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I - PICTURE OF W.P.

Whole country supports - except China Lobby

c.f. McDonald - "as rope supports hanged man"

Eschew F.P. debate - *Fourth in this subject - not just*
White Papers - dismal picture

Overall impression from White Papers:

7/11/54

- (1) Chinese acts show grand design, a single mind, calculated policy to see how much nonsense we will stand,
- (2) Our total failure to react either by immediate action or preparation such as building roads, equipping troops and deploying.

J.N. in U.S. - 10-10-49: "Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot and shall not be neutral.....We have to meet aggression and resist it and the force employed must be adequate to the purpose."

But Indian troops constantly overpowered by superior detachments

Avoidance of clash put above integrity of country.

~~Aggression~~

(3)

II - SUPPRESSION OF FACTS

Strange and deplorable

P.M.'s admission in Rajya Sabha - masterly understatement

April 22, 59 Questions of D.C.Sharma and C.D.Pande

re: Chinese aggression

To Sharma : "We have discussed one or two minor frontier disputes, each comprise tiny tracts of territory, may be, a mile this way or that way in the high mountains where nobody lives.

To C.D.Pande: "According to some reports we have seen, the Chinese have advanced a mile or two, may be. They are very high mountains. We inquired but the difficulty is that in winter these areas are not accessible, more so from our side."

In notes to Chinese, credit taken for this dubious act

25th Aug 59: "The Indian Govt. have observed discreet reticence about these incidents."

26th Sep.59 letter to Chinese P.M. :

"We did not release to the public the information which we had about the various border intrusions into our territory by Chinese personnel since 1954, the construction of a road across Indian territory in Ladakh, and the arrest of our personnel in the Aksai Chin area in 1958 and their detention. We did not give publicity to this in the hope that peaceful solutions of the disputes could be found by agreement by the two countries without public excitement on both sides."

Had opposite result - Aggression and discontent
Clear that Parliament and people kept in ignorance because policy of appeasement since 1950 would have been discredited and could not have been defended.

Bhai-bhaiism blown sky-high

Myth of 2000 years of friendship - compare Eskimo

P.M. placed interest of particular policy above national interest. - Enormity of offence yet to be realised.

Heavy responsibility at bar of History.

(4) III - NEGLECT OF BOUNDARY ISSUE

Amazing feature - emerging from WP.

We rushed forward to recognise CC, condone imperialist aggression in Tibet, became Sales Managers at U.N. and Bandung, but never got our frontiers accepted.

23 Jan. 59: Chou to P.M: "This was because conditions were not yet ripe for its settlement and the Chinese side, on its part, had had no time to study the question.....we believe, that, following proper preparations, this question which has been carried over from the past can certainly be settled reasonably on the basis of the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence through friendly talks. To this end, the Chinese Govt. has now proceeded to take certain steps in making preparations."

We now know what kind of preparations - building of roads and airstrips, moving troops forward.

Why we did not raise issue in 1954 when we signed away the freedom of Tibet?

Strange diplomacy

Why no quid pro quo for liquidation of buffer state?

Why was minute re: Macmohan line at end of 56 not sent to Chou till 14-12-58?

Was strange reluctance due to desire not to disturb facade of friendship and prevent bubble from bursting?

We would have been fore-warned and fore-armed but Panchshila would have "lost its lustre" in the eyes of the Indian people, five years earlier.

IV - WILFUL ILLUSIONISM

What is wrong with Comrade's? Nothing - But it's the two
Sentimental misreading of history and wilful failure
to face facts re: CC.

Result : Shambles

CC. from birth expansionist, imperialist

No "strange turn"
Plenty of warnings - Debate of 6 and 7 Dec. 50

10 out of 19 - A. Ayyenar, Kripalani, Shyam Prasad
Mukherjee, Kunzru, Jerome D'Souza,
Shyamanandan Sahay, Ranga, Anthony,
warned P.M. - invasion of Tibet first
step of attack on India

P.M. "alarmist"

~~Now proved P.M. "alarmist"~~

Warning by Mao, 1949: "To talk of neutrality is a fraud..
..... There is no third force."

CC described P.M. a "running dog of Anglo-American
imperialists" (N.C. News Agency)

NCNA - "The C.P.L. Army will hoist the Red Flag over
the Himalayas".

Oct. 49 - Mao's message to Raghav: good wishes for
"liberation" of India - "Relying on the brave
CPI ... India will certainly not remain long
under the yoke of imperialism and its collabo-
rators.... and (India), like free China, will
one day emerge in the socialist and Peoples'
democratic family..."

Hope still intact

11 Lenin: Road from Moscow to Paris lies through
Shanghai and Calcutta.

V - HAS LESSON BEEN LEARNT?

- 1. Infallibility - Himalayan Blunder*
 (1) P.M. at Calcutta, Oct. 21: No "major idea" behind Chinese incursions

Just flash in the pan

Like British, China seeking domination of India in a fit of absence of mind

One fit of absence of mind enough

P.M. at Delhi - 1-11-59 : ~~"A new chapter"~~ opened when the Chinese opened fire ~~at Longju and Ladakh.~~

- (2) Latest letter to Chou
 Refer Opposition amendment

~~Reckoning~~

Even more disturbing - faith in CC's bona fides survives

Reciprocal withdrawal - belief in good faith

Week back P.M. not in position to confirm or deny airfield at Aksaichin. Offer not to send out patrols - How then do we know whether or not Chinese have withdrawn?

Entire proposal based on continuing faith in willingness of CC to carry out pledged word.

Is such faith justified? c.f. record.

Three examples:

- (1) 1950 - troops sent to Tibet
- (2) 1959 - Tibetan autonomy violated
- (3) Aggression, shifting of ground, attribution of dishonest motives - flagrant breach of Panchshila

CC not Govt. on whose word slightest reliance could be placed.

P.M.'s letter - no recognition of this.

*Agreement - only if capacity to enforce it.
 First occupy territory*

VI - WHY THIS AGGRESSION?

Chinese "stupid"? We "stupid"?

World domination-objective of international communism

Domination of India - China's objective

First step - Occupation of Tibet

Importance of common boundary - c.f. Viet Nam, Malaya

We made gift of common frontier to China in 1950

P.M. talked of peace and freedom being indivisible
re: Czechoslovakia but forget re: Tibet.

Present - second stage.

Mao "Political power grows out of the barrel of the gun".

~~G.D.I. broken road~~
(1) Look up with 5th Column - Base
Objectives: (2) destruction of morale of Indian armed forces, destroy self-confidence to resist
(3) destruction of morale of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. c.f. Nepal's neutrality.
(4) Demoralisation of South and Southeast Asian countries.

Report of Professor Samar Guha (PSP) :

"Prof. Guha has been frankly told by many highly placed leaders of these countries that they look upon the Himalayas as not the frontier of India only, but of the whole of the free and democratic Asia. They all expressed great concern that, if the frontier of Himalayas melts, the fate of Asia would also melt irretrievably..... Shri Nehru is undoubtedly held in high esteem in all the countries of the East and Southeast Asia but this has not prevented them from viewing very critically his attitude of vacillation and indecision towards Red China so much so that a few very important leaders of the neutral countries felt compelled to compare, rather in a mood of dismay, the leadership of Shri Nehru to a captain of a ship without a compass.."

VII. - DEFEATISM

By not ~~erecting~~ pushing Chinese back, we creating
defeatism

Whisper re: incapacity of army to reoccupy territory
Do not believe it - I believe it
Appalling argument - guarantee of success wanted
before fight

History pays tribute to small and weak countries
resisting

October - International Congress in Tirol 150th
Anniversary.

- 1914 - Belgium stands up to Germany
- 1935 - Abyssinia resists Mussolini
Crown prince in India
- 1936 - Spanish Republic resists Franco
- 1939 - Finland resists USSR

Rajputs

~~Yet P.M. resents patriotic fervour~~

"We shall fight, but not yet".

When? At what point? Almora? Simla? Leh? Gauhati?

What principle?

Only one line - that is the frontier

VIII - WHAT NON-ALIGNMENT IS NOT

Defence of Territory not less
 Let us adhere to non-alignment if we so wish

But does not mean

- (a) Not repelling attack on one's territory
 Since when has expelling foreign troops from one's soil become waging war?
- (b) *Not* adequately ~~our~~ armed forces, c.f. Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia,
- (c) incapacity to recognise dangerous neighbour,
- (d) keeping people in dark, ~~and~~
- (e) ~~inflicting on armed forces a Defence Minister in whose dependability no confidence.~~

~~1942 "Quit India" in streets and prisons~~

~~Time to say it again.~~

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~~IX~~
~~SECRET~~ - WHAT PEOPLE WANT

- (1) Appoint Defence Minister who has confidence of armed forces and the country - dependability to resist Communist aggression
- (2) Construction of roads and airfields, obtaining equipment, c.f. Tito ~~U.S. Military aid alongside non-alignment.~~
- (3) Remove restrictions on armed forces in recovering lost territory, - utilise winter months for equipping and deploying troops and move in first at Longju, Shipki-La, Spanggur, Bara Hoti, etc. Chinese believe possession 9 points of law Face them with accomplished fact Only answer they will understand
- (4) Recognise right of Tibetans to self-determination,
- (5) Settle outstanding disputes with Pakistan
- (6) Consult neighbours in S. and S.E. Asia.

If P.M. responds, whole country, barring China lobby, behind him - ~~Quit India~~

Nobody doubts P.M.'s patriotism but public opinion losing faith in his judgement about CC and capacity to admit Himalayan blunder and revise policies.

'Quit India'

लोक सभा

Quote H. J.

P's speech confirmed fear
Mr. Smith as Ch. aggressor
But distorted force & counts

But — do not propose to
imitate him

Offer ~~by~~ support in
treacherous aggression

Accept integrity
doubt soundness of judgment.

P's speech won CP support

of Macdonald

Lenin: "as a rope supports
heavy men"

~~Excerpt from~~

Excerpt F.P.: Quote 1950 speech.

I - Facts

White Papers - dismal picture

- 54 July/Aug ... Incursion into Bara Hoti
(Panchshila agreement 29-4-54)
- 56 May Incursion into Nilang
Sept. Crossing of Shipki-La
Decr. Incursion into Spiti (Punjab)
- 57 Sept. Completion of 100-mile road in Aksai Chin
1958 Party overpowered.

58 - Acceleration

- July Khurnak fort in Ladakh
Decr. Balcha Dhra crossed
- 59 Jan. Lohit in NEFA entered
July Party overpowered at Spanggur (Ladakh)
Aug. Tnagla ridge crossed
Attempt to occupy Khinzamane
Aug - 25. Forcible occupation of Longju outpost

In each case polite protest - no change - counter-accusations

Apolegetic tone

- May 56 - Nilang - Indian note : "We assume that the movement of Chinese troops into our territory is due to ignorance.."
- Aug 59 - Longju : "It is possible that the Central Govt. of China is not aware of the illegal activities of their forces in the region of the international frontier."
- Oct.59 - We "had no reason to anticipate" aggression.

Chinese notes:

- August - 59: re: "Magar" : "The Chinese Government cannot but consider the intrusion into India's terri-

torial seas by the L.S.T. "Magar" as part of India's planned military aggression against China from land, air and sea".

1st Oct. 59: "The recent unwarranted provocation by Indian troops in Migyitum and Longju were by no means fortuitous but were precisely the inevitable result of the Indian government's instructions."