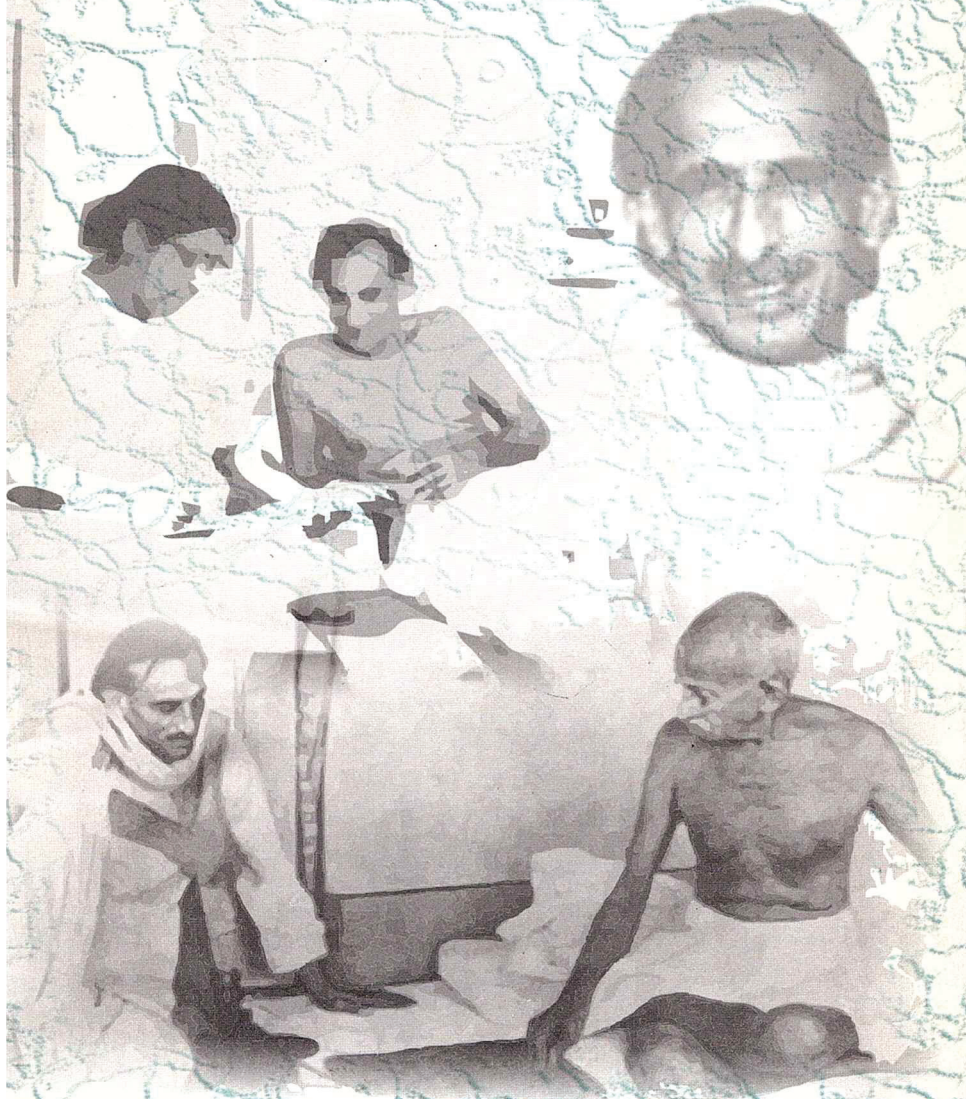


TIBET



Acharya J B Kripalani

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Acharya Kripalani Memorial Trust

Sucheta Bhawan, Vishnu Digambar Marg
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Publisher's Note*

The purpose of this little pamphlet is not to say "we told you so." Nor is it in self-vindication. Acharya Kripalani does not need to vindicate himself. His public life of the last 30 years is proof enough of his indomitable courage of conviction, brutal frankness and foresighted vision.

In the case of Tibet, in 1950 when the Prime Minister and those who think that they must endorse what he says for the time being were eloquent about *Panch Sheel*, he had the wisdom and courage to say that it was conceived in sin having been brought into existence as a result of the subjugation of Tibet. In those days it was a crime to question the wisdom of the Government's surrender of Tibet to China. From a committee set up in New Delhi in 1952 for enlightening public opinion about Tibet, N.G. Ranga, then leader of the Krishikar Lok Party and an associate member of the Congress Parliamentary Party, was forced to resign. The Prime Minister had also roundly condemned the move and asked his party members to shun it like plague. Now the Prime Minister himself agrees that the Chinese have not kept their promises in respect of tibetan autonomy and that his sacrifice of a vital principle and a weak nation's freedom were in vain.

In this little pamphlet are included excerpts from Acharya Kripalani's public statements on Tibet since 1950 inside and outside Parliament. The thread of consistency running

* It is original 'Publisher's Note' written in 1959-60.

through them is too evident to need mention. Also included in the volume are three of his articles discussing the ramifications of the Tibetan developments on our domestic and foreign policies. The appendix is made up of the Dalai Lama's statement issued at Mussoorie on June 20. We are sure this little volume will be of use to those who wish to understand the Tibetan question in perspective and learn the necessary lesson from it.

Origin of Surrender

Excerpts from a speech delivered in the Provisional Parliament on a motion on the international situation on December 6, 1950 :

In his enunciation of the country's foreign policy, the Prime Minister said India would judge every act of a country on its merits. Acharya Kripalani in reply to him said that actions often arise from the character of individuals and nations. Therefore it is the overall character of a nation that has to be considered for a correct judgement of its actions. It may also happen that one action may override all other actions. For instance, if a man commits a murder, that one action overrides all his other actions.

Referring to Chinese occupation of Tibet, Acharya Kripalani continued: "It (China) had a people's Government and that Government was in charge of the country. We (the Government of India), therefore, thought that it was right that it should not be denied the membership of the U.N., and we advocated the cause of China. Why? Because we were thinking in terms of isolated events. Our attitude from this point appeared right. We said that this Government represented the people of China and was in possession of power and so it should be allowed to be a member of the U.N. But, if we had waited a little, we would have been more cautious in our advocacy. Soon, this nation that had been struggling for its own freedom strangled the freedom of a neighbouring nation with whose freedom we are intimately concerned.

"I am not talking about the theoretical right of China on Tibet. In spite of this theoretical claim of China over Tibet, many of us here feel that our advocacy of China for the membership of the U.N. was premature. Our Government's attitude is understandable only on the assumption that Tibet is a far-off country and is none of our concern! But supposing what has happened in Tibet happens to Nepal, suppose the Chinese "liberation" forces come to Nepal, then I am sure we will, whether we are well prepared or ill-prepared, go to war against China, cost what it may. If that is so, at that time what would become of our advocacy of Peking's membership of the United Nations? We cannot be at war with a nation and also advocate its entry into the U.N. That would be absurd.

"When we advocated China's membership of the United Nations, China did not think that we were inspired by some other nation. But when it came to the question of Tibet, they told us that in our oppositions we were inspired by some other nations."

Excerpt from a speech in the Lok Sabha during the debate on a motion on the international situation, September 17, 1953:

"From China we expected something better, but its very first act was to smother the freedom of the small kingdom of Tibet which had been virtually independent for centuries."

Excerpts from a speech delivered in the Lok Sabha during the debate on a motion on the international situation on May 15, 1954 :

"Recently we have entered into a treaty with China. This treaty concerns the whole of India. It does not concern a party or a person, it affects us all. We feel that China, after it had gone Communist, committed an act of aggression in Tibet.

The plea is that China has the ancient right of suzerainty. This right is out of date, old and antiquated. It is theoretical; it was never exercised or very rarely exercised and even then in theory. It has lapsed by the flux of time.

“Even if it has not lapsed it is not right in these days of democracy, by which our Communist friends, swear, by which the Chinese swear, to talk of this ancient suzerainty and exercise it in a new form on a country which had and has nothing to do with China. Tibet is culturally more akin to India than it is to China, at least Communist China, which has repudiated all its old culture. I consider this as such a colonial aggression on the part of China as any colonial aggression indulged in by Western nations. The definition of colonialism is that one nation by force of arms or fraud occupied the territory of another nation. In this age of democracy, when we hold that all people should be free and equal, China’s occupation of Tibet is a deliberate act of aggression.

“Whether certain nations commit aggression against other peaceful nations does not always concern us. But in this case we are intimately concerned because China has destroyed what is called a buffer State. In international politics, when a buffer State is destroyed by a powerful nation, that nation is considered to have committed aggression against its neighbours.

“It is also well known that in the new map of China other border territories like Nepal, Sikkim etc. figure. This gives us an idea of the aggressive designs of China. Let us see what the Chinese themselves did in the Korean War. As soon as the U.N. troops, or more correctly the American troops, reached the borders of China, they felt insecure and immediately joined the war. Even the mere approach of a foreign army to its borders made China participate in the Korean War. I refuse to believe that the Chinese have

sympathy with North Korea. If their borders had not been endangered, they would not have bothered themselves about the Korean War.

"I do not say that because China conquered Tibet we should have gone to war with it. It was possible. But we did well in not going to war. But this does not mean that we should recognise the claim of China on Tibet. We must know that it is an act of aggression against a foreign nation. It is as abominable as the colonialism of any Western Powers."

Excerpt from a speech delivered in the Lok Sabha on a motion on the international situation on September 20, 1954:

"We have failed in arresting the march of Communist China to our borders. A small buffer State there was deprived of its freedom and was swallowed up : when we made a feeble protest we were told—not very politely—to shut up. We were told that we were the stooges of Western Powers." (The exact words used were "Dogs of imperialism.")

Excerpt from a speech in the Lok Sabha on foreign affairs, August 19, 1958 :

"I shall say a few words about the great doctrine that we have given to the world, the *Panch Sheel*. I hope I will not be misunderstood when I say that this great doctrine was born in sin, because it was enunciated to put the seal of our approval upon the destruction of an ancient nation which was associated with us spiritually and culturally. The *Panch Sheel* was enunciated on the eve of a nation losing its liberty."

An Hon'ble Member : Is that nation suffering?

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

Panch Sheel in Practice

Speech in the Lok Sabha on April 25, 1959 :

“It is nothing unusual for nations to criticise the internal and external policies of each other. Such criticism does not mean any interference in the internal affairs of a country. If it were so the constant denunciation of Yugoslavia by China would constitute interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. Recently China has become super-sensitive to any criticism of its policy with regard to Tibet. It appears to be a case of bad conscience. Even the most innocent comment of the President of the Congress was denounced because she had used the word ‘country’ for Tibet.

“In my case I feel that Communist China has ample political, though no moral, justification to denounce me. Mine has been almost a solitary voice raised in this House against the incorporation of Tibet in China. I have never believed that Communist China would respect the autonomy of Tibet even if Tibet accepted her claim to suzerainty, as it was obliged to do.

“I find that in spite of what has happened recently, some friends, whose judgment I respect, consider that we should continue to advocate Communist China’s case for membership of the U.N. They think as a member of that body China will be more amenable to international opinion. This is unrealistic. We have the example of South Africa, France, Russia and other expansionist countries. They are members of the U.N. but public opinion in that body has not deterred them from their aggressive designs.

“However, we are told that whatever the other party may do, we shall stick to the principles of the *Panch Sheel*. These principles are not moral imperatives. Even moral imperatives have no unitary application in international affairs. *Panch Sheel* can only be fulfilled mutually. For instance, respect for each others integrity and sovereignty, however vague these terms may be, implies mutuality. So also the idea of peaceful co-existence. One cannot peacefully co-exist with oneself! We have seen how the principles of *Panch Sheel* have been violated by those who agreed to abide by them, whenever they thought their fancied interests demanded it. In the present case, the Chinese have done one better. They have not only broken the principles but accused us of violating them. It is like what we say in Hindi “*Chor Kotwal Ko Danta* (the thief accusing the policeman).”

“I feel even if we go on being friendly to China to the end of our days, we cannot have its friendship. She thought little of our friendship when she openly accused the Government of India of having allowed Kalimpong to be used as the ‘command centre’ of the Tibetan revolt. Nations, bound by a treaty of friendship, when they have to protest, do it through diplomatic channels. China did that six month earlier about activities in Kalimpong. Nobody ever knew of this protest then. There were enquiries made and it was found that the allegations had no substance. The resul. of the inquiry was forwarded to the Chinese Government. They had nothing further to say.”

“That this method of protest, through diplomatic channels, was not employed this time, clearly shows that China no more cares for the friendship of India. The recent virulent wild, indiscriminate and not-true-to-facts attacks on India and Indian public men amply bear out my contention that China no more cares for Indian friendship. Our efforts to save it will only be construed as a sign of our weakness

but not of our goodness. Our Government and our people are anxious to save this friendship. But China alone can save it. The way she is behaving whether in Tibet or towards us does not show any anxiety to save it. China is indifferent even to Asian opinion.

“Communist China and its friends in India may well congratulate themselves that the revolt in Tibet has been put down and the machinations of the Western powers, Chiang-Kai-shek, the Indian Government and the Indian people have been exposed. But I am afraid both Communist China and its friends have lost much more than they have gained. It is always so when self-righteous aggression uses violence as its instrument. It forgets the psychological effects of its actions. Communist China by its action in Tibet has frightened the uncommitted Asian countries, specially those of South-East Asia. Fear makes strange bed-fellows. Asiatic nations are likely to see their safety against the danger from expansionist China by leaning more and more on America, as do the more powerful nations of Western Europe.

“Asian nations cannot be blind to the fact that though Formosa, the off-shore islands and Hong Kong are undoubtedly Chinese territory, populated by the Chinese people, it is not these that are sought to be incorporated in Communist China but Tibet, an alien territory with a foreign people. Why are Formosa and the off-shore islands yet safe? Not because Chiang Kai-shek can withstand an attack from the mainland but because he is backed by the U.S.A. Any determined attack on him would mean war with America, and may be a third world war. Communist China is not prepared for this. The Asiatic nations also know how South Korea was saved from the Communist grip by U.S. or U.N. Action. China, instead of defeating Western Imperial influence in Asia has increased it. It has not only injured itself but the whole of Asia. It has increased world tension and the

area of the cold war.

“So far as India is concerned I am glad that our Prime Minister the other day made it clear in the Rajya Sabha that under no circumstances will India abandon her policy of nonalignment in the cold war. I am sure every section of the house endorses this view. In spite of this the Chinese papers are reported to have said that ‘Shri Nehru has been pushed by the West into an important role in their so-called sympathy with Tibet movement.’ Whatever the Chinese may say I believe our foreign policy is in the safe hands of our Prime Minister and that India will not be pushed into the cold war. China must be thankful that it is so.

“But as I said the other day I am not so much concerned with Chinese opinion about us as about that of a section of our countrymen. I would like to ask my Communist friends whether they approve of the wild, violent and not-true-to-facts propaganda that has been carried on in China day after day? Do they after what our Prime Minister has said on several occasions believe that Kalimpong is the ‘command centre’ of the Tibetan revolt? Do they yet believe that the Dalai Lama was kidnapped? Do they still believe that his two statements made in India were made under duress or were dictated by the officials of our Foreign Department?

“Do they believe that the Dalai Lama is under surveillance in India? If they do why do they get these informations via Peking? Why don’t their leaders run up to Mussoorie and ascertain the facts for themselves. I am sure the Government of India will put no hindrance in their way to meet the Dalai Lama. Do they further believe that India has expansionist designs on Tibet or for the matter of that on any other country? Above all, do they believe that the Chinese maps delineating the boundaries between the two countries are correct? If not, have they advised their dear friends in China to suppress the maps? These and such other questions

are important. In the answer to these questions I am sure the country is vitally interested.

“Before I conclude I would draw the attention of our Government to the fact that China believes that the Dalai Lama and his companions are under surveillance. I know whatever restrictions are placed upon them are due to security reasons as also because our Government does not want those, who have sought asylum in our country, to say or do anything that may be even remotely considered anti-Chinese. But when those for whose benefit these restrictions, willingly borne by our honourable guests, are imposed misunderstand them it is time that more freedom of intercourse and expression of views were allowed to our guest. I do hope our Government will see its way to relax unnecessary restrictions that give handle to those who denounce us and do not wish us well.” (All restrictions have since been removed and the Dalai Lama and his companions are free to talk to the press and move about in the country. They meet people they like to.)

The Writing on the Wall

Summary of a speech at a reception given to the Dalai lama by the citizens of Delhi on September 6, 1959 :

Ever since there was aggression from China against Tibet, I have raised my almost lonely voice of protest in Parliament. We in India have never recognised historical rights of one nation over another established through conquest or coercion. If we had, there would have been no point in our struggle for freedom against foreign imperial domination. Nor would the stand that we have taken so far in international affairs, about the freedom of peoples and nations, have any meaning. Our Prime Minister has always emphatically asserted that our neutrality is dynamic. He has often said that where injustice and tyranny are involved India cannot remain neutral. It will always stand for justice and fairplay.

It is not necessary for me to go into the details of the historical relations between Tibet and China. These relations extend to centuries, when there was no precise and legally defined meaning attached to terms current in international relations. Specially was this the case with the terms suzerainty. Often it was some kind of courtesy rendered by a small State to its big neighbour. It did not mean the incorporation of a small kingdom in the bigger and the more powerful.

Even this nominal suzerainty was never recognised by Tibet. It was imposed upon it. What happened however in 1949 and afterwards was to turn this doubtful, antiquated and time-worn suzerainty, which was exercised only at long

intervals, into the sovereignty of China over Tibet.

At first India protested against this change. But it was told that its protest was inspired by Western imperialism, in words which were insulting to our dignity as a nation. But we yielded to the bullying tactics of China then, and unfortunately have been doing so up to the present time.

Under these circumstances it would be vain to expect the Indian Government to raise the issue of Tibet in the U.N.O. I am sure there are legal difficulties in the way. But our Government is pathetically anxious to maintain unilateral friendship with China. I thought that international friendships implied mutuality. But our love for China appears to be of a romantic nature. Whatever the beloved may do, we shall always remain faithful to her. In the Lok Sabha the other day this was made clear by our Prime Minister. He said that whatever the attitude of other nations, we shall stick to *Panch Sheel*. All the principles of *Panch Sheel* imply mutuality. They cannot be given effect to unilaterally. For example peaceful co-existence implies two parties.

Can the Tibetan issue be taken by India to the U.N.O.? The Prime Minister made it clear that such a reference would harm the Tibetans themselves. The Chinese, we are told, will be further infuriated and they will harm the Tibetans more. If that argument had any validity, the question of the rights of citizens of Indian origin in South Africa should not have been taken to the U.N.O. We never thought then that such a reference would infuriate the Whites in South Africa and they would treat the Indians there worse than before! However, the Tibetan authorities are anxious that India should take the initiative. We must not, like the Chinese, presume to know Tibetan interest better than the Tibetans themselves.

It is now plain that the Indian authorities will not raise the question of Tibet in the U.N.O. This will not be a great misfortune, were it not for the fact that other nations look to

India to take the initiative. The Asian nations will think that if India, a great nation, is unwilling to take the risk of Chinese displeasure, in a cause which concerns the security of her borders, how can they afford to earn the displeasure of China? If no Asian nation takes up the issue, the Western nations can argue that they cannot do it for their interests are not involved.

I am, however, sure that some nation will raise the issue in the U.N.O. from humanitarian considerations. But it would be interesting to know what would be the attitude of India in that case! Will our representative take the same attitude as he took in the case of Hungary? If he does so, I am sure India's prestige in the international world will greatly suffer. It will belie the Prime Minister's assertion that wherever there is injustice and tyranny India will not remain neutral. It is, therefore, necessary that the nation should make its wishes clear in this matter. We cannot allow the authorities to take a position which is repugnant to the generous feeling and good sense of the people of India. Our people have shown unmistakable sympathy for the cause of the freedom of Tibet. It is the duty of a democratic Government to give effect to the people's views and wishes. In international affairs the people can work only through their Government.

This brings me to the question which concerns us today even more intimately than Tibet. It is the security and safety of our borders. In the Lok Sabha, as early as 1950, I pointed out that it was dangerous for the country to allow a buffer kingdom, that existed between India and China for centuries, to be destroyed. Today unfortunately we see the result of this clearly. There is aggression on our borders. Some people believe that this is due to the Chinese irritation at our sympathy with the Tibetan cause. This is far from the truth. Even when the most cordial relations were supposed to exist between the two countries, the Chinese had been indulging

in aggression in the Ladakh area. This aggression is two years old and, strangely enough, the nation and Parliament were kept in ignorance of it and the people went on shouting *Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai* ! What is the attitude of the Indian authorities now? They tell us the territory occupied is mountainous, uninhabited and inaccessible. If that is so, why do the Chinese want it? They do not indulge in acts unfriendly to India for mere fun of it! The Chinese do not enjoy the cold of Tibet! Again, why has there been aggression in other areas more recently? Why are the Chinese forces concentrated on N.E.F.A. or Bhutan's borders? Why are their advance military watch-post there? One hears even of trenches being dug. I am afraid all the areas occupied or contemplated to be occupied are springboards for future action. A spring board need not be a cultivated or populated region. Its value is strategic for future military operations.

I am afraid the language that our Prime Minister has been recently using in connection with the violation of our borders is reminiscent of Munich before the last World War, Britain too offered arbitration before Czechoslovakia was invaded by Hitler. It wanted to avoid conflict at the expense of honour. We too want to avoid conflict at the expense of our honour. The result may be the same as in Europe before World War II, the destruction both of honour and peace. We must remember that so far as external aggression is concerned, there is little choice between Fascism and Communism. Rather the latter is more thorough. It also gets help from internal agents in countries marked out for aggression. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that at this critical juncture we be vigilant. I am afraid even if the authorities see the danger, they seem to be paralysed by the abstract theories and ideas they have been mouthing so far, against all facts of history and historical experience. They fail to see the writing on the wall.

Alibi

There is mutual friendship between India and China. This friendship was emotionalised by the popular slogan : Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai. (India and China are brothers)

Why then did China publicly accuse India of allowing Kalimpong to be used as the "commanding centre" of the revolt in Tibet. It is not customary for a country to denounce or accuse a friendly neighbour in public. The least that is expected of it is to communicate its complaint through diplomatic channels and ask for inquiry and if the charge is correct, for redress. We are told that this was done six months ago. A complaint was made by the Chinese Government about anti-Chinese activities carried on in Kalimpong. The Indian Government ordered a thorough inquiry. It revealed that there was no substance in the complaint. The result of this inquiry was forwarded to the Chinese authorities, who did not then pursue the matter.

Why was not this method of complaint followed in the case of Peking's recent accusations? Was it for the reason that there could be no possible substance in the charge against India? The Indian border with Tibet is so vigilantly guarded by the Chinese troops and contact between India and Tibet is so difficult on account of the nature of the terrain and the undeveloped character of communications that a conspiracy hatched in India could render no effective help to the Tibetan rebels. There can, therefore be no reason for the Chinese complaint publicly made against India.

The only possible reason appears to be that the Chinese

authorities, conscious of the fact that their Tibetan policy had excited the revolt, were anxious to show that it was inspired from outside. They, therefore, searched for an alibi. It was found, as is usual with Communist imperialism, in the reactionary elements of the local population, supported by Western imperialist powers and, in the present case, also by the Chinese agents of Chiang Kai-shek. However, for the intrigues and machinations of these enemies of Communist China there must be some possible base of operations. This, on account of geographical reasons, can only be in India and in Kalimpong near the border, where there is some Tibetan population, old and new. Therefore, it became necessary to involve a friendly country in this so-called, worldwide conspiracy against Communist China. This is the only explanation possible for the publicity that was given to the charge against India, without approaching the Government of India, as was done on the former occasion.

But why did the Communist Party of India pass a resolution which in effect and substance confirmed the charge made by the Chinese Government? Did they not know the stand of their Government and their countrymen in the matter of Tibetan autonomy and the reverence in which the Dalai Lama was generally held in India? The Communist Party here is not so naive as to be unaware of the attitude of their Government or the feelings and sentiments of their countrymen. They also know the scrupulous correctness of the conduct of our Government almost to the point of timidity, so far as Indian-Chinese friendship is concerned. Yet the resolution they passed was so manifestly perverse that even our Prime Minister was constrained to call it unpatriotic. Why did the party take the odium of being unpopular and suspect? It can only be to oblige a foreign Communist government, unwilling to let the world know that the uprising in Tibet was caused by the measures that

they had adopted to impose the Communist pattern of life upon the Tibetan people and deny them the internal autonomy that they had promised to them—a promise which their Prime Minister had reiterated to Nehru. Throughout their careers the Communist parties in non Communist countries have kept their solidarity with Communist Governments in other lands even at the expense of national interests as conceived by their own countrymen. They believe in the international character of Communism.

Like fanatical religious sects, they believe that they have an historical, if not a god-given, mission to perform. They have, therefore, the right to coerce people to live in an earthly paradise of their conception! However, as soon as Communists achieve power in any country, they shed their internationalism and, become not only intensely national but expansionist. In that case aggression by a Communist Government against its neighbour is justified by Communists the world over, except in Yugoslavia. Every national revolt against Communist imperialism is denounced as engineered by internal reactionary vested interest, helped by Western imperialism. Some time back we had the example of the national revolt in Hungary. The Communist parties everywhere justified its suppression by Russia. The reason given was that it was not popular and national but engineered by reactionary forces in Hungary and their imperialist Western allies.

In the present case even before Communist China had publicly levelled its charge against India, Communist leader S.A. Dange, likened the action against Tibet to that taken against Master Tara Singh when he was put behind the bars for a week or so by the Punjab Government for reasons of law and order. However, such stray remarks in Parliament, received with a smile by the House, did not serve the purpose the Chinese authorities had in view. They wanted a witness

of their alibi. And what witness could be more damaging for India than a section of the Indian population? The C.P.I. was ready to oblige. In their accusation of their own government they has gone one better than the Chinese authorities. They not only endorsed the original Chinese charge but added that India was violating the *Panch Sheel* principles and endangering the friendship between India and China. Evidently the C.P.I. is more concerned with saving the *Panch Sheel* than its author! It further likened the action taken by China against Tibet to that taken by India against a section of Nagas. They talked also about Kashmir. I would not go into the obvious differences, which were pointed out by our Prime Minister at a press conference. But it will be worth while for the nation to know what the Communist attitude is in the matter of Kashmir and the Naga trouble. In the present context their attitude towards the latter is of great importance.

It is natural to ask why did the C.P.I. suddenly discover all the sins of commission and omission of their own Government against Communist China? The Tibetan revolt was not of recent origin. It only came to a head recently. Did they ever depute some member or members of their party to go to Kalimpong to make inquiries about the activities of the imperialist conspirators, who had gathered there and whose presence was being tolerated by our Government? It would appear that they did nothing of the sort. They discovered the subversive activities at Kalimpong via Peking, after Peking has made them public. Even if they sent nobody to make independent enquiries, it was the duty of a patriotic party believing in democracy to approach their national government for information before rushing to the Press.

In their defence the Communists say that they were anxious to save India-China freindship. But the Chinese must have already discounted the beneficent effects of this

friendship before they publicly accused India of allowing a portion of its territory to be used for anti-Chinese activities. The Indian Communists cannot save this friendship. It can be saved by the Chinese authorities themselves. Real friendship has to be between the two people and not a formal one between the two Governments. For this the people of India have to be convinced that Tibetan autonomy is not interfered with and that the Tibetan people are allowed to live the life that they fancy. The C.P.I.'s endorsement of Chinese accusations against India, instead of commenting this friendship, excites the people of India and raises doubts against the party. The Communists in India, therefore, need not hold up their hands in horror if our people are angry with them and suspect their *bona fides*.

India, as our Prime Minister has often repeated during these last few days, is anxious for the friendship of China, in spite of what has happened in Tibet. Let our Communist friends do nothing that would injure the sentiments and susceptibilities of their own people.

I am sure the attitude taken by the C.P.I.'s Secretariat cannot be shared by all the members of the party. Some at least must be feeling that to placate the Chinese authorities they have needlessly annoyed their own people and excited their suspicions. By their present attitude they are doing no good either to their party or to their people or their Government, whose foreign policy they have always endorsed. They are doing no good even to China.

Recent Chinese comments on the Dalai Lama's statement bear out the point made in the article, which was written some weeks earlier, that Communist China was rather indifferent to the friendship of the Indian people or the Government of India.

Why Are They Silent?

The vituperative campaign carried on from day to day in Billingsgate language, politely referred to by Nehru in Parliament as the "language of cold war regardless of truth and propriety," clearly shows what value China places on India's friendship! Though in the virulent Chinese attack, Nehru's name was not brought in, he has rightly taken all that has been said as against his Government and the way that it has dealt with the Tibetan situation.

Though nothing new was said by the Prime Minister in his statement of April 27 in Parliament, the charges levelled against India by the Chinese Government, its various agencies and its press were clearly and emphatically repudiated. Nehru dealt afresh with the charge that Kalimpong was the centre of Tibetan revolt. He said that to consider it so would be "to make a large draft on imagination and to slur obvious facts."

If Kalimpong is not the basis of revolt, it is not manifestly inspired and helped by Western imperial Powers and the Chinese agents of Chiang Kai-shek. Nehru also discountenanced the Chinese contention that the rebellion was solely the work of the upper strata of reactionaries. He said that its basis must have been "a strong feeling of nationalism which affects not only the upper class but others also." Was there a reason for revolt? It was that "the fears and the apprehensions about their future gripped their hearts and the national upsurge swayed their minds." The Dalai Lama's flight from Tibet was voluntary. He was not

kidnapped to India.

As for the two statements made by the Dalai Lama in India, Nehru said that they were voluntarily made and no officer of the Foreign Department had any hand in their drafting. The latter merely handed over the copies of the statements to the press. Nehru had personally ascertained these facts from the Dalai Lama, when he met him in Mussoorie on April 24. There was no coercion and no duress whatsoever was exercised. The Dalai Lama and the members of his party were free to move in Mussoorie or anywhere else. Nehru reiterated his invitation to the Panchen Lama and the Chinese Ambassador here to pay a visit to the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie and ascertain for themselves whether the Dalai Lama left Tibet voluntarily and whether he was not a free agent in this country. These dignitaries, if they accepted the invitation, were promised every facility in their investigation.

Nehru has also effectively disposed of the charge of interference in the internal affairs of China and that India had 'expansionist' designs. He said India had voluntarily surrendered her extra-territorial rights in Tibet, acquired under British imperial rule. Alas, the Prime Minister did not know then that these rights were being renounced not in favour of the children of the soil, the Tibetans, but their overlords, the Chinese ruling party. As for Indian interest in the tragic events in Tibet, Nehru said that it was "spontaneous and widespread, The reaction was not political but largely of sympathy based on certain feelings of kinship derived from long-standing religious and cultural ties."

Nehru's statement in Parliament was comprehensive. It was dignified, couched in polite and courteous language, as befits the head of a civilised democratic government. In spite of great provocation he exercised restraint. Throughout the statement there was scrupulous concern shown to the

susceptibilities of the Chinese authorities and the people, and a solicitude for continued friendship. He made it clear that "we have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet. We have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China; but at the same time we have every sympathy with the people of Tibet and we are greatly distressed at their hapless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China in their wisdom will not use their great strength against the Tibetans but win them to friendly co-operation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given about the autonomy of Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease."

What can be the possible objective of this wild and undignified Chinese attack on India which, as the Prime Minister said, was not true to facts? The immediate desire can only be to bully the Government of India to withdraw the asylum that it has accorded to the Dalai Lama, his party and the Tibetans obliged to cross the borders. We may get an idea of the ultimate aim from the maps of China which remain uncorrected, in spite of the protests of the Government of India. These maps include not only the territory of our Himalayan neighbours but parts of Uttar Pradesh and the North East Frontier Agency.

It is nothing new or strange in the political world of today for nations, whatever their ideology or the form of internal governance— whether autocratic, military, democratic, socialist or Communist—to have expansionist and imperialist ambitions. Even democratic, socialist and Communist regimes are not free of this virus, in spite of the fact that all the three ideologies are inconsistent with imperialism. But under the guise of the White man's burden or the establishment of a classless society, or, on the plea of the antiquated right of sphere or influence or under a mandate etc., they deprive weaker nations and countries of their

freedom. What, therefore, China is doing today is nothing new. It is understandable. It is true to type.

Under these circumstances, what the attitude of the Government of India should be towards Communist China may be left to the Government of India. But what the nation, after the clear and emphatic statement of our Prime Minister, would and must like to know is the opinion of a section of our countrymen towards the violent, virulent and not-true-to-facts propaganda that is going on in China against India.

In spite of what Nehru said, do the Indian Communists believe that the charges leveled against the Government of India are true?

Do they believe that Kalimpong was the centre from where the Tibetan revolt was guided or regulated?

Do they believe that the Dalai Lama was kidnapped to India?

Do they believe that he is under strict surveillance or that he was tutored by the officials of the Foreign Department to make the statements that he made?

Were the statements made under duress?

Does India want to interfere in the internal affairs of China?

Do the Communists here believe that India has expansionist designs on Tibet or for the matter of that anywhere else?

Do they think that the Government should have denied the right of asylum to the Dalai Lama and his party?

Do they want him, his entourage and the thousands of Tibetans, who have taken refuge in India, to be pushed back beyond the borders and be dealt with by the Chinese authorities as rebels, as our own people were dealt with after the so-called mutiny of 1857, which for us, including our Communist friends, was a war of Indian liberation?

Why again have they accepted the Chinese maps which

extend the Chinese domain to parts of Indian territory?

The Communists have to answer these questions. They are not a very modest and non-vocal lot. They take up cudgels when anything is said against a Communist Government or its acts of repression or external aggression! Why are they silent now? Is it because they want to save India China friendship? Do they hope to do so when this virulent propaganda against India, over which they maintain their ominous silence, is going on in China from day to day? Have they any influence with the Communist governments whom they periodically support, in spite of the better judgement of their countrymen, not excluding a few of the Communists themselves who for party reasons remain mum? Or, are they merely camp followers even where the vital interest of their own nation are concerned?

Surely these questions have to be answered by the members of the Communist Party of India, if they want their claim to be democratic and patriotic to be recognised by the bulk of their people? If they do not make their position clear at this difficult time in the nation's history, they will have only to thank themselves if their *bona fides* are suspect in the eyes of their countrymen.

Appendix

Dalai Lama's Statement

Mussoorie, June 20, 1959

Ever since my arrival in India, I have been receiving almost every day sad and distressing news of the suffering and inhuman treatment of my people. I have heard almost daily, with a heavy heart, of their increasing agony and affliction, their harassment and persecution and of the terrible deportation and execution of innocent men. These have made me realise forcibly that the time has manifestly arrived when in the interests of my people and religion and to save them from the danger of near-annihilation, I must not keep silent any longer but must frankly and plainly tell the world the truth about Tibet and appeal to the conscience of all peace loving and civilised nations.

To understand and appreciate the significance and implication of the recent tragic happenings in Tibet, it is necessary to refer to the main events which have occurred in the country since 1950. It is recognised by every independent observer that Tibet had virtually been independent by enjoying and exercising all rights of sovereignty, whether internal or external. This has also been impliedly admitted by the Communist government of China, for the very structure, terms and conditions of the so-called Agreement of 1951 conclusively show that it was an agreement between two independent and sovereign States. It follows, therefore, that when the Chinese armies violated the territorial integrity of Tibet they were committing a flagrant act of aggression.

The agreement which followed the invasion of Tibet was

also thrust upon its people and Government by the threat of arms. It was never accepted by them of their own free will. The consent of the Government was secured under duress and at the point of the bayonet. My representatives were compelled to sign the agreement under threat of further military operations against Tibet by the invading armies of China leading to utter ravage and ruin of the country. Even the Tibetan seal which was affixed to the Agreement was not the seal of my representative but a seal copied and fabricated by the Chinese authorities in Peking, and kept in their possession ever since.

While I and my Government did not voluntarily accept the agreement, we were obliged to acquiesce in it and decided to abide by the terms and conditions in order to save my people and country from the danger of total destruction. It was, however, clear from the very beginning that the Chinese had no intention of carrying out the agreement. Although they had solemnly undertaken to maintain my status and power as the Dalai Lama, they did not lose any opportunity to undermine my authority and sow dissensions among my people. In fact, they compelled me, situated as I was to dismiss my Prime Ministers under threat of their execution without trial because they had in all honesty and sincerity resisted the unjustified usurpation of power by the representative of the Chinese Government in Tibet.

Far from carrying out the agreement, they began deliberately to pursue a course of policy which was diametrically opposed to the terms and conditions which they had themselves laid down. Thus commenced a reign of terror which finds few parallels in the history of Tibet. Forced labour and compulsory exactions, a systematic persecution of the people, plunder and confiscation of property belonging to individuals and monasteries, and execution of certain leading men in Tibet— these are the glorious achievements of the Chinese rule in Tibet.

During all this time, patiently and sincerely I

endeavoured to appease my people and to calm down their feelings and, at the same time, tried my best to persuade the Chinese authorities in Lhasa to adopt a policy of conciliation and friendliness. In spite of repeated failures, I persisted in this policy till the last day when it became impossible for me to render any useful service to my people by remaining in Tibet. It is in these circumstances that I was obliged to leave my country in order to save it from further danger and disaster.

I wish to make it clear that I have made these assertions against the Chinese officials in Tibet in the full knowledge of their gravity because 'I' know them to be true. Perhaps the Peking Government is not fully aware of the facts of the situation, but if they are not prepared to accept these statements, let them agree to an investigation on the point by an international commission. On our part, I and my Government will readily agree to abide by the verdict of such an impartial body.

It is necessary for me to add that before I visited India in 1956, it had become increasingly clear to me that my policy of amity and tolerance had totally failed to create any impression on the representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet. Indeed, they had frustrated every measure adopted by me to remove the bitter resentment felt by my people and to bring about a peaceful atmosphere in the country for the purpose of carrying out the necessary reforms. As I was unable to do anything for the benefit of my people, I had practically made up my mind when I came to India not to return to Tibet until there was a manifest change in the attitude of the Chinese authorities.

I, therefore, sought the advice of the Prime Minister of India, who has always shown me unfailing kindness and consideration. After his talk with the Chinese Prime Minister and on the strength of the assurances given by him on behalf of China, Mr. Nehru advised me to change my decision. I followed his advice and returned to Tibet in the hope that

conditions would change substantially for the better, and I have no doubt that my hopes would have been realised if the Chinese authorities had on their part carried out the assurances which the Chinese Prime Minister had given to the Prime Minister of India. It was, however, painfully clear soon after my return that the representatives of the Chinese Government had no intention to adhere to their promises. The natural and inevitable result was that the situation steadily grew worse until it became impossible to control the spontaneous upsurge of my people against the tyranny and oppression of the Chinese authorities.

At this point, I wish to emphasise that I and my Government have never been opposed to the reforms which are necessary in the social, economic and political systems prevailing in Tibet. We have no desire to disguise the fact that ours is an ancient society and that we must introduce immediate changes in the interests of the people of Tibet.

In fact, during the last nine years several reforms were purposed by me and my Government, but every time these measures were strenuously opposed by the Chinese in spite of popular demand for them, with the result that nothing was done for the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people. In particular, it was my earnest desire that the system of land tenure should be radically changed without further delay and the large landed estates acquired by the State on payment of compensations for distribution amongst the tillers of the soil. But the Chinese authorities deliberately put every obstacle in the way of carrying out this just and reasonable reform. I desire to lay stress on the fact that we, as firm believers in Buddhism, welcome change and progress consistently with the genius of our people and the rich traditions of our country, but the people of Tibet will stoutly resist any victimisation, sacrilege and plunder in the name of reforms, a policy which is now being enforced by the representatives of the Chinese Government in Lhasa.

I have attempted to present a clear and unvarnished picture of the situation in Tibet. I have endeavoured to tell the entire civilised world the real truth about Tibet, the truth which must ultimately prevail, however strong the forces of evil may appear to be today, I also wish to declare that we, Buddhists firmly and steadfastly believe in peace and desire to live in peace with all the peoples and countries of the world.

Although recent actions and policies of the Chinese authorities in Tibet, have created strong feeling of bitterness and resonant against the Government of China, we, Tibetans, lay and monk alike, do not cherish any feelings of enmity and hatred against the great Chinese people. We wish to live in peace and ask for peace and goodwill from all the countries of the world. I and my government are, therefore, fully prepared to welcome a peaceful and amicable solution of the present tragic problem, provided that such a solution guarantees the preservation of the rights and powers which Tibet has enjoyed and exercised without any interference prior to 1950. We must also insist in the creation of a favourable climate by the immediate adoption of the essential measures as a condition precedent to negotiations for a peaceful settlement. We ask for peace and for a peaceful settlement, but we must also ask for the maintenance of the status and the rights of our State and people.

To you, gentlemen of the Press, I and my people owe a great debt of gratitude for all that you have done to assist us in our struggle for survival and freedom. Your sympathy and support have given us courage and strengthened our determination. I confidently hope that you will continue to lend the weight of your influence to the cause of peace and freedom which the people of Tibet are fighting today. Gentlemen, I thank you one and all, on behalf of my people as well as on my own behalf.

Acharya Jivatram Bhagwandas Kripalani popularly known as Acharya Kripalani. A passionate freedom fighter, a partisan socialist, a Gandhian by heart, and a competent teacher; these are the terms that are often related to the name that is Acharya Kripalani. Although most remembered for holding the presidency of the Indian National Congress during the transfer of power in 1947, his contribution is much, much more. Getting himself into the strikes during the college days for Indians being called liars; he had given the sign of things to come early. He was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and his philosophies remained exactly that, even when Gandhi's philosophies were getting adjusted in the background. He actively and passionately participated in Indian Freedom Movement, taught at a few universities, took responsibility of caring for Gandhi's ashrams, became the president of Indian National Congress, and last but not the least - he contributed his time to a lot of relief works, environmental and social causes. A contribution that cannot be forgotten!

- Timeline 1888: J.B. Kripalani was born.
- 1908: Completed his graduation from Fergusson College in Pune.
- 1912-17: Worked as a professor of English & History at Muzaffarpur College in Bihar.
- 1919-20: Taught at Benares Hindu University. Founded Shree Gandhi Ashram in Varanasi.
- 1922-27: Served as a Principal of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth.
- 1934-46: Served as the General Secretary of Indian National Congress.
- 1936: Got married to Sucheta Majumdar (Kripalani).
- 1946-47: Served as the President of Indian National Congress.
- 1951-52: Resigned from the Indian National Congress & formation of Kisan Majdoor Praja Party, merger of Kisan Majdoor Praja Party & birth of Praja Socialist Party (PSP), Chairman PSP.
- 1960: Resigned from the PSP.
- 1975: Active in protest against Indira Gandhi's authoritarian style of leadership.
- He had become the member of parliament in 1953, 1957, 1963 & 1967. He lived in jail in 1917, 1921, 1930, 1933, 1934 (two times) & 1942.
- Death: 19th March 1982 at the age of 94.



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