this late stage, China may care something for Asian opinion.

(3) In the meantime, full facilities should be given to His Holiness the Dalai Lama to function in India on the political plane as the Government of Tibet. If Tibetan independence is to be striven for and secured, it will not do simply to grant him asylum and to keep him in a sort of enforced retirement free to function only in his spiritual capacity, but he should be allowed in India to work for the cause of Tibet's independence.

Further—apart from all other considerations—from the point of view of India's own safety and security alone, it is essential that China must clear out of Tibet, and that Tibet should become an Independent State. India should, therefore, direct all her efforts towards securing Tibet's independence.

[July 8, 1959; Poonia, AIGC]

59.10. CHINESE INTRUSIONS INTO INDIA

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses deep concern upon the incursions at the Indo-Tibetan border by Communist China. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh has consistently demanded that top priority should be given to national security and greater attention be paid to the defence of our borders. It is regrettable that the Government has not duly discharged this primary duty, as a consequence of which our national frontiers have become subject to easy infringements by every aggressive neighbour of ours. Jana Sangh firmly reiterates the demand for strengthening the security of India and assures the Government of its fullest cooperation in this task.

The aggressive activities of Communist China have continued for a number of years. But the Government on the one hand kept the people and the Parliament in the dark and on the other took no effective steps to liberate the territory of India from the aggressors, apart from mere wordy protests. It appears that it has utterly failed to understand the real expansionist nature of Communist China—which is becoming a threat for the whole of South East Asia—in its anxiety to preserve Indo-Chinese friendship and peace at any price. Even today it is sought to be made out that the aggression is due to the undemarcated nature of the borders and the asylum granted to Shri Dalai Lama. This is totally contrary to the facts and amounts to wilful underestimation of the seriousness of the situation which may lead to very serious consequences.

Indo-Tibetan Border—The borders between India and Tibet are clear and defined through definite treaties, usage and traditions. There was no occasion for confusion, doubt or controversy in this matter and all talk which creates confusion or doubt should stop since it lends support to the unjust role of China. The ‘dual policy’ proclaimed by Prime Minister Nehru in this regard is not appropriate. Aggression and peaceful negotiations cannot go side by side.

White Paper on Indo-Chinese Relations—The White Paper published in the relations between India and China shows that the Chinese aggression on Indian soil began in 1954 when the ink of the much publicised proclamation of peaceful coexistence had hardly dried and the echoes of Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai slogans were still ringing in the Himalayan sky. It is also clear from the correspondence that passed between China and India that there has been a well thought out plan behind the Chinese aggression. Complete occupation of Tibet, depiction of Indian territory as Chinese in their maps followed by actual military occupation of some of the areas so depicted are the correlated links of the same plan.

Jana Sangh desires friendship between India and China. But appeasement and surrender cannot be the basis of enduring friendship. We cannot buy peace and friendship at the cost of the nation's integrity, sovereignty and security. In view of this it is essential that we should recast our policy towards China and base it on greater realism and facts.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the definite opinion that China by forcibly occupying Indian territory and repudiating the Mac-Mohan Line as the International boundary between India and Tibet, has shut the doors of peaceful negotiations. Therefore, Jana Sangh demands that:

1) China should be asked to vacate all the occupied territories by a fixed date and in case of failure all steps should be taken to liberate the occupied Indian territories.

2) The whole northern frontier should be handed over to the army and immediate necessary steps should be taken for developing and strengthening transport and communications in the connected areas.

3) All maps, newspapers and periodicals showing parts of
Indian territory as Chinese should be banned.

(4) China has deliberately broken the Agreement negotiated between India and China in 1954 by creating obstacles in the proper functioning of our Consulates and Trade Agencies in Yangtse, Yatung and Gangtok. Therefore, the Government of India should act reciprocally towards Chinese Trade Agencies and Consulates situated in New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong.

[September 20, 1959; Delhi, CWC]

59.12. POLICY OF APPEASEMENT

Jana Sangh has steadily advocated for the policy of real non-alignment and non-involvement as the correct foreign policy for India to follow. The policy followed by the Government of India under Prime Minister Nehru’s leadership is ostensibly the same but in practice it has been of surrenders where India’s interests are concerned and of unnecessary involvements in unconnected affairs resulting in difficult situations. This policy of appeasement has merely whetted the appetite of greedy powers on the borders of India and has now produced a perilous situation threatening the very security of India herself. It has also brought down the dignity and prestige of India in the world.

Jana Sangh feels that this policy of appeasement is all round dangerous to the security and derogatory to the honour of India. It must be abandoned immediately, and a stern and realistic policy must be followed to uphold India's honour and dignity and defend her territory.

[September 20, 1959; Delhi, CWC]

59.13. REPEL CHINESE AGGRESSION

Consolidation of Chinese Aggression—The Central Working Committee expresses its deep disappointment and concern over the failure of the Government to secure vacation of Chinese aggression from Indian territory. While the Committee shares with the Government its anxiety to settle international disputes through peaceful negotiations, it is of the confirmed view that where there has been wanton and calculated violation of a neighbour’s frontiers and forcible occupation of its territory, there remains no basis whatsoever for any negotiations as long as the aggression continues. It is a matter of regret that the Prime Minister’s latest communication (dated November 16, 1958) to the Chinese Premier ignores this fact and treats the aggressor on par with the aggrieved. This will result not only in consolidating the present aggression, but in augmenting the danger of ever further aggression.

Jana Sangh is of the view that the Prime Minister’s offer of not to send military or civil personnel to parts of our own country impugns India’s territorial sovereignty and definitely puts premium on aggression. If, indeed, China were to accept these proposals it would tantamount to nothing else but India’s voluntary abandonment of its rights over her own territory and conversion of this area into a “No Man’s Land”. Further contrary to what India has hitherto correctly affirmed, that our boundaries have been ‘firm by tradition, firm by treaties and firm by usage’, implementation of the proposals would involve our entire Northern Frontiers in controversy and provide China with welcome opportunity of improving upon its fantastic claims.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh reiterates its demand that China be asked to quit Indian territory by a definite date line and in case of its failing to do so, all necessary steps be taken to throw out the aggressor from the occupied areas.

The stationing of armed guard outside the Chinese Trade Agency at Kalimpong and the imposition of curbs on the entry into Indian territory of objectionable literature which carries material questioning our territorial boundaries are steps in the right direction. Jana Sangh welcomes them. But, the situation demands that the unrestricted capacity to inspire and direct anti-India activity presently enjoyed by Chinese Diplomats and Trade Agencies in India be effectively checkmated. It is also essential that strict watch be maintained over the activities of Chinese nationals residing here and if the conduct of any of them is found suspicious, he be directed to leave the country at once.

Jana Sangh feels that the challenge posed by China needs to be met by an all-round intensification of national endeavour in every single walk of life. The Committee is confident that whether it be the farmer in his field or the worker in his factory, every Indian citizen will, in his own sphere, put in his utmost to reinforce the military measures undertaken to counter the Chinese aggression and be prepared for supreme sacrifice for the defence of national independence and integrity.

[December 6, 1959; Surat, CWC]
59.15. INDO-PAK RELATIONS

Ever since the creation of Pakistan as a result of partition of India in August 1947, it is an unfortunate fact that Pakistan has been hostile in her attitude to the Indian Union. Only 2 months after the partition, Pakistan launched upon an invasion of Kashmir in October 1947 with the help of tribals. Because of the unfortunate and hasty cease-fire most unwisely accepted by the Nehru Government, Pakistan is still in occupation of over one-third of Kashmir, which is a part and parcel of India because of the accession of the State to India. Besides, almost continued border incursions have been kept up by Pakistan, both on the Eastern and Western borders. Unprovoked fire is resorted to, cease-fire agreements entered into, but are violated immediately afterwards and tension and insecurity on the borders are deliberately created. The attitude of the Government in face of these incursions and hostilities and gross ill-treatment and oppression of the Hindu minorities, in Pakistan, has been most disgraceful one.

Gift of Indian Territories to Pakistan—Instead of taking firm and resolute action to stop all this the Indian Government has been throughout following a policy of weakness and appeasement by making territorial concessions to Pakistan at India's expense. The Nehru-Liaquat Pact of April 1950, the Nehru-Noon Agreement of September 1958, and the last Agreement entered in September last are instances thereof. Berubari, besides other areas in Murshidabad and 24-Pargana was conceded to Pakistan by the Nehru-Noon Agreement. By the latest Agreement of September last, 5 villages of the Patharia reserve forest area in Assam which have been inside the Indian Union in the Patharkandi Thana since partition (according to the Redcliffe Award), besides a valuable forest area covering an area of 17 sq. miles are now sought to be transferred to Pakistan, in return for the recovery of the village of Tukergram (some 200 acres in area)—an Indian village unlawfully seized and occupied by Pakistan since August 1958, for which the India Government then took no steps whatever to recover.

Policy of Reciprocity towards Pakistan—Jana Sangh condemns this policy of appeasement at the expense of India's national interests and demands that vis-a-vis Pakistan, a policy of reciprocity must be followed. It is certainly desirable that there should be good relations between the two States into which India has been split up; but the essential requirement for that is that Pakistan must immediately vacate her aggression in Kashmir and elsewhere, give up her hostile attitude, and accord to the Hindu minorities in Pakistan humane and honourable treatment.

Joint Defence Pact with Pakistan—In this connection, Jana Sangh takes note of the proposal being mooted in certain quarters and emanating from Pakistan herself, that in view of the new menace from Communist China, India and Pakistan should enter into a Joint Defence Pact. Jana Sangh feels that in the present context of Indo-Pakistan relations, such a proposal is fantastic, unreal and even unthinkable. Pakistan still continues in occupation of one-third of Kashmir as a result of her aggression, and armies of India and Pakistan still stand facing each other along the firing line, their hostility only suspended by a 'cease-fire' agreement. India cannot possibly enter into a joint defence pact with Pakistan to fight aggression from another quarter. The whole idea is absurd.

It is, however, a good sign that Pakistan is now beginning to think along these lines. This is merely a dawning of the realisation, that the whole of India (including the Indian Union and Pakistan) is essentially one militarily and otherwise; and the real solution of all these troubles lies in the establishment of AKHAND BHARAT which Jana Sangh stands for. But if Pakistan really means her proposal of joint defence pact to be taken seriously, first she must immediately clear out of the part of Kashmir and other areas unlawfully kept by her.

Besides, this idea of India being quite unable to meet the present Chinese menace on her own strength emanates from defeatism, fostered by Nehru's propaganda. What is wanted in the present crisis brought about by the Communist China's expansionist ambition is that India must follow a resolute policy of herself fighting the aggression, seek the moral sympathy and cooperation from Free Nations of Asia (who are also feeling concerned at China's designs and strategy) to create a Unified Front with them against Communist China's new imperialism.

[December 6, 1959; Surat, CWC]

60.03. DESIRABLE SUMMIT MEET

Emergence of Newly Independent Nations—International situation has undergone a change for the better and the worse both at the same time during the last 1 year. In Europe, the situation
has been visibly eased by the personal contacts between Soviet Premier and the United States of America's President resulting in fixation of a definite date for the Summit meet. The aspirations of the people of the African continent have found partial fruition in the emergence of newly independent States. Bharatiya Jana Sangh sends its greetings to them and welcomes them into the comity of nations.

But the situation in Asia instead of showing any improvement has further deteriorated. Communist China has created a crisis by posing a challenge to the freedom of the countries of South and South East Asia. It is a strange coincidence that while Communist Russia is trying to be generous and accommodating in the peace talks with the Western Powers, China as the most important prop of international communism after having strangled the freedom and destroyed the distinct personality of Tibet has started armed aggression against other uncommitted nations of Asia. These activities of China amount to giving deadly blow to the cause of world peace and go counter to the policies being pursued by Soviet Russia in that regard. But it cannot be explained away as a Chinese act or as an isolated and arbitrary action on her part. It would be equally wrong to explain this as pointing to any difference between the basic policies of Communist China and Soviet Russia.

China is following the long established line of expansion for International Communism regarding internal revolt by local Communist Parties backed by external aggression by the Communist armies for the spread of communism.

The impression being created about her desire for peace by Soviet Russia is just a tactic to delude the Western Powers. The illusion created by it in Europe is being utilised by Communist China for the spread of communism in Asia. Russia has, in spite of its declarations about peace, never condemned the Chinese efforts to disturb peace and create an atmosphere of war. It would be futile and unrealistic to think that Russia would put pressure on China to respect freedom of Asian nations.

More Effective UNO—It is the considered view of Bharatiya Jana Sangh that in the present situation a Summit meet of the big powers may contribute towards removal of their mutual misunderstanding, creation of goodwill, bring about thaw in the cold war and preventing an open conflict for the time being. But world peace cannot be permanently assured so long as political subjugation, economic exploitation, and prejudices based on colour continue in the world and the big powers just agree to maintain discreet silence about them instead of exerting themselves for removing them. So long as the remnants of western colonialism remain and so long as the countries whose freedom has been strangled by the new imperialism of International Communism do not regain their freedom, all talk of international peace by big powers will be taken to be just another move to perpetuate the shameful slavery of a big part of human race. It is essential for the success of the Summit meet that the big powers arrange to make the UNO an effective medium for discharging its responsibilities, ban the production of atomic and nuclear weapons and take effective steps towards disarmament.

Aloof from Power-blocs—India has been following a policy of keeping aloof from the two power-blocs. This policy has been in keeping with our wider national interests and the objective of world peace. It is why the Jana Sangh has been supporting it from its inception. An idea of bringing about a change in this policy is gaining ground in the country since the beginning of the Chinese aggression. While admitting that foreign policy of a country should be determined not on the basis of imaginary principles or day dreams but on the basis of realistic appraisal of national interests and, therefore, can be changed in the light of the changing world situation, in the context of the present geographical and military situation of India, in view of our plans and aspirations, and of balance between the world powers and of assessing the situation in regard to our friends and foes, Jana Sangh considers it advisable that the policy of non-alignment be continued for the time being.

But, it is essential for the proper implementation of this policy that India keeps out of all such quarrels as do not have direct bearing on the national interests of India. At the same time there is nothing in this policy which can prevent us from getting any kind of help from any country to increase our national defence potential in the time of war.

There have been suggestions about joint defence with Pakistan. Such suggestions have little meaning so long as Pakistan does not change its anti-India policies on the basis of natural realisation of mutual interests and so long as it remains in forcible occupation of one third part of Jammu-Kashmir State.
Such suggestions can be as good a camouflage for concealing the unholy intentions of Pakistan as declaration about Panchasheela have proved to be for the evil designs of China.

Jana Sangh is of the view that our attitude to depend upon assistance from some one or the other has its genesis primarily in the failure (during the last 12 years) of our foreign policy in safeguarding the national interests and in lack of confidence in the country’s potentialsities. In principle, there is nothing wrong with our foreign policy but in practice we have failed to protect and promote our national interests. We will have to initiate suitable changes in the execution of our policy and will have to appoint such tactful spokesmen as could express and represent it correctly and with adroitness. Strength and vitality are necessary for any nation in all circumstances—not through dependence upon others but by gaining strength in every field of national life through national cohesion, self-respect and self-confidence.

[January 25, 1960; Nagpur, VIII AIS]

60.04. REPEL CHINESE AGGRESSION

Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses its deep concern and indignation at the continued occupation of Indian territory by China, government’s failure to secure vacation of the aggression and above all its inability to comprehend the real nature of the Chinese peril.

1953 Warning about Chinese Aggression—As early as in December 1953, the Jana Sangh had warned against the aggressive designs of Communist China. The government, however, not only continued to be complacent towards this threat but has been in fact by deeds of commission and omission progressively acquiescing in the series of aggressive acts committed by China. India assumed the role of a passive and disinterested spectator even as Chinese troops overran Tibet and annihilated its independent entity. In 1954 India accorded formal sanction to China’s suzerainty over Tibet and even renounced all its own rights in Tibet in China’s favour. Apart from being a sinful let-down of a peace-loving neighbour, with whom we had age-old religious and cultural ties, this voluntary compliance in the dissolution of a buffer State was nothing short of suicidal for India’s own interests. The Government’s masterly inactivity first in respect of China’s cartographic invasion of India’s frontiers and then even in regard to their actual vio-

lation is a sorry tale now very well-known to need any detailed recount. By calculatedly keeping the People and the Parliament entirely in the dark in respect of China’s misdeeds on the one hand and, on the other, allowing the people to be lulled into a false sense of security by chanting Panchasheela Mantram in chorus with China, Government has very aptly been guilty of such a lapse, which in any other democratic country may have entailed its resignation. In short, India’s China policy has been a complete and dismal failure.

No more Muniches—While Jana Sangh shares with Government its anxiety to settle international disputes by peaceful negotiations, it is of the definite view that where there has been wanton violation of a neighbour’s frontiers and forcible occupation of chunks of its territory, any endeavours to negotiate with the aggressor without first securing vacation of the aggression is tantamount to placing a premium on invasion. In fact, India’s dogged perseverance in trying to argue out the case with China through protracted correspondence has only whetted its expansionist appetite. Gradually improving upon its fantastic claims, China has in its latest communication made bold to dispute the entire northern border. With its armies staying put on Indian soil and its blatantly intransigent and unrelenting general attitude, it is indeed insulting on China’s part to suggest an unconditional meeting between the two Premiers. It is well that Shri Nehru summarily rejected Chou En-lai’s invitation for Rangoon. The last note deserves no different reply. India is certainly not going to permit the re-enactment of another Munich.

‘Dirty Treaties’—But the most disturbing aspect of Government’s failure on the China front is its persistent refusal to appreciate that Chinese penetrations into Indian territory are no aberrations born out of any misconstrual of maps, etc., or even out of spite because of our granting asylum to the Dalai Lama—in fact, China’s inroads commenced long before Dalai Lama’s arrival—but are only phases of a planned and deliberate scheme of expansionism in countries of South and South East Asia. China calculates to put through this scheme by a two-fold campaign—external attack on the one hand and a systematic building up of an internal fifth column on the other. In this context it would be prudent to take note of developments in Vietnam, Indonesia and Laos. China has use for negotiations and correspondence, pact and treaties, only in so far as they
serve to aid in the furtherance of this campaign, or else, as it has unabashedly stated in its last note, it would have no scruples in scrapping what it may deem as 'dirty treaties'. It is failure of the Government to realise the true character of the menace it is faced with that has at every step denuded our China policy of any realism, and has further made the Government blissfully unmindful of the internal Communist danger.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh fully appreciates that the challenge posed by Communist China will have to be met not only on the military level and not only by our valiant armed forces, but by every single citizen of this country, in whatsoever sphere of national activity he may be working. The present crisis demands that every Indian pledges to contribute his utmost for the task of nation-building and be prepared for the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the nation's defence.

Augment Defence Potential—This Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh reiterates its demand that immediate steps should be taken to eject the Chinese aggressor from Indian soil and that reciprocal restrictions be placed on Chinese Diplomats and Trade Agencies in India, and further urges upon the Government:

(i) that in view of China's violation of its solemn pledges, Agreements and assurances in respect of Tibet's autonomy, the Government of India revoke its recognition of China's suzerainty over Tibet, and affirm its support to the cause of Tibet's independence;
(ii) that in the light of China's hostilities against India, the Government announce its withdrawal of support to China's case for admission at the UNO;
(iii) that a strict watch be maintained on the activities of pro-Chinese elements in India and their potentiality for anti-national mischief be effectively checkmated; and
(iv) above all to appreciate that an essential guarantee for the maintenance of peace in Asia being a balance of a military power between India and China, early and effective steps should be taken to augment India's defence potential.

[January 25, 1960; Nagpur, VIII AIS]

60.06. SETTLEMENTS WITH PAKISTAN

Policy of Hush-hush—For some time past there have been attempts to improve Indo-Pak relations in various respects, e.g. financial, Punjab Canal Waters, boundary disputes, trade arrangements etc. This all is good and Bharatiya Jana Sangh welcomes such attempts. But it is to be regretted that in most of these settlements, the actual terms are not made public and when the terms do leak out, they are invariably found to be injurious to India's interests. This policy of hush-hush cannot be too strongly condemned. To give an instance, in the Nehru-Noon Agreement of September 1958, just after six months' continuous Pakistani firing on the Assam borders and the occupation of Tukergram in Assam by Pakistani forces—the gist of the terms became known to the Indian public from the statement of the Pakistani Premier, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, and it was learnt with dismay that no steps whatsoever had been taken for the recovery of Tukergram. Furthermore areas in West Bengal, like Berubari, some strips on the River Ganga in Murshidabad distric and on the Ichhamati river in the 24-Parganas district, were proposed to be gifted over to Pakistan. In the recent Minister's Conference on the Eastern border disputes, Tukergram (never a part of Pakistan but an Indian village forcibly seized by Pakistan in 1958) was indeed received back, but 17 sq. miles of the valuable Patharia reserve forest area in Assam (including 5 inhabited villages in the Patharkundi Thana) which had been parts of India under the Rad-cliffe Award ever since the partition were proposed to be ceded to Pakistan. In the Conference on the Western border disputes, areas near the Sulemanki canal head-works and 3 other villages were similarly proposed to be handed over to Pakistan.

Gift of Indian Territories—In most of these settlements, it has been not a case of 'give and take' it has rather been a case of India giving and Pakistan taking territory or concessions. Thus on the principle of 'surrender', temporary improvement of relations can always be purchased. But such settlements are against national interests and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh accordingly condemns them.

Besides, another very disgraceful thing is happening inside Pakistan itself. Increasingly repressive policy is being pursued by her towards the Hindus there. Throwing to the winds even the provisions of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of 1950, the right of disposal of properties, remittance of money, facility of movement to the Indian Union are being gradually restricted and practically denied to the Hindus in East Bengal. In fact, the position of Hindus there has become well-nigh intolerable.
Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that effective steps be taken by the Government of India to ensure honourable treatment to the Hindus in Pakistan which was an essential basis of the partition itself.

[January 25, 1960; Nagpur, VIII AIS]

60.10. NEHRU-CHOU TALKS

Jana Sangh considers that the Prime Minister’s invitation to Shri Chou En-lai to visit Delhi is against the honour and sovereignty of the nation as it has been given while Chinese aggression on Indian territory still continues and while there are no signs of any change in the Chinese attitude in this connection. It is a matter of regret that the Prime Minister has not been able to understand and represent the peoples feelings on such an important matter as foreign aggression. Now that the Chinese Prime Minister has accepted the invitation to visit Delhi, a meeting of the two Prime Ministers is definite. In the opinion of Jana Sangh the only topic of discussion in such a meeting could be ‘When will the Chinese forces vacate Indian territory?’ To talk about anything else would be to accept the aggression by bringing the aggressor and the aggrieved on the same level.

Accepting Chinese sovereignty on Tibet, the surrender of all our rights in this case to China, long-term connivance about the Chinese aggression, hiding this fact from the People and Parliament and an invitation to the Chinese Prime Minister for talks without any pre-conditions all these facts create apprehension that in his eager bid for peace and friendship with China, the Prime Minister may enter into a compromise which would require a change in the traditional borders of India and the surrender of some Indian territories to China. Jana Sangh is firmly of the opinion that any such compromise would not only fail to safeguard our frontiers but prove more dangerous as it would become a lever in the hands of the aggressor. India’s inability to protect its frontiers with honour would not only prove disgraceful in the eyes of the whole world but would have a particularly bad effect on those small countries of South and South-East Asia which are trying to achieve economic independence through democratic means and which want to remain away from international power-blocs in spite of all difficulties.

‘Act with Firmness’ Week—Jana Sangh assures the Prime Minister that the entire country will be with him in the most difficult steps that would be required for talking China from a position of strength and for ending her aggression. At the same time it wants his assurance that our claim to any territory of India would not be surrendered in the name of a peaceful compromise. To organise public opinion from this point of view, Jana Sangh directs all its branches to observe the period from April 10 to April 17 as ‘Act with Firmness’ week.

Jana Sangh hopes that on the occasion of the Chinese Prime Minister’s arrival no attempt will be made to still further injure public feelings by arranging public receptions. A public welcome to the Chinese Prime Minister while Chinese aggression continues would be a national insult and so Jana Sangh would be compelled to appeal to the people to boycott all such ceremonies.

[March 20, 1960; Delhi, CWC]

60.13. SUMMIT CONFERENCE FAILURE

The failure of the Summit Conference and the way it failed has come as a disappointment and disillusionment to the peace loving people all over the world. The atmosphere of distrust created by U-2 spy flight had rather enhanced the necessity of face to face talks between the Heads of the major Powers. But the clumsy and unjustifiable handling of the episode by the USA should not have been used for torpedoing the conference. In view of this behaviour of these two key powers not much store can be laid by their much trumpeted professions about peace. The fact is that both USSR and USA are running a race of armament. Consequently, growth in tension and genuine fears about peace in the world have increased.

In the circumstances a general disarmament has become imperative if the world is to be saved from an unprecedented catastrophe. Such disarmament should also cover countries like China whose militarisation is posing a new and graver threat to the peace of Russia and the World.

[June 1, 1960; Delhi, CWC]

60.14. INDO-CHINESE OFFICIALS’ MEET

The expected failure of Nehru-Chou talks and the subsequent utterances of Shri Chau En-lai at Kathmandu and Calcutta and the hostile campaign that has since been stepped
up by the controlled press and news agencies of China have only confirmed the fears expressed by Jana Sangh about that meeting. While standing firm in respect of the question of Chinese claim on the Indian territory occupied by her in Ladakh, Shri Nehru virtually allowed her to stay put there and consolidate her position. The decision to get the question and evidence investigated by teams of officials after the Heads of the Governments have failed to find any meeting ground is not going to be of any use to India. It has given false impression that there is something to negotiate about, where there is nothing to negotiate. It may be in the interests of China which wants to gain time and create impression that it is a minor question of adjustment here and there, but not in the interests of India which holds that it is a clear case of aggression. What is worse, there is every possibility of China trying to twist the facts and evidence to suit her own stand and bog up the whole issue in fruitless arguments and counter arguments.

**Guarantee against further Chinese Aggression**—It is, therefore, the considered view of the Central Working Committee that no useful purpose would be served by sending the team of officials to China. The Working Committee reiterates its demand that effective steps should be taken to get the Chinese aggression vacated at an early date. At the same time preparations for militarising the nation and improving the defence potential of the country be stepped up to establish balance of power with China which is the only guarantee against her further aggression.

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*June 1, 1960: Delhi, CWC*

**60.20. CHINESE PREPARATIONS FOR MORE THRUST SOUTHWARDS**

**Policy of Hush-hush**—The Central Working Committee expresses its deep concern over the continued cartographic and military aggression by Communist China against India, even after the Nehru-Chou talks and while the talks on official level are still going on between the two countries. Similar aggressive activities of China have continued against Nepal as well, in spite of the Sino-Nepalese Treaty. All this has only confirmed the fears expressed by Jana Sangh that Chinese assurances and pledges, verbal or written, cannot be relied on and that she has been carrying on prolonged talks only to gain time to further consolidate her political and military position in Tibet in preparation for a more effective thrust southwards. The extension of the scope of the official talks to cover the entire Northern border as announced by the Prime Minister is even more disturbing. It has confirmed the worst fears of the Jana Sangh in the matter.

Along with these military preparations and military incursions by Communist China, an equally dangerous political offensive against India has been launched by her Indian agent, the Communist Party of India, in the border areas adjoining Tibet. The Communists are systematically creating pro-China and anti-India atmosphere in the border areas.

The Government of India, in spite of repeated warnings and demands has failed to meet this military and political offensive from outside and inside. Instead of taking concrete and effective steps to fortify and defend about a score of Himalayan passes through which Chinese incursions have taken place, it has been trying to demoralize and lull the people of India by harping upon inadequacy of the Indian armed forces to meet the situation and deliberately concealing the facts of aggression. The way the country was kept in dark till August, about the Chinese incursions into NEFA that took place on the 3rd of June is the latest example of this policy of hush-hush.

The Working Committee reiterates its demand that Government must take immediate and effective steps to throw out the Chinese aggressors from the Indian territory occupied by them and take the following steps to strengthen national defence and prevent any further incursions by the Chinese:

1. **Military potential of the country should be specially augmented and the Himalayan passes through which Chinese incursions have been taking place should be effectively fortified. Steps should also be taken to create a net-work of advance bases in the Himalayas and link them with the plains by roads and other media of communication.**

2. **Steps should be taken to give military training to all youths and revitalize the fervour of Indian patriotism and nationalism.**

3. **The Communist activities in the border areas be strictly and effectively checked, and at the same time steps should be taken for rapid economic development and cultural renaissance of the people living in the border areas to make them immune from the Communist influence and develop in them a feeling of emotional kinship with their brethren in rest of India.**
(4) In view of the continued Chinese incursions and their attempt to extend the scope of talks to cover the entire border which goes against the repeated declarations of the Government of India, the talks now being held on official level can serve no useful purpose and should, therefore, be discontinued. They are being exploited to divert the public attention from the real issue of Chinese aggression.

[August 28, 1960; Hyderabad, AIGC]

61.02. FAILURE OF INDO-CHINA TALKS

Whatever has come to light regarding the statements made by the authorities of India and China regarding Chinese aggression on Indian borders has proved the apprehensions of the Jana Sangh. It is clear that the talks have failed and the Chinese authorities have once again repeated their claims without submitting any records or facts or witnesses. They have added a separate note to the statement in the form of an index. Of course as the Prime Minister has pointed out two, statements have been made instead of one. The worst thing is that during this period of 8 months, China has consolidated its position by building roads in the territory occupied by it. Even when the talks were going on aerial intrusions by China were continuing.

It is a matter of regret that in spite of the failure of talks because of China's pig-headedness and aggression, the Government of India has continued its weak-kneed policy. It is most unfortunate that in the United Nations the Prime Minister should refer to Chinese aggression simply as a dispute and should hesitate even at this stage to publish the report submitted by officials.

The Jana Sangh is of the opinion that if China has failed to prove its claim in spite of all the time at its disposal to do so, it would be completely in accordance with justice for India to take all possible steps for the liberation of Indian territory from Chinese occupation. Hence the Jana Sangh repeats the demand that the Government of India should take effective steps to fulfill its responsibility in protecting the borders of India and driving the Chinese aggressor out of the country.

[January 1, 1961; Lucknow, IX AIS]

61.03. RECOGNITION OF INDO-PAK INTERDEPENDENCE

Pak Attitude—The attitude of Pakistan towards India has from the very beginning been influenced by the reasons behind its creation, the situation in which it came into being and the purpose that its creators had in mind. The main principles on which this policy or attitude is based are as follows:

(1) Adoption of a foreign policy against India, even against its own interests, simply to reject the interdependence of India and Pakistan in every field.

(2) To keep demonstrating both in its external and internal policies that it can force India to give it more and more facilities regarding funds and land as well as in other respects, in order to attract the loyalty of the Indian Muslims to Pakistan. The purpose of this is to establish in the Muslim mind an ambition of Muslim Rule. The continuous driving out of Hindus from Pakistan is a part of this policy.

(3) To rouse anti-Indian feelings all over the world, particularly in countries of West Asia by fair means or foul.

As against this, the policy of India is generally based upon desire for friendship and goodwill for Pakistan and is motivated by a rejection of the 'Two-nation theory', which is the origin of Pakistan.

This hostility has been continuously manifested in Indo-Pak relations during the last 13 years. While on the one hand the Government of India is giving Pakistan facility after facility, against Indian interests, on the other hand Pakistan has not left its policy of enmity towards India and propaganda against it. The facilities given to it by India have fostered Pakistan's aggressive tendency, land-grabbing attitude and the desire to play greater and greater mischief.

Canal Waters and Rail Link—The Punjab Canal Waters agreement relating to the railway link between East Bengal and West Pakistan, details of which are not yet known, is the latest example of Indo-Pak relations. India was in a strong position regarding the canal waters matter. Law as well as the flow of rivers had given the right to India to utilise waters of the rivers of Punjab. But by the Canal waters Agreement India has not only given up its own right but has promised Rs 83 crores to Pakistan to build an alternative dam and also agreed to give a part of its own waters for the next 13 years without caring for its own people in Punjab and Rajasthan. The Agreement regarding a direct rail-link would increase the capacity of Pakistan to send spies and arms into India, as also to mislead Indian Muslims, among whom a section has already started
pro-Pakistan activities.

What India has received in return for all these facilities to Pakistan is that Pakistan has threatened military action in Kashmir; it has supported Portugal in the United Nations on the problem of Goa and has launched intense propaganda against India all over the world.

**Firm and Realistic Policy Based on Equal Cooperation**—
From the situation as it is and from the experience of the past 13 years it can be said that India's policy towards Pakistan has been wrong. India could not secure the friendship and goodwill of Pakistan by sacrificing its own national interests and giving Pakistan so many concessions. Rather, the result has just been opposite. It would be wrong to feel that an atmosphere for the solution of Indo-Pak disputes, which is so important for us, can be created by solving them one by one in favour of Pakistan. As can be seen from the Canal waters Agreement this policy would have an opposite result. Equal and matching cooperation can be the only basis for a real solution of all these problems.

Indo-Pak friendship can be created and can endure only when mutual relations are established after recognising the interdependence of both the States and on the geographical, cultural and historical unity of India and Pakistan. Only a firm and realistic policy based upon equal cooperation on the part of India can bring home the realisation of this necessity to Pakistani leaders.

[January 1, 1961; Lucknow, IX AIS]

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61.09. **MORE MEANINGFUL UNO**

After the failure of the Summit Conference in Paris the international situation has deteriorated still further. Instead of solving different international problems on the basis of the principles contained in the United Nations Charter and through mutual consultations, the tendency to fan the cold war and to take the world to the brink of actual war on the pretext of these problems is on the increase. The USA and the USSR, who hold the keys to war and peace, have failed to realise their great responsibilities. With the rise of Communist China on the international scene, which believes in the inevitability of war and acts accordingly, new tensions have been created in this comparatively peaceful region of the world, which can any day assume a grave form.

Actually it is a matter of great surprise and grave concern that both the power-blocs of the world have been engaged in a dangerous armament race although they know fully well that an atomic war would mean the destruction of mankind and are not prepared to shed ambitions of power which are the mainsprings of war. In Africa the new wave of independence has forced Western imperialism to retreat, but countries like Portugal, France and Spain still refuse to recognise the signs of the time. On the other hand, a new dangerous imperialism is spreading in the form of International Communism, the latest victim of which is India's peaceful neighbour Tibet.

**Exploitation of UNO**—The United Nations has contributed in somehow maintaining world peace, but its limitations are inherent in its structure and to a certain extent reflect the present imbalance in the world. Recent events in Congo make it clear that if the United Nations Organisation is to be made an effective instrument of solving world problems, its power, prestige and influence must increase. The present efforts by big powers to exploit the UNO as a means to fulfil their own ends would demolish its very basis.

In order to lessen the present international tensions and to lay the foundation of lasting world peace it is necessary to take the following steps:

1. Big powers should stop interfering in dangerous areas like Congo and Laos and solutions to these problems should be sought either by mutual consultations or in the UNO.

2. Colonialism, wherever and in whatever form it may be, should be ended and the people living in colonies should be given the freedom to have the government of their choice.

3. A disarmament plan should be prepared in which there should be provision for effective control and inspection to prevent sudden aggression. The disarmament talks in Geneva between the USA and the USSR, which broke down because of mutual non-cooperation should be started again and if necessary other nations should also be included in them.

4. Developed nations should make efforts through the UNO for the economic development of backward countries, particularly the newly independent countries of Africa, so that the task of reconstruction could be completed without political pressures or external interference.

The increasing number of small nations (who have deep interest in world peace) in the UNO and their increasing
influence in that body, the coming into power of the Democratic Party in the USA, and the rising voice of people advocating for justice freedom and peace all over the world—all these factors lead one to hope of an improvement in the international situation. The moral stature of the world’s politicians is today on test. The future of mankind depends upon its success.

[January 1, 1964; Lucknow, IX AIS]

62.03. CHINA’S GROWING BELLIGERENCE

The recent exchanges between India and China in respect of the border involvement bring into bold relief two disquieting facts about the situation—firstly that China’s non-chalant forays into Indian territory continue unabated, and secondly that India’s policy in that regard continues to be as supine and ineffective as ever.

China’s inroads into Indian soil lately have been accompanied by a campaign of trumped-up accusations against India. In furtherance of this campaign the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi has been flagrantly violating diplomatic privileges and immunities. The publication of anti-India material in recent issues of ‘China Today’ is only a glaring instance of such activity. It is extremely disconcerting that the Government of India should mutely suffer such anti-India activity to continue on our soil.

The Prime Minister’s categorical retort to China’s threat asking us to vacate two of our check-posts is welcome but China’s growing belligerence needs to be countered by steps more effective than mere bold declarations or strong protest notes. The All India General Council thinks it imperative that our border defences must be expeditiously built up and a vigorous China policy aimed at securing early liberation of areas under Chinese occupation must be pursued.

Sever Diplomatic Relations with China—Furthermore, it must be appreciated that with its activities circumscribed as they are, our Embassy at Peking is not only serving no useful purpose but that its continuance there has opened our diplomatic and trade personnel to recurring indignities at the hands of a hostile regime. The General Council is of the opinion that because of these circumstances and also with a view to giving sharp expression to India’s indignation at China’s continued aggressiveness, the Government of India should sever its diplomatic relations with Communist China.

[May 24, 1962; Kota, AIGC]

62.04. EAST BENGALI MINORITIES

The widespread atrocities against Hindus that have occurred recently in East Bengal have made it clear that under the Islamic rule of Pakistan, there is no place for those who subscribe to any non-Islamic faith. These riots are not just sporadic events but are the result of a deep-laid conspiracy to which highest officials in Pakistan have been a party. The Pakistan’s Deputy High Commissioner’s trips to Malda, his calculated attempt to whip up frenzy among Muslims by false and exaggerated reports about Malda and Murshidabad (in this latter place no disturbance whatsoever occurred) published in the Pakistani Press, vitriolic outpourings against Hindus by the Pakistan President General Ayub and the East Bengal Governor and the spate of murder, arson and plundering let loose against the Hindus in East Bengal—all these are simply links of this conspiracy.

East Bengali Discontent against Pak Domination—The objective of these disturbances has been two-fold—firstly to divert the discontent of the people of East Bengal against its domination by West Pakistan and secondly to pressurise and bully India in respect of Kashmir. It is evident that the Hindus in Pakistan have become veritable hostages in the hands of the Government there. The Government of India and the Indian people are pledged to ensuring the security and honour of Hindus in Pakistan and so cannot remain indifferent to the situation. Pakistan was accepted on the specific condition that Hindus in Pakistan would be treated without discrimination and that they would be guaranteed a peaceful and honourable existence. The Nehru-Liaquat Pact reaffirmed this condition. But Pakistan has not only reduced Hindus to the level of second-class citizens but has been systematically trying to liquidate them, with the result that during the last 14 years, over 60 lac Hindus have had to flee Pakistan and come over to India. This shows that Pakistan is not prepared to honour its commitment.

Territory from Pakistan—Under these matter-of-fact circumstances the only course left open to India is that it prepare to rehabilitate the Hindus who still remain in Pakistan, and for this purpose demand from Pakistan necessary territory and full compensation of their properties left behind.

[May 24, 1962; Kota, AIGC]
62.05. INDO-NEPALESE RELATIONS

The Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal has been closely linked with India culturally, economically and socially all through the ages and close cooperation and collaboration between India and Nepal have always been a geo-political imperative for both the countries. But for some time past there have been appearing fissures in this age-long relationship of our two countries which are being exploited by China and her Communist agents in and outside Nepal, to drive a wedge between India and Nepal and to draw Nepal into China’s orbit. The fact that during the last 200 years China thrice invaded Nepal to make her a part of the Chinese Empire makes the recent Chinese moves in Nepal and the response she has got from some circles there, all the more ominous for the future and security of both Nepal and India. There is no desire on the part of India to interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal. Nevertheless, there have been charges that the Nepali Congress is using Indian soil as a base for an agitation and violent activities against the Nepal Government. These allegations have been repeatedly refuted by the Government of India. But again this has been further aggravating the situation and creating distrust between the two governments.

The Central Working Committee feels deeply concerned over this development in Indo-Nepal relations which goes counter to the geo-political compulsions and the general desire of the people of both countries whose cultural oneness transcends changing political patterns and relations. The Working Committee therefore appeals to the governments of India and Nepal to accept a more accommodating attitude towards each other and take all possible steps to strengthen the common cultural and economic ties in wider interests of security and development of both the countries.

[May 24, 1962; Kota, AIGC]

62.10. CHINESE AGGRESSION ON THE MARCH

The Chinese aggression is on the march. So far it was concentrated in Ladakh but now it has moved eastwards and Chinese soldiers have entered NEFA which was considered to be strongly defended. The nation is deeply concerned.

Hordes of Potential Invaders—In order to ensure our future, the following are the steps that the Government should immediately take in right earnestness and full vigour.

(1) The Chinese in NEFA be routed and a constant vigil be maintained so that no further penetration takes place.

(2) Checkposts in the middle sector of the Indo-Tibetan boundary be strongly manned so that Chinese do not make inroads into this sector. Full attention must be devoted to safeguarding Bhutan and Sikkim.

(3) It is a matter of regret that even after a period of several years of continuing Chinese aggression in Ladakh the Government has not yet established a continuous chain of checkposts, patrols, and garrison posts. It is high time that the Government did so now, and thereby seal the remaining area of Ladakh.

For effective defence and total vacation of aggression, India must gear up all such defence preparations that be adequate to meet the Chinese threat from the other side of borders.

(4) Our border areas for at least up to a depth of 100 miles must be cleared of Communists and fifth columnists whose pro-Chinese propagandist activities are known.

(5) Our ordinance factories must also be cleared of all Communists and other elements which are sympathetic to the aggressor.

(6) Our defence industries must be activated to undertake manufacture of Bombers and transport planes, tanks, heavy artillery, and conventional arms and ammunitions.

(7) Lastly, the Nation and particularly its youth, be psychologically and otherwise prepared to meet the exigencies of War against the brute and ruthless hordes of potential invaders.

[September 29, 1962; Rajahmundry, CWC]

62.14. MASSIVE CHINESE INVASION

Bharatiya Jana Sangh views with great concern the situation that has been created by the massive Chinese invasion in Ladakh and NEFA. The initial reverses that have been inflicted upon us are due primarily to our being unprepared as regards our strength in number and the quality and the quantity of equipment. This again has been due to the Government’s wrong appraisal of China’s intentions, preparations and former intrusions into Indian territory. The Government had eschewed military thinking and thereby military preparations. It had relied solely on peaceful intentions and activities which in the initial stages inhibited the establishing of a network of military
checkpoints in forward areas as well as military mobilisation of the nation's total resources.

Now that thinking for military has started and the people have been aroused, it is for the Government to act urgently and vigorously in order to make up for the woeful unpreparedness in the past to ensure security against aggression. The immediate steps that the Jana Sangh recommends are:

(1) **Numbers in Armed Strength**
   (a) Field-worthy retired servicemen be called so as to meet the Chinese tactics of attacks in continuing waves.
   (b) Our armies from abroad may be recalled.
   (c) Conscription be enforced in border areas, capital cities and industrial centres, so as to make for the inferiority of numbers in our armed strength.

(2) **Military Equipment**—With regard to the procurement of arms from friendly countries, Jana Sangh strongly recommends that:
   (a) Not only small arms, but medium and heavy arms and ammunition be obtained in sufficiently heavy quantities to serve the immediate and prospective requirements of the present and the expanding Indian armies.
   (b) Deficiency in India’s air and sea forces as compared to China and Pakistan must be attended to now so that we are not taken by surprise for a joint attack.
   (c) Payment for the above should not be made pre-condition to our acceptance of military arms and equipment.

(3) **Diplomatic Level**—On the diplomatic level Jana Sangh urges the Government:
   (a) Diplomatic relations with China be severed and their Consulates in India be closed in order to stop their espionage and subversive activities.
   (b) Misunderstanding with Nepal be removed.
   (c) South East Asian countries which are threatened by China, should be conferred with constantly.

(4) **Help for Tibetan Freedom-Fighters**—To ensure permanent safety of our Northern borders, Jana Sangh is of the definite view that the Indian Government must recognise the sovereignty of Tibet and the Dalai Lama’s emigre government. This will put new heart into the Tibetan freedom-fighters and give us the freedom to help them attack and destroy the Chinese bases and their supply lines in Tibet. Together with Tibetans we would be able to march beyond the Himalayas and drive the Chinese out of Tibet.

(5) **No Talks with Invaders**—We warn the Government that engaging in any talks of mediation or negotiations would result in a whittling down of our determination to prepare fully to meet the Chinese invasion. Our total attention must be devoted to the throwing back of the Chinese invaders.

(6) **Beware of Communists**—Jana Sangh proposes that in order to free the country from internal subversion:
   (a) The Communists be not associated with Defence Councils and other war efforts in any capacity or at any level.
   (b) Border areas, defence industries, and communication and other essential services in other vital areas be cleared of Communists and their fellow travellers.
   (c) The Government should have the courage to ban the Communist Party of India at least for the duration of the communist hostilities.

(7) **All Parties’ Cooperation**—In order to create renewed public confidence and to secure the cooperation of all National parties, Jana Sangh recommends that the representatives of such parties be associated with the Cabinet’s Emergency Committee.

(8) **Defence Production**—We appreciate the Prime Minister himself taking over the Defence portfolio but we deplore the assigning of Defence Production to Shri V. K. Krishna Menon for it is in this area of production that our lapses have been most marked and disastrous. Jana Sangh urges upon the Prime Minister that Shri Krishna Menon be not associated with the country’s defence in any capacity.

(9) **Fifth Columnists**—Jana Sangh recommends a strict watch over the fifth columnists working either for Peking or Pindi and to strengthen the border guards on the unprotected Indo-Pak borders.

(10) **Reorientate Third Plan**—Jana Sangh urges upon the Government to reorientate the Third Five-Year Plan in the direction of defence production and to cut out all items from the economic apparatus of the nation that are not relevant to the strengthening of the nation’s efforts in throwing back the Chinese invaders. The Government should give lead to the country in the matter of austerity measures, stoppage of expensive and pompous functions and wastages in administration and public undertakings.

Jana Sangh records its admiration for the valiant resistance
put up by our jawans and the magnificent posture that the nation has displayed in this grave hour of unprecedented national crisis. The adamantine determination of the people to resist the Chinese onslaught which seeks not only to destroy our freedom but also to demolish all the values and traditions that we cherish and adhere to, is our greatest asset in this hour of trial and peril. Jana Sangh calls upon the people to contribute their full mite to the war efforts in its various aspects.

[October 31, 1962; Delhi, CWC]

62.18. INDO-PAK TALKS

Even after the partition, India and Pakistan are so related to each other that if any one of them is imperilled, the other cannot be safe. It is a matter of regret, however, that Pakistan has not only failed to appreciate the danger posed by Communist China, but has even been trying to take a mean advantage of India’s difficulties, so much so that it has been threatening to strike an alliance with China against India. This perverse attitude of Pakistan should be an eye-opener for the Western powers who had armed it with the objective of containing Communist expansionism.

In this situation when there is no realisation by Pakistan of the common threat posed by China, the usefulness and possibility of success of Indo-Pak talks to resolve problems between the two countries become doubtful.

Insistence for Package-deal—The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the view that if India and Pakistan enter into a non-aggression pact and resolve to stand up against China, it would be conducive to the creation of a climate of mutual cooperation, confidence and goodwill. Such an atmosphere would be more advantageous for the solution of outstanding issues than what obtains today. Till then all problems may be frozen. But now that talks between the two Governments have been going on, without Pakistan having given any evidence of friendship or goodwill, Jana Sangh considers it its duty to warn the Government not to appease Pakistan or strive to secure its friendship by sacrificing India’s interests. The history of Indo-Pak relations makes the public mind apprehensive in this regard. The Government must also be careful not to fall into Pakistan’s trap by agreeing to discuss it only such issues which Pakistan deems are in its own interests. When there are to be negotiations on Indo-Pak problems, let us insist that there is a pack-

age deal. There are serious problems like the questions of pre-partition debt, evacuee property, waters of East Bengal rivers, large-scale infiltration of Pakistanis into Assam, Tripura and West Bengal, control of Gurudwaras and other Hindu places of worship in Pakistan etc., which Pakistan has stubbornly been evading all these days.

So far as Kashmir is concerned, Pakistan continues to stay put as an aggressor in one-third of it. The only aspect of the Kashmir problem we may discuss with Pakistan is as to when and how it is going to vacate its aggression. Talks on any other aspect are likely to have far-reaching ill-effects on our internal politics.

[December 30, 1962; Bhopal, X AIS]

62.21. REVISE AND REORIENTATE FOREIGN POLICY

Lack of Substratum of Realism—The failure of the Government of India’s China Policy is a pointed manifestation of the fact that in the realm of international affairs, our policies have lacked a substratum of realism and have ignored the need to safeguard the enlightened self-interests of the nation. Despite our advocacy of non-alignment, in practice, our policies have tended to lean towards the Soviet bloc. Besides, we have been indifferent to the imperative concomitant of this policy of non-alignment, namely, the building up of adequate military strength. A re-evaluation and reorientation of our foreign policy with a view to ensure effectively the country’s security has therefore become essential.

Our policy of not aligning ourselves with either of the power-blocs has in no way impeded procurement of military assistance from friendly countries nor does it prevent us from endeavouring to build up an association of peace-loving countries in order to contain Chinese expansionism.

It is necessary for India to strengthen its relations with the countries who have helped us against Communist China and at the same time to strive to secure the support of other countries too. It should be our endeavour also to see that nations which for any reason are not prepared to support us do not line up with China either. Let us refuse to recognise China’s authority over countries it has forcibly enchain and extend all support we can, to help them regain their independence. Dalai Lama should be recognized as Head of Tibet’s exiled government.
The Jana Sangh welcomes improvement in Indo-Nepalese relations that has lately been evident. To enhance this cordial turn we ought to make a conscious attempt to eliminate any misunderstandings that may still be subsisting between the two.

Failure of Diplomatic-cum-Publicity Offensive---It is a matter of regret that our External Affairs Ministry and our Embassies abroad, charged with the task of right presentation and implementation of our foreign policy, have singularly failed in this duty. Our diplomatic apparatus abroad has been unable to effectively counter the diplomatic-cum-publicity offensive launched against us by China and Pakistan to confuse and mislead world opinion and particularly the opinion in Afro-Asian countries. Jana Sangh, therefore, urges that our diplomatic set-up be adequately geared up and toned up to defeat China and Pakistan on these fronts too.

[December 30, 1962; Bhopal, X AIS]

63.01. COLOMBO PROPOSALS

Repugnant to India’s Sovereignty—The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh considered the proposals of the Colombo Conference with regard to the withdrawal of the Chinese forces and the subsequent administration of the vacated areas. It regretted that the Colombo Conference has totally bypassed the aggression issue and has tried to establish parity between the aggressor and the aggressed. The proposals conspicuously betray lack of moral courage expected from the participants of the Bandung Conference.

These proposals, if accepted, would leave a large part of Indian territory in China’s hands thereby allowing the Chinese to enjoy the fruits of aggression—recent as well as earlier. India’s concurrence with them would be suicidal, because it would mean conceding to China the right of uninhibited military build up in over 12,000 sq. miles area in the Indian territory which it occupied before 8th September 1962 and the right of setting up civil posts in the areas seized subsequently. On the other hand, the proposals seek to abridge India’s right to set up military posts on its own soil. This is totally repugnant to India’s sovereignty.

Vacation of Aggression First—It is our considered opinion that before we confer with the Chinese, there should be a total vacation of aggression. This has also been declared by our Parliament in its last session. The Colombo proposals do not come up even to the minimum demand of the Government of India that before we enter into any talks for easing of tensions, the 7th September position according to which the Indian army would reoccupy the areas vacated by the Chinese, should be restored.

Demilitarisation of Tibet—Further, the Colombo Conference has been silent about the heavy build-up of Chinese military strength in the occupied areas of Ladakh and all along the border in the Central and Eastern sectors. The build-up is increasing day by day. Local tribes and Tibetans are being conscripted. This mounting of a colossal threat cannot be allowed to go on unattended. To relieve tension it is of paramount importance to demilitarise the whole of Tibet.

The Working Committee regrets that even before the Parliament has met and considered the proposals, a campaign has been launched by some official agencies in favour of these proposals.

Parliament’s Pledge to Meet the Aggression—In the name of the solemn pledge which the Parliament gave to the nation in November last, Bharatiya Jana Sangh calls upon the Parliament Members to see that there is no compromise on the basic issue of aggression. As custodians of India’s sovereignty and honour, let them reject these proposals which not only disregard China’s latest aggression but would actually stabilise and virtually legalise its illegal occupation.

[January 20, 1963; Delhi, CWC]

63.02. EFFECTIVE AND MASSIVE DETERRENCE

While Jana Sangh appreciates the efforts that the Government of India has made during the past 5 months to enhance the defensive capability of the nation, it cannot but feel dismayed about the low tempo and the meagre achievements made so far. Emergent recruiting of a multi-million army, their emergent training, emergent production of small arms, emergent build-up of air and naval forces with the help of friendly countries are called for by the continuing Chinese threat on our borders. Our watch-word must be effective and massive deterrence.

We must not delude ourselves by under-estimating the atomic efforts of the Chinese. Vigilance consists in mustering counter measures.

Chinese Acquisition of Indian Territory from Pak-occupied Kashmir—We have not reacted properly to the Chinese acquir-
ing another 13,000 square miles of our strategic border from Pakistan. The Government of India would be doing its duty only when it makes a clear declaration that along with Ladakh and NEFA Indian armies have now to prepare to get vacated this another 13,000 square miles of Indian territory as well.

We stand for conscription and again recommend it to the people and the Government.

Multi-polar World—As regards non-alignment, we are sure at least of one thing, that the world is no longer bi-polarised. Its character has now changed to a multi-polarised one, in which Delhi and Peking themselves have been turned into two live poles. Peking has shown its capacity for independent action.

Forging of a new alignment aimed at containing and rolling back Peking's threat has become imperative. Acquiring friends is a sine qua non of our existence. We have also to take care that our Asian neighbours do not continue to incline over into the Chinese fold. We must take care that those who are threatened by China do not remain neutral to us but become our active associates.

Our borders are well defined by traditions, treaties and usage and our sovereignty thereon cannot be made subject to arbitration. Frontiers are to be defended and not debated. [April 6, 1963; Delhi, CWC]

63.05. VOLCANIC ERUPTIONS IN BALI

Jana Sangh expresses its profound sympathy for the people of Bali who have suffered enormously by the recent volcanic eruptions of February 19 and March 17. We pray to the Almighty who presides over the destinies of men to bring solace and comfort into the life of the sufferers. [April 6, 1963; Delhi, CWC]

63.11. REPEL CHINESE AGGRESSION

It is now 9 months that China launched a massive aggression on India, but no effective measures have yet been taken to avenge the humiliating defeat inflicted on us in battle, and to retrieve India's lost prestige. Chinese forces continue to stay-put on Indian soil and have been further fortifying their positions in these areas. There have been repeated instances of Chinese air-craft violating Indian air-space and penetrating as deep as 60 miles into Indian territory but our air-force has failed to checkmate these inroads or to shoot down these enemy planes. The Government's decision not to send troops into areas of NEFA vacated by the Chinese, confirms suspicions that the task of building up India militarily is not being pursued with the necessary speed and determination.

Upsurge of Patriotism and Unity—It is a matter of extreme regret that the powerful upsurge of patriotism and unity in the country aroused by the impact of Chinese aggression has not been maintained. The responsibility of this rests squarely on the Government which has failed to eschew partisan thinking and rise equal to the challenge. Instead of availing of the emergency to strengthen the national will to resist the aggression, the ruling party has been using emergency powers to consolidate its own position. Contradictory statements made off and on by official spokesmen have added to the confusion and the country is gradually relapsing into the pre-aggression state of complacency and inertia.

The Central Working Committee demands that all talks of resolving the Sino-Indian involvement by peaceful means must cease. Such talks not only undermine the solemn pledge taken by the Parliament to wage a ceaseless struggle until every inch of Indian territory under Chinese occupation is liberated but also prevents a clear delineation of the direction and pace with which military, diplomatic, economic and political measures need to be pursued for the fulfilment of this pledge. To talk about mediation or reference of the issue to the International Court (even while the aggression continues) is contrary to Government's commitments and declarations made hitherto and only encourages the aggressor. The Working Committee demands that the Government must withdraw its proposal for mediation already rejected by China and concentrate the nation's entire energy and attention to evolving an effective plan for action to redeem the lost territory. [June 13, 1963; Allahabad, CWC]

63.13. NO TALKS ABOUT KASHMIR

Pak Hohenhobbing with China—Jammu-Kashmir State is an integral part of the Indian Union both in fact and in law by virtue of the instrument of accession executed by the Ruler of the State in 1947. The failure of the Government of India to follow it up by integrating the State with the rest of India like other acceding States has been a major cause of the prevailing
uncertainty in the minds of the people of Kashmir about their future. This situation has since been further aggravated by the infructuous Indo-Pak talks held in the wake of Chinese invasion. The attitude adopted by Pakistan during the talks and its growing alignment with Communist China has fully confirmed the doubts and fears expressed by Jana Sangh at its Bhopal Session about the futility of these talks.

Any move to re-open the talks through a third party mediation in the background of the past experience and undisguised hostility of Pakistan which, having failed to grab the whole state by force of arms, is now trying to secure it by blackmail and pressure tactics, would be unwise, impolitic and dangerous. Pakistan’s hobnobbing with China should have opened the eyes of even those who advocated direct talks with her in the hope of creating conditions for Indo-Pak collaboration against the threat posed by Communist China. No justification whatsoever has therefore been left for any further talks with Pakistan with or without third party mediation.

The All India General Council, therefore, demands that:

(i) All further talks with Pakistan be ruled out to remove the prevailing uncertainty in the minds of the people of the state.

(ii) Immediate steps should be taken to delete Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

(iii) Effective steps should be taken to remove the prevailing corruption and maladministration in the state which has created general discontent in the minds of the people to the detriment of wider Indian interests.

Since Kashmir has become a theatre of war subject to twopronged aggression by Pakistan and China, a special responsibility has devolved on the Central Government in regard to the state. Let the Central Government take measures to discharge this responsibility effectively and ensure that the people get an honest and efficient administration. Let it also take the initiative in securing the full integration of the state with the rest of the country.

[August 12, 1963; Delhi, AIGC]

63.18. POLICY OF RECIPROCITY TOWARDS PAKISTAN

The situation that has now developed in the country, faced by China and Pakistan, acting in concert against India has to be faced in its proper perspective. Pakistan has to be regarded in the present circumstances as an actively hostile State. Its recent activities and attitude as exemplified in the extensive espionage practised through its diplomatic missions in India, its ordering of closure of the subordinate office of the Indian High Commissioner at Rajashahi, its cruel treatment towards the Hindu minority in Pakistan—all these leave no doubt about Pakistan’s hostile attitude.

The Central Working Committee demands that the Government of India adopt a policy of strict reciprocity with regard to Pakistan; in particular, as a reprisal for the closure of the Indian Mission at Rajashahi, the Pakistani Mission at Shillong be immediately closed down; and all espionage activities through the Pakistani High Commissioner’s office at Delhi must be effectively checked. Furthermore, from Lathitilla area in Cachar District (Assam) which Pakistan has forcibly occupied, her forces be ejected without delay. [December 3, 1963; Delhi, CWC]

63.22. REAPPRAISAL OF INDIA’S PAKISTAN POLICY

It has been the considered view of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that Pakistan by its very genesis and nature is destined to treat India as its enemy No. 1, so long as it exists. Hostility to India and Hindus is a problem which keeps going this artificial State of two parts separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory. Its continual adventures against India, the continuous anti-India and anti-Hindu outbursts of its Rulers and Press and the constant harassment of its Hindu population which has been deprived of even its basic human rights and which is being steadily decimated through physical extermination, their conversion and forcible expulsion from Pakistan and encouragement of Naga hostiles are manifestations of a set policy of keeping at the highest pitch the anti-India and antiHindu frenzy in Pakistan at all times. It would be wrong to hope that Pakistan would change its attitude if Kashmir question was solved, to its satisfaction because the so-called Kashmir problem is just a facet of Pakistani policies. Pakistan will always whip-up some problem or the other even if the existing ones are settled to her entire satisfaction to keep that frenzy on.

Jana Sangh does not consider it a matter to gloat over that this analysis of Jana Sangh about Pakistan’ attitude
towards India has been vindicated by the actual course of events, particularly since the Chinese invasion of India, and is now being gradually accepted at all hands.

**Unrealistic and Imbecile Policy**—But it is a matter of genuine regret and concern that even after the realisation of the basic truth about Pakistan's attitude towards India, Government of India continues to pursue a policy towards Pakistan which is not only unrealistic but also smacks of imbecility. Its insistence upon transferring the Beru Bari and Chilahati areas of India to Pakistan in spite of the continuous and desperate protests of the people who face sure decimation or expulsion from their hearths and homes as soon as that area is ceded to Pakistan, the equivocal statements of the Prime Minister about Duma Bari and Lathitilla areas which Pakistan is trying to occupy, the failure of the Government to check mass infiltration of Pakistani nationals into Assam and Tripura with the set design of converting these States into Muslim majority areas to facilitate the realisation of Pakistani designs about grabbing them, besides infiltration into other strategic regions like Sikkim, Lahaul and Spiti, the failure of the Government to close down the Shillong sub-office of Pakistan High Commission, which has been a big centre of anti-India activities in Assam, even after Pakistan Government has blatantly ordered the closure of Indian High Commission Sub-office in Rajashahi and the refusal of the Government to take steps to secure basic human rights to Hindus of Pakistan while it feels so much concerned about conditions in South Africa and elsewhere are some of the glaring examples of the unrealistic policy of India towards Pakistan. Such a policy, Jana Sangh is convinced, will only encourage Pakistan to persist in its policy of confrontation. The situation has been further aggravated by the open collaboration of Pakistan with China for mounting aggression on India from without and of pro-Pak elements and Communists within the country for inside sabotage and fifth columnist activities. It is, therefore, the considered opinion of the Jana Sangh that the situation demands a thorough re-appraisal of Indian policy towards Pakistan.

A realistic and national policy towards Pakistan must be based on the principle of reciprocity which demands that:

(i) Pakistan be treated as a hostile country like China.
Sub-office of the Pakistani High Commission at Shillong be closed down.

(ii) Effective steps should be taken to get Pakistani aggression in Kashmir and elsewhere vacated.

(iii) The policy of piecemeal settlement of Indo-Pakistan disputes must be given up for a package deal settlement.

(iv) The responsibility for the defence of Indo-Pak border in Assam and Tripura Sector must be entrusted to the defence forces of the country.

(v) At least a ten-mile belt along the border be cleared of all elements of doubtful loyalty to prevent further infiltration of Pakistani elements and to strengthen the border defence.

(vi) The question of securing basic human rights to the Hindu minority in Pakistan should be raised at the UNO.

(vii) The tribunals that have been appointed to investigate Pakistani infiltration into Assam be abolished inasmuch as they are frustrating the very object, viz., the immediate expulsion of the infiltrators.

(viii) All Pakistani Muslims who are over-staying in India after the expiry of the period of their passports should be immediately sent back.

[December 30, 1963; Ahmedabad XI AIS]

### 63.24. REVISE AND REORIENTATE FOREIGN POLICY

The massive Chinese invasion of India which completely exposed Indian foreign and defence policies had created the hope that the Government of India would make a reappraisal of its policies and reorientate them to overcome the past failures and meet the new situation. While something has been done to step up defence preparations within the country since then, the Government have so far woefully failed in reorientating its outlook and approach in regard to its foreign policy which in the ultimate analysis has a direct bearing on the defence of the country.

**Unreal World of Nehru's own Imagination**—China has mounted a powerful offensive against India on the diplomatic and propaganda fronts while continuing its physical aggression. The Government of India instead of taking effective steps to get the aggression vacated and meet the diplomatic offensive has remained engrossed with justifying and perpetuating policies that have failed beyond redemption. Its obsession
with non-alignment as between Russia and USA which has become something of a holy dogma with it, has made it lose sight of the needs of the new situation in which New Delhi and Peking have become two new live poles around which new alignment of forces is developing in the world. While Peking has attracted to its pole, countries like Pakistan, Indonesia and Cambodia and is fast winning over new adherents in Asia and Africa and is thus succeeding in its policy of isolating India, the Indian Prime Minister is gloating over the ephemeral ideological differences between China and USSR and deceiving himself and the nation by talking about isolation of China which is contrary to facts. It seems that he is gone into the ‘artificial world of his own imagination’ in which, he confessed, he had been living before the Chinese invasion gave him a jolt in last October. He clings on to the so-called Colombo Proposals even when China has flatly rejected them and the Colombo Powers are steadily drifting into the Chinese camp and their facade of non-alignment is getting evaporated. The net result of this policy has been to further aggravate the situation created by the policy of confrontation being pursued by China and Pakistan both working in collaboration.

**New Poles, New Alignments**—It is the considered view of the Jana Sangh that the foreign policy of India must be revised and reoriented to meet the changed international situation on the following lines:

1. India must make deliberate efforts to forge an effective unity between all those States, particularly those falling in the region of South East Asia and Indian Ocean, which are threatened by the Communist Chinese Expansionism and are interested in concerted action to contain it. Special efforts should be made to befriend Formosa by opening diplomatic relations with it and taking other steps to collaborate with her in different fields.

2. In view of the rapidly changing situation in West Asia (which cannot be considered to be favourable to India) India must revise its attitude towards Israel which happens to be the only democratic country in this region whose interests in many respects tally with those of India.

3. While maintaining a non-involvement policy in respect of the differences between the American and Communist blocs as far as possible, India must forge closer links with the democratic countries of the West particularly USA etc. whose own defence is involved in the defence of South East Asian region against Communist Chinese expansion.

4. Diplomatic Services and Foreign Publicity of the country should be reorganised to meet the new challenge thrown by greater importance in world affairs of Asian and African States with particular reference to the new alignment in respect of the conflict between Communist China and democratic India.

5. Government of India should sever diplomatic relations with China, stop advocacy for its admission into the UNO, recognise Dalai Lama’s emigre government as Exile-government, and take effective measures for the liberation of Tibet.

[December 30, 1963; Ahmedabad, XI AIS]

### 63.26. PLIGHT OF INDIANS IN BURMA

Burma was a province of India up to April 1937 and at the time of its separation from India, the Indians in Burma numbered 12 lacs. Slowly but surely, after Burma secured independence, the Indians whether they accepted the citizenship of Burma or not, were sought systematically to be squeezed out. Obstacles were heaped upon their free movement to and from India and upon their dealings with their finances to help their dependents living in India. The remittances have now been reduced to the ridiculous amount of Rs. 20 on permission being granted which itself is a costly and troublesome process. The property of large property owners whether of corporate bodies or otherwise have been expropriated and no compensation has been paid. The villagers of Kyautaga and Zeyawaddy who are mostly Indians and had been brought to Burma from India for agricultural development of Burma about 120 years ago are now being made ‘Stateless.’

People of Indian origin (and Indians) in Burma feel that the Indian Embassy of late has been very apathetic towards their legitimate demands and has not even helped Indians in returning to India with their belongings and in providing transport from Rangoon to an Indian port. Jana Sangh, therefore, emphatically draws the attention of the Government of India to this state of affairs and urges it to take up the matter with Government of Burma and secure redress to Indians and provide facility for periodical run of steamers between Rangoon and Indian ports and for facilities to make remittances to their dependants in India.

[December 30, 1963; Ahmedabad, XI AIS]
63.27. PLIGHT OF OVERSEAS INDIANS

Ever since Ceylon became independent some 15 years ago the question of Indian settlers in Ceylon has remained a vexed one. The fact is that for over a century, Indian settlers in Ceylon have contributed to the building up of her economy but for no fault of theirs, they are now being subjected by the Ceylonese Government to many unreasonable restrictions like those upon their ration-cards, language, etc., etc. The pity of it all is that the Nehru Government has practically done nothing effective to ensure for them there, decent living conditions but left them to the tender mercies of the Ceylonese Government. About 10 years ago, when Shri Koltawala was Prime Minister of Ceylon, talks were held by him with Prime Minister Nehru of India and an agreement was proposed, but practically nothing came out of it. The net result up to date is that most of the 10 Iacs of people of Indian origin at present in Ceylon are "Stateless"—neither recognised as citizens of Ceylon nor of India—and are, therefore, in a most miserable state.

Jana Sangh demands that the Government of India should not persist any longer in this callous policy of indifference towards overseas Indian settlers, but take effective steps to see that this miserable state of things may be rectified without delay and that persons of Indian origin in Ceylon are treated as honourable citizens of Ceylon, with their lives and occupations secured.

In other overseas territories too, like Indonesia, Vietnam, East Africa, etc., the position of Indian settlers is fast deteriorating and the Government of India must take up their cases and look to their interests.

[December 30, 1963; Ahmedabad, XI AIS]

64.01. ANNUL PARTITION AND LIBERATE PAKISTAN

Partition Solved no Problems—India's national struggle for over half a century spearheaded by the Indian National Congress had been aimed at the independence of the united India. When it was about to be crowned with success, the Muslims under the leadership of Shri Jinna raised the cry of Pakistan as a separate and independent homeland for them on the basis of the 'Two-nation Theory'. This demand was dismissed by Shri Nehru and other Congress leaders as 'fantastic nonsense' and 'unthinkable'. The general elections of 1946 were fought by the Congress on the programme of the rejection of partition.

But soon after, frightened and unnerved by the militant attitude of the Muslim League, whose leader, Shri Jinna decided upon 'Direct Action' on 16 August 1946, the Congress leaders went back upon their election pledges, surrendered to the League's demand and accepted partition. It was an act of gross betrayal of all that Nationalist India and the National Congress had stood for and an act of matricide. The Congress leaders did not even care to listen to the solemn warnings of the Nationalist leaders of India (like Mahatma Gandhi, Veer Savarkar and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji) in their mad rush for power. Their grim warnings have been amply justified by the tragic history of the last 16 years. For the partition has solved no problems, it has neither brought about Hindu-Muslim amity nor the peaceful coexistence of the two States—the Indian Union and the Pakistan. On the contrary, it has often aggravated the situation and has endangered the security of India and herself. Pakistan (ever since its creation) has been following a policy of hostility towards India, invaded Kashmir, provoked disturbances by pro-Pak Muslims inside India, and has allied itself with India's enemies. Besides, it has been relentlessly persecuting Hindu and other minorities in Pakistan, and treating them as hostages. Periodically mass-massacres of minorities are being engineered there.

East Bengal Converted into West Pakistani Colony—Pakistan has in fact ceased to be a civilised State and has become frankly barbarous. As to Pakistani Muslims too, they are groaning under the tyranny of a military dictatorship. East Bengal has been converted into a veritable colony of West Pakistan, and is on the verge of revolt. That is the present situation that has to be faced. It is clear that the Pakistani authorities have been deliberately following this policy in order to bolster up an unpopular and artificial regime over a territory which is a geographical abortion divided as it is into two widely-separated ones. Jana Sangh has always felt that the partition was a colossal blunder. Other people are now—through the sheer stress of events during the last 16 years—coming round to this point of view. Jana Sangh feels, therefore, that the partition must be annulled and Pakistan liberated. That must be the Nation's ultimate objective.

Policy of Appeasement—The policy of the Government of India towards Pakistan ever since partition, has been deplorable. It has been one of continuous appeasement in face of Pakistan's
hostility and misdeeds. The Government of India has failed egregiously to honour the pledges solemnly given at the time of the partition and even thereafter at the time of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact (of 1950) for the protection of the minorities in Pakistan. On the contrary, for the last 7 years since 1957, it has shut the doors of the Hindu minority there who wanted to come over to India by practically denying them migration facilities. Pakistan was thus helped and encouraged in her nefarious game with the result that even in 1964, 16 years after partition, widespread atrocities are being committed on the helpless minorities there, and the Government of India seems interested only in suppressing the news of such atrocities.

Jana Sangh demands that this abject policy of appeasement towards Pakistan must be immediately given up. A resolute policy of reciprocity must be adopted; all steps must be taken—economic sanctions, diplomatic rupture, police action, etc.—to bring Pakistan to her senses and compel her to behave as a civilised State.

Save East Bengali Hindus from Extinction—At the present moment, in view of the failure of the Government of India so far to compel Pakistan to behave as a civilised State, and its unwillingness to take even now any effective steps in this regard and in view of the critical situation in which the helpless Hindus in East Bengal have been placed—over 30,000 people killed, thousands of women abducted and dishonoured, thousands of Hindu houses looted and burnt down—the only alternative in these circumstances seems to be exchange of population on a limited scale if the minorities in Pakistan are to be saved from utter extinction and India’s security to be ensured.

Jana Sangh, therefore, demands that:

1. Mass migration to India of Hindus and other minorities in East Bengal be arranged by the Government of India on governmental level, their safe transit to India ensured, and after arrival in India, their subsequent relief, resettlement and rehabilitation arranged by the Government.

2. Exchange of population on a limited scale on an optional basis be organised on governmental level—Pakistan infiltrators in the eastern zone of India i.e. West Bengal, Assam and Tripura be immediately sent back. This step is also necessary for ensuring safety and security of the Eastern Zone of India.

(3) Compensation for properties left in Pakistan by the migrants must be demanded and realised from Pakistan.

Rouse World Opinion against Genocide—The Jana Sangh demands that in order to rouse world opinion against the extensive genocide of Hindus and other minorities being perpetrated in Pakistan, the following steps be immediately taken:

1. Formal complaint be lodged in the UNO against the genocide of Hindus and other minorities in Pakistan.

2. The International Council of Jurists at Geneva be requested to undertake an ‘on the spot’ enquiry into Pakistan’s atrocities on the minorities.

Jana Sangh resolves that it will take all possible steps to consolidate and canalise public opinion within India which has been shocked beyond measure at the extent and enormity of the Pakistani atrocities in East Bengal—which have imperilled the very existence of a crore of Hindus and other minorities there. With this in view Jana Sangh proposes as a first step to arrange an All India Convention at an early date to be held at Delhi to compel the Government of India to declare effective sanctions and to take necessary action with respect to Pakistan to save the minorities there.

[March 1, 1964; Delhi, CWC]

64.03. TRUCKLING TO CHINESE DESIGNS

The Central Working Committee warns the nation that a surrender is in the offing on the Sino-Indian front. The statement made recently in Parliament by the Union Minister without Portfolio, and the pronouncements made by official spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry welcoming the statements issued by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai jointly with the Burmese and Ceylonese Prime Ministers in Rangoon and Colombo respectively clearly betray the Government’s anxiety to strike some settlement with Peking even by yielding basic postures. The Government of India has been repeatedly affirming that there can be no talks with China unless and until China accepted the Colombo Proposals in toto. While the Jana Sangh has been of the view that India should never agree to sit at the negotiating table with Peking so long as China remains as aggressor on Indian soil, the Government seems now to be resiling even from its own stand.

Pledge of Indian Parliament—The Working Committee would like to remind the Government of the solemn Pledge of Parlia-
ment given to the nation on 14 November 1962 that it would not rest till Chinese occupied territory was redeemed. It also calls upon the people to be vigilant against any truckling to Chinese designs.

[March 1, 1964; Delhi, CWC]

64.04. KASHMIR PROBLEM

Mountbatten Offer was Ultra vires—Kashmir has been an integral part of India historically, geographically and culturally all through the ages. The formal accession of the State to India in October 1947 by the Ruler gave legal and constitutional sanction to that historical fact. Though according to Indian Independence Act and Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947 the Ruler alone was competent to take the decision about accession, the fact remains that he was backed in that decision by the people of the State including Sheikh Abdullah. The moment the Ruler signed the Instrument of Accession and the moment it was accepted by the Government of India, accession of Jammu-Kashmir state to India became final and irrevocable. There was no question of its being provisional or conditional. The unilateral offer of plebiscite by Lord Mountbatten in his letter to Maharaja Hari Singh was therefore, in the words of Dr. Mehar Chand Mahajan, ex-Chief Justice of India, “ultra vires of Indian Independence Act” and “had no validity”.

The Jammu-Kashmir state nearly half of which had been overrun by Pakistani invaders, then presented a military problem and the Indian army was competent to face it. Left to itself Indian army would have cleared the state of all invaders and solved the problem once for all.

Nehru’s Blunders Regarding Kashmir—But unfortunately Shri Nehru who has been handling Kashmir question on behalf of Government of India and treating it almost as a personal affair, began his bungling from that very moment. He readily fell into the trap of Shri Jinnah who, finding his plan of military conquest of the state and presenting the world with a fait accompli, foiled by the accession of the state to India and arrival of Indian army on the scene, decided to politicise the issue. The unilateral and illegal offer of plebiscite and its continuous repetition, appeal to the UNO, failure to explicitly name Pakistan as aggressor in the original complaint to UNO, failure to send right men to plead India’s case there, ordering of cease-

fire when the Indian troops were advancing on all fronts, failure to settle Hindu refugees uprooted by Pakistani invaders, in Kashmir in spite of their repeated requests, failure to exercise effective check on Kashmir administration and incorporation of temporary Article 370 in the Indian Constitution to appease Sheikh Abdullah’s ambitions were series of the early blunders committed by the Nehru Government in regard to Kashmir.

Their natural result was to swell the head of Sheikh Abdullah who began to dream of making Jammu-Kashmir a virtually independent Sheikhdom for himself with a separate Constitution, separate Flag and a separate Head of the State. He might have succeeded in his nefarious designs but for the opposition of the nationalist and patriotic forces within the state led by Shri Prem Nath Dongra and the country-wide campaign launched in support of Kashmiri people’s just and patriotic demands by the Jana Sangh. The great martyrdom of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji ultimately clinched the issue. The country was awakened and the hands of Shri Nehru were forced. Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and put in jail and a new government was installed in the state. As a result the process of integration of the State with the rest of India was set in motion. Some progress was made.

Partition of Kashmir on Cease-fire Line—But Shri Nehru again faltered. While the Government of India took the correct stand at the Security Council that the accession of the state to India was irrevocable and unconditional by virtue of the Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler and that the degree of its integration with the rest of India was purely an internal problem of the country, it failed to make its internal handling of the state consistent with the stand it had taken at the UNO. The failure to abrogate Article 370 of the Constitution at one sweep during the last 10 years is a grave reflection on Shri Nehru’s capacity to take a clear and quick decision on basic questions. What is worse, he allowed the question of accession to be reopened under the Anglo-American pressure at the time of Chinese invasion and offered to accept the division of the state on the basis of cease-fire line.

Abdulla’s Visit to Pakistan—The sudden release of Sheikh Abdullah after a political vacuum had been allowed to be created in the state through the mishandling of the internal situation there, and the way he has been lionised since then, his torrent of secessionist utterances from the Prime Minister’s House
itself challenging the very fact of state's accession to India in
which he too was a party, his current visit to Pakistan with the
blessings of Shri Nehru have tended to reverse not only the
whole process of integration of the state with the rest of India
but what is worse has created an impression that a new settle-
ment about Kashmir is in the offing. Shri Nehru has directly
contributed to creating such an atmosphere by his studied
silence about Sheikh Abdulla's statements.

According to Sheikh Abdulla he is after a new settlement
which should be honourable to Kashmiris, should not create a
feeling of defeat or victory either in India or Pakistan and
should keep the secular base of India intact. A close analysis
of this enigmatic statement in the light of the developments of
the last 17 years and Sheikh Abdulla's own past clearly points
to three things:

(1) He does not consider the continuation of Kashmiris as
Indian citizens, honourable for them.

(2) He wants to remove the feeling of defeat nursed by
Pakistan since 1947 when her attempt to occupy Kashmir by
force and present the world with a fait accompli was foiled by
Indian troops.

(3) His talk about preserving secular base of India is pure
hypocrisy and a camouflage to cover his communal approach to
Kashmir problem. He wants to take Kashmir out of India
simply because it happens to be a Muslim majority area.

The Working Committee, therefore, apprehends that Sheikh
Abdulla, a rank communalist as he has been ever since he
entered public life after his indoctrination at Aligarh Muslim
University would strike a bargain with President Ayub in the
name of Islam and then force it through the throat of Shri
Nehru in the name of secularism who in his turn will force it
through the Parliament in the name of honouring his pledged
word to his friend.

No Reopening of Kashmir Question—Any reopening of the
question or going back on India's firm commitments in regard
to Kashmir being an integral part of India, in any shape or
form would be most impolitic and fraught with dangerous poli-
tical and military implications. It will jeopardise the life and
honour of 13 lac strong minority community in the Jammu-
Kashmir state. Members of the minority community in
Kashmir valley have already started migrating from there since
the beginning of the present activities of Sheikh Abdulla. It

will open the flood gates of disruption all over India. The
country which is still suffering from the wounds inflicted by the
partition on the basis of 'Two-nation Theory' will be further
divided and disintegrated through the growth of regional
nationalism to which, Sheikh Abdulla's talk about Kashmiri
nationalism and its separation from the rest of India or a
special status for it on that account is bound to give rise.
There are already known elements in different parts of the
country who are waiting for the signal from Kashmir to raise
the banner of separatism.

If 14 lacs of Muslims of Kashmir valley loathe to live in
secular India in spite of all that India has done for their material
and political advancement during the last 17 years, then
nationalist India will be forced to rethink over its entire policy
in regard to Indian Muslims, 93 percent of whom had voted
for Pakistan in 1946 elections.

Militarily any withdrawal of Indian army from Kashmir
after the huge sacrifices in men and material it has undergone
for the defence of that region would be the most terrible blow
to its morale after its recent defeat at the hands of Chinese. It
will be demoralised and will lose heart to be an effective instru-
ment for national defence.

To think that any settlement of Kashmir issue to the satis-
faction of Pakistan will end Indo-Pak tension is pure moon-
shine and self-deception. Similar things were said when surren-
der on Punjab Canal Waters issue was being planned. What
has been the result of the Indus Water Treaty? The fact
remains Pakistan, so long as it exists, will remain an enemy
of India because only frenzy against India and Hindus can
sustain her as a separate State. She will surely find out some
other excuse to keep up that frenzy if we make a surrender on
Kashmir.

Indo-Pak Defence Collaboration—The suggestion about
Indo-Pak collaboration in defence against China has become
quite irrelevant in view of the entente between Pakistan and
China. Pakistan has made it repeatedly clear that she is not
going to fight against China whatever India may do to appease
her.

In view of all this it is the considered opinion of the
Working Committee that India must stand firm on its stand on
Kashmir and insist on the vacation of aggression. The Govern-
ment stands pledged to the people to bring Kashmir in par
with other states by repealing Article 370 of the Constitution. Any weakening or going back upon it will open a Pandora's box creating new difficulties and problems without solving any. Kashmir is not just a piece of territory. It has become the symbol of India's will to exist as a free and united nation. What is at stake is not Shri Nehru's friendship for Abdullah but the honour, prestige, integrity and security of the whole country. The choice before the people and the Government of India is clear. Their loyalty to the Motherland must transcend loyalty to any individual or party.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh on its part is determined to do its duty towards the Motherland in the matter. It would resist with all its might any move to separate Kashmir from India or reverse the process of its integration with the rest of the country.

[May 25, 1964; Delhi, CWC]

64.06. PROBLEM OF EAST BENGALI MIGRANTS

Convention on East Bengali Minorities—The condition of minorities in East Bengal continues as critical as ever, although over 4 months have elapsed since the start of the anti-Hindu vendetta there in the beginning of January last. Though the mass killings, lootings, burnings, etc. of the minorities in their homes are reported to have ceased, yet the treatment to which intending migrants are being subjected on their way to Indian borders is atrocious. Very recently, members of the Standing Committee appointed by the All India Convention on East Bengal Minorities did go over personally to the border stations at Petrapol and Hasanabad where migrants from East Bengal usually come.

Heart-rending Atrocities—The report that they have submitted regarding the atrocities and outrages committed on these helpless migrants is heart-rending. The most disgraceful and degrading feature is the large-scale raping of women, conducted sometimes in public, which has become almost a regular feature for all these 4 months and has not ceased even now. A copy of the report has been formally submitted to our Home Minister, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda. It is really a humiliating spectacle that the India Government and its officers are apparently looking on these outrages on humanity and womanhood as mere helpless spectators.

The tempo of migration has not come down and cannot be expected to come down in view of the prevailing inhuman conditions in East Bengal. On an average, some 4000 migrants are coming to India daily, and about 4 lacs have already arrived. Further, the way in which the Indian Deputy High Commissioner's office at Dacca is behaving in the matter of issuing migration certificates is most deplorable. Mile-long queues still throng before the office for migration certificates which are most grudgingly issued. The fact is that, despite all the protestations of the Government that they have directed that migration certificates should be liberally given, issuing of such certificates has been practically discouraged with the result that it has now come down to a mere trickle.

Rehabilitation of Migrants—As to the reception and treatment of the migrants when they do come over to India, the Standing Committee's report says that the attitude is one of absolute apathy and indifference. The West Bengal Government's sole concern seems to be to shift the burden of the refugees off their shoulders, and shunt them anywhere outside West Bengal, shouting all the time that there is not an inch of space in West Bengal for the new migrants, though responsible persons and organisations have pointed out that there are many areas in West Bengal, like the Sunderbans for instance, where the refugees can be settled in fairly large numbers. Demands have been made by the public that the border areas (between West Bengal and East Pakistan) should be cleared of pro-Pak elements up to a depth of 20 miles, if for no other reason, at least for the security of the State, and in the broad belt all along the border, a number of the refugees be settled. Besides, it is estimated that Pakistani Muslims have infiltrated into the Eastern Zone of India (West Bengal, Assam and Tripura) to the extent of about 16 lacs (about 5 lacs in West Bengal, 10 lacs in Assam and 1 lac in Tripura). If the illegal Pakistani infiltrants are evicted, then room can be found at least for an equal number of East Bengal refugees. That would be the more natural and humane policy, namely that of settling the East Bengal refugees in areas in West Bengal and the Eastern Zone of India as far as practicable so that they would live in congenial surroundings suited to their avocation as agriculturists, fishermen, etc. It is heartening that other States have agreed to receive the East Bengal refugees and settle them in their areas. But in many cases it has been found that the areas are not quite suited to their needs, and
hence already desertions from camps in other states on a large scale have taken place with most unfortunate results. Only recently the shooting down of a number of deserting refugees at Teruvelli station in Orissa is a case in point. What is really wanted is a human touch both in West Bengal and elsewhere and a feeling of sympathy for these unfortunate East Bengali refugees who have become veritable footslogs of fate.

The Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers that, in the circumstances outlined above, the following steps be immediately taken by the Government:

1. Pressure must be brought to bear on the Pakistan Government so that ill-treatment and outrages of migrants on their way to the Indian borders may stop, and for that purpose arrangements must be made with the Pakistan Government on official level that Indian officers shall go to the interior of East Bengal and escort intending migrants in safety and honour to the Indian borders.

2. The restriction on migration should be relaxed, if not abolished altogether, so that anybody who wants to come over may be free to come.

3. After the refugees enter India, their settlement and rehabilitation should be made as far as possible in West Bengal and the Eastern Zone of India.

4. Demand be made on the Pakistan Government of full compensation for properties, movable and immovable, left behind by the migrants.

5. In view of the large number of migrants already arrived and likely yet to come (possibly about a crore), demand be made for territories to be ceded by Pakistan to accommodate these migrants.

6. Pakistani nationals who have infiltrated into India must be evicted without delay, and there must be no slackening in the process.

7. A 20-mile wide belt on the Indian side of the Indo-Pakistan border in Bengal and the Eastern Zone of India should be cleared of all pro-Pak elements, which is also necessary for security reasons, and settle the East Bengali refugees in that belt. That will at the same time check infiltration of Pakistani infiltrants, as well as the smuggling that is being constantly carried on.

[May 25, 1964; Delhi, CWC]

64.08. PLIGHT OF OVERSEAS INDIANS

It is a matter of history that Indians went out to various parts of the world—Asia, Africa, even distant South America, West Indies and Pacific Islands—and settled down there. In some areas this settlement dates back for more than a century. They had gone overseas in many capacities as labourers, as traders, as clerks and officers, etc. The number of such overseas Indians is quite large. The present estimate is that such number is about 70 lacs.

Their condition particularly since India became free has steadily deteriorated. This deterioration (in the shape of oppression, expulsion, confiscation of properties, etc.) has taken different shapes in different countries. The world has been familiar with the oppression of Indian settlers in South Africa since the beginning of this century and it was in connection with the movement against such oppression there that Mahatma Gandhi first emerged as a political leader. In other African countries, this oppression and squeezing out of Indians have begun with the former dependencies and colonies of the United Kingdom getting independence—like Kenya, Tanganyka, Zanzibar, etc. In British Guiana, South America, Trinidad and Tobago in the West Indies, the tale is practically similar.

Indian Settlers in Ceylon and Burma—Nearer home, in Burma and Ceylon, the position is different—in respect of the history and development of the problem. Burma was a province of British India right up to 1937; therefore persons of other parts of British India who went to Burma and settled down there were not foreigners at all. On April 1, 1937, Burma was separated from British India, and at once overnight the Indians in Burma became foreigners. A few years later came the Japanese invasion in which Indians and Burmese suffered alike; but the Japanese were finally expelled and Burma reconquered. Some years later, Burma was granted independence. It went out of the Commonwealth. Since then Burma has had various governments, all of which became increasingly hostile to Indians there; and the present Burmese Government has apparently decided to expel the Indians altogether by making their further stay there almost impossible. It has under the pretext of nationalization confiscated the Indians' properties. Not to speak of big Indian businessmen there, even petty grocers, shopkeepers and clerks have not been spared. Their savings have been made worthless by suddenly demonetizing
even the 50-Kyat and 100-Kyat (Burman rupees) notes—so that even a millionaire has become a pauper overnight. Besides, the policy of filling up the services with the Burman alone and expelling Indians continues relentlessly. The net result has now been that out of nearly 8 lacs of Indians settled in Burma, the bulk is being hounded out of there, and they are seeking shelter in India as refugees, derelict and impoverished.

In Ceylon, too, practically the same tale is only more long-drawn. After Ceylon had been conquered by the British from the Dutch, it was administered from Madras by the East India Company in India. In 1803, by the treaty of Amiens, it was taken out of the control of the Indian administration and made into a ‘Crown colony’ under the direct rule of the British Crown. Big plantations (tea, rubber, etc.) were set up by Europeans, and lacs of labourers from India (mainly Tamilians from the South) went there to work in the plantations. Besides, other people, such as grocers and tradesmen also went over to Ceylon and settled there. The number of such people—labourers, petty traders, etc.—is now over 10 lacs. As to these 10 lacs of Indians the Ceylon Government has declared the bulk of them ‘Stateless’. Out of over 8 lacs who had applied for Ceylonese citizenship, only about 1,30,000 (or about one-sixth) were granted citizenship rights, and the applications of the rest (five-sixths) were rejected. The present Ceylonese Government is tightening the screws still tighter. It is practically following the Burma model, i.e., confiscating Indians’ properties on one pretext or another. Even in the matter of Indians leaving Ceylon for good, a curious discrimination has been made between Indians and other non-nationals of Ceylon—Indians being allowed to take only half of what others are allowed. For the last 16 years or more, since 1948, many talks and many negotiations, have been held by the Nehru Government with successive Ceylonese Prime Ministers—Sir John Kotelawala downwards—but nothing effective has been done due to the weak policy of the Indian Government.

Old and New Loans to Burma—The position by now has become well-nigh intolerable and degrading to the self-respect of India. It is more than high time that the Government of India do adopt a strong policy, and bring pressure to bear upon these States so that this outrageous treatment of Indians there may stop forthwith. As to Burma, she owes Rs. 71 crores to India (as assets due from her at the time of ‘separation’ in 1937); besides, Rs. 20 crores were later given as a loan by India to Burma when U Nu was Prime Minister there. Not a rupee has been paid to India up to date, out of these Rs. 91 crores. The least that the Indian Government can do in the present crisis is to demand immediate payment of this amount and the payment of full compensation for all the properties being left in Burma by Indians.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh accordingly calls upon the Government of India to adopt a resolute policy towards all the countries that are oppressing Indians and seem bent upon humiliating India. This state of things must not continue any longer.

[August 10, 1964; Gwalior, AIGC]

64.11. ABROGATE ARTICLE 370

The Central Working Committee has noted with satisfaction that the people of India irrespective of their party affiliations have realised the dangerous implication of the continuation of the temporary Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. The untinted support by all groups and parties in Parliament given to the private Bill to abrogate this Article was a welcome indication of the nation’s mind in this respect. It is a clear vindication of the stand the Jana Sangh has taken in this regard from its very inception.

It is, however, a matter of deep regret that the Government of India has once again faltered in the matter. It has betrayed its communal and unrealistic approach to this vital issue by insisting on retaining Article 370, which has become the symbol of separation for the separatist and communal elements in Kashmir, as such. The application of some more Articles of the Indian Constitution to that state is good so far as it goes but it loses sight of the basic fact that it will not in any way help in countering the psychological impact of this Article which is the basic hurdle in the way of emotional oneness of Kashmir with the rest of India.

The very fact that the rulers of Pakistan feel so much concerned about any move to abrogate this Article is a clear proof of its dangerous import for India. Abrogation of this Article at one stroke could be the only patriotic and practical reply to Pakistan’s threats in this regard. By refusing to do so the Government of India has once again betrayed its policy of appeasement and surrender towards Pakistan. But this is not
going to satisfy Pakistan, which objects to the "very presence of India in Kashmir." It would be more realistic and conducive to ultimate good of all concerned if we let Pakistan howl all at once by abrogating this Article at one stroke rather than keep her howling all the time. This pandering to Pakistan's insensitivity flows from the basically wrong presumption that Kashmir is the cause of Indo-Pakistan tension. Kashmir in fact is not the cause but the result of the tension which is inherent in the very genesis of Pakistan. Therefore, any appeasement or compromise with Pakistan at the cost of Kashmir in the ultimate analysis increases rather than lessens the Indo-Pak tension by further whetting the aggressive appetite of Pakistan.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, urges upon the Government of India to give up its policy of vacillation about Kashmir of which its present attitude towards the question of abrogation of Article 370 is the direct result. This Article even if it became an empty shell will continue to be the source of inspiration for the separatist and communal elements in Kashmir. Therefore realism and national interests as also expediency demand that this Article must be removed from the Constitution of India lock, stock and barrel so that the Constitution as a whole may become the constitution of Jammu-Kashmir state as well. This one step will have more settling effect on the minds of the people of that state than anything else done so far to that end.

Abdulla's Haj Pilgrimage—The need of doing this has become all the more imperative in view of the dangerous increase in the anti-national activities of Sheikh Abdulla and the Plebiscite Front of which he has become the virtual leader. The long rope given to him by the State Government in the name of liberalisation of state-policies has been taken by him as sign of weakness of the Govt. authorities and he has been utilising the opportunity to consolidate his position and reorganise the anti-national forces with the direct and indirect encouragement from Pakistan and her agents. His proposed visit to the countries of Middle East in the name of Haj Pilgrimage, viewed in the background of his recent utterances and activities, has a dangerous sinister purpose behind it. The Working Committee, therefore, urges upon the Government of India and Kashmir to take effective steps to curb his anti-national activities and not to permit him to leave the country on any pretext whatsoever.

[December 4, 1964; Patna, CWC]

64.14. UPROOTED BURMESE INDIANS

The new pattern of nationalization recently carried out by the Government of Burma has deprived nearly 8 lacq of persons of Indian origin or Indians living in Burma of their means of livelihood and the new laws of restrictions on the foreign exchange in that country and levy of 98 per cent income tax have forced these persons to seek refuge in India. This has led to their losing almost their total assets in Burma valued at Rs. 1,500 crores of immovable property and about Rs. 700 crores worth of movable property.

Discrimination against Indians—The Government of India has miserably failed to stand by the Indians of Burma who have been discriminated against openly on the question of taking their assets to India. Whereas the Pakistanis have been able to get their assets transferred through their Embassy and the British and Americans have been allowed full compensation paid in sterling in their own countries the Indians are being sent out penniless.

The empty platitudes of the Government of India cannot ameliorate the agonies of Indians who had made Burma their home and on whose labour, sweat and blood Burma built much of its prosperity during the last 125 years.

The Central Working Committee, therefore, urges that the Government of India should take up with the Burmese Government the question of assets of Indians in Burma, and demand adequate compensation for properties left behind. The Indian Embassy in Rangoon should be asked to ensure that harassment of Indian nationals, particularly women, by Burmese officials is checked. The Government of Burma should be asked to facilitate the movement of those Indians who do not wish to stay in Burma. Special steps should be taken to rehabilitate those Indians.

[December 4, 1964; Patna, CWC]

64.16. INDIAN SETTLERS IN CEYLON

The recent pact entered into between the Government of India and Ceylon Government regarding the position of Indian settlers in Ceylon has been a triumph on the part of the Prime Minister of Ceylon and a betrayal of India's interests on the part of the Prime Minister of India.

Kotelawala Pact—It must be remembered that 10 years ago in 1954, negotiations had been entered into between late Shri
Nehru and Shri John Kotelawala, then Prime Minister of Ceylon. In negotiations Ceylonese Prime Minister had agreed to take in at once 4.5 lac persons of Indian descent as Ceylonese citizens. Another 2.5 lac were assured Ceylonese citizenship in a few years time. The Indian Prime Minister had agreed to take in 2 lac as Indian citizens and differences remained with regard to the status of only 50,000 persons. On the contrary in the present pact, Ceylon has agreed to confer Ceylonese citizenship on only 3 lac and the Government of India has agreed to take in 5.5 lac into India. About 4 lac have got their status to be settled by further negotiations between the two Governments. It is, therefore, clear from the comparison of these figures that the Government of India has surrendered all along the line while Ceylonese Government has become more stiff and rigid. It is, therefore, merely deluding the public in India to try to make out that this Ceylonese pact has been a success for India’s diplomacy. Really it has been a dismal failure and back-sliding and betrayal of the interests of Indians in Ceylon.

Pact Violations—Further the Ceylonese Government has already violated even the terms of the recent pact by introducing the maintenance of separate register for the Ceylonese Indians. Another violation of the pact is the very recent introduction of the Import Control Act notification which comes into force from January 1, 1965.

Hence the Central Working Committee feels that the Union Government of India must declare that as the terms of the pact are being violated one after another in sequence, the recent Indo-Ceylonese pact is no more binding upon India. Such a declaration alone will save the Ceylonese Indians from further insults and sufferings failing which the recent pact will make the position of Indians in Ceylon still more difficult and precarious.

65.01. FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT

New Centres of Conflict—The world situation has undergone significant changes over the last one year. While the process of easing East-West tensions has continued in spite of the exit of Shri Khrushchev, the aggressive propensities of Communist China which have been further reinforced by her entry into the nuclear club, have led to the emergence of new centres of conflict in Asia and Africa. Her tacit alliance with Pakistan against India has been further cemented and both have stepped up their propaganda and diplomatic offensive against India all over the world. They have also started a war of nerves against India through concentration of armies in Tibet and along the cease-fire line in Kashmir and by increasing the number and frequency of armed intrusions into our territory.

Religion in International Politics—Another significant development is the growing importance of race and religion as a factor in international relations. The recent World Muslim Conference in Somalia, the systematic proselytising activities of Islamic missions under the patronage of Egypt and of Christian missions under the patronage of the Pope and other Western countries with a view to win over the sympathies of the people of Africa, the negative unity of Arab States against Israel and the creation of a new Islamic bloc of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey over the head of CENTO in Western Asia—these are some of the glaring examples of this growing role of religion in international politics.

Indian foreign-policy makers have consistently failed to take proper cognisance of these developments and make a reappraisal of India’s foreign policy in this new light. Today New Delhi itself has become a new live pole face to face with the Chinese dragon. It is no more a mere outside spectator in the cold war between Moscow and Washington. But our obsession with platitudes like world-peace and coexistence and with cliches and catchwords like non-alignment which have little relevance in the new situation has clouded our vision and stunned our sense of perception and capacity to adjust to these fast changing realities of the world situation. Our diplomatic missions, which have been accustomed to project and interpret the image and vision of late Shri Nehru rather than of India and her interests and aspirations as an independent national entity, are making the confusion worse compounded by their apologetic attitude in regard to even such vital questions as the Chinese aggression and Kashmir, and their inability to grasp the significance of the changes around from the purely Indian point of view.

Changes Necessary in Foreign Policy—As a result, even otherwise friendly countries are getting sceptical about our stand in regard to these and other vital questions affecting India. This situation must change and India must get out of what Shri Nehru himself described as “an artificial world of our own imagination”. We must realise that foreign policy is
a 'policy' and not an immutable principle. It has to change with the changing situations if it is to serve the enlightened self-interests of the Nation which is and must always remain primary objective of the foreign policy of any country. The implementation and interpretation of that policy is as important as its formulation. Necessary changes need to be made in that regard as well.

It is the considered view of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that Indian foreign policy need to be reoriented on the following lines to safeguard Indian interests and meet the dangers to Indian security and integrity inherent in the new situation:

(1) The aggressive threat posed by China and Pakistan cannot be wished away nor can it be minimised by our desire to live at peace with them. India, therefore, must take the following steps to meet their combined menace:

(i) India should sever diplomatic relations with Communist China and stop supporting her entry into the UNO. China's capacity and propensity for mischief will definitely be enhanced if she is armed with the power of veto. India should recognise and establish diplomatic relations with the Government of China in Farmosa.

(ii) Closer relations should be developed with all those countries of South East Asia which are threatened by Chinese imperialism as also those which are interested in the containment of China for ideological or other reasons. Our solidarity with Malaysia in her resolve to defend her integrity must be made known explicitly.

(iii) Effective steps should be taken to counter anti-India propaganda of China and Pakistan, by making known true facts about their aggressive activities and the barbarities being committed by them on Tibetans and Hindus of East Bengal.

(iv) The defence potential of the country should be strengthened by stepping up the production of armaments, development of an independent nuclear deterrent, and increasing the armed strength of the country through compulsory military training for all youth and building up of a standing army of at least 20 lacs.

(v) Necessary steps should be taken to recover the territories aggressively occupied by Pakistan and China.

(vi) Dalai Lama's Government be recognised as free Tibet's Government in exile and we should extend our support to them in their fight for Tibet's independence.

(2) Economic Development of African Nations—The continent of Africa has arisen like a new giant in the past few years. The newly emerging nations of Africa are bound to play an increasingly important role in the councils of the world in the days to come. Settlers of Indian origin have played quite a considerable role in the development of these States. Many of these African States have looked to India for inspiration during their struggle for independence. India must take more interest in their economic development and forge closer relations with them.

(3) Israel remains the only democratic country in West Asia today. It is a highly developed country and has been playing an increasingly important role in the economic development of newly-emerging African countries with which she has developed very good relations. By developing closer relations with Israel, India would not only contribute to stability in West Asia but will also improve her position in a number of African States. It is, therefore, imperative that India must have full diplomatic relations with Israel.

(4) Cultural Links—Cultural links have played an abiding role in the relations between nations. They are more binding and lasting than the economic and political pacts which are made from time to time to meet particular situations. It is, therefore, imperative that India must be clear about the area of her cultural affinities and take all possible steps to revive and strengthen her old cultural ties. Nepal and countries of South East Asia have a special relationship with India in that regard. That relationship must be strengthened.

(5) British Denial for Independence—Countries like Mauritius, Trinidad and British Guiana where a majority comprises of people of Indian origin have a special claim on Indian attention. The British policy of delaying independence to them is positively discriminatory and smacks of bias against people of Indian origin. India must exert her influence to secure a fair deal for the people of these countries.

(6) The policy adopted by the Government of Burma, Ceylon, Tanzania and Mozambique towards Indian settlers there who have contributed so much for the development of these countries, is most regrettable. The attitude of indifference and betrayal adopted by the Government of India towards the plight of people of Indian origin in these countries has
encouraged their respective governments to adopt unreasonable and discriminatory policies towards them. The role of the Indian Missions in these countries also has not been very happy. The government must take more positive interest in the welfare of these people. Indians returning from these countries be given all help and be rehabilitated.

(7) Indianise Indian Missions—Most of the Indian Missions abroad are just like white elephants known for their expensiveness and are more British, than Indian in character. They need to be completely overhauled and Indianised in spirit. This demands a proper training of the Indian Foreign Service personnel to bring them in tune with Indian life, ideals and aspirations.

[January 24, 1965; Vijayawada, XII AIS]

65.13. ABDULLA'S ACTIVITIES ABROAD

Abdulla's Intended Visit to Peking—The anti-India activities of Sheikh Abdulla in foreign countries, his meeting with China's premier, Shri Chau En-lai, in Algiers and his announcement that he has accepted the Chinese invitation to Peking have proved the worst fears and doubts of Bharatiya Jana Sangh about his foreign tour to be literally correct. The Central Working Committee regrets that the Government of India has directly contributed towards the creation of this unfortunate and dangerous situation by ignoring the timely, oral and written warnings given by Jana Sangh in this regard. Our diplomatic missions abroad have further added to his potential for mischief by according to him a VIP treatment at Cairo and other places.

By his utterances and activities abroad Sheikh Abdulla has fully revealed his true character about which Jana Sangh never had any misconception. Now it has become absolutely clear that his professions and declarations about Indo-Pak amity in order to enable them to jointly meet the challenge of China were a pure deception. The declaration of Pakistani Foreign Minister that Pakistan will give him passport for China if Government of India refused to do so, and that Pakistan was Abdulla's 'own home' where he could come any time without any hindrance is enough to establish that Sheikh Abdulla has been playing Pakistan's game and is hatching some serious anti-India conspiracy with the help of China on the instigation of Pakistan.

65.14. REVOKE KUTCH PACT

Shameful Capitulation—All the apologies and explanations now being trotted out by the Prime Minister and other government spokesmen cannot conceal the fact that the Indo-Pak Agreement on Kutch is a case of shameful capitulation before Pakistan's wanton aggression. The Central Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh condemns this pact and charges the Shastri Government with unpardonable betrayal of the nation's interests.

On three clear grounds, the agreement runs counter to India's interests. Firstly, conceding to Pakistan the right of patrolling in Indian territory and abdicating our own right to have our troops there is infringement of India's sovereignty. Secondly, the agreement as signed is a formal recognition of Pakistan's claim that the Rann of Kutch is a disputed territory,
a claim which the Government of India had hitherto strongly refuted. And worst of all, by agreeing to refer the Kutch issue to an international tribunal the Shastri Government has submitted to a suicidal precedent which dangerously exposes the country's affairs to foreign mischief. It is pointless to debate whether the provision in the pact in regard to this tribunal technically amounts to 'arbitration' or 'adjudication' or anything else. The Government of India has accepted that the tribunal's decision would be 'binding' and further that the tribunal will remain in operation till the decision 'is implemented in full'. No amount of verbal quibbling can disprove the fact that this agreement subjects India's sovereignty to the decision of foreign powers. In signing this agreement the Government has arrogated to itself a right which does not constitutionally belong to it.

'Status quo ante' Aggression—The government had assured Parliament that there would be no agreement with Pakistan until the status quo ante aggression was fully established. Parliament had been told that Pakistan's earliest intrusions in Kutch dated back to about 25 January 1965. It was now being argued that as Pakistan had been patrolling the 20 sq. miles belt south of the international border up to the Ding-Kanjarkot-Sural track even earlier than January 1, 1965, so restoration of status quo as on that date necessarily implied conceding the right of patrolling to Pakistan. The argument is amazing indeed. If Pakistan had actually entered this area before this date, its presence there was illegal and as an aggressor. The Government's pledge to have the status quo ante aggression restored, automatically ceased to have any relevance to the date January 1. Incidentally, this argument also amounts to self-condemnation of the Government of India inasmuch as it is an acknowledgement that for a long time the Government was unaware of Pakistan's presence in Indian territory.

Pak Strategy for further Aggression—The reactions in Pakistan should be an eye-opener for those who wishfully regard this agreement as an augury of better Indo-Pak relations. The agreement has been described there as the outcome of India's 'military humiliation' in Kutch and further as a 'model' on the basis of which the Kashmir problem can be solved. The cold response to Prime Minister Shastri's renewed offer of a 'no-war pact' is yet another indication that Pakistan regards this agreement not as a means for lessening Indo-Pak tensions but only as a strategic step for furthering its aggressive designs.

Jana Sangh favours the path of peaceful negotiations to resolve international disputes. But it also holds that aggression must be resisted by all means. Appeasement of an aggressor in the long run only subverts the cause of peace. Pakistan's conduct in Kutch is a clear instance where fantastic claims to the territory of a neighbour have been sought to be pressed by the use of naked force. Those charged with the custody of India's security should have resisted Pakistan's aggression with full force. It is deplorable that instead they have virtually condoned Pakistan's misdoings and given the unfortunate impression that they have truckled before aggressor's military might. Neither any improvement in Indo-Pak relations, nor genuine peace can result from this.

The Working Committee feels that even now it is not too late. Let the Government coolly reconsider the whole issue, take stock of the situation in the light of various reactions, particularly in Pakistan, and in deference to the people's wishes, rescind this agreement. The Government need not entertain any moral commitments on the score of being bound by an international commitiment. There have been many instances in world history where agreements have had to be revoked. In India's own history recently, the Government felt it proper to have second thoughts on the VOA agreement even after it was signed. In this particular case by revoking the agreement the Government would only be honouring the national will and fulfilling its own promise to the people.

If the Government fails to rectify the blunder it has committed, it is the duty of the Parliament, as the supreme representative body of the nation and which in this vital matter has been by-passed by the Executive, to repudiate this dishonourable agreement.

The Jana Sangh calls on the people to understand the serious implications of these developments. The Government has no right to jeopardise thus the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the nation. The people must assert themselves and compel the Government either to revoke this pact or to quit office.

[July 10, 1958; Jabalpur, CWC]

65.19. MASS DEMONSTRATION AGAINST KUTCH PACT

We warmly congratulate all those who directly or indirectly contributed towards making Jana Sangh's anti-Kutch pact
demonstration of August 16, 1965 as massive, disciplined and impressive as it was.

This great demonstration has once again proved that the people of India are unflinching in their resolve to defend the freedom and integrity of the country. The demonstration has also manifested their faith in democracy. It has further made it evident that national democratic forces can successfully combat those elements who only seek to exploit the widespread popular unrest arising out of the government's failure to solve problems and undermine unity and democracy.

Foreign Minister's Conference off—The immediate effect of the demonstration has been the cancellation of the Indo-Pak Foreign Ministers' Conference scheduled to take place on August 20, 1965. If the people continue to remain alert and active, the Kutch agreement may be reduced to a mere piece of paper.

It is a matter of extreme regret that Congress members of Parliament and some other members also have failed to honour the public will. By endorsing the pact they have forfeited the confidence of the people. The situation demands that they resign and seek the people's confidence afresh. It they do not voluntarily resign, we propose to approach the Rashtra Pati and urge dissolution of Parliament and order fresh elections. A vital issue of national sovereignty is involved and the people must be given an opportunity to express their opinion.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh assures the people that it would always remain in the vanguard of every national struggle and that it would not hesitate to stake its all for the defence of India's Freedom and Honour.

The exemplary sense of duty and diligence and the amazing capacity to undergo rigours and inconveniences for a cause shown by Jana Singh workers on this occasion is a credit of which the party is proud. This strength of ours must grow. The conditions demand that our advance be still more rapid. Let us go out to the country-side and make public opinion so strong and effective that nobody dare ignore it again.

All India General Council directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to further the anti-Kutch Pact movement.

[August 17, 1965; Delhi, AIGC]

65.26. WAR WITH PAKISTAN

Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels proud of the magnificent response given by the nation—the Government, the defence forces and the people—to the challenge posed by Pakistan's aggression. Never before in these 18 years of independence have, the Government policies and actions been so completely in accord with the people's will as they have been during these past few weeks. Little wonder that the entire country has arisen like one man to back the Government's steps to frustrate Pakistan's malicious designs.

It is a matter of deep gratification that in spite of long preparations by Pakistan, her superior armour and the concurrent pressure from China, Indian armed forces kept the enemy at bay and inflicted crushing blows on her gift armour. Our armed forces have thereby earned immortal glory and gratitude of the entire nation. But it would be wrong to think that Pak army has been crippled. Pakistan's belligerent mood has not yet subsided and the planned violations of the cease-fire coupled with the threatening and bellicose tone of Pak leaders' utterances point to her designs to keep up the armed pressure to reopen Kashmir issue on political level.

In the circumstances there is no scope whatsoever for any complacency or slightest let up. There are difficult days ahead and the country must be prepared for a long conflict.

Security Council Failure—It is a matter of deep regret and disappointment that Security Council has failed to brand as aggressor Pakistan, which began unprovoked attack on Jammu-Kashmir for the second time on 5th August. It has thus evaded the basic issue involved in the present conflict. There can be no question of India withdrawing her forces from any part of the present cease-fire line in JK State whole of which belongs to India legally and constitutionally. The old cease-fire line which India accepted on the behest of UN in 1948 has ceased to exist after Pakistan tried to upset the 1948 arrangement by force. The Hajipir pass, Kargil heights and other strategic points which Indian forces have now occupied are part of Indian territory. There can be, therefore, no question of our forces withdrawing from our own territory. Furthermore, the heights near Kargil are vital for the safety of the life-line that links Ladakh with the rest of the country. In view of Pak-China collusion and aggressive posture of China in Ladakh, the safety of the life-line is vital not only for the safety of India but also for the defence of the entire region against Chinese expansionism. India, therefore, cannot afford to take any risk or chance about them.
Reappraisal of Foreign Policy—The developments that took place before and during the launching of Pak aggression and discovery of arms with Chinese markings and consultation of Chinese and Pak leaders on political and military levels at every step have conclusively proved Pakistani collusion with China with the set purpose of subverting Indian democracy and creating chaos and disintegration in the country. It is time, therefore, that India makes reappraisal of the policies it has been pursuing in regard to Pakistan and China during the last 18 years. It is now clear that appeasement policy which prompted us to acquiesce in forcible occupation of Tibet by China and our failure to stand by Pakthoons in their demand for Pakhtoonistan was wrong and impolitic. India, therefore, must now come out openly for the liberation of Tibet and establishment of Pakhtoonistan.

It would be equally wrong to reopen the Kashmir question either under Pak pressure or American or Russian persuasion. Kashmir is an integral part of our country in which Pakistan has no locus standi whatsoever. Jana Sangh, therefore, expects that the Government would stand by its oft-repeated commitment not to reopen the Kashmir issue under any outside pressure.

It is a matter of satisfaction that there is growing realisation that our policies need to be reoriented in the light of recent experiences. Prime Minister Shri Shastri accepted this in his recent broadcast to the nation. Such reappraisal must cover all aspects of national policies particularly those concerning planning, defence and foreign affairs. In regard to planning, immediate steps should be taken to recast the Fourth Five-Year Plan so as to give top priority to defence needs and food production. The need for self-reliance and self-sufficiency in respect of arms and food has become too pressing to be ignored any more or postponed.

From the defence point of view a standing army of 20 lacs, military training for all youth and development of our own nuclear deterrent have become imperative.

Peking-Pindi-Jakarta Axis—In the sphere of foreign affairs, the emergence of the totalitarian axis of Peking, Pindi and Jakarta, aimed against India, the only bulwark of democracy in Asia, is a grim reality. All these three countries entertain no compunction in regard to the use of armed forces to settle international problems and share a common antipathy towards the United Nations. This axis, therefore, a growing threat to world peace.

The role of the USA and the UK in regard to Pakistani aggression is sorely disappointing. Pakistan’s misuse of American arms has justified India’s strong opposition to the US-Pak military pact and its misgivings that Pakistan would use these arms against none else but India. The blatantly partisan British attitude has caused deep resentment in the country. In the circumstances, it is time that India recasts its foreign policy on the basis of enlightened self-interests and reciprocity. This demands reconsideration of our relationship with the Commonwealth, and development of closer relations with countries like Israel and Japan.

Foreign Publicity—There is also need for having a fresh look on our foreign publicity and the working of our foreign offices and foreign missions. India needs not only correct and realistic policies but also efficient and effective instruments for their interpretation and implementation.

[September 27, 1965; Delhi, CWC]

66.01. TASHKENT DECLARATION

The Tashkent Declaration that has emerged from the recent Indo-Pak summit meeting has caused deep disappointment in the country. The Declaration is no assurance of stable or real peace between India and Pakistan. Pakistan has refused to agree to any category no-war pact and has just reaffirmed its faith in the provisions of the UN Charter requiring that force be abjured in the settlement of disputes. The membership of the UN and the obligations imposed by its Charter on Pakistan have not prevented it from mounting an aggression on India thrice in 18 years in a bid to have things settled by force. Pakistan’s arguments for the rejection of the no-war proposal clearly shows that it is in no way prepared to renounce use of force until the Kashmir problem is settled in its favour. It would, therefore, be indulging in self-delusion to think that the Tashkent Declaration means the end of Pakistan’s aggressive intentions.

It was expected that at the Tashkent parleys, India would seek to secure the complete vacation of Pakistan’s aggression in Kashmir. But far from doing this, India has agreed to withdraw to the ‘5th August, line.’ Thus, we would be quitting areas which are legally and constitutionally an integral
part of Indian territory and which have been liberated from Pakistan’s clutches by our brave Jawans at a heavy price. This decision also goes counter to the solemn assurances given to the people. The occupation of these areas had become imperative for two-fold strategic reasons as well. The entry of infiltrators into Jammu-Kashmir State had to be plugged and China’s threat in Ladakh had to be effectively checkmated. Pakistan has not accepted any responsibility for the infiltrators in the State nor given any assurance that it would not resume infiltration and sabotage activities again. There is no evidence either that the Sino-Pak collaboration against India is going to end. Even while the Tashkent talks were in progress, China sent its troops into the demilitarised zone and in a note reiterated its preposterous claims to 90,000 sq. km. of Indian territory. Under such circumstances agreeing to withdraw to the ‘5th August line’ is not only wrong in principle but is fraught with grave dangers for national security.

The interpretation being put on the Tashkent Declaration by Pakistani spokesmen clearly reveals their intentions. President Ayub’s statement shows that he regards the Agreement only as a stepping stone for the fulfilment of Pakistan’s ambitions on Kashmir. Like the several other Indo-Pak pact agreed to earlier, this also will only serve to whet Pakistan’s aggressive appetite.

The Central Working Committee regrets that to sell this agreement to the people, attempts are being made to exploit the tragedy of Shastriji’s sad and sudden death. It is necessary that the declaration be objectively analysed and its far-reaching implications understood.

[January 15, 1966; Kanpur, CWC]

66.04. BElongings of INDIAN SETTLERS IN BURMA

Grievances of Refugees from Burma—The question of the Indian refugees from Burma has been agitating the public mind for a long time particularly since June 1963. It was expected that the late Prime Minister’s visit to Burma last month would be utilised to discuss the whole question anew to find solution of the problem and seek redress of their grievances such as:

(i) Confiscation of their belongings by an Act whereby 93 percent of their total currency holdings was taken away.

(ii) Ban on their taking any of their liquid assets out of Burma and bringing them into India.

(iii) Expropriation of their immovable property without compensation.

(iv) Attitude of the Government of India regarding money and jewellery and other movable brought into India.

It is a matter of great regret that Shri Shastri’s visit failed to achieve anything in this regard.

The Central Working Committee after having considered all these grievances in extenso hereby resolves that:

(1) Whereas a large number of Indians have returned in the form of refugees to India from Burma on account of the nationalisation of all trades and industries in Burma and, whereas large amounts of money, valuable jewellery and other assets have been left behind by these Indians and whereas the Government of India has extended concessions to those who were able to bring into India, money amounting to Rs. 2,50,000, but has not shown similar considerations to those who succeeded in bringing valuable jewellery, such jewels and pieces of jewellery not exceeding in value Rs. 2,50,000 as have been brought by such refugees between June 1963 and December 1965 be allowed to keep them and any action under the Customs Act against such Indians be withdrawn and penalties levied be refunded and goods confiscated be released.

(2) Whereas several Indian refugees had deposited their jewelsries, etc. with the Indian Embassy in Burma, steps be taken to secure their being brought into India for disbursal to the owners thereof.

(3) Whereas the compensation legally due to those whose properties have been expropriated by the Government of Burma has not been paid to such persons so far, the Government be asked to take up this specific matter with the Government of Burma and secure for such persons the necessary relief.

(4) Whereas some Indians are still undergoing incarceration for technical offences, the Government of India be asked to approach the Government of Burma on this specific issue and secure such relief for such persons as may be proper under the circumstances.

[January 15, 1966; Kanpur, CWC]

66.15. PAKISTAN ON THE OFFENSIVE AGAIN

Pak Military Build-up Again—The developments in and about Pakistan since the Tashkent Agreement of January last have an ominous ring about them so far as Indo-Pak relations are con-
cerned. Having secured the withdrawal of Indian forces from Lahore, Sialkot, Hajipur and Kargil areas under that agreement, Pakistan is fast preparing for a second round—both militarily and diplomatically. She has not only secured large supplies of military hardware including one squadron of MiGs and Tanks from China besides those acquired from Saudi Arabia and Portugal and her CENTO allies but has also made successful bid for an arms deal with Soviet Russia. According to all available accounts she has more than made up for the losses suffered by her in the conflict of September last. She is reported to be building up a new army in East Bengal entirely equipped with Chinese arms and trained by Chinese officers, while she has further increased the strength of her armed forces in West Pakistan which are mainly equipped with American arms. At the same time she has built a new road linking Peshawar with Gilgit, Askarud and Kashgar in Chinese Turkistan via Hunza and new aerodromes capable of handling jet planes near Gilgit and Askarud. She is also fortifying the cease-fire line and training thousands of mujahids in guerrilla warfare all along that line. She is also extending all possible help including arms and training facilities to Naga and Mizo rebels from Assam hills.

Side by side she has made considerable gains on the diplomatic front as well. While maintaining and strengthening her links with China, she has repaired her links with the USA and forged new links with USSR. As against the military preparations and hostile postures of Pakistan, the Government of India has been harping on the so-called Tashkent spirit and making unilateral offers about resumption of trade. The Pakistani cargo seized during the war has already been released without any reciprocal response from Pakistan. Within the State of Jammu-Kashmir, the Government of India and Kashmir have singularly failed to apprehend and punish those who gave active help to Pakistani infiltrators. This has naturally encouraged both Pakistan and her agents in Kashmir to renew their nefarious activities with a vengeance. The recent discovery of a number of new arm dumps at different places in Kashmir valley and the attempt on the life of Chief Minister Sadiq point to the gravity of the situation as it is developing in that strategic state once again.

Indo-Pak Relations—The Central Working Committee takes a grave view of all these developments and warns the people and Government of India that a situation worse than that created by Pak infiltrators in August 1965 may develop if immediate and effective steps are not taken to meet the challenge by setting things right in Jammu-Kashmir and putting Indo-Pak relations on a realistic footing. The Jana Sangh demands that:

(1) Defence preparations in the country must be stepped up. Immediate steps must be taken to increase the strength of the defence forces and develop an independent nuclear deterrent. It must be clearly understood that there can be no substitute for strength in international relations.

(2) India must reorientate its foreign policy in the light of the past challenging situation. It would be wrong to blame USSR for the shift in her policy because her foreign policy is primarily determined by her own national interests. The only lesson that India can and should learn from this development is to reorder its policies on the basis of Indian interests instead of continuing to harp upon outdated cliches and slogans.

(3) It should be clearly understood that any talks with Pakistan in regard to Jammu-Kashmir under internal or external pressures will have an unsettling effect on the minds of the people of that strategic border region besides weakening our position in the eyes of friendly countries. India, therefore must make it clear to Pakistan and the world at large once for all that Kashmir is not negotiable.

(4) Within Jammu-Kashmir State, administration must be toned up and all elements of doubtful loyalty in it should be weeded out without any fear or favour. Exemplary punishment must be given to such elements and all secessionist activity must be suppressed with a strong hand by implementing the Ordinance against secessionist activities with firmness.

(5) To prevent renewed infiltration of Pak guerillas and mujahids from across the border, military settlements on the model of NAHALS in Israel should be set up all along the cease-fire line and civilian population in the border area should be trained in the use of arms after due screening.

(6) By giving all possible help to Pak agents in Jammu-Kashmir and by openly providing training facilities and arms to Naga and Mizo rebels, Pakistan has clearly flouted the clause about non-interference in the national affairs of each other in the Tashkent Agreement. There is no reason, therefore, why the Government of India should not extend all possible support to the people of East Bengal in their struggle for freedom from the colonial rule of West Pakistan.
Forces of Freedom in East Bengal—The way Pakistan is trying to convert East Bengal into a Chinese base makes it imperative for India to aid the forces of freedom in East Bengal from the point of view of her own security as well. Similarly India owes a moral duty to the people of Pakhtoonistan and their brave leader, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. India must extend all possible support to Pakhtoons as also to Afghanistan Government in its bid to secure justice for them.

[July 12, 1966; Lucknow, CWC]

66.17. MAURITIUS' FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

Bharatiya Jana Sangh hails the great people of Mauritius who are now passing through the final phase of their fight for Independence and who are battling against imperialist conspiracies with valour and determination.

Banwell Commission's Mischief—The people of India have always viewed the progress of Mauritius' struggle for freedom with sympathy, and a feeling of identification. Indians had rejoiced when in September last, the British Government had announced that by December 31, 1966, Mauritius would achieve freedom. It was hoped that, belated though it was, Mauritius was at last to occupy its due place as a free and united country in the comity of nations. But subsequent developments have come as a shock to Indians and, in fact, to all freedom loving and progressive forces in the world. The 'Divide and Rule' policy of British Imperialists, of which India itself has had a very bitter experience, seeks in Mauritius to convert the majority into a minority. The Banwell Commission entrusted with the task of making recommendations for delimitation of constituencies has in the name of protecting minority interests sought to arm a numerically small but financially powerful section of the population with the power of veto. If the Banwell Commission's recommendations are implemented, Mauritius would split into small factions and tribes and this would enable Britain to retain its stranglehold on this island.

Dr. Ram Goolam, the Prime Minister of Mauritius, has appealed to all Commonwealth countries to appreciate Mauritius' problems and help it out of its difficulty. The Government of India has a duty in this regard. It cannot stand by as an idle spectator. It must bring pressure on Britain to scrap the Banwell Commission's report. Bharatiya Jana Sangh assures the people and the Government of Mauritius that in this ultimate struggle to shake off foreign yoke, India is with them. We look forward with hope that before the year is out, Mauritius will be free.

[July 12, 1966; Lucknow, CWC]

67.09. ARAB-ISRAEL WAR

The Central Working Committee disapproves of the partisan policy pursued by the Government of India in regard to the recent conflict in West Asia. India should have exerted its influence first to check any eruption of hostilities between the Arabs and Israelites, and after war had broken out, with a view to restore peace. Instead of doing this, the Government of India has right from the outset extended its blind support to the Arabs. As a result, its policy has neither promoted the cause of peace nor served India's own wider interests.

West Asia Strategem of Big Powers—The part played by the big powers in the West Asia struggle should be an eye-opener for the smaller and developing countries. Soviet Russia herself had a hand in the establishment of Israel and so it does not lie in her mouth to describe that State as the product of Anglo-American diplomacy. Today, in pursuance of its global objectives Russia has been busy fanning Arab fanaticism. Then, the United States and Britain, keen to retain their grip on this strategically valuable oil belt, have been on the one hand encouraging formation of an Islamic bloc and propping up reactionary regimes like those of Jordan and Saudi Arabia while on the other they have been fast arming Israel with a view to using it as an effective power for the furtherance of their designs. It is necessary that all the countries of West Asia understand the strategem of the big powers, and instead of acting as their portages, strive to settle their disputes mutually on the basis of peace and coexistence.

For Peace in West Asia—For stable peace in West Asia it is essential that:

(1) The Arab countries must relinquish all intentions to annihilate Israel, acknowledge its existence, and develop mutual relations on the basis of peaceful and cooperative coexistence.

(2) Israel also must realise that it is basically an Afro-Asian State, and so instead of allowing itself to be used just as an instrument of Western diplomacy in West Asia, should play a respectable and purposeful role. With its economic prosperity and scientific and technological advancement, it can well become
a great source of strength for developing countries of Asia and Africa. But for this, it will have to reorientate its attitudes, cease looking Westwards, and develop altogether a new personality.

(3) Israel must cooperate on a large scale for the resettlement of Arab refugees uprooted as a result of the establishment of Israel. The miserable plight of the refugees is a permanent cause for the tension and bitterness subsisting between the Arabs and Jews, and it has to be remedied.

(4) The Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aquaba must be made open for ships of all nations. The UAR will have the right of a toll from the passing boats but it cannot be permitted to block the passage of any ship unilaterally. Similar other sea-routes in other parts of the world should be internationalised.

(5) Israel should withdraw its forces from areas it has occupied in recent conflict.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that the Government of India must revise its West Asia policy with a view to winning the friendship of both the Arabs and Israelites and creating stable peace in the region. In this context the Jana Sangh wishes to reiterate its demand that the Government of India must take steps to establish full fledged diplomatic relations with Israel.

[June 30, 1967; Simla, CWC]

67.13. SEVER DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CHINA

The barbarous treatment towards Indian diplomats in Peking at the hands of Red Guards inspired and organised by the Communist Government of China, the siege of the Indian Embassy there, and the anti-India activities and objectionable conduct of Chinese diplomats posted at New Delhi have once again demonstrated that there is no sense in continuing diplomatic relations with China. India's prestige and self-respect demand that India should forthwith sever diplomatic ties with China. It is necessary also that the Government of India should withdraw all support to the moves for seating China in the United Nations.

Annul 1954 Pact with China—By smothering Tibet's autonomy the Chinese rulers have violated their 1954 treaty with India and thus afforded India full justification for declaring that pact as annulled and supporting the cause of Tibet's freedom. The Government of India must recognise the Dalai Lama as the head of Tibet's emigre government and by extend-

ing its support and cooperation to it help liberate Tibet from the expansionist clutches of Red China.

[June, 30, 1967; Simla, CWC]

67.20. JOINT COMMITTEE FOR DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICIES

Pak-Chinese Collusion—The developments that have taken place in and around India since the Tashkent Agreement in early 1966 have further aggravated the situation in regard to India's security. Pakistan, as President Ayub made it clear after the agreement, considered the Tashkent Pact just a means to secure the withdrawal of India's forces from her territory that Indian force had won and as well from the Indian territory that were liberated from Pakistan's illegal occupation. Having achieved that, she threw the agreement to the winds and revived its old anti-India tirade and war-like preparations with vengeance. She confiscated not only India's cargo and rivercrafts seized by her during the September conflict, but also the liquid and fixed assets of India's banks, industrial concerns and individuals in Pakistan. At the same time, she started a massive arms build-up through purchases made in the open market with the aid of the hard currency provided to her by China and her Arab and other West Asian allies. Pakistan has almost doubled her land-forces and more than made up her losses in aircraft and tanks. She has developed new links with Russia without impairing her close ties with China on the one hand and with the West on the other. Naturally, this has considerably added to her potential for mischief and aggression, as is clear from the tone and temper of her press and radio.

The aggressiveness of China has also increased with the progress of her nuclear programme and the victory of Mao faction in the internal struggle for power. Her planned and unprovoked attacks on Indian forces at Chola and Nathula in September last and the increased aid she has been giving to Pakistan and the Naga rebels is an indication of her dangerous designs. The close collaboration of China and Pakistan is matched by growing cooperation and collusion between their agents within the country. This poses a dangerous situation which calls for immediate attention from the Government and people of India.

Defence and Foreign Policies' Different Orbits—It is unfortunate that the Government has not only failed to prepare the
country adequately from the military point of view but what is worse, its foreign policy also runs counter to the requirements of India's security. In fact there is no correlation between India's defence and foreign policies which have been moving in different orbits altogether. The all-out support extended by India to Arabs cannot be justified either on the ground of reciprocity or of national interests. Similarly the illogical stand India has taken in regard to Taiwan, which happens to be our most important window on, and the most determined foe of China, not only runs counter to India's interests but also makes a mockery of India's China Policy.

It is, therefore, the considered view of the Jana Sangh that India's defence and foreign policies need to be revised and reoriented in the light of the hard realities of the fast-developing situation. The broad lines of such a reorientation should be:

1. India must build up friends ready to help us against China and Pakistan. We should be able to secure assistance, both military and diplomatic.

2. Special efforts should be made to develop closer relations with countries of South East Asia with whom India has age-old cultural ties. Freed from Western imperialism, these countries now face the threat of China's expansionist ambitions. In cooperation with these countries, India can contain China's expansionism and render foreign intervention in the area entirely unnecessary.

3. While maintaining friendly relations with the USA and the USSR, India's foreign policy should follow an independent line. Care should be taken to forge direct relations with countries of Eastern Europe, South America and Africa instead of, as at present, through the intermediacy of Washington, London or Moscow.

4. India must extend support to forces exerting for the independence of Tibet, Sinkiang, South Mongolia and Pakistan. The Dalai Lama should be recognised as Head of the emigre Government of Tibet and India should take the initiative in raising the issue of Tibet's freedom at the United Nations. Taiwan Government should also be recognised.

5. Long-term and short-term measures must be undertaken to make India self-reliant in the matter of defence. Self-sufficiency must be achieved early in the field of conventional weapons like light and heavy tanks, heavy artillery and aeronautical equipments. Naval forces should be equipped with latest equipments. Intelligence department of the Indian Forces should also be reorganised and furnished with modern means. Priority should be given to the development of India's own nuclear deterrent.

6. A joint committee should be formed of defence and foreign policies experts both at the Parliamentary and Ministerial levels to constantly review the defence and foreign policies of the country in correlation with each other.

7. Immediate and effective steps should be taken to prevent infiltration of Pak and Chinese agents and arms into India. The border areas should be cleared of all elements of doubtful loyalty and ex-servicemen should be settled in these parts. No false notions of any kind should be allowed to obstruct implementation of these security measures.

[December 26, 1967; Calicut, XIV AJS]

67.26. RELEASE OF GOAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

The Fourteenth Annual Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that the Central Government should immediately take proper steps to secure the release of the leaders of Goa Independence Movement, Shri Mohan Ranade and Dr. Mascarenhas, who are yet rotting in Portuguese jails.

[December 26, 1967; Calicut, XIV AJS]

68.03. INDIANS HOLDING BRITISH PASSPORTS

British Immigration Law—Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses its grave concern over the plight of Indians in East Africa, who are finding it more and more difficult to live there, and for whom the doors of Britain are also closed in spite of their being in possession of British passports. The new Immigration Law of Britain is certainly based upon racial discrimination, and its objective is to prevent such Asians from entering Britain as had voluntarily been given full citizenship rights by Britain itself. The circumstances are well known in which these people were taken to Africa and in which they contributed to the prosperity of British Colonies in spite of grave difficulties. Instead of expressing its gratitude towards these Asians, Britain is not only committing double treachery by preventing their entry but is also committing the sin of destroying basic Human Rights as well as throwing to the winds principles of International Law and Justice. The new British law has made a mockery of the much-proclaimed British Justice and Morality. It has also
given a serious blow to the concept of a Commonwealth based upon the freedom and equality of different peoples and nations.

It is a matter of regret that the Government of India has not taken any effective steps to stop British injustice to these unfortunate people of Indian origin. India must remember that these people have gone out from India and in the long run they may have to return back to India. The Government of India must not think that its duty ends with expressing sympathy for these people or sending a letter of protest to Britain. The time has come when the Government should make it clear to Britain that in case the latter is not prepared to retrace its steps, India will have to take retaliatory measures, including the extreme step of severing its connections with the Commonwealth. At the same time the Government should also think seriously to refer the matter to the Human Rights Commission. It should also ask the British Government to pay compensation for the resettlement of those Indians who are forced to return to India because of being driven out by Britain.

[March 22, 1968; Bhopal, CWC]

68.14. RUSSIAN ATTITUDE

The international situation in general and particularly in regard to India has undergone a significant change during the last few months which deserves to be scrutinised closely and assessed realistically in the context of Indian National interests.

Russian Arms to Pakistan—The first significant change is the shift in Soviet policy culminating in Russian decision to give arms to Pakistan. This shift has not been sudden. It began even before Pak invasion of Kutch in early 1965 and it could be clearly seen at Tashkent. But it is a pity that masters and minions of the Indian foreign office could not see that shift and continued to mislead the Parliament and the people by their high sounding declarations about no change in Russian policy till the announcement about Soviet arms to Pakistan by Russia herself made it impossible for them to hide the truth.

The implications of this shift in the Soviet policy are of great importance for India. It has once again proved the old dictum that THERE ARE NO PERMANENT FRIENDS AND NO PERMANENT ENEMIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THAT THE ONLY PERMANENT CONSIDERATIONS ARE THE NATIONAL INTERESTS. If the architects of Indian foreign policy even now learn this lesson and decide to make a reappraisal of Indian foreign policy, this shift in the Russian policy may prove to be a blessing in disguise for India.

No Friendship between Unequals—The second lesson of this shift in Russian policy is that there can be no real friendship between unequals. So long as India continues to depend for massive aid of whatever kind on the two super powers, it cannot establish correct relations with them.

A third implication of this shift in the Russian policy is that it has increased the bellicosity of Pakistan whose aggressive intentions towards India are becoming more and more pronounced. The disdainful rejection by Pakistan of the offer of no-war pact made by the Indian Prime Minister has further highlighted her intentions and motives. The recent visit of her Foreign Minister Shri Arshad Hussain to Peking and the forthcoming visit of Chinese Prime Minister to Pakistan when viewed in the context of the shift in Russian policy, Pakistan's moves regarding Kashmir at the UNO and stepping up of warlike preparations by her on both Eastern and Western frontiers and simultaneous spurt in the anti-national activities of Sheikh Abdullah and Maulvi Faruq in Kashmir and Nagaland and Mizo hostiles and Chinese and Pak agents in the Eastern region, are significant developments which the people and the Government of India can ignore only at their own peril.

Russian Aggression against Czechoslovakia—The other significant development has been the naked aggression of Soviet Russia and her four Warsaw Pact Allies against Czechoslovakia to prevent her leadership from pursuing the course of liberalisation of her Communist Regime there in spirit and content, on the pretext of invitation of some Czech leaders. It is a flagrant violation of the UN Charter and the right of every country to shape its own affairs without interference from outside.

Little Difference between Communism and Nazism—The implications of this development are equally important for India. In the first place it has made it absolutely clear that the Russian Bear cannot change its character. It continues to be monolithic, intolerant and enemy of human freedom as ever before and it is determined to prevent any wind of freedom from blowing over it or its satellites. It also points to revival of Stalinism in that country which might pave the way for its reconciliation with China. It has once again proved that there is little difference between Communism and Nazism and there is still less to
choose between the two.

What is even more significant for India is that USA and her NATO allies refused to raise their finger when Czechoslovakia was being stampeded by Russian tanks. It only proves that the two Super Powers have divided the world in their respective spheres of influence and that, even though cold war between them may get accentuated, they will not automatically come to the help of a weak country if it is attacked by its stronger neighbour unless their own vital national interests so demand. This makes mince-meat of the arguments of those who have been advising India to renounce her right to develop atomic deterrent on the assurances of American Umbrella or Russian Parasol. It has now become absolutely clear that India cannot afford to depend on any outside help in the case of sudden attack by Pakistan and/or China. She must stand on her own legs if she really wants to preserve her freedom, integrity and sovereignty in this war-torn world.

A significant byproduct of this development in Czechoslovakia is that the subservient character of the present Government of India has been totally exposed. The way the Prime Minister quibbled about the words ‘condemn’ and ‘deplore’ and our representative at the UN Security Council abstained from voting over the issue, betrayed incapacity of the Government she heads to take a realistic and principled stand in a matter in which Soviet Union may be involved or interested. It is a significant pointer whose dangerous significance must be pondered over by all patriots.

Infatuation with Russia—These international developments have not come to us as a surprise. The Jana Sangh again was the first to sense this shift in Russian policy and draw the attention of the people and Government of India to it as far back as 1964. Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been stressing all these years the imperative need to stand on our own legs and reduce dependence on foreign aid. It has also been stressing the need of understanding the true character and motivations of the Communists within and outside and warning against the growing infatuation of the Indian leadership with Russia.

The Jana Sangh again reiterates its often repeated stand about reorientation of Indian foreign policy and its correlation and coordination with the defence needs of the country. It particularly warns the people and the Government about the threat posed by Pakistan and China and their agents within the country to the integrity and security of the country, in the days ahead. With the shift in Russian policy in favour of Pakistan, a further shift in the attitude of Arab countries in Pakistan favour is bound to come. That demands an immediate reappraisal of Indian policy towards West Asian countries, particularly Israel.

The All India General Council calls upon all the nationalistic and democratic forces in the country to be alert and united to meet any threat to the national security which may result out of the international developments mentioned above. [September 7, 1968; Indore, AIGC]

69.07. REVIS DE AND REORIENTATE FOREIGN POLICY

The international situation has undergone a sea change during the last one year. The trends and shifts in the foreign policies of major powers and their impact on middle and smaller powers which were vaguely discernible a year ago have since taken a concrete form and shape.

Russia-China Clashes—The Sino-Russian tensions which began in the Khruschev era have culminated in bloody armed clashes between the two giants of the Communist world. It is an interesting thing to see these two Communist monoliths making fervent appeals to Russian and Chinese nationalisms to establish their claim on a small piece of land. Their clash is the outcome of a long historical process. They had been steadily expanding and extending their boundaries at the cost of smaller States of Central Asia and Siberian steppes over the last 200 years. As a result, these States which acted as a buffer and cushion between these two giants have disappeared leading to direct confrontation between the two. The situation is in a way analogous to the one created by the occupation of Tibet by China in regard to Sino-Indian relations. While we sympathise with Russia in her new predicament, we do hope that her leaders now better understand India’s case vis-a-vis China.

This major development has set into motion or accelerated new shifts and adjustments in the policies of other countries.

Western Withdrawal from East of Suez—The tacit detente between USA and USSR which became so clearly manifest during the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia a few months back has become more open and definite. The steady withdrawal of USA and UK from East of the Suez areas has opened new vistas and fields of expansion for both Russia and
China. This explains increasing tempo of subversive activities of the Chinese and pro-Chinese Communists in the countries of South East Asia on the one hand and major shift in the Russian policy in regard to Pakistan, Turkey and Iran on the other. USSR wants to grab the opportunity to fulfill its historic urge for getting to the warm waters of the Indian ocean through a Southward push across the Hindukush. The weakening of SEATO and CENTO and the growing opposition in Pakistan to her continuation as a member of these USA dominated regional pacts is just a corollary of the new situation.

The emergence of Pindi-Peking axis made SEATO superfluous so far as Pakistan was concerned. The Moscow-Pindi axis which is now clearly in the offing will make CENTO equally superfluous for Pakistan.

Demand for Independent East Bengal—The growing demand for independence in East Bengal and possibility of eventual loss of her Eastern wing to Pakistan may resolve the inherent contradiction and conflict between her policies towards China and USSR in the light of growing tensions between them. May be one of the objectives of Russian shift in favour of Pakistan is to drive a wedge between China and Pakistan. But so long as Pakistan continues in its present form, it will be safe to assume that she will persist in her present policy of building new bridges with USSR while preserving the existing ones with China. But in the long run Pakistan’s rulers from her Western wing will tend to formulate her foreign policy more as a West Asian State than as a South East Asian State. The detente between USA and USSR is having its impact on the Arab world as well. The Four Powers effort at finding a solution of Arab-Israel impasse is a result of it.

Vietnam Experience—The experience of Vietnam has given new strength to advocates of policy of isolation in USA. Though isolation of the pre-first-world-war period is out of question for the USA of today, yet the pressure for cutting down Asian commitments on US administration cannot and should not be under-estimated. This is bound to force her East Asian partners to look for new friends and allies or to devise a system of regional security independent of USA.

Amorphous Commonwealth—So far as UK is concerned, she has ceased to be a Super Power and now she is struggling for maintaining her position vis-à-vis France and West Germany as a Medium Power. That explains her anxiety to get into ECM and the stress of her foreign policy spokesmen on bilateral relationship with India and other countries. This is the beginning of the end of amorphous Commonwealth.

These developments are having their impact on all countries. There is growing resistance in Eastern Europe to Russian hegemony as there is in Western Europe to the American. Latin American countries are also trying to establish and assert their independent identity.

India which is a potential Super Power and occupies a key position in Asia cannot remain unconcerned about these developments around her. The assumptions and postulates on the basis of which Shri Nehru formulated Indian foreign policy after freedom have ceased to be relevant. A new world with new focii, new pulls and urges and new power relationships has come into being during the last few years. But Indian foreign policy makers still continue to live in the fifties and same old slogans and clitches continue to be their guiding stars. Correct assessment of the changing situation which in its turn depends upon correct information, can be the only basis for policies if they are to be correct and objective. But the Indian policy makers refuse to face facts or accept the information which goes counter to their pet notions. The assessment made on the basis of incorrect or incomplete information and ideological rather than objective considerations leads to wrong conclusions and wrong policies.

But time has come now when the Indian foreign policy must be jolted out of the old ruts and given a new shape and direction so as to make it subserve the wider national interests in the fast changing and not very friendly world.

Reorientation of Foreign Policy—Bharatiya Jana Sangh has always laid stress on a national and non-partisan foreign policy which should rise above partisan considerations and ideological inhibitions. It has been trying to educate and influence the government and the people in this regard to the best of its capacity inside and outside the Parliament. It is the considered view of the Jana Sangh that in the light of the fast changing world-situation, Indian foreign policy must be reoriented on the following lines without any further delay:

1) India must stop moving in the Russian orbit as it has been doing despite loud professions about non-alignment by the powers that be. It should develop an independent relationship with both the Super Powers—USA and USSR—on the
basis of equality, self-respect and mutuality of interests. This
Demands that India must cut down her dependence on both
of them and learn to stand on her own legs.

(2) Now that the Russian bear has also got a taste of the
Chinese dragon and there is a new awareness in her policy
makers about the expansionist designs of China and her crimes
against Tibetan humanity, India must take the initiative in
projecting the Tibetan issue in its proper perspective before
the world. The question of Tibet is not just one of Human
Rights. It is basically a question of colonialism of a type much
worse than what the world has seen so far. The Government
of India, therefore, must raise the question of Tibet in the UN
Committee against Colonialism and take all possible steps to
mobilise world opinion in support of liberation of Tibet. That
demands recognition of the Dalai Lama as Head of the emigre
Government of Tibet and extension of all facilities to him to
educate and mobilise world opinion in favour of his Cause.

(3) In view of the power-vacuum in the Indian ocean region
arising out of the British and US policy of withdrawal from
East of the Suez, India must take initiative in creating regional
understanding and cooperation between countries of South
East Asia, particularly those on the Indian ocean littoral for
safeguarding the interests of the whole region against Chinese
expansionism. The main weight of the burden must be borne
by India, Australia and Japan, who must collaborate with one
another more and more in the wider interests of the region as
a whole including themselves. Taiwan occupies a key place
in this region particularly because of its greater insight into
and understanding of the means and motives of Communist
China. A closer relationship with Taiwan, therefore, must
form a part of any regional understanding of this type.

(4) India's interest in peace in West Asia and reopening
of Suez canal is more immediate and pressing than of many
other countries. India, therefore, must play the role of a
mediator and peace maker between Arabs and Israel instead
of taking sides with any of them. The present policy of touch-
me-not towards Israel is neither rational nor national. It is a
partisan policy with communal motivations and overtones. It
must be changed and steps must be taken to normalise rela-
tions with Israel.

(5) Recent developments in Pakistan are a portent of
something worse in the days to come. The new dictator of
Pakistan may try to work up anti-India hysteria to strengthen
his position in West Pakistan as soon as he is able to suppress
or appease East Bengal. The decision of Pakistan Government
to raise the Kashmir issue in the Security Council is an indi-
cation of the working of his mind. The continued flow of
arms into Pakistan and new found love of USSR for her
deboes ill for Indo-Pakistan and Indo-USSR relations in the
days to come. Indian foreign policy, therefore, must aim at
exposing Pakistan on the one side and finding reliable allies
and friends against her aggressive designs on the other. There
is no place for complacency or satisfaction at the internal
developments in Pakistan.

(6) Clash of interests between Afghanistan and Pakistan
on the one hand and Iran and Arab-world on the other is a
hard reality of the West Asian situation. Both Afghanistan
and Iran have age-old ties with India cultural, economic as well
as political which need to be strengthened and revitalised. More
needs to be done to assure Afghanistan of India's sympathy and
support for the cause of Pakhtoons.

(7) India must realise the abiding importance of cultural
ties in international relationships and must take initiative in
convening an international conference of the countries which
cherish the Hindu-Buddhist Heritage and Culture.

(8) Commonwealth has outlived its utility even for Britain.
It has become a misnomer and an anachronism. India must get
out of it and try to establish bilateral relations with UK and
other countries of the Commonwealth on the basis of recipro-
city and mutuality of interests.

(9) Yugoslavia and Rumania in Eastern Europe, West
Germany and France and Western Europe and Brazil and Chile
in Latin America are asserting their independent positions with
distinct international personalities of their own. India must
pay greater attention to them in all respects.

(10) India has a stake and interest not only in the future
of Overseas Indians but also in the future of people of Indian
origin who occupy important position in a number of independ-
ent countries like Mauritius, Surinam, British Guiana and
Fiji. The way the British are trying to reduce their majority
in Fiji and Guyana by a mischievous manipulation of the
electoral system is not only a grave injustice to these people
but also an affront to the conscience of the Democratic world.
Having connived at the imposition of a minority regime on
Rhodesia, the British may have no qualms of conscience in meeting out the same treatment to the people of Indian origin wherever they can. But the Government of India must not give the impression of helplessness in the matter. It must make every diplomatic effort to safeguard the interests of the people of Indian origin wherever they might be. It must also put pressure on UK to discharge her duty towards Asians of East Africa with British passports.

[April 26, 1969; Bombay, XV AJS]

70.04. EAST BENGALI MINORITIES

The partition of India in 1947 left sizable Muslim minority in truncated India and Hindu minority in Pakistan. Shri Jinna and Dr. Ambedkar had suggested that logic of partition demanded exchange of this Hindu and Muslim population left back in India and Pakistan. But later it was decided by the Congress and Muslim League successors of the British in the two new Dominions that they should guarantee protection and equal rights to Hindus and Muslims that had been left back instead of undertaking exchange of population. That in fact was an essential part of partition agreement and both sides publicly accepted this responsibility to allay the genuine and understandable fears and anxiety of the Hindu and Muslim minorities in Pakistan and truncated India.

After the virtual transfer of Hindu and Muslim populations between East Punjab and West Pakistan, about 3 crore Muslims were left behind in India and about 1.5 crore Hindus were left in East Bengal.

Rate of Growth of Minorities—It is a matter of pride for India that it has honoured its assurances and has given full protection and equal treatment to its Muslim minority as is clearly proved by the rapid increase of the Muslim population in India. It rose to 5 crores in 1961 and is estimated to have gone up to 6 crores by now. The rate of growth of population in Pakistan has been about the same as in India. If Pakistan had also honoured the commitment to give equal protection to its Hindu minority, its population should have arisen to about 2.5 crores in 1961. But actually the number of Hindus in Pakistan reduced to 90 lacs only according to Pakistan’s census of 1961 and has further reduced since then.

This has been mainly due to the planned policy of squeezing out or converting the Hindus through a reign of terror pursued by the rulers of Pakistan. Over 50,000 Hindus were murdered in cold blood in 1950 and about 50 lacs were driven out in a few months. Exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan has continued ever since. But it assumed grave proportions once again in 1964 when over 30,000 of them were murdered. At that time it was given out to be a reaction to the alleged theft of the Holy Hair of the Prophet from a shrine in Srinagar. Since December 1969, the exodus of Hindus from East Bengal has again assumed alarming proportions. More than 2 lacs have come to India since then. There is no ostensible reason for this new operation-squeeze. According to the information collected by an on-the-spot study, this exodus has been started by creating a sense of terror in the minds of Hindus by looting their property and disowning their womenfolk with the connivance of Pakistan Government. It now appears that Pakistan is determined to convert, exterminate or squeeze out the few lacs of Hindus and Buddhists who are still left there.

Worst Genocide in Human History—The destruction and squeeze out of over 1 crore Hindus from Pakistan during the last 20 years had no parallel in history. It is the worst kind of genocide that has taken place in any part of the world in recorded history.

The founder-President of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, was very anxious and concerned about the fate of Hindus in Pakistan. He had resigned from Shri Nehru’s cabinet in 1950 as a protest against the weak and unrealistic policy of Shri Nehru towards Pakistan in regard to the question of treatment towards Hindus there. Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, had been seized of this problem as a National one from its very inception. It holds that the people and Government bear a responsibility regarding the fate of Hindus left in Pakistan as also of those who have been forced out. Their only crime is that they are Hindus.

It is a matter of regret that Government of India has so far failed to discharge its duty in regard to the Hindus in East Bengal and those who have come out.

It is the considered view of the Jana Sangh that Government of India must take short-term and long-term steps to provide relief and rehabilitation to those who have been thrown out and to provide security of life, honour, and property to those who are still in Pakistan. To that end Jana Sangh demands that:

(1) In view of the fact that all diplomatic attempts in the
form of different pacts like the Nehru-Liaquat one and protest-
notes have failed to have any effect on the Government of
Pakistan, which has been throwing all of them in waste paper bask-
et with impunity, there is no hope of securing any justice from
Pakistan for the Hindus left there. It therefore reiterates the
demand first made by late Sardar Patel for reasonable land from
East Bengal to settle the Hindu refugees from there. Compensation
for the property left by the refugees there and for their
rehabilitation should also be demanded from Pakistan.

(2) Public opinion in India and the world must be educa-
ted and mobilised against this genocide and squeeze out of
Hindus from Pakistan. Instead of doing its duty in the matter
the Government of India has been put on the defensive by
Pakistan which has been charging India of genocide of Muslims,
which goes against hard facts. The Government must gear up
its External propaganda machinery and raise the issue of Hindus
in Pakistan at the United Nations and other international
forums with determination.

(3) The Government must make it clear that it will not talk
to Pakistan for piecemeal settlements of issues which suit
Pakistan, till the issue of Hindus in Pakistan is settled. It is a
basic and national problem which must take precedence over
all Indo-Pak issues in any negotiations or settlement with
Pakistan.

(4) It should be treated as a National problem and steps be
taken on war footing to provide relief and rehabilitation to the
Hindus coming from Pakistan. Refugee camps at Bashirhat,
Hasanabad, Bengaon are in pitiable conditions. They should be
improved.

[July 18, 1970; Chandigarh, AIGC]

70.09. DECLINE IN CONTENT AND QUALITY OF
FOREIGN POLICY

The Central Working Committee notes with dismay the con-
tinuing decline in the content and quality of Government's
Foreign policy. Here is a policy revolving round the smiles of
Mao and the frowns of Kosygin. In the name of non-alignment,
Government has aligned the country with every other black-
mailing country. It has reduced India to the position of a
satellite of the doubly constituted by the two Super Powers.

That China should have given arms to Pakistan is not to be
wondered at. But that USA and USSR should also have joined

that race with impunity shows how poorly they think of the
Government of India. Indeed the whole world seems to take
India for granted. The Indian prestige has fallen so low that
even Ceylon is ill-treating persons of Indian origin there.

The latest rebuff to India is the American reaffirming of
Pakistan. In the face of Pakistani declaration that it has only
one enemy, and that is India, this American decision amounts
to an highly unfriendly act. American armour in Pakistani
hands had shed Indian blood before—and it will do so again,
unless USA stays its hand betimes.

Lengthening Russian Shadow—More ominous than anything
else is the lengthening Russian shadow over the Indian land-
scape. Our crippling military dependence on Russia is at once
humiliating and dangerous. The anti-India Russian maps are a
warning of Russian intentions. The Communist infiltration
into many spheres of life from administration and industry to
Radio and TV is a warning of worse to come. All the while
Russian radio is traducing Indian leaders and shamelessly inter-
fering in the internal affairs of India.

The latest Chinese insistence that India should never recog-
nise Formosa amounts to dictating our foreign policy to us. Its
asking us to forget about the independence of Tibet amounts to
knocking down the linchpin of any stable peace in the
Himalayas. All this shows that China is as intractable and
offensive as ever. And yet Smt. Gandhi has seen a change in
the Chinese policy just because Shri Mao has beamed a smile
at one of her officials. Such infantile approach to international
affairs betokens a grave threat to Indian security. The People
and Parliament of India are pledged to the vacating of Chinese
aggression. Any deviation from these basics of our China
policy will be gross betrayal of vital national interests. Bharatiya
Jana Sangh warns the Government against any clandestine talks
with China in Cairo or elsewhere.

[November 6, 1970; Delhi, CWC]

71.02. RECOGNISE SWADHIN BANGLADESH

Monstrous Absurdity—called Pakistan—The developments in
East Bengal since December 1, when Awami League of Shri
Mujibur Rehman was returned to power with a massive major-
ity in Pakistan National Assembly and East Bengal Assembly,
though unprecedented in their magnitude and barbarism are the
logical sequel to the creation of the monstrous absurdity called
Pakistan on the basis of Two-nation Theory by the Muslim League and the Congress, 24 years back. A philosophy or ideology which assumed that Dacca could feel itself closer to Lahore and Islamabad—some 1200 miles away than to Calcutta—and that a citizen of East Bengal could find greater affinity with a citizen of West Punjab than with his next door non-Muslim Bengali neighbour is as preposterous as it is illogical, unscientific and unrealistic.

**Two-nation Theory Collapse**—This ideology began to collapse soon after the partition. The revival of the movement for Pakhtoonistan, the anti-Urdu riots in Dacca, the massive victory of Shri Fazul-ul-Haq in the first general elections held in Pakistan in 1954 and revival of Sindhi consciousness as distinct from Muslim or Pakistani consciousness were early symptoms of the present developments in East Bengal and their ramifications in Sind, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan. These developments have exploded as nothing else could have done and destroyed the Two-nation Theory—the very basis on which Pakistan was created by partitioning India. They are harbingers of the end of Pakistan and reunification of what God and nature has created as one.

Any nationalist government in India would have welcomed these developments and extended all help—moral, material and diplomatic, to the people of Awami League on considerations of humanitarianism, preservation of democratic norms and values and safeguarding of our defence and national interests. Had the Government of India acted in time, Bangladesh would have been a reality by now and much of the holocaust, genocide, atrocities against children, mass rape of women and forcible squeeze-out of over 70 lac people, could have been avoided.

**Three Objectives of Pak Barbarism**—The inaction and indecision on the part of the Government of India encouraged the military junta of Pakistan to start its unprecedented programme in Pakistan with three set objectives. The first objective as Shri Anthony Masarenhas has spelled out so clearly is to exterminate all those who had dared to challenge in any shape or form the basic ideology of Pakistan. That explains their special effort to kill the intellectuals, students and professors and youth in general who had heralded the movement of Bangladesh.

Second aim was to cut down the population of East Bengal to enforce the principle of parity between West Pakistan and East Bengal in any future Constitution of Pakistan. The third objective was to eliminate every Hindu from East Bengal as they had done in West Punjab to make East Bengal too a homogeneous Islamic area with no trace of heresy. To that end nearly one crore Hindus of East Bengal have been systematically exterminated or squeezed out. That the plan to exterminate and squeeze out all Hindus was made at the highest level at Islamabad is clear from the writings of Pakistan Times, the official organ of the Government of Pakistan and report of Michael Hornby from Dacca, published in The Times, London on 23 June 1971 under the caption “Systematic hunt for Hindus.”

Another objective of Pakistan’s policy seems to be to strike terror in the hearts of nationalists of Sind, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan so that they may not dare to emulate the example of the nationalists of Bangladesh.

**Virtual Pak Aggression**—As things are, the ruling junta of Pakistan has launched a virtual aggression against India by forcing 70 lac refugees, with all economic, political and emotional implications of such massive and unprecedented exodus which is still continuing. At the same time Pakistan’s armed forces have been indulging in border incursions, violations of Indian air space and committing other acts of aggression with impunity. According to the Government of India’s own admission, scores of Indian civilians and armed personnel have been killed by such indiscriminate incursions and intrusions into our territory by Pakistan’s armed forces. Massive preparations are also being made by Pakistan to launch an aggression in Kashmir and other vulnerable parts of Western India at a time and place of her choosing.

**Foreign Policy is neither Rational nor National**—Instead of taking steps to meet this aggression, Smt. Gandhi’s Government like Chamberlain’s Government in UK in 1939, is trying to evade its duty through appeasement of Pakistan and General Yahya Khan, who has excelled Hitler so far as barbarism and cruelty over an entire people is concerned. The leadership of a country is tested at the time of crisis. In this crisis of her tenure of office, Smt. Gandhi has proved that she cannot lead the country. The interests of the country are not safe in her hands. Instead of giving a positive lead to her Cabinet, Parliament and the People she has been wasting valuable time by sending Cabinet Ministers to world capitals with wagging
tongues and begging bowls to canvas sympathy for India and beg help for the refugees. How miserably such missions have failed is proved by the way USA allowed ships laden with military hardware for Pakistan to sail as soon as Sardar Swaran Singh left Washington. While the attitude of USA deserves strongest condemnation, it has also clearly proved that there is no place for any principles, charity or morality in international relations. Every country is guided by its own national interests and not by any other consideration. As things are, Pakistan is a member of SEATO and CENTO. The USA and UK, therefore, would like to maintain its unity as a counterbalance to India. Even USSR is maintaining an attitude of non-alignment between India and Pakistan.

The attitude of Arab and other Muslim countries should be no surprise. It is just in line with the attitude they adopted at the time of Chinese aggression on India in 1962 and Pak aggression in 1965. But all this has convincingly exposed the hollowness of the foreign policy of India. It has been neither rational nor national.

The net result of all these developments is that Pakistan feels encouraged to go ahead with its plans. The broadcast of General Yahya Khan in which he has spelled out his plan about a new constitution made by experts, disqualification of Awami League members and establishment of a puppet regime at Dacca is to whitewash the whole carnage and present the world with a fait accompli. Her friends are also watching the developments and will bail her out at the first opportunity. This has made all talk of political settlement with Bangladesh meaningless. Political settlement can and must be made only with Shri Mujibur Rehman and Awami League and not with the puppets of Yahya Khan.

Immediate Help to Bangladesh—In the circumstances, it is the considered view of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that the Government of India must take immediate steps to help Bangladesh on the following lines:

1. Immediate recognition be given to the democratically elected Government of Swadhin Bangladesh and effective moral and material help should be given to it to normalise conditions there soon and efforts be made for early release of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and others under arrest.

2. Dispersal of the displaced persons to far off places should be stopped. As far as possible camps for the refugees should be put on the Bangladesh border so that they might go back to their homes as soon as Pakistani army of occupation is thrown out of Bangladesh. Screening should be done to detect Pakistani agents and other undesirable elements amongst the refugees. Youngmen amongst them should be given military training.

3. Effective military action be taken to repel Pak aggression on our borders.

4. Effective curbs be put on Sheikh Abdulla, Majlis-i-Mushawarat, Tamir-e-Millat and Jamait-e-Islam, Muslim League and other elements who have consistently refused to condemn the military junta for its genocide in Bangladesh. Action should be taken against papers which have supported Pakistan instead of representing national sentiments over the issue.

5. Steps should be taken to secure cooperation of all patriotic organisations and elements in the task of repelling Pak aggression, securing justice for the people of Bangladesh and safeguarding the honour, integrity and security of India.

6. A basic reappraisal of India's foreign policy in all its aspects must be undertaken.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh calls upon all its units to educate and mobilise public opinion in support of these demands so that government may be forced to act in the wider interests of the country. Jana Sangh also appeals to the people to extend full moral and material help to mitigate the sufferings of the displaced persons.

[July 2, 1971; Udaipur, XVII AIS]

71.05. INDO-SOVIET TREATY

Bharatiya Jana Sangh has considered the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. The Treaty is welcome to the extent that it counters the continued American arming of Pakistan, deters Chinese intervention in Indo-Pak affairs and the isolation of India.

However, Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not prepared to extend uncritical support to the Treaty. In the immediate context, its touchstone would be the contribution it makes to the freedom of Bangladesh.

Perpetual Treaty—As it is, the Government has sprung a surprise on the country. The treaty is said to have been under negotiation for 2 long years. It is not clear why the Parliament
was not taken into confidence in the matter at any stage. A major objection is that it is a treaty in perpetuity, valid for 20 years in the first place. No case has been made out for such a long duration of the treaty.

We are surprised that Government should acclaim the Treaty as 'historic' and yet pretend that it does not make any change in our foreign policy positions. If things are as they were, there would be nothing 'historic' about them. Fact is that for better or for worse, the Indo-Soviet Treaty has put an end of India's non-alignment. Article IX clearly binds India and Soviet Russia to mutual consultations in the event of attack by third parties and Article X forbids either party from entering into agreement with a third party which may be incompatible with this treaty. In view of these two articles, Article IV which says that "the USSR respects India's policy of non-alignment" is only an eye-wash. To say that India continues to be non-aligned even after this treaty, is nothing but an exercise in self-deception.

Although it is a treaty between equals, the inequality in the strength and status of our respective countries is already showing in the joint statement issued by the Foreign Ministers of the two countries. While this statement commits us to the 7-point Viet-cong solution for Indo-China, it does not bind Russia to the Awami League solution of establishment of an independent Bangladesh. If the language of the joint communiqué is any guide to the working of the Russian mind, it can be safely said that Soviet Union wants a settlement of Bangladesh issue within the framework of Pakistan. This is something which can neither be acceptable to Bangladesh nor can it solve the problem of 80 lac refugees.

It is, therefore, the considered view of the Central Working Committee that the Indo-Soviet treaty needs closer scrutiny than it has been subjected to so far. The Treaty will be judged by its working and not only by its wording. It must not be allowed to be used to the detriment of the national interests of India and of Bangladesh.

Now that India and Russia are treaty friends, we hope that the Russian Press and Radio will refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of India. We further hope that as an earnest friend, Russia will immediately rectify its maps and correctly depict the Indo-Tibetan border.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the firm conviction that if the Treaty is to work to the equal advantages of both countries, India must grow in strength to become an independent Power-centre. For this, the development of a nuclear capability is of the utmost importance.

Similar Treaties with Others—Jana Sangh is also of the opinion that with a view to broad-basing our policy and strengthening our position in the world, we should consider similar Friendship Treaties with other countries like Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan, etc.

Defence Treaties often have secret clauses. This treaty also mentions secret clauses in Article X when it stipulates that the two countries "shall not enter into any obligation, secret or public, with one or more States which is incompatible with this treaty." The Government would do well to take leaders of the major parties into confidence to avoid any controversies in future on this point.

[August 13, 1971; Delhi, CWC]

71.06. BANGLADESH—NO MORE WITHIN PAKISTAN

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh charges the Government of India with having betrayed the cause of Bangladesh. Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's statement at Simla calling for "a political settlement within the framework of Pakistan" is a shameful let-down. This anticlimactic statement serves only to highlight the Ruling Congress's utter incapacity to protect national interests and its subservience to the Super Powers in the matter of national decision making.

The Prime Minister had promised the nation that the refugees from Bangladesh would return to their hearths and homes within 6 months. The 6 months' period has elapsed, but the refugees instead of being in a position to return, are streaming in larger numbers. With the end of the monsoons, General Yahya's tanks will begin to mow down the people leading to fresh atrocities and a heavier influx into this country. The near-famine conditions prevailing in Bangladesh today would only aggravate the problem.

Reacting to the Indo-Soviet Treaty of August last, Jana Sangh said that the Treaty would be judged not only by its wording but by its working, and that so far as India is concerned the touchstone for assessing the Treaty's worth would be its efficacy in helping us solve the Bangladesh problem. Sardar Swaran Singh's statement is a pointer that the treaty has not
only helped us in this matter, it has seriously hamstrung our freedom of action. It has compelled us to renounce support to the cause of Bangladesh's independence and to acquiesce in Soviet Russia's keenness to preserve the present framework of a united Pakistan—a keenness ardently shared by the USA.

The Soviets have never made secret of their anxiety on this score. Within days of the much-eulogised Indira-Kosygin joint statement which, it is claimed, signifies a major shift in the Soviet stance regarding the unity of Pakistan, the Soviets issued a joint communiqué with Algeria (October 9, 1971) which affirms "respect for the national unity and integrity of Pakistan" and appeals to India and Pakistan to "find a peaceful settlement for the problem confronting them.....in the spirit of the Tashkent meeting".

The Prime Minister has been at pains to prove that the Indo-Soviet treaty has in no way abridged India's freedom of action with regard to Bangladesh and that the Government of India's policy has not been influenced by Russia's attitudes in this regard. Such denials can delude one. For months now the Prime Minister and other government spokesmen have been telling the people that recognition of an independent, sovereign Bangladesh was quite on the cards but that the timing of such a decision should be left to the Government. The Defence Minister is on record as having said that there could be no political solution to the problem short of independence. Against the background of categoric statements of this kind, made times without number both inside and outside the Parliament, the Government of India's sudden volte-face has no other explanation except that it is an ignominious surrender to Soviet pressure.

For India, the Bangladesh problem is much more than a humanitarian problem as the international community would like us believe. The problem vitally affects our security, our economy and political stability. But even if the return of the refugees were to be regarded as our main interest in the question, it must be understood quite clearly that no refugee is going to return unless Bangladesh is liberated from Yahya Khan's shackles and Pakistan's troops are withdrawn from Bangladesh. If anyone talks about a settlement "within the framework of Pakistan" that very moment he is ruling out both these postulates, and thus negating all possibility of the return of refugees.

The 1966 Tashkent, we hold, was a betrayal of the sacrifices made by our valiant jawans. The Tashkent in the offing would be a betrayal not only of the brave freedom fighters of Bangladesh and many others who have laid down their lives for the cause but also of India's own national interests. The Jana Sangh calls upon all nationalist and democratic forces which have been urging immediate recognition of Bangladesh to make a concrete effort to prevent this capitulation.

[October 9, 1971; Madras, CWC]

72.02. TROOPS WITHDRAWALS

Beware of another Tashkent after Assembly Elections—The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jan Sangh regrets that the Government of India has failed to reassure the country on the question of troops withdrawal from areas captured by the Indian army. The country apprehends that once the Assembly Elections are over the government will negotiate a settlement with Pakistan similar to that of Tashkent. The Prime Minister's statement on this score at her New Delhi Press conference i.e. "I do not need to clarify anything to anybody", and the Defence Minister's talk about "magnanimity to a crushed enemy" only lend strength to this suspicion.

The areas captured by our army in the recent war fall into four different categories and so the Government's stand with regard to these should match the situation in various areas:

Kargil Posts—Jana Sangh holds that any compromise in respect of the Kargil posts would be a betrayal not only of our jawans but also of the Indian Constitution, according to which these posts are Indian territory and hence non-negotiable.

Regain Chhad Bet—Similarly, the Chhad Bet area of Kutch is an area which Pakistan first seized by aggression and then usurped by international machinations. It legitimately belongs to India. The basic assumptions underlying the Kutch Agreement was that Pakistan would not commit any more aggression. By launching an invasion recently against us, Pakistan has knocked out the very basis of the Kutch Pact. Now that Pakistan's own adventurism has divested it of this illegal gain, there should be no question of restoring it to Pakistan.

Civilians of Tharparkar—So far as the areas of Tharparkar District in Sind now under our control are concerned, their problem should be viewed mainly from the human angle. An overwhelming majority of the population in these areas is Hindu. For these last 25 years they have found theocratic
Pakistan a veritable hell to live in. The arrival of Indian forces has meant for them the long-due peace and liberation. To throw them back to the wolves against their wishes would be to belie the very ideals which prompted Indian support to the struggle for Bangladesh liberation. Also, nothing should be done that results in another refugee influx, this time on our Western frontiers. The Jana Sangh urges that no decision with regard to these areas should be taken without taking into account the wishes of the civilian population concerned.

Negotiate for Occupied Kashmir—Withdrawal from the Shakar Garh and areas in Chicken Neck and Sialkot Sector may well be negotiated with Pakistan. But this should be linked with Pakistan's readiness to withdraw from occupied Kashmir and to make adequate reparations for the war it inflicted on India and on Bangladesh.

Jana Sangh demands that the Government spell out its stand very clearly on all these counts. Failure to do so cannot but be deemed as confirmation of the people's apprehensions.

[January 27, 1972; Bhopal, CWC]

72.04. INSISTENCE FOR PACKAGE DEAL

Ever since the end of the 14-day war with Pakistan, pressure is being mounted to force India to repatriate Pak prisoners of war (POWs) and to withdraw Indian troops from Pakistani territory, irrespective of whether or not there is an overall peace settlement between India and Pakistan, and solution of other outstanding issues. President Bhutto's excercises in alternately blowing hot and cold are aimed mainly at securing return of his soldiers at the earliest.

That China has decided to go whole hog with Pakistan is now absolutely clear. The Nixon Administration also is an open ally of Pakistan. Soviet Russia too seems to be drifting to an equivocal position. The Communist Party of India's resolution calling for withdrawal of Indian troops to the 1948 cease-fire line can well be regarded as reflecting Moscow's mind. Government of India's spokesmen have already started talking in terms of making the cease-fire line in Kashmir the permanent International Boundary between India and Pakistan. This would mean writing off 30,000 square miles of Indian territory, and thus would be a betrayal of India's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

President Bhutto has been talking of direct parleys with Smt. Gandhi. But even while public statements are being made to this effect, there have been no diplomatic soundings, or any attempt to prepare the ground to make such a summit meaningful. Evidently, Bhutto's pronouncements are intended mainly for international consumption.

No Piecemeal Settlement—Jana Sangh, however, is not opposed to bilateral talks at any level provided the Government of India makes it clear to the Pak Government that these talks cannot be confined to the issue of Pak prisoners, in which, of course, Bangladesh also must have a say. These talks should be comprehensive and should cover all issues pending between India and Pakistan, such as the question of Pak-occupied Kashmir, war reparation, Sindhi Hindus in Tharparkar District of Sindh, of debts Pakistan owes to India, including those pertaining to evacuee properties, etc. Any piecemeal settlement of issues that suits Pakistan would be wrong, impolitic and against the best interests of India. There should be no question of withdrawing Indian troops unless all pending issues are thrashed out and a package-deal has been arrived at in the interests of a durable peace.

Earlier this week, Moscow has offered to mediate between India and Pakistan. Evidently, another Tashkent is in the offering. The Working Committee would like to remind the Government of India of its pledge that there would be no second Tashkent. The Jana Sangh demands that the government honour its pledge and make it clear to the Soviet Union that it is not willing to suffer a Tashkent repetition of 1966. The Indian people are certainly not going to forgive.

Kashmir in Chou-Nixon Communiqué—The Working Committee apprehends that if Shri Bhutto cannot get things done on his own terms regarding repatriation of POWs, he and his allies may take recourse to another military adventure against India and thus threaten the peace of the sub-continent once again. In that case, Kashmir is going to be the new centre of action. Reference to Kashmir in the Chou-Nixon communiqué and in Shri Bhutto's interview to some Indian journalists are ominous pointers in this direction. The country must, therefore, be vigilant against all eventualities.

The Working Committee calls upon all Jana Sangh units to educate public opinion on the above lines in an effective manner.

[March 20, 1972; Delhi, CWC]
72.07. HAIL, SWADHIN BANGLADESH!

Bharatiya Jana Sangh offers salutations and hearty greetings to independent Bangladesh its brave people and its great leader Sheikh Mujibur Rehman.

Jana Sangh welcomes Bangladesh's resolve to function as a non-communal State which will guarantee to all citizens equality in law and in practice. We wish them all success in this great endeavour.

May the bonds of friendship and cooperation between our two countries sanctified by the blood of martyrs who laid down their lives in the struggle, jointly waged by us grow from strength to strength.

Jana Sangh hopes that Indo-Bangladesh ties will provide a model for closer economic cooperation among countries of South East Asia leading ultimately to the emergence of a common market and become an instrument for keeping this region free from the influence and interference of all Super Powers.

[TELEGRAM. May 7, 1972; Bhagalpur, AIGC]

72.11. INDO-PAK SUMMIT TALKS

It is a matter of deep concern and resentment that the Government of India has failed to take the people and the Parliament into confidence about the Emissary-level parleys held at Muree and the forthcoming summit talks with Pakistan. The country is utterly in the dark as to what transpired at Muree and what is going to happen at the summit. The reports available in this regard are based essentially on foreign sources. And the picture they project strengthen the suspicion that the government is gradually reverting to its old policy of Pak-appeasement.

Jana Sangh feels that the proposal for talks should have come initially from Pakistan. It is Pakistan that has been defeated in this war. It is Pakistan that has lost to India about its 93,000 soldiers as prisoners of war, and so is greatly oppressed by the problem of securing their release. It is Pakistan that has been divested of several thousand square kilometres of its territory by the valour and sacrifices of our jawans, and Bangladesh freedom-fighters and so is restlessly longing to recover them as early as possible. And over and above all, it is Pakistan that has been guilty of aggression. These are stark realities of the situation which neither India, nor Pakistan, nor even the world at large, can afford to overlook.

Peace with Pakistan—However, having offered to hold parleys and having agreed to have them right at the highest level, India should be clear in its own mind what it wants to achieve. Our primary object should be lasting peace with Pakistan. The 1965 war had offered us an opportunity for negotiating such a peace. India's political leadership frittered away this opportunity at Tashkent. Our military success of last December has presented to us yet another opportunity. We must not let it go amiss a second time.

Fair and Final Package Deal—Thanks to the prowess of our armed forces, India would be talking to Pakistan at this summit from a position of strength. Let our military victory be a diplomatic triumph. All issues outstanding between India and Pakistan must be settled through a fair, and final package-deal.

From Pakistani press reports it is apparent that Shri Bhutto's prime concern at these talks would be prisoners of war and he would very much like to delink this question from all other issues. This must not be allowed. In the wake of the war, Shri Bhutto has been talking about making the Pakistani army the finest force in all Asia. Pakistan continues to procure arms from abroad. Shri Bhutto is not at all willing to withdraw from the military alliances which have given Pakistan the audacity and the wherewithal to attack India 4 times during these last 25 years. Shri Bhutto is not prepared to sign even a No-war Pact with India, though such a pact by itself can in no way be regarded a guarantee for stable peace. Against this background it would be a monumental blunder on India's part if the POWs are repatriated without India satisfying itself that Pakistan has really shed all aggressive intentions.

Trial of War Criminals—Shri Bhutto is interested in rescuing his war criminals also from the punishment that deserves. On this issue he has even threatened about reaching "a point of no return" if any trial is initiated. Bangla Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rehman has very categorically affirmed that perpetrators of such heinous crimes as rape, infanticide and mass murder, etc. cannot be allowed to go scot-free. There is need for India too to endorse this point unambiguously, disabuse Shri Bhutto's mind of the notion that perhaps India may be willing to compromise on this question, and jointly with Bangladesh initiate steps for the holding of such a trial.

Pak Aggression in Kashmir—The issue with which the Indian
people feel concerned most deeply is Pakistan’s aggression in Kashmir. The Prime Minister owes it to the country’s territorial integrity and to the Constitution to which she has sworn allegiance to extract from these parleys the vacation of this aggression. In spite of the crushing defeat Pakistan has suffered, it is in no mood to surrender its ill-gotten gains. Our capacity in compelling her to do so would indeed be the touchstone for assessing India’s success or failure at these talks.

There are other issues, besides, which must be resolved. Pakistan owes us a pre-partition debt of Rs. 300 crores and another Rs. 1000 crores as cost of evacuee property left behind in Pakistan. Also, there is the question of the goods Pakistan had wrongfully confiscated during the 1965 war. All these questions must be settled. Full reparations must be recovered from the aggressor for losses suffered by India in this war. Pakistan must also be required to defray the expenses incurred by India on looking after 1 crore refugees from Bangladesh.

Jana Sangh demands that the Government of India assure the people that unless all the issues are satisfactorily resolved, it would neither release the POWs nor order any withdrawal of troops from the areas of Pakistan under our control.

On this occasion the All India General Council would like to express its apprehension that instead of exerting to secure the liberation of Pak-occupied Kashmir, the Government may become willing to write off the one-third Kashmir under Pak occupation and try to make the cease-fire line in Kashmir the permanent International boundary between India and Pakistan in that region. Any such move, we hold would be abject surrender and a betrayal of India’s interests and the Constitution. It will not fetch us peace either. Appeasement of the aggressor only whets its aggressive appetite. We, therefore, warn the government against taking any such step. The Indian people will not forgive it.

[May 7, 1972; Bhagalpur, AIGC]

72.13. SELL-OUT AT SIMLA

Bhutto’s Three Objectives—The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh is shocked at the way the Prime Minister let down the country in Simla. Its worst fears have come true. The history of Tashkent has been repeated in worse form. What was won on the battlefield by the blood of the Jawans has been bartered away at the negotiating table for a piece of paper. New uncertainties have been created about the long settled issue of Kashmir’s accession and Pakistan has been acknowledged as a party. Issues like the vacation of illegal Pak occupation of over 30,000 square miles of Jammu-Kashmir State, arms limitation, recovery of over 1,000 crores of long standing dues from Pakistan as compensation for surplus of evacuee property, and including Pakistan’s share in the public debt of united India, Indian properties confiscated in 1965, and expenditure incurred on refugees pushed into India last year—were not even breached by Smt. Gandhi. It has been a sell-out, pure and simple. Shri Bhutto came to Simla with three objectives:

(1) Recovery of lost territory,
(2) Return of prisoners of war, and
(3) Reopening of Kashmir issue.

He has won the first and the third, paved the way for the second which now only awaits Pakistan’s recognition of Bangladesh.

Where’s Package Deal?—The Prime Minister went to the summit, promising to get a package-deal for a durable peace. She has lost on both counts and has wasted a golden opportunity for a mass of verbiage. That a victorious country should have been asked to swallow this insult by its Prime Minister, is perhaps the first instance of its kind in the World History.

As soon as the Agreement was signed the All India Radio, TV as also a section of the Press broke into eulogies for the ‘historic achievement’. Much was made of the platitudinous homage to durable peace, good neighbourliness and coexistence. It was accepted as a guarantee that use of force would henceforth be abjured by Pakistan.

Nobody seemed to note that China had promptly repossessed Pakistan’s armory and enabled it to raise two additional divisions. Also forgotten was Pakistan’s biggest ever allocation of Rs. 446 crores for defence. It was not remembered that before coming to Simla President Bhutto had paid a hurried visit to a dozen Muslim countries buying, borrowing and begging arms. He has pledged to make Pakistan army “the finest fighting machine in Asia”, obviously to avenge defeat. He is not prepared to sign even a “No-war Pact” for whatever it is worth. The fact was overlooked that some of the clauses of the Simla pact are lazy echoes of the Tashkent declaration. Yet Bhutto had decried Tashkent, left Ayub’s Government on the question and pledged to fight a ‘1000-year war’ against
India. For us the villain of yesterday has been overnight presented as a prince of peace.

Doubtful Bilateralism—The pact is being painted as a glorious achievement because the two countries have pledged to settle their disputes peacefully through bilateral talks. The Working Committee notes that such expressions of good intentions have characterised all our Agreements starting with the Inter Dominion Agreement Dec. 1948 (when Pakistan's hordes were already ravaging Indian territory in Kashmir) followed by Nehru-Liaquat pact and ending with the Tashkent Declaration of 1966—each one of which was honoured by Pakistan more in the breach than in observance. The bilateral clause (which has kept a window open for 'foreign intervention under mutually agreed solution') is already being given different interpretations. While the Prime Minister thinks that Pakistan is bound to keep the Kashmir case out of UNO, President Bhutto hints that nothing prevents him from raising it there again.

The Working Committee believes that by signing the Simla pact Shrimati Indira Gandhi has done great disservice to the country. Obviously she has succumbed to the pressure of big powers. While America's 'tilt' towards Pakistan is well known, Russia has been anxious to regain some of its lost goodwill in Pakistan. Shri Dhar's dash to Moscow, President Podgorny's inexplicable halt and talks with Shri Swaran Singh in Calcutta, followed by Moscow's reassurance to Pak Foreign Secretary Aiz Ahmed, are obvious indicators of Russia's advice that India should be 'magnanimous'. The talks showed all the signs of heading towards a deadlock. That at the very eleventh hour the obstacles mysteriously melted away shows that there is more in it than meets the eye. President Bhutto's prompt and profuse thanks to Russia and America for their help in bringing about the agreement, was not mere diplomatic courtesy.

The Prime Minister's replies at her press conference confirm Bhutto's claim that he has been successful in 'activising' the Kashmir issue. Shrimati Gandhi even expressed her willingness to consider settling for the cease-fire line. The nation has a right to know with what authority, Constitutional or otherwise, she was prepared to present to the aggressor part of Jammu-Kashmir, which is legally and constitutionally ours.

Bhutto's Call for Liberation-War—President Bhutto's address to the Pakistan National Assembly has shaken all but the incorrigible, out of the stupor of self-deception into which the Congi-Communist-League propaganda organs have sought to drown the country. His call to Kashmiris to launch 'Liberation War' to free themselves from 'Indian Yoke' and his appeal to Pakistan to 'shed their blood' for them, 'whatever the consequences', amounts to a repudiation of the Simla Agreement.

The Working Committee, therefore, urges upon the President of India not to ratify the agreement till a referendum is carried out to ascertain the peoples wishes. It calls upon the people of India to make it clear to the government in no uncertain terms that they reject this dishonourable agreement.

[July 17, 1972, Delhi, CWC]

72.19. SIMLA AGREEMENT AND AFTER

Sell-out at Simla—The culmination of the last armed conflict with Pakistan afforded us an opportunity to give new direction to the 25-year history of tension. When the Pakistani forces surrendered in Bangladesh, hopes were raised that the Government of India would try to give a new basis to Indo-Pak relations by settling all old conflicting issues through a package-deal. But history repeated itself at the Simla talks and our government bargained away the sacrifices of thousands of jawans in return for some verbal promises without solving outstanding issues like evacuance property, Pakistan’s share of the public debt of united India, compensation for expenses incurred on refugees from Bangladesh and losses suffered by Pakistan’s aggression. To cap it all, we agreed to withdraw our forces from Tharparkar and other areas without insisting upon vacation of the Kashmir territory forcibly occupied by Pakistan since 1947. There was also clear indication that the Government of India was inclined to accept the new line of control as the international border with slight modifications if Pakistan was willing to do so. Jana Sangh had warned that the surrender at Simla would only add to Pakistan’s intransigence, which would then persist in its aggressive designs against our country.

The Central Working Committee regrets to note that its apprehensions have proved only too true. As a matter of fact, Shri Bhutto’s speech in Pakistan’s National Assembly in support of Simla agreement was proof enough of his dubious intentions. But the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister meticulously tried to put their own meaning on his declared aims and sought to
explain them away by reference to Bhutto's domestic compulsions. But at the time of the official level talks in Delhi, the wordy shine given to Pakistan's intentions had already began to wear out. It is for this reason that despite a number of rounds of the army commanders' talks, Pakistan is persisting in its stubborn attitude on the question of a mile and a half territory. On the other hand the Government of India exhibited its congenital weakness in offering to withdraw forces from other areas without getting back Thitu Chak. The Working Committee holds that the Pak occupied area of Chamb also lies on this side of the international border and as such there can be no question of our giving up our claim to it even under the terms of the Simla Agreement, which provides for the actual line of control in Jammu-Kashmir State.

**Pak Intransigency**—That Pakistan has not as yet decided to come to terms with realities, is clear from the fact that, despite her specific assurance at the time of Simla talks, Bhutto is unbending in the matter of giving recognition to Bangladesh. Contrary to the explanation offered by our spokesman he has conceded that the Chinese veto against the entry of Bangladesh in the United Nations was exercised at his request. Pakistan has not as yet brought itself round to taking part in even such innocuous a thing as Asia '72. Its hectic purchase of arms is on all over the world. It has procured Mirages from France, and has equipped 4 new Divisions with the help of China. According to recent reports a 2-lac armed volunteer corps of Waziristan Scouts has been set up in occupied Kashmir with the declared objective of snatching Kashmir from India. President Bhutto is also planning a visit to America to see President Nixon and seek arms from him. Radio Pakistan has reverted to its old habit of venom-spitting against India. Pakistan's verbal adherence to the principle of bilateralism has not persuaded it to accept withdrawal of United Nations observers from Kashmir.

**Scrap Simla Agreement**—All these facts point to only one thing—namely that Pakistan's present leadership does not consider it to be in its interest to reduce the tensions with India but believes in keeping them alive and even increasing and intensifying them. It is another matter whether its intransigence is due to its entanglement with China and America or its anxiety to extract more and more aid from them. But it is obvious that the goodwill, if any, generated by the Simla agreement in Pakistan, disappeared long ago. Pakistan's ambassador in America has talked of the possibility of a new war with India. Shri Bhutto's recent statements have made it abundantly clear that he not only has no faith in India but that he sees India as a threat and is going to depend on China against it. Our Prime Minister also has declared that Pakistan's intentions are doubtful and its attitude has hardened. In view of the Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the situation demands that the Simla Agreement be scrapped forthwith and Pakistan told in unequivocal terms that withdrawal of forces and restoration of territories will now be taken up only as parts of an overall settlement of all pending disputes.

**Sind Refugees**—The Working Committee also demands that the uncertainty about the future of Sind refugees who migrated at the time of fighting, be ended, Indian citizenship conferred on them and arrangements made for their rehabilitation.

**Jai Jawan Fortnight**—The Working Committee hereby decides to observe the fortnight—the first anniversary of the war—as 'Jai Jawan Fortnight' from 3rd to the 17th of December, during which period various programmes should be arranged to pay homage to the memory of martyrs, alert people to threats to the country's integrity and see to it that the government does not show any weakness.

[November 20, 1972; Jaipur, CWC]

### 72.20. FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE

**Liquidation of Foreign Lobbies**—In its election manifesto of 1971, the Jana Sangh had drawn attention to the presence of powerful foreign lobbies in the country working against national interests and had urged that these foreign lobbies be liquidated. No other party had shown any awareness of this danger and Jana Sangh's concern about this matter was inclined to be dismissed as a manifestation of xenophobia. Now, suddenly, from the Prime Minister to Chief Ministers and Congress President, everyone has started screeching about the CIA. Whether it is riots in Delhi-Shahdara or language disturbances in Assam or student unrest in Punjab, those in authority have been talking glibly about CIA having a hand in it.

Jana Sangh regards this talk as politically motivated. The motive is two-fold. Firstly, having failed miserably to redeem its promises of Garibi Hatao, the ruling party is desperately in search of a scapegoat and CIA it feels can serve as a convenient begging to hang its failures on. Secondly, the Government of India
thinks that criticism of its growing subservience to Moscow can be combated only by keeping alive a mood of hysteria against US whose anti-India role during last year's Indo-Pak war has earned it well-deserved condemnation from the entire nation.

A government which permits foreign missionaries to function in sensitive and strategic areas without let or hindrance, which suffers hundreds of Peace Corps Volunteers to carry on any activity anywhere they like and which has no effective control on the operation of massive PL-480 Funds in the country, has no right to complain about the CIA. Quite some time now has passed since official spokesmen started shouting about the CIA, yet to date neither a single foreigner has been expelled for such activities, nor a single local accomplice or agent of its has been apprehended.

In so far as the political purpose of the CIA talk is concerned, it has not been fulfilled. The bogey has been clearly identified for what it is—an alibi to explain away the Ruling party’s failures. Jana Sangh, however, fears that in the bargain it would become all the easier for the CIA and for that matter, all foreign intelligence agencies, including the Soviet KGB to intensify their activities in the country and yet get away with impunity.

Commission of Enquiry for Foreign Espionage—The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that a Commission of Enquiry be constituted to investigate the functioning of all foreign intelligence agencies in the country, and also make recommendations with regard to the Peace corps, Peace councils, Foreign missionaries, etc., which no doubt provide a convenient cover for foreign espionage activities. Jana Sangh also urges the government to bring forth early legislation to curb the inflow of foreign money in the country.

[November 20, 1972; Jaipur, CWC]
APPENDIX A

TREATIES

1. INDIA-BHUTAN

Text of India-Bhutan Treaty of Friendship
[ISSUED IN DARJEELING ON AUGUST 8, 1949]

The Government of India, on the one part, and His Highness the Druk Gyalpo's Government on the other part, equally animated by the desire to regulate in the friendly manner and upon a solid and durable basis the state of affairs caused by the termination of British Government's authority in India, and to promote and foster the relations of friendship and neighbourliness so necessary for the well-being of their peoples, have resolved to conclude the following treaty, and have, for this purpose named their representatives, that is to say Shri Harishwar Dayal representing the Government of India, who has full powers to agree to the said treaty on behalf of the Government of India, and Deb Zimpon Sonam, Tobgye Dorji, Yang-Lop Sonam, Chho-Zim Thondup, Rin-Zim Tandin and Ha Drung Jigme Palden Dorji, representing the Government of His Highness the Druk Gyalpo, Maharaja of Bhutan, who have full powers to agree to the same on behalf of the Government of Bhutan.

Article I

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Bhutan.

Article II

The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations.

Article III

In place of the compensation granted to the Government of Bhutan under Article 4 of the Treaty of Sinchula and enhanced by the treaty of the eighth day of January 1910 and the temporary subsidy of Rupees one lakh per annum granted in 1942, the
Government of India agrees to make an annual payment of Rupees five lakhs to the Government of Bhutan. And it is further hereby agreed that the said annual payment shall be made on the tenth day of January every year, the first payment being made on the tenth day of January 1950. This payment shall continue so long as this treaty remains in force and its terms are duly observed.

**Article IV**

Further to mark the friendship existing and continuing between the said Governments, the Government of India shall, within one year from the date of signature of this treaty, return to the Government of Bhutan about thirty-two square miles of territory in the area known as Dewangiri. The Government of India shall appoint a competent officer or officers to mark out the area so returned to the Government of Bhutan.

**Article V**

There shall, as heretofore, be free trade and commerce between the territories of the Government of India and of the Government of Bhutan; and the Government of India agrees to grant the Government of Bhutan every facility for the carriage, by land and water, of its produce throughout the territory of the Government of India, including the right to use such forest roads as may be specified by mutual agreement from time to time.

**Article VI**

The Government of India agrees that the Government of Bhutan shall be free to import with the assistance and approval of the Government of India, from or through India into Bhutan, whatever arms, ammunition, machinery, warlike material or stores may be required or desired for the strength and welfare of Bhutan, and that this arrangement shall hold good for all time as long as the Government of India is satisfied that the intentions of the Government of Bhutan are friendly and that there is no danger to India from such importations. The Government of Bhutan, on the other hand, agrees that there shall be no export of such arms, ammunition, etc., across the frontier of Bhutan either by the Government of Bhutan or by private individuals.

**Article VII**

The Government of India and the Government of Bhutan agree that Bhutanese subjects residing in Indian territories shall have equal justice with Indian subjects, and that Indian subjects residing in Bhutan shall have equal justice with the subjects of the Government of Bhutan.

**Article VIII**

(1) The Government of India shall, on demand being duly made in writing by the Government of Bhutan, take proceedings in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Extradition Act, 1903 (of which a copy shall be furnished to the Government of Bhutan), for the surrender of all Bhutanese subjects accused of any of the crimes specified in the first schedule of the said Act who may take refuge in Indian territory.

(2) The Government of Bhutan shall, on requisition being duly made by the Government of India, or by any officer authorised by the Government of India in this behalf, surrender any Indian subjects, or subjects of a foreign power, whose extradition may be required in pursuance of any agreement or arrangements made by the Government of India with the said power accused of any of the crimes specified in the first Schedule of Act XV of 1903, who may take refuge in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Government of Bhutan, and also any Bhutanese subjects who, after committing any of the crimes referred to in Indian territory, shall flee into Bhutan, on such evidence of their guilt being produced as shall satisfy the local court of the district in which the offence may have been committed.

**Article IX**

Any differences and disputes arising in the application or interpretation of this treaty shall in the first instance be settled by negotiation. If within three months of the start of negotiations no settlement is arrived at, then the matter shall be referred to Arbitration of three arbitrators, who shall be nationals of either India or Bhutan, chosen in the following manner:

1. One person nominated by the Government of India;
2. One person nominated by the Government of Bhutan;
3. A Judge of the Federal Court, or of a High Court in India, to be chosen by the Government of Bhutan, who shall be Chairman.

The judgement of this Tribunal shall be final and executed without delay by either party.

**Article X**

This treaty shall continue in force in perpetuity unless terminated or modified by mutual consent.

**Done in duplicate at Darjeeling this eighth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and forty-nine, corresponding with**
2. INDIA-NEPAL

Text of India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship
[ISSUED IN KATHMANDU ON JULY 31, 1950]

The Government of India and the Government of Nepal recognizing the ancient ties which have happily existed between the two countries for centuries;

Desiring still further to strengthen and develop these ties and to perpetuate peace between the two countries;

Have resolved therefore to enter into a treaty of Peace and Friendship with each other and have, for this purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries the following persons, namely,

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA:
His Excellency SIR CHANDRESHWAR PRASAD NARAIN SINGH, Ambassador of India in Nepal.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NEPAL:
Maharaja Mohun Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, who, having examined each other’s credentials and found them good and in due form have agreed as follows:

Article I
There shall be everlasting peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal. The two Governments agree mutually to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other.

Article II
The two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighboring state likely to cause any breach in the friendly-relations subsisting between the two Governments.

Article III
In order to establish and maintain the relations referred to in Article I the two governments agree to continue diplomatic relations with each other by means of representatives with such staff as is necessary for the due performance of their functions.

The representatives and such of their staff as may be agreed upon shall enjoy such diplomatic privileges and immunities as are customarily granted by international law on a reciprocal basis:

Provided that in no case shall these be less than those granted to persons of a similar status of any other State having diplomatic relations with either Government.

Article IV
The two Governments agree to appoint Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and other consular agents, who shall reside in towns, ports and other places in each other’s territory as may be agreed to.

Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and consular agents shall be provided with exequatur or other valid authorization of their appointment. Such exequatur or authorization is liable to be withdrawn by the country which issued it, if considered necessary. The reasons for the withdrawal shall be indicated wherever possible.

The persons mentioned above shall enjoy on a reciprocal basis all the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities that are accorded to persons of corresponding status of any other State.

Article V
The Government of Nepal shall be free to import, from or through the territory of Indian, arms, ammunition or warlike material and equipment necessary for the security of Nepal. The procedure for giving effect to this arrangement shall be worked out by the two Governments acting in consultation.

Article VI
Each Government undertakes, in token of the neighbourly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development.

Article VII
The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories
of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature.

Article VIII

So far as matters dealt with herein are concerned, this Treaty cancels all previous treaties, agreement and arrangements entered into on behalf of India between the British Government and the Government of Nepal.

Article IX

This Treaty shall come into force from the date of signature by both Governments.

Article X

This Treaty shall remain in force until it is terminated by either party by giving one year's notice.

3. INDIA-SIKKIM

Text of India-Sikkim Peace Treaty

[ISSUED IN GANGTOK ON DECEMBER 5, 1950]

The President of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, being desirous of further strengthening the good relations already existing between India and Sikkim, have resolved to enter into a new Treaty with each other, and the President of India has, for the purpose, appointed as his plenipotentiary Shri Harishwar Dayal, Political Officer in Sikkim, and His Highness the Maharaja having examined Shri Harishwar Dayal's credentials and found them good and in due form, the two have agreed as follows:—

Article I

All previous treaties between the British Government and Sikkim which are at present in force as between India and Sikkim are hereby formally cancelled.

Article II

Sikkim shall continue to be a Protectorate of India and, subject to the provisions of this Treaty, shall enjoy autonomy in regard to its internal affairs.

Article III

(1) The Government of India will be responsible for the defence and territorial integrity of Sikkim. It shall have the right to take such measures as it considers necessary for the defence of Sikkim or the security of India, whether preparatory or otherwise, and whether within or outside Sikkim. In particular, the Government of India shall have the right to station troops anywhere within Sikkim.

(2) The measures referred to in paragraph (1) will as far as possible be taken by the Government in consultation with the Government of Sikkim.

(3) The Government of Sikkim shall not import any arms, ammunition, military stores or other warlike material of any description for any purpose whatsoever without the previous consent of the Government of India.

Article IV

(1) The external relations of Sikkim whether political, economic or financial, shall be conducted and regulated solely by the Government of India; and the Government of Sikkim shall have no dealings with any foreign power.

(2) Subjects of Sikkim travelling to foreign countries shall be treated as Indian protected persons for the purpose of passports, and shall receive from Indian representatives abroad the same protection and facilities as Indian nationals.

Article V

The Government of Sikkim agrees not to levy any import duty, transit duty or other impost on goods brought into, or in transit through, Sikkim; and the Government of India agrees not to levy any import or other duty on goods of Sikkimese origin brought into India from Sikkim.

Article VI

(1) The Government of India shall have the exclusive right of constructing, maintaining and regulating the use of railways, aerodromes and landing grounds and air navigation facilities, posts, telegraphs, telephones and wireless installations in Sikkim; and the Government of Sikkim shall render the Government of India every assistance in their construction, maintenance and protection.

(2) The Government of Sikkim may, however, construct, maintain, and regulate the use of railways and aerodromes and landing grounds and air navigation facilities to such extent as may be agreed to by the Government of India.

(3) The Government of India shall have the right to construct and maintain in Sikkim roads for strategic purposes and for the purpose of improving communications with India and other adjoining countries and the Government of Sikkim shall render the Government of India every assistance in the con-
struction, maintenance and protection of such roads.

Article VII

(1) Subjects of Sikkim shall have the right of entry into, and free movement within India, and Indian nationals shall have the right of entry into, and free movement within, Sikkim.

(2) Subject to such regulations as the Government of Sikkim may prescribe in consultation with the Government of India, Indian nationals shall have —

(a) the right to carry on trade and commerce in Sikkim; and

(b) when established in any trade in Sikkim, the right to acquire, hold and dispose of any property, movable or immovable, for the purposes of their trade or residence in Sikkim.

(3) Subjects of Sikkim shall have the same right —

(a) to carry on trade and commerce in India, and to employment therein; and

(b) of acquiring, holding and disposing of property, movable and immovable, as Indian nationals.

Article VIII

(1) Indian nationals within Sikkim shall be subject to the laws of Sikkim and subjects of Sikkim within India shall be subject to the laws of India.

(2) Whenever any criminal proceedings are initiated in Sikkim against any Indian national or any person in the service of the Government of India or any foreigner, the Government of Sikkim shall furnish the Representative of the Government of India in Sikkim (hereinafter referred to as the Indian Representative) with particulars of charges against such person.

If in the case of any person in the service of the Government of India or any foreigner it is so demanded by the Indian Representative, such person shall be handed over to him for trial before such court as may be established for the purpose by the Government of India either in Sikkim or outside.

Article IX

(1) The Government of Sikkim agrees to seize and deliver up any fugitive offender from outside Sikkim who has taken refuge therein on demand being made by the Indian Representative. Should any delay occur in complying with such demand, the Indian police may follow the person whose surrender has been demanded into any part of Sikkim, and shall, on showing a warrant signed by the Indian Representative, receive every assistance and protection in the prosecution of their object from the Sikkim officers.

(2) The Government of India similarly agrees, on demand being made by the Government of Sikkim, to take extradition proceedings, against, and surrender, any fugitive offender from Sikkim who has taken refuge in the territory of India.

(3) In this Article, “fugitive offender” means a person who is accused of having committed and extradition offence as defined in the First Schedule to the Indian Extradition Act, 1903, or any other offence which may hereafter be agreed upon between the Government of India and the Government of Sikkim as being an extradition offence.

Article X

The Government of India, having in mind the friendly relations already existing between India and Sikkim and now further strengthened by this Treaty, and being desirous of assisting in the development and good administration of Sikkim, agrees to pay the Government of Sikkim a sum of rupees three lakhs every year so long as the terms of this Treaty are duly observed by the Government of Sikkim.

The first payment under this Article will be made before the end of the year 1950, and subsequent payments will be made in the month of August every year.

Article XI

The Government of India shall have the right to appoint a Representative to reside in Sikkim; and the Government of Sikkim shall provide him and his staff with all reasonable facilities in regard to their residential and office accommodation and generally in regard to their carrying out their duties in Sikkim.

Article XII

If any dispute arises in the interpretation of the provisions of this Treaty which cannot be resolved by mutual consultation the dispute shall be referred to the Chief Justice of India whose decision thereon shall be final.

Article XIII

This Treaty shall come into force without ratification from the date of signature by both the parties.
The President of India and the President of the Union of Burma being desirous of strengthening and developing the many ties that have bound the two countries for centuries and being urged by a mutual recognition of the need for maintaining the peace and friendship, that have always existed between the two States, have resolved to conclude this Treaty for the common benefit of their peoples and in furtherance of the objectives of their respective countries, and have, to this end appointed as their Plenipotentiaries the following persons, namely:

**The President of India:**
His Excellency Dr. M. A. Rauf, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

**The President of the Union of Burma:**
The Hon'ble Sao Hkun Hkao, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, having examined each other's credentials and found them good and in due form, have agreed to and signed the following Articles:

**Article I**
The two States recognize and respect the independence and rights of each other.

**Article II**
There shall be everlasting peace and unalterable friendship between the two States who shall ever strive to strengthen and develop further the cordial relations existing between the peoples of the two countries.

**Article III**
The two States agree to continue diplomatic and consular relations with each other by means of representatives of either party in the territory of the other and agree that such representatives and their agreed staff shall have, on a reciprocal basis, such privileges and immunities as are customarily granted by recognised international principles.

**Article IV**
The two States agree that their representatives shall meet from time to time and as often as occasion requires to exchange views on matters of common interest and to consider ways and means for mutual cooperation in such matters.

**Article V**
The two States agree to start negotiations for the conclusion of agreements on a reciprocal basis, relating to trade, customs, cultural relations, communications, extradition of criminals, immigration or repatriation of nationals of each country resident in the other, or of dual nationals of the two countries, and all other matters of common interest in the two countries.

**Article VI**
Any difference or dispute arising out of the interpretation or application of this Treaty or one or more of its Articles shall be settled by negotiations through the ordinary diplomatic channels and if no settlement is reached by that method within a reasonable time, the matter shall be referred to arbitration in such manner as may be mutually determined by a general or special arrangement between the two parties.

**Article VII**
The Treaty shall be subject to ratification and shall come into force from the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification, which shall take place as soon as possible at Rangoon.

**Article VIII**
This Treaty shall continue in force for five years from the date of its coming into force and shall thereafter remain in force:

Provided that after the termination of the said period of five years either party may give to the other party a notice of not less than six months intimating its intention to terminate the Treaty and on the expiry of the period of such notice the Treaty shall cease to be in force.

In faith whereof, the said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty in the Hindi, Burmese, and English languages (the English text shall prevail in case of conflict between the three texts) and have affixed hereto their seals.

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**5. INDIA-CEYLON**

**Text of First India-Ceylon Agreement on Immigration**
[Issued in New Delhi on February 13, 1954]

Whereas certain proposals relating to illicit immigration of Indians into and citizenship rights for persons of Indian origin in Ceylon were made in an instrument signed at New Delhi on
the eighteenth day of January in the year one thousand nine
hundred and fifty-four by the respective Plenipotentiaries and
Representatives of the Government of India and the Govern-
ment of Ceylon duly authorised for that purpose, which instru-
ment is, word for word, as follows:

"The Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India, accompanied by
some of their colleagues, met in conference in New Delhi on
January 16, 17 and 18, 1954, and considered fully the problems
of people of Indian origin in Ceylon. As a result of these dis-
cussions, certain proposals were framed by them, which will
now be placed before their respective Governments.

These proposals are:

Illicit Immigration

1. Both Governments are determined to suppress illicit
immigration traffic between the two countries and will take all
possible steps, in close cooperation with each other towards that
end. Periodical meetings between high Police authorities on
either side of the Palk Strait may be held and information
relating to illicit movements exchanged.

2. The Government of Ceylon propose to undertake the
preparation of a register of all adult residents who are not
already on the electoral register and will maintain such registers
up-to-date. When this registration is completed, any person
not so registered will, if his mother-tongue is an Indian
language, be presumed to be an illicit immigrant from India and
liable to deportation and the Indian High Commissioner will
extend all facilities for implementation of such deportation.

3. The Government of Ceylon may proceed with the Im-
igrants and Emigrants Amendment Bill which throws on the
accused the onus of proof that he is not an illicit immigrant;
but before that the Government of Ceylon will give an oppor-
tunity to the Indian High Commissioner to satisfy himself that
a prima facie case exists for such prosecution, the final decision
being that of the Government of Ceylon.

Citizenship

4. The registration of citizens under the Indian and Pakis-
tani (Citizenship) Act will be expedited and every endeavour
will be made to complete the disposal of pending applications
within two years.

5. All persons registered under this Act may be placed by
the Government of Ceylon on a separate electoral register,
particularly in view of the fact that the bulk of the citizens do
not speak the language of the area in which they reside. This
arrangement will last for a period of only 10 years. The
Government of Ceylon agree that in certain constituencies where
the number of registered citizen voters is not likely to exceed
250, they shall be put on the national register.

6. Citizens whose names are placed in the separate electoral
register will be entitled to elect a certain number of members
to the House of Representatives, the number being determined
after consultation with the Prime Minister of India. The
Government of Ceylon expect to complete their action in this
respect before the present Parliament is dissolved in 1957.

7. In regard to those persons who are not so registered, it
would be open to them to register themselves as Indian citizens,
if they so choose, at the office of the Indian High Commissioner
in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of the Consti-
tution of India. It is noted that Ceylon proposes to offer special
inducements to encourage such registration and that these
inducements will be announced from time to time. The Govern-
ment of India will offer administrative and similar facilities to
all persons of Indian origin to register themselves as Indian
citizens under the Constitution of India, if they so choose, and
will also give publicity to the availability of such facilities.

8. Both Prime Ministers are desirous of continuing the
present practice of close consultation between the two Govern-
ments in matters affecting their mutual interests.

JOHN KOTEIWALA, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
Prime Minister of Ceylon. Prime Minister of India.

NEW DELHI;
18th January, 1954."

6. INDIA-CEYLON

Text of Third India-Ceylon Agreement on Status and
Future of Persons of Indian Origin in Ceylon
[ISSUED IN NEW DELHI ON OCTOBER 30, 1964]

The main heads of agreement are as follows:

(1) The declared objective of this agreement is that all
persons of Indian origin in Ceylon who have not
been recognised either as citizens of Ceylon or as
citizens of India should become citizens either of
Ceylon or of India.
(2) The number of such persons is approximately 975,000 as of date. This figure does not include illicit immigrants and Indian passport holders.

(3) 300,000 of these persons together with the natural increase in that number will be granted Ceylon citizenship by the Government of Ceylon; the Government of India will accept repatriation to India of 525,000 of these persons together with the natural increase in that number. The Government of India will confer citizenship on these persons.

(4) The status and future of the remaining 150,000 of these persons will be the subject matter of a separate agreement between the two governments.

(5) The Government of India will accept repatriation of the persons to be repatriated within a period of 15 years from the date of this agreement according to a programme as evenly phased as possible.

(6) The grant of Ceylon citizenship under paragraph 3 and the process of repatriation under paragraph 5 shall both be phased over the period of 15 years and shall, as far as possible keep pace with each other in proportion to the relative numbers to be granted citizenship and to be repatriated respectively.

(7) The Government of Ceylon will grant to the persons to be repatriated to India during the period of their residence in Ceylon the same facilities as are enjoyed by citizens of other states (except facilities for remittances) and normal facilities for their continued residence, including free visas. The Government of Ceylon agrees that such of these persons as are gainfully employed on the date of this agreement shall continue in their employment until the date of their repatriation in accordance with the requirements of the phased programme or until they attain the age of 55 years, whichever is earlier.

(8) Subject to the Exchange Control Regulation for the time being in force which will not be discriminatory against the persons to be repatriated to India, the Government of Ceylon agrees to permit these persons to repatriate, at the time of their final departure for India, all their assets including their Provident Fund

and gratuity amounts. The Government of Ceylon agrees that the maximum amount of assets which any family shall be permitted to repatriate shall not be reduced to less than Rs. 4,000.

(9) Two registers will be prepared as early as possible, one containing the names of persons who will be granted Ceylon citizenship, the other containing the names of persons to be repatriated to India. The completion of these registers, however, is not a condition precedent to the commencement of the grant of Ceylon citizenship and the process of repatriation.

(10) This Agreement shall come into force with effect from the date hereof and the two Governments shall proceed with all despatch to implement this Agreement and, to that end, the officials of the two Governments shall meet as soon as possible to establish joint machinery and to formulate the appropriate procedures for the implementation of this agreement.

7. INDIA-CHINA

Text of India-China Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India
[ISSUED IN PEKING ON APRIL 29, 1954]

TEXT OF AGREEMENT

The Government of the Republic of India and the Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China:
Being desirous of promoting trade and cultural intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India and of facilitating pilgrimage and travel by the people of China and India;
Have resolved to enter into the present agreement based on the following principles:
(1) Mutual respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty;
(2) Mutual non-aggression;
(3) Mutual non-interference in each other’s internal affairs;
(4) Equality and mutual benefit; and
(5) Peaceful Co-existence:
and for this purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries:
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA:

H. E. NEDYM RAGHAVAN Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India accredited to the People's Republic of China,

THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA:

H.E. CHANG HAN-FU, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government,

who, having examined each other's credentials and finding them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

Article I

The High Contracting Parties mutually agree to establish trade agencies:

(I) The Government of India agrees that the Government of China may establish trade agencies at New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong.

(II) The Government of China agrees that the Government of India may establish trade agencies at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok.

The Trade Agencies of both parties shall be accorded the same status and same treatment. The Trade Agents of both parties shall enjoy freedom from arrest while exercising their functions, and shall enjoy in respect of themselves, their wives and children who are dependent on them for their livelihood freedom from search.

The Trade Agencies of both parties shall enjoy the privileges and immunities for couriers, mail bags and communications in code.

Article II

The High Contracting Parties agree that traders of both countries known to be customarily and specifically engaged in trade between the Tibet region of China and India may trade at the following places:

(1) The Government of India agree to specify (i) Yatung, (ii) Gyantse, and (iii) Phari as markets for trade; the Government of India agree that trade may be carried on in India including places like (i) Kalimpong, (ii) Siliguri, and (iii) Calcutta, according to customary practice.

(2) The Government of China agree to specify (i) Gartok, (ii) Pulanchung (Taklakot), (iii) Gyalima-Khargo, (iv) Gyanima-Chakra, (v) Ranura, (vi) Dongbra, (vii) Puling-Sumdo, (viii) Nabra, (ix) Shangtse, and (x) Tashigong as markets for trade; the Government of India agree that in future when in accordance with the development and need of trade between the Ari district of the Tibet region of China and India, it has become necessary to specify markets for trade in corresponding districts in India adjacent to the Ari district of the Tibet region of China, it will be prepared to consider on the basis of equality and reciprocity to do so.

Article III

The High Contracting Parties agree that pilgrimages by religious believers of the two countries shall be carried on in accordance with the following provisions:

(1) Pilgrims from India of Lamaist, Hindu and Buddhist faiths may visit Kang Rimpoché (Kailash) and Mayam Tse (Manasarowar) in the Tibet region of China in accordance with custom.

(2) Pilgrims from the Tibet region of China of Lamaist and Buddhist faiths may visit Banaras, Sarnath, Gaya and Sanchi in India in accordance with custom.

(3) Pilgrims customarily visiting Lhasa may continue to do so in accordance with custom.

Article IV

Traders and pilgrims of both countries may travel by the following passes and route:

(1) Shipki La Pass,
(2) Mana Pass,
(3) Niti Pass,
(4) Kungrin Bingri Pass,
(5) Darma Pass, and,
(6) Lipu Lekh Pass.

Also the customary route leading to Tashigong along the valley of Eick Gatasangpu (Indus river) may continue to be traversed in accordance with custom.

Article V

For travelling across borders, the High Contracting Parties agree that diplomatic personnel, officials and nationals of the two countries shall hold passports issued by their own respective countries and visased by the other party except as provided in
paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4 of this article.

(1) Traders of both countries known to be customarily and specifically engaged in trade between the Tibet region of China and India, their wives and children who are dependent on them for livelihood and their attendants will be allowed entry for purposes of trade into India or the Tibet region of China, as the case may be, in accordance with custom on the production of certificates duly issued by the local Government of their own country by its duly authorized agents and examined by the border check posts of the other party.

(2) Inhabitants of the border districts of the two countries, who cross borders to carry on petty trade or to visit friends and relatives, may proceed to the border districts of the other party as they have customarily done heretofore and need not be restricted to the passes and routes specified in Article IV above and shall not be required to hold passports, visas or permits.

(3) Porters and mule-teen drivers of the two countries who cross border to perform necessary transportation services need not hold passports issued by their own country, but shall only hold certificates good for a definite period of time (good for three months, half a year or one year) duly issued by the local Government of their own country or by its duly authorized agents and produce them for registration at the border check-post of the other party.

(4) Pilgrims of both countries need not carry documents of certification but shall register at the border check-post of the other party and receive a permit for pilgrimage.

(5) Notwithstanding the provisions of the foregoing paragraph of this article, either Government may refuse entry to any particular person.

(6) Persons who enter the territory of the other party in accordance with the foregoing paragraphs of this article may stay within its territory only after complying with the procedures specified by the other party.

Article VI

The present agreement shall come into effect upon ratification by the both Governments and shall remain in force for eight years. Extension of the present agreement may be negotiated by the two parties if either party requests for it six months prior to the expiry of the agreement and the request is agreed to by the other party.

Done in duplicate in Peking on April 29, 1954, in Hindi, Chinese and English languages, all texts being equally valid.

Plenipotentiary of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China—CHANG HAN-FU.

Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Republic of India—N. RAGHAVAN.

Text of Notes exchanged between the Delegations of India and China

Peking, April 29, 1954

Your Excellency, Mr. Vice-Foreign Minister,

In the course of our discussion regarding the agreement on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India, which has happily concluded on Thursday (April 29) the delegation of the Government of Republic of India and the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China agreed that certain matters be regulated by an exchange of notes. In pursuance of this understanding, it is hereby agreed between the two Governments as follows:

(1) The Government of India will be pleased to withdraw completely within six months from date of exchange of the present notes the military escort now stationed at Yatung and Gyantse in the Tibet region of China. The Government of China will render facilities and assistance in such withdrawal.

(2) The Government of India will be pleased to hand over to the Government of China at a reasonable price the post, telegraph, and public telephone services together with their equipment operated by the Government of India in the Tibet region of China. The concrete measures in this regard will be decided upon through further negotiations between the Indian Embassy in China and the Foreign Ministry of China, which shall start immediately after the exchange of the present notes.

(3) The Government of India will be pleased to hand over to the Government of China at a reasonable price the twelve rest-houses of the Government of India in the Tibet region of
construct rest-houses for use of pilgrims along the route from Pulanchog (Taklakot) to Kang Rimpochen (Kailash) and Mavun The (Manasarowar), and the Government of India agree to place all possible facilities in India at the disposal of pilgrims.

(11) Traders and pilgrims of both countries shall have the facilities of hiring means of transportation at normal and reasonable rates.

(12) The three Trade Agencies of each party may function throughout the year.

(13) Traders of each country may rent buildings and godowns in accordance with local regulations in places under the jurisdiction of the other party.

(14) Traders of both countries may carry on normal trade in accordance with local regulations at places as provided in Article II of the agreement.

(15) Disputes between traders of both countries over debts and claims shall be handled in accordance with local laws and regulations.

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of India I hereby agree that the present note, along with your reply, shall become an agreement between our two Governments which shall come into force upon the exchange of the present notes.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

N. RAGHAVAN,
Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary of the
Republic of India.

8. INTER-DOMINION AGREEMENT
[DECEMBER 14, 1948]

Extracts from the agreement reached at the Inter Dominion Conference held at New Delhi from 6th to 14th December 1948.

Whereas the Governments of the two Dominions agree that mass exodus of minorities is not in the interest of either Dominion and they are determined to take every possible step to discourage such exodus and to create such conditions as would check mass exodus in either direction and would encourage and facilitate, as far as possible, return of evacuees to their ancestral homes, the two Dominions agree as follows:
SECTION I

1. The responsibility for protecting the lives and property of the minority communities and for ensuring that they receive justice and that their civic rights are fully safeguarded rests on the Government of the Dominion in which the minorities reside. The allegiance and loyalty of the minorities are to the State of which they are citizens and it is therefore their right and duty to have their grievances redressed by the Government of their own State. Leaders in each Dominion should make public declarations to this effect at every suitable opportunity as part of the implementation of the provisions of the Agreement.

2. (i) In Pakistan and in India every citizen shall have equal rights, opportunities, privileges and obligations; and there shall be no discrimination against the minorities whose cultural and religious rights shall be fully safeguarded.

N.B.—“Cultural” rights include “educational” rights.

(ii) Where direct recruitment is made otherwise than by open competition, minorities shall be given fair representation in the services.

3. Any propaganda for the amalgamation of Pakistan and India or of portions thereof including East Bengal on the one hand and West Bengal or Assam or Cooch Behar or Tripura on the other, shall be discouraged.

N.B.—The word “propaganda” shall be taken as including any organisation which might be set up for the purpose.

4. (i) Both Governments recognise that the whole-hearted cooperation of the Press is essential for creating a better atmosphere and therefore agree that every effort should be made, in consultation with the representatives of the Press, wherever possible, to ensure that the Press in each Dominion does not:

(a) indulge in propaganda against the other Dominion,

(b) publish exaggerated versions of news of a character likely to inflame, or cause fear or alarm to, the population or any section of the population in either Dominion, and

(c) publish material likely to be construed as advocating a declaration of war by one Dominion or suggesting the inevitability of war between the two Dominions.

(ii) An Inter-Dominion Information Consultative Committee should be set up to meet once in two months, or more frequently, if necessary, alternately in Delhi and Karachi and keep under review the activities of—

(a) the press,

(b) books, pamphlets and publications,

(c) broadcasting, and

(d) films.

This Committee shall have an equal number of representatives from either Dominion consisting of one Minister from each Dominion, and not more than two Government officers and two representatives of the Press from each Dominion. The subjects listed under (b), (c) and (d) shall be dealt with only by the official members of the Committee.

(iii) Both Governments shall ensure that their respective organisations handling publicity, including publicity through the radio and the film, refrain from and control—

(a) propaganda against the other Dominion, and

(b) publication of exaggerated versions of news of a character likely to inflame, or cause fear or alarm to, the population or any section of the population in either Dominion.

5. Complaints from minorities in both the Dominions, that action is not taken on their reports against oppression or unfair treatment, should be promptly and fairly looked into and early remedial measures taken.

6. Both in East Bengal and West Bengal there shall be set up before the 15th of February 1949, a Provincial Minorities Board and under the Provincial Board, District Minorities Boards for the express object of protecting the interests of the minorities, removing fear from their minds and inspiring confidence in them. These Boards shall ensure that the grievances of the minorities are promptly brought to the notice of the authorities and that they are satisfactorily and promptly dealt with.

It is suggested that the Provincial Minorities Board and the District Minorities Boards should each be composed of five members, three of whom at least should belong to the major minority community to be selected by members of the Provincial Legislature belonging to the minority communities. The remaining two shall be persons of influence and shall be nominated by the Provincial Government. The District Magistrate shall be the Chairman of the District Minorities Board and a Minister
to be nominated by the Provincial Government shall be the Chairman of the Provincial Board.

7. The two Dominions and their Provincial Governments shall declare and make it widely known to their officers and other employees that any Government servant proved to have been guilty either of dereliction of duty in protecting the lives and properties of the members of the minority community or of directly or indirectly ill-treating the members of the minority community or showing prejudice against the minority community in the discharge of his duties, shall receive exemplary and deterrent punishment and such punishment shall be given full publicity in each Dominion.

8. Severe action shall be taken against any person or group of persons creating or attempting to create any apprehension or fear of insecurity or alarm in the minds of the minority communities.

9. (i) The two Dominions shall take adequate steps—
   (a) to remove complaints regarding discrimination in the grant of export and import licenses and railway properties to members of the minority community as such; and
   (b) to curb all tendencies towards an economic boycott of minorities or strangulation of their normal economic life.

   (ii) The two Dominion Governments shall request their respective Provincial Governments to observe the same principles in their own sphere.

10. (i) The Governments of East Bengal and West Bengal will promote legislation providing for the setting up of Evacuee Property Management Boards in districts or areas from where a substantial exodus has taken place. These Boards will assume management of properties only on the definite request of their owners. Their functions will be of a managerial character and they will not have the power to alienate the property entrusted to them for management. These Boards shall be composed of members of the minority community.

   N.B.—“Evacuee” shall be defined as a person who has left the Province in question on or after 1st June 1947 and who declares his intention to return as soon as normal conditions are restored to the satisfaction of the two Governments.

   (ii) The two Chief Secretaries of East and West Bengal should meet at an early date to finalise the proposals for necessary legislation. The Governments of East and West Bengal will legislate by the 31st January 1949 for the setting up of an Evacuee Property Management Board in every district or area of their respective Provinces referred to in sub-clause (i). These Boards should be set up as soon thereafter as possible.

SECTION II

1. In order to ensure the smooth working of this Agreement in so far as they are concerned, the Chief Secretaries of the two Provinces, viz., East Bengal and West Bengal, shall meet at least once a month. Whenever matters concerning Assam, Cooch Behar and Tripura are likely to be discussed, the Chief Secretary, West Bengal, shall arrange for their representatives to be present.

   The Premiers of the two Provinces of East Bengal and West Bengal, or their nominees, shall meet not less than once in two months for the same purpose.

2. (i) Each Dominion should set up an organisation at the Centre to watch the implementing of the agreements reached and to bring up cases of breaches. It will be the responsibility of each Dominion to ensure that its Provincial Governments and acceding States carry out these agreements in so far as they are concerned. If a Province or a State for any reason considers that an agreement or any part of it should not be implemented, it should report the matter to its Dominion Government who should bring up the matter at the monthly Inter-Dominion meetings referred to in (ii) below.

   (ii) All such cases of breaches or non-implementation or possible modifications arising out of the experience of the arrangements made should be discussed at monthly meetings to be held at the Dominion Minister level alternately at Delhi and Karachi.

   (iii) Each Dominion should nominate a Minister who for the next few months would be responsible for this work and who will attend those meetings.

   (iv) All outstanding matters and such new matters as may arise from day to day relating to East Punjab, East Punjab States including Alwar and Bharatpur on the one side, and West Pakistan including acceding States on the other, will also be brought up for discussion and settlement at these meetings.

3. The question of migration of Muslims from East Bengal to Assam and the migration of Muslims who have been in
Assam prior to Partition into East Bengal shall also be dealt with at the Inter-Dominion meetings at the Minister level provided in paragraph 2 (ii) above.

4. It is agreed that if any criminal proceeding have been started in any of the two provinces of East and West Bengal, by the Government of the Province against Government servants of the other Province in respect of matters arising in course of execution of their duties, such proceedings should be withdrawn and the Government servants concerned, if taken into custody, should be released simultaneously in the two Provinces on a date not later than the 1st January 1949.

5. In regard to migration to East Bengal from India and to West Bengal from Pakistan, the Government of each of the two Dominions and the Governments of the two Provinces of East Bengal and West Bengal should by implementing this Agreement and otherwise create as early as possible conditions which would remove fear from and infuse confidence into the minds of those citizens who have migrated to the other Dominion and should instruct the Deputy High Commissioner (located in East or West Bengal according as the migration has been from India to Pakistan or from Pakistan to India) to make it known amongst evacuees there and to render to them all possible assistance so as to enable them to return to their original homes, lands and occupations. The Government of the Province to which migration has taken place should give all facilities and assistance to the Deputy High Commissioner and to the evacuees.

SECTION III

1. On receipt from Pakistan of relevant data relating to exodus on a large scale from areas in India other than West Bengal, Assam, Cooch Behar, Tripura, East Punjab, East Punjab States, Bharatpur and Alwar, another Inter-Dominion Conference should be called to consider action on the lines similar to those proposed above or on any other suitable lines in respect of—

(a) protection and other safeguards for the property of refugees who have gone out from one Dominion to the other temporarily or otherwise; and

(b) creation of conditions in any affected area which will reassure the minorities that their interests and rights are fully safeguarded and will prevent exodus or will induce evacuees to return to their homes.

9. NEHRU-LIAQUAT AGREEMENT

[APRIL 8, 1950]

A. The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure, to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality. Members of the minorities shall have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces. Both Governments declare these rights to be fundamental and undertake to enforce them effectively. The Prime Minister of India has drawn attention to the fact that these rights are guaranteed to all minorities in India by its Constitution. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out that similar provision exists in the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It is the policy of both Governments that the enjoyment of these democratic rights shall be assured to all their nationals without distinction.

Both Governments wish to emphasise that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens, and that it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances.

B. In respect of migrants from East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where communal disturbances have recently occurred, it is agreed between the two Governments:

(i) That there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit;

(ii) That there shall be freedom to remove as much of his movable personal effects and household goods as a migrant may wish to take with him. Movable property shall include personal jewellery. The maximum cash allowed to each adult migrant will be Rs. 150 and to each migrant child Rs. 75;

(iii) That a migrant may deposit such of his personal jewellery or cash as he does not wish to take with him with a bank. A proper receipt shall be
furnished to him by the bank for cash or jewellery thus deposited and facilities shall be provided, as and when required for their transfer to him, subject as regards cash to the exchange regulations of the Government concerned;

(iv) That there shall be no harassment by the Customs authorities. At each customs post agreed upon by the Government concerned, liaison officers of the other Government shall be posted to ensure this in practice;

(v) Rights of ownership in or occupancy of the immovable property of a migrant shall not be disturbed. If, during his absence, such property is occupied by another person, it shall be returned to him provided that he comes back by the 31st December 1950. Where the migrant was a cultivating owner or tenant, the land shall be restored to him provided that he returns not later than the 31st December 1950. In exceptional cases, if a Government considers that a migrant’s immovable property cannot be returned to him, the matter shall be referred to the appropriate Minority Commission for advice.

Where restoration of immovable property to the migrant who returns within the specified period is found not possible the Government concerned shall take steps to rehabilitate him.

(vi) That in the case of a migrant who decides not to return, ownership of all his immovable property shall continue to vest in him and he shall have unrestricted right to dispose of it by sale, by exchange with an evacuee in the other country, or otherwise. A committee consisting of three representatives of minority and presided over by a representative of Government shall act as trustees of the owner. The Committee shall be empowered to recover rent for such immovable property according to law.

The Governments of East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura shall enact the necessary legislation to set up these Committees.

The Provincial or State Government, as the case may be, will instruct the District or other appropriate authority to give all possible assistance for the discharge of the Committee’s functions.

The Provisions of this sub-paragraph shall also apply to migrants who may have left East Bengal for any part of India, or West Bengal, Assam or Tripura for any part of Pakistan, prior to the recent disturbances but after the 15th August, 1947. The arrangement in this sub-paragraph will apply also to migrants who have left Behar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances or fear thereof

C. As regards the Province of East Bengal and each of the States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura respectively the two Governments further agree that they shall:

1. Continue their efforts to restore normal conditions and shall take suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder.

2. Punish all those who are found guilty of offences against persons and property and of other criminal offences. In view of their different effect, collective fines shall be imposed, where necessary. Special Courts will, where necessary, be appointed to ensure that wrong doers are promptly punished.

3. Make every possible effort to recover looted property.

4. Set up immediately an agency, with which representatives of the minority shall be associated, to assist in the recovery of abducted women.

5. NOT recognise forced conversions. Any conversion effected during a period of communal disturbance shall be deemed to be forced conversion. Those found guilty of converting people forcibly shall be punished.

6. Set up a Commission of Enquiry at once to inquire into and report on the causes and extent of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing recurrence of similar trouble in future. The personnel of the Commission, which shall be presided over by a Judge of the High Court, shall be such as to inspire confidence among the minority.

7. Take prompt and effective steps to prevent the dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by press or radio or by any individual or organisation. Those guilty of such activity shall be rigorously dealt with.
(8) Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of such propaganda.

D. Sub-paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (7) and (8) of C of the Agreement are of general scope and applicable according to exigency to any part of India or Pakistan.

E. In order to help restore confidence, so that refugees may return to their homes, the two Governments have decided

(i) to depute two Ministers, one from each Government, to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary;

(ii) to include in the Cabinets of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam a representative of the minority community. In Assam the minority community is already represented in the Cabinet. Appointments to the Cabinets of East Bengal and West Bengal shall be made immediately.

F. In order to assist in the implementation of this Agreement, the two Governments have decided, apart from the deputation of their Ministers referred to in E, to set up Minority Commissions, one for East Bengal, one for West Bengal and one for Assam. These Commissions will be constituted and will have the functions described below:

(i) Each Commission will consist of one Minister of the Provincial or State Government concerned, who will be Chairman, and one representative each of the majority and minority communities from East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam, chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State Legislatures, as the case may be.

(ii) The two Ministers of the Governments of India and Pakistan may attend and participate in any meeting of any Commission. A Minority Commission or any two Minority Commissions jointly shall meet when so required by either Central Minister for the satisfactory implementation of this Agreement.

(iii) Each Commission shall appoint such staff as it deems necessary for the proper discharge of its functions and shall determine its own procedure.

(iv) Each Commission shall maintain contact with the minorities in Districts and small administrative headquarters through Minority Boards formed in accordance with the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 1948.

(v) The Minority Commissions in East Bengal and West Bengal shall replace the Provincial Minorities Boards set up under the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 1948.

(vi) The two Ministers of the Central Governments will from time to time consult such persons or organisations as they may consider necessary.

(vii) The functions of the Minority Commission shall be:

(a) to observe and to report on the implementation of this Agreement and, for this purpose, to take cognizance of breaches or neglect;

(b) to advise on action to be taken on their recommendations.

(viii) Each Commission shall submit reports, as and when necessary, to the Provincial and State Governments concerned. Copies of such reports will be submitted simultaneously to the two Central Ministers during the period referred to in E.

(ix) The Governments of India and Pakistan and the State and Provincial Governments will normally give effect to recommendations that concern them when such recommendations are supported by both the Central Ministers. In the event of disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.

(x) In respect of Tripura, the two Central Ministers shall constitute a Commission and shall discharge the functions that are assigned under the Agreement to the Minority Commissions for East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. Before the expiration of the period referred to in E, the two Central Ministers shall make recommendations for the establishment in Tripura of appropriate machinery to discharge the functions of the Minority Commissions envisaged in respect of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam.

G. Except where modified by this Agreement, the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 1948 shall remain in force.

10. INDO-PAKISTAN AGREEMENT

[September 10, 1958]

In accordance with the directives issued by two Prime Ministers, the Secretaries discussed this (10th September 1958)
morning the following disputes:
West Bengal—East Pakistan

(1) Bagga Awards on Disputes I and II.
(2) Hilli.
(3) Berubari Union No. 12.
(4) Demarcation of Indo-Pakistan frontier so as to include the two chiltands of old Cooch Behar State adjacent to Radcliffe line in West Bengal.
(5) 24-Parganas—Khulna
25-Parganas—Jessore

Assam—East Pakistan

(6) Pakistan claim to Bholaganj.
(7) Piyain and Surma—Boundary disputes.

Tripura—East Pakistan

(8) Tripura land under Pakistan. Railway and Tripura land to the west of the railway line at Bhagalpur.
(9) Feni River—Boundary dispute.

West Bengal—East Pakistan

(10) Exchange of enclaves of the old Cooch Behar State in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in India. Claim to territorial compensation for extra area going to Pakistan.

2. As a result of discussions, the following agreements were arrived at:

(1) Bagga Awards on disputes I and II—It was agreed that the exchange of territories as a result of demarcation should take place by 15th January 1959.
(2) Hilli—Pakistan Government agree to drop this dispute. The position will remain as it is at present in accordance with the Award made by Sir Cyril Radcliffe and in accordance with the line drawn by him on the map.

3. Berubari Union No. 12—This will be so divided as to give half the area to Pakistan, the other half adjacent to India being retained by India. The division of Berubari Union No. 12 will be horizontal, starting from the north-east corner of Debiganj thana. The division should be made in such a manner that the Cooch Behar enclaves between Pachagar thana of East Pakistan and Berubari Union No. 12 of Jalpaiguri thana of West Bengal will remain connected as at present with Indian territory and will remain with India. The Cooch Behar enclaves lower down between Boda thana of East Pakistan and Berubari Union No. 12 will be exchanged along with the general exchange of enclaves and will go to Pakistan.

4. Pakistan Government agree that the two chiltands of the old Cooch Behar State adjacent to Radcliffe line should be included in West Bengal and the Radcliffe line should be adjusted accordingly.

5. 24-Parganas—Khulna
24-Parganas—Jessore

It is agreed that the mean of the two respective claims of India and Pakistan should be adopted, taking the river as a guide, as far as possible, in the case of the latter dispute (Ichhamati river).

6. Pakistan Government agree to drop their claim on Bholaganj.

7. Piyain and Surma river regions to be demarcated in accordance with the relevant notifications, cadastral survey maps and, if necessary, record of rights. Whatever the result of this demarcation might be, the nationals of both the Governments to have the facility of navigation on both these rivers.

8. Government of India agree to give in perpetual right to Pakistan the land belonging to Tripura State to the west of the railway line as well as the land appurtenant to the railway line at Bhagalpur.

9. The question of the Feni river to be dealt with separately after further study.

10. Exchange of old Cooch Behar enclaves in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in India without claim to compensation for extra area going to Pakistan, is agreed to.
effect to the exchange of territory as a result of the demarcation already carried out, should be given early consideration.

11. NEHRU-NOON AGREEMENT  
[September 12, 1958]  
JOINT COMMUNIQUE

On the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited New Delhi from the 9th to 11th September, 1958. During this visit, the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India discussed various Indo-Pakistan border problems with a view to removing causes of tension and establishing peaceful conditions along the Indo-Pakistan border areas.

The Prime Ministers had frank and friendly discussions about these border problems. They arrived at agreed settlements in regard to most of the border disputes in the eastern region. They also agreed to an exchange of enclaves of the former Cooch Behar State in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in India. Some of the border disputes, namely, two regarding the Radcliffe and Bagge Awards in the eastern region, and five in western region, require further consideration.

The Prime Ministers agreed to issue necessary instructions to their survey staff to expedite demarcation in the light of the settlements arrived at and to consider further methods of settling the disputes that are still unresolved. In regard to the Hussainiwala and Suleimanke disputes, the Foreign Secretary of the Government of Pakistan and the Commonwealth Secretary of the Government of India, will, in consultation with their engineers, submit proposals to the Prime Ministers.

The Prime Ministers agreed that when areas are exchanged, on agreed dates, as a result of settlement and demarcation of these disputed areas, an appeal should be made to the people in the areas exchanged to continue staying in their present homes as nationals of the State to which the areas are transferred. The Prime Ministers further agreed that, pending the settlement of unresolved disputes and the demarcation and exchange of territory by mutual agreement, there should be no disturbance of the status quo by force and peaceful conditions must be maintained in the border regions. Necessary instructions in this regard will be issued to the respective States and to the local authorities on the border.

The Prime Ministers agreed to keep in touch with each other with a view to considering various steps to be taken to further their common objective of maintaining and developing friendly and cooperative relations between their two countries.

12. INDO-Pakistan Agreement  
[January 11, 1960]  
JOINT COMMUNIQUE

In pursuance of the decision taken at the India-Pakistan Minister-level Conference in October 1959, where a number of East Pakistan-India border questions were amicably settled, a Minister-level Conference was held at Lahore, Rawalpindi and Delhi from 4th to 11th January 1960, to discuss West Pakistan-India border questions. The Pakistan Delegation was led by Lt.-General K. M. Shaukh and the Indian Delegation by Sardar Swaran Singh.

2. There were in all five areas of dispute in this region viz., (1) Chak Ladheke, (2) Thah Sarja Marja, (3) Hussainiwala and (4) Suleimanke Headworks, and (5) Kutch-Sind-Border. Of these, the first two disputes arose out of difference between the Governments of India and Pakistan regarding interpretation of the Radcliffe Award. These were settled in a spirit of mutual accommodation as detailed in para 3 below.

3. Pakistan gave up their claim to Chak Ladheke to the three villages of Thaj Sarja Marja, Rakh Hardit Singh and Pathanke. In respect of Hussainiwala Headworks it was decided that the boundary would be the district boundary between Ferozpur and Lahore districts. A settlement was also effected in respect of Suleimanke Headworks and an agreement about the adjustment in the district boundary was arrived at.

4. Both countries agreed to collect further data in respect of the dispute regarding the Kutch-Sind boundary and discussions will be held later with a view to arriving at a settlement of this dispute.

5. Agreement was also reached in respect of the Ground Rules which would be operative on the West Pakistan-India border.

6. So far as the demarcation of the boundary between West Pakistan and Punjab (India) was concerned, it was decided that
top priority should be given to this work which should be completed by the end of April 1960. It was agreed that return of the areas in adverse possession of either country in this sector will be completed by the 15th October 1963.

7. Will the settlement of a large number of border questions both on East Pakistan-India and West Pakistan-India borders, yet another step has been taken by the two Governments for bringing about better and amicable neighbourly relations which the two leaders, the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India, had welcomed in their meeting on 1st September 1960.

13. TEXT OF SIXTH INDO-PAKISTAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON BORDER DISPUTES

[ISSUED ON AUGUST 2, 1962]

The 35th Conference of Chief Secretaries of East Pakistan, Assam and West Bengal and the Chief Commissioner of Tripura was held at Dacca on August 1st and 2nd 1962. The discussions at the Conference were free and frank and took place in an atmosphere of cordiality. The Conference reviewed the progress of work of demarcation of international boundary between East Pakistan and Assam, West Bengal and Tripura and considered ways and means of expediting the completion of this work by removing procedural and other difficulties. It was agreed that the work on demarcation on all outstanding sectors should begin on the 1st of November, 1962. The Conference considered the situation arising from the deportation of persons from Tripura and Assam and the influx of refugees from West Bengal to East Pakistan and vice versa. The Chief Secretaries of East Pakistan and West Bengal agreed to facilitate the return of the refugees to their home districts and their rehabilitation therein. The two Chief Secretaries reaffirmed the determination of their respective Governments to maintain peace and communal harmony. In this connection the Chief Secretaries noted with concern that during the recent communal disturbances a section of the Press on both sides had published highly objectionable and exaggerated stories which tended to result in in-fiammation of communal passions and aggravation of tension. The Chief Secretaries decided to appeal to the Press to desist from publishing such material and instead actively assist in the speedy restoration of normal and peaceful conditions and amity on both sides of the border.

The Chief Secretaries agreed to hold their next meeting at Shillong (Assam) by the middle of November 1962.

TASHKENT DECLARATION

[January 10, 1966]

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

I

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. They considered that the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent and, indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides set forth its respective position.

II

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25 February 1966, to the positions they held prior to 5 August 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

III

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

IV

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda
directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

V

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on Diplomatic Intercourse.

VI

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communication, as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to make measures to implement the existing agreement between India and Pakistan.

VII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they will give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

VIII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the two sides will continue the discussion of questions relating to the problems of refugees and evictions/illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

IX

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the two sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Minister of the USSR for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality.

They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to witness this Declaration.

15. AGREEMENT ON BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

1. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples.

In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows:

(i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;

(ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;

(iii) That the pre-requisite for reconciliation, good neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;

(iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;
(v) That they shall always respect each other’s national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;

(vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

2. Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

3. In order progressively to restore and normalise relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:

(i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts, and air links including overflights.

(ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.

(iii) Trade and co-operation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.

(iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

4. In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

(i) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.

(ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this Line.

(iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

5. This Agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional pro-

ceedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the Instruments of Ratification are exchanged.

6. Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(Indira Gandhi)  
Prime Minister  
Republic of India

(Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto)  
President  
Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Simla, the 2nd July, 1972

16. STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN Lok Sabha ON DECEMBER 12, 1972 ON THE FINALISATION OF THE LINE OF CONTROL IN JAMMU-KASHMIR

The following announcement has been made in New Delhi and Islamabad:

“"The Line of Control has been delineated in Jammu-Kashmir in accordance with the Simla Agreement of July 2, 1972 and that it has the approval of both Governments. Adjustments of ground positions will be carried out to conform to the line of control approved by both Governments within a period of 5 days from the date of this announcement.”

The broad description of the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of 17th December 1971 in Jammu-Kashmir as delineated on maps along its entire length is given below. This line has been delineated on 19 Mosaic maps commencing from the Chhamb sector on the international border and ending in Turtok-Partapur sector in the north.

I informed the House on 8th December that the controversy over the small pocket of Thak Chak about 1½ square miles in area in the occupation of Pakistan, had been resolved. Once Pakistan agreed to withdraw its troops from Thak Chak, we agreed, as a gesture of goodwill, to rationalise the line by minor adjustment of mutual claims. In the process, we withdrew our earlier claim in respect of the villages of Dhum and Ghikot
situated along the line of control, amounting to about 0.45 square miles in area.

Broad Details of the Line of Control

(a) From MANAWAR TAWI NW 605550 the Line of Control runs North West up to a point 3 miles West of JANGAR (with CHHAMBA inclusive to PAKISTAN), from where it turns North Eastwards to MiTHIDHARA NR 2619, thence North and North Westwards up to PUNCH River at NR 052669 (Approximately 6 miles South West of PUNCH).

(b) From there the Line again turns North Eastwards and thence North up to JARNI GALI (inclusive to INDIA) in GULMARG Sector, thence Westwards passing through MINDI Gali (Inclusive to India) up to PIR KANThI (inclusive to PAKISTAN), thence Northwards passing through CHHOTA KAZI NAG (inclusive to INDIA) approximately 7 miles North West of URI, up to KAIYAN in LIPA Valley (inclusive to INDIA). Thence the line of Control runs Westwards up to RICHMAR GALI with KATRAN KI GALI inclusive to PAKISTAN and the WANJAL Ridge and CHAK MUQAM Heights inclusive to INDIA.

(c) From RICHMAR GALL, the Line of Control runs Northwards passing West of TITHWAL up to 3 miles North of KERAN, thence turning North Eastwards up to LUNDA GALLI (inclusive to INDIA), thence Eastwards to HARMARGI Village in KEL Sector (inclusive to PAKISTAN), DURMAT in KANZALWAN Sector (inclusive to INDIA) and heights 14236, 15460 and KAROBAL GALI in MINIMARG Sector (all inclusive to INDIA), thence along NERIL (inclusive to INDIA) BREILAMAN (inclusive to PAKISTAN), and North of CHET in the KARGIL Sector, up to CHORBATLA in TURTOK Sector.

(d) From there the Line of Control runs North Eastwards to THANG (inclusive to INDIA) thence Eastwards joining the Glaciers.

17. TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP & COOPERATION BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

DESIROUS of expending and consolidating the existing relations of sincere friendship between them,

BELIEVING that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the basic national interests of both the States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the World,

DETERMINED to promote the consolidation of universal peace and security and to make steadfast efforts for the relaxation of international tensions and the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism,

UPHOLDING their firm faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between States with different political and social system,

CONVINCED that in the world today international problems can only be solved by cooperation and not by conflict,

REAFFIRMING their determination to abide by the purposes and principles of United Nations Charter,

The Republic of India on the one side, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the other side,

HAVE decided to conclude the present Treaty, for which purpose the following Plenipotentiaries have been appointed:

On behalf of the Republic of India:
Sardar Swaran Singh,
Minister of External Affairs,
On behalf of The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:
Mr. A. A. Gromyko,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Who, having each presented their Credentials, which are found to be in proper form and due order,
HAVE AGREED as follows:

Article I

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that enduring peace and friendship shall prevail between the two countries and their peoples. Each Party shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other Party and refrain from interfering in the other's internal affairs. The High Contracting Parties shall continue to develop and consolidate the relations of sincere friendship, good neighbourliness and comprehensive cooperation existing between them on the basis of aforesaid principles as well as those of equality and mutual benefit.

Article II

Guided by the desire to contribute in every possible way to ensure enduring peace and security of their people, the High Contracting Parties declare their determination to continue their efforts to preserve and to strengthen peace in Asia and
throughout the World, to halt the arms race and to achieve general and complete disarmament including both nuclear and conventional, under effective international control.

Article III

Guided by their loyalty to the lofty ideal of equality of all peoples and Nations, irrespective of race or creed, the High Contracting Parties condemn colonialism and racialism in all forms and manifestations, and reaffirm their determination to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The High Contracting Parties shall cooperate with other States to achieve these aims and to support the just aspirations of the peoples in their struggle against colonialism and racial domination.

Article IV

The Republic of India respects the peace loving policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aimed at strengthening friendship and cooperation with all nations.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics respects India's policy of non-alignment and reaffirms that this policy constitutes an important factor in the maintenance of universal peace and international security and in the lessening of tensions in the world.

Article V

Deeply interested in ensuring universal peace and security, attaching great importance to their mutual cooperation in the international field for achieving these aims, the High Contracting Parties will maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both the States by means of meetings and exchanges of views between their leading statesmen, visits by official delegations and special envoys to the two Governments and through diplomatic channels.

Article VI

Attaching great importance to economic, scientific and technological cooperation between them, the High Contracting Parties will continue to consolidate and expand mutually advantageous and comprehensive cooperation in these fields as well as expand trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and most-favoured-nation treatment, subject to the existing Agreements and the special arrangements with contiguous countries as specified in the Indo-Soviet Trade Agreement of December 26, 1970.

Article VII

The High Contracting Parties shall promote further develop-

ment of ties and contracts between them in the fields of science, art, literature, education, public health, press, radio, television, cinema, tourism and sports.

Article VIII

In accordance with the traditional friendship established between the two countries, each of the High Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other Party.

Each High Contracting Party undertakes to abstain from any aggression against the other party and to prevent the use of its territory for the commission of any act which might inflict military damage on the other High Contracting Party.

Article IX

Each High Contracting Party undertaking to abstain from providing any assistance to any third Party that engages in armed conflict with the other Party. In the event of either Party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and the security of their countries.

Article X

Each High Contracting Party solemnly declares that it shall not enter into any obligation, secret or public, with one or more States, which is incompatible with this Treaty. Each High Contracting Party further declares that no obligation exists, nor shall any obligation be entered into, between itself and any other State or States, which might cause military damage to the other Party.

Article XI

This Treaty is concluded for the duration of 20 years and will be automatically extended for each successive period of 5 years unless either High Contracting Party declares its desire to terminate it by giving notice to the other High Contracting Party of 12 months prior to the expiration of the Treaty. The Treaty will be subject to ratification and will come into force on the date of the exchange of Instruments of Ratification which will take place in Moscow within one month of the signing of this Treaty.

Article XII

Any difference of interpretation of any Article or Articles of this Treaty which may arise between the High Contracting Parties
will be settled bilaterally by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

The said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty in Hindi, Russian and English, all texts being equally authentic and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in New Delhi on the ninth day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy one.

On behalf of the
Republic of India

On behalf of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Sd./- Swaran Singh
Minister of External Affairs

Sd./- A. A. Gromyko
Minister of Foreign Affairs

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