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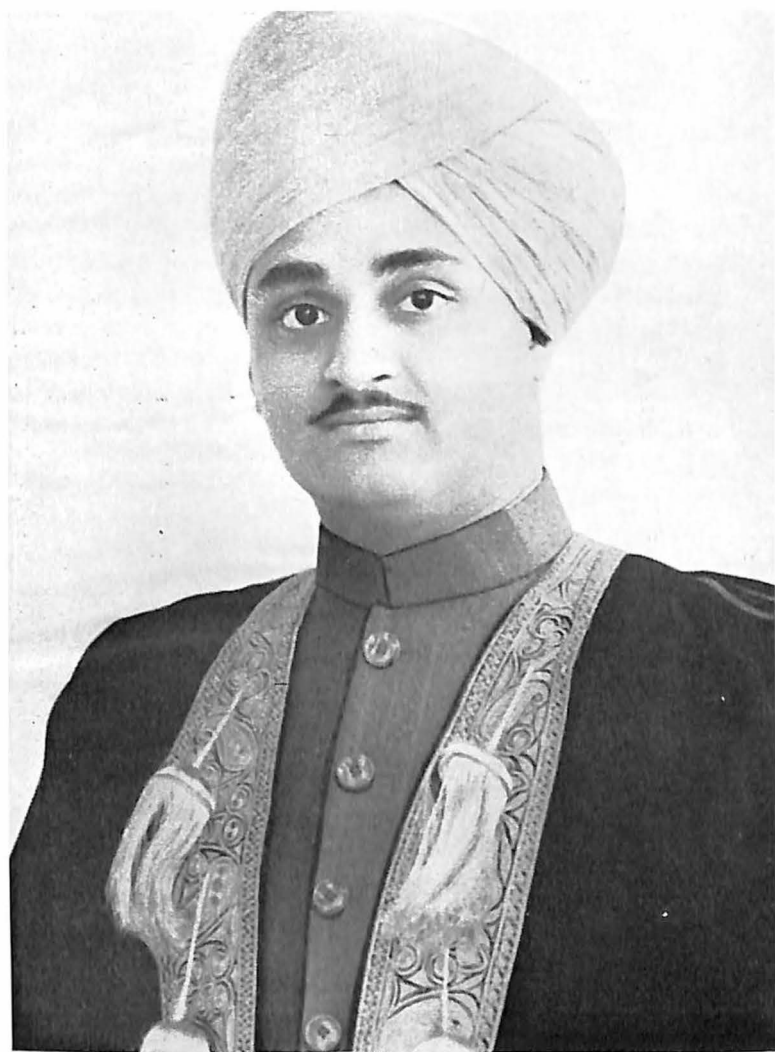
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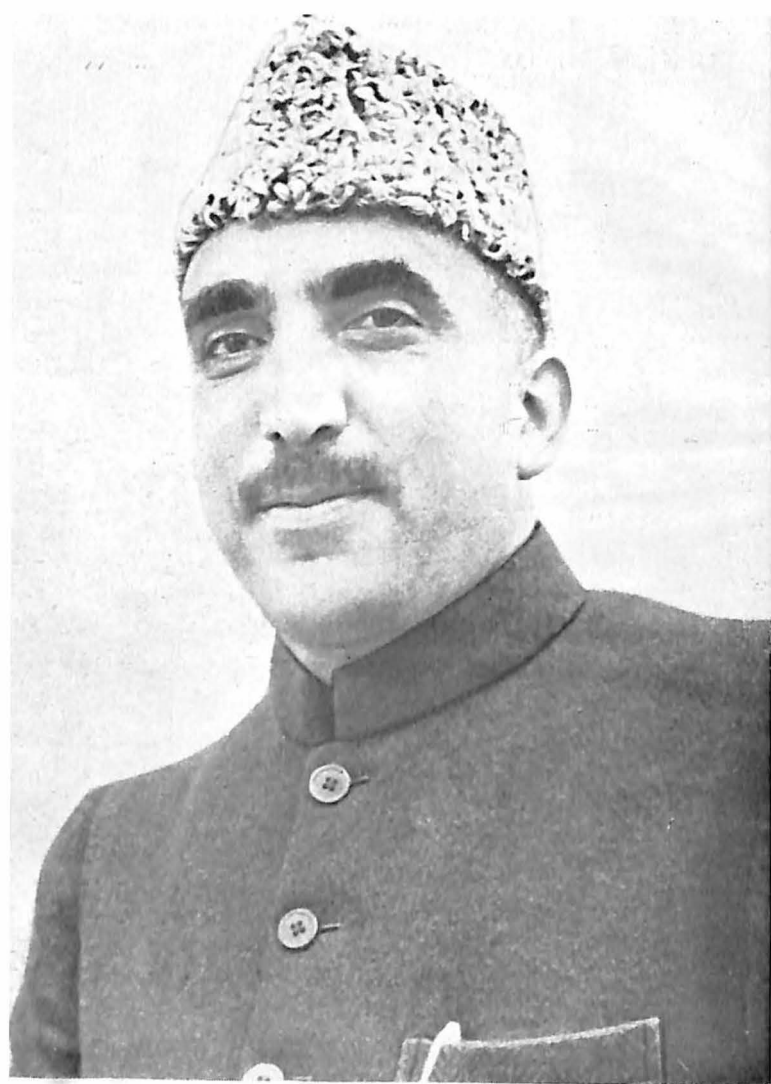
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SHRI KARAN SINGH



BAKSHI GHULAM MOHD.

The following is the text of the memorandum submitted by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Mr. Girdharilal Dogra and Mr. Shamlal Saraf to (Premier) Sheikh Abdullah on August 7 :—

You will kindly recall that in the course of the meeting of the Cabinet held on August 7, 1953, and on many other occasions previously, we brought to your notice that certain pronounced tendencies indicating a very sharp divergence of opinion had become manifest in our approach to the broad policies which form the basis of the Government and the administration. Contrary to the normal practice of a uniform policy in the conduct of the administration, it has become increasingly clear that Mr. Beg and you, in utter disregard of the opinions of your colleagues and without their consultation, make public pronouncements which flout the principles of joint responsibility. Since the formation of the present Government, in spite of the constant endeavour of your colleagues to secure maximum agreement and unity in the formation and execution of essential policies in accordance with the mandate given by the people, you have frequently adopted certain arbitrary measures, in complete denial of the right of expression of opinion of even your own colleagues, in the handling both of external and internal affairs of the State.

Most of these measures and policies have been self-contradictory and inconsistent, leading to serious complications. After the establishment of the Legislative Assembly, we had expected that our joint responsibility and collective functioning as a cabinet would be governed by well-established parliamentary practices. But we regret to observe that you have not only disregarded the wishes of your colleagues in the cabinet, but have acted in the Legislative Assembly also in a manner which denied the right of freely exercising their opinions to the representatives of the people in regard to the basic policies pursued by the Government. In the past, even though

occasions had arisen when we seriously opposed certain measures which affected the efficient and smooth functioning of the administration, we refrained from bringing matters to a head by making concession to your views in the interests of securing harmony and concord in the working of the Government. Unfortunately, however, this spirit of accommodation has been misconstrued by you, and you have consequently adopted an attitude which is far from democratic, and indicates a tendency towards making arbitrary use of power and position. Your attitude with regard to the political and economic policies of the Government has given rise to a great deal of confusion in the public mind and serious dislocation in the economic life of large sections of the people. For quite sometime now a factional tendency has been evident in the Cabinet, which has been responsible for a progressive deterioration in the administration. Consequently, various ameliorative measures proposed by the members of the cabinet in good faith have not been implemented honestly. Above all, there has been a singular failure to exercise vigilance and proper supervision in the day to day functioning of the administration, which has produced corruption, nepotism, inefficiency and wanton wastage of public resources in most spheres of Government activity. All these acts of omission and commission have inevitably created large-scale discontent in various parts of the State.

Economic Distress

All along, the Government has lacked a sense of uniformity and direction in its plans and programme. Time and again, we have brought to your notice the imperative need of arresting this process of deterioration in the administration. We attempted to represent the feelings of various sections of the people who were facing acute economic distress. We even indicated the urgent necessity of undertaking immediate measures for the amelioration of these conditions. But we regret to say that you not only disregarded all our opinions in this respect but have even ignored the recommendations of the Wazir Committee, which had been set up by the Government to inquire into a number of grievances of the people.

Consequently, the political uncertainty has been accentuated with the result that our economy has been thrown into stagnation which has impoverished large masses of people. When the tourist traffic showed healthy improvement last year and this year, you destroyed public confidence through your irresponsible utterances. This has created large-scale unemployment and economic unrest throughout the country.

The events of the last few months have in particular thrown the State in the midst of a severe crisis. The repercussions of this crisis are bound to be serious and far-reaching. We regret to state that you, as the head of the Government, have not only failed to take note of the situation but have by your words and deeds accentuated the tension. You have consistently refused to acknowledge the responsibilities that devolve on you as the Prime Minister of the State by not following the declared policies that form the basis of the Government. You have tended to act in a manner that has generated uncertainty, suspense and doubt in the minds of the people of the State in general and of those in Jammu and Ladakh in particular. All these factors have combined to strengthen the disruptionist forces seeking the disintegration of the State.

Accession to India

As is well-known, the unprovoked aggression from Pakistan had put our very national existence at stake. In that critical hour of crisis, all of us jointly approached India for help and requested her to accept the accession of the State and assist us in repelling the aggression and restoring peaceful conditions in the State. The united will of the people stood solidly behind this act of Kashmir's accession to India. While accepting our request, the Government of India assured us of the right of self-determination for our people. After the convening of the Constituent Assembly, certain inescapable elaborations of the State's relationship with India were defined in the Delhi Agreement, of which you were the chief architect on our behalf. Your stand was unanimously endorsed by the Government, the National Conference, the Indian Parliament and the Constituent Assembly of the State. But you have not only deliberately delayed implementation of the agree-

ments on these matters, which form the sheet-anchor of our policy, but have purposefully and openly denounced these in public. You have thus arbitrarily sought to precipitate a rupture in the relationship of the State with India. Though it is true that the people of the State have the ultimate right to decide their future, the conditions of chaos and confusion which are being engineered today by you are bound to be fatal for the exercise of the right of self-determination by our people. Under these circumstances what seems inevitable is that interested foreign powers may well take advantage of and exploit the situation for their own selfish purpose.

Beg's Policies

Mr. M.A. Beg has persistently been following policies of narrow sectarianism and communalism, which have seriously undermined the oneness of the State. Unfortunately, you have been lending your support to his policies in the Cabinet and his activities in public. This has generated bitter feelings of suspicion and doubt in the minds of the people of the various constituent units of the State. You have connived at all these unfortunate happenings and thus strengthened and encouraged the forces of disruption. The result is that unity and the secular character, the two fundamental aspects of our State, stand threatened today.

We have been constantly urging upon you to put an end to these unhealthy tendencies and to undertake unitedly measures for restoring the morale of the people. In spite of our best intentions we have failed in our efforts.

It is, therefore, with great pain that we have to inform you of our conclusion that the Cabinet, constituted as it is at present and lacking as it does the unity of purpose and action, has lost the confidence of the people in its ability to give them a clean, efficient and healthy administration.

The following is the text of Mr. Shamlal Saraf's letter to (Premier) Sheikh Abdullah in reply to the latter's demand for his (Mr. Saraf's) resignation from the Cabinet :—

Since the last session of the Assembly at Jammu, I had been noticing a great change in your behaviour towards your colleagues of the Cabinet and the representatives of the people in the Assembly. This change I had, however, been ascribing to the strain of work and the anxiety to solve the economic problems of the country. But on our return from Jammu, when we met in the Working Committee on May 18, I got the shock of my life when you advocated a policy for the future of the country contrary to the pronounced policy of the National Conference.

Long Fruitless Talks

During the course of these long meetings in May and June my only desire as a faithful colleague was to point out to you the futility of your wrong approach and bring you round to the policy of the National Conference, to which all of us owe allegiance. But all my efforts, as well as those of my other colleagues, failed to bring you round to the viewpoint which you yourself, along with hundreds of other delegates of the National Conference, had worked out after long and country-wide discussions during the last six years.

Wrong Move

Nevertheless, even after we had concluded our deliberations and you had made certain public announcements of your personal stand, I continued to make further attempts to persuade you to abandon the path on which you were gradually leading the people of our country towards their doom. But instead of influencing your judgment in the right direction I found that you were moving towards a wrong destination, for reasons that were known to you.

It was in this background that I made a last minute appeal to you the other day on your invitation, when you were addressing the National Conference workers at your residence and trying to arouse their sentiments against our

present relationship with India. Obviously you did not like my plain-speaking at that time which was much appreciated by the workers. I had a feeling then that a definite change had come in your attitude towards me.

Resignation Demanded

Political issues apart, I am pained to point out that we have not seen eye to eye on other vital matters affecting the welfare of the country. I have always been guided by a sense of loyalty to the National Conference and to you as its chief.

At yesterday's Cabinet meeting you took up some very trivial matters about which I differed completely from you. Thereupon, you demanded that I should submit my resignation. Ordinarily, as a humble worker of the great organization I should have felt no hesitation in relinquishing my office. But the manner in which you have created a dangerous situation in the country by making highly inflammable speeches before the public, combined with your authoritarian attitude in the Cabinet, have convinced me that instead of helping the difficult situation my resignation will encourage you to pursue your policies unbridled. Such a course will be suicidal for the country.

After fully considering the issue I am of the opinion that I hold my post as a trust from the people, especially the minority communities to which I happen to belong, and it becomes my duty not to betray the trust at a moment of crisis.

While submitting this I, however, reserve the right to take the people into confidence as soon as I feel that doing so will be in the interests of the country and the organization to which I have the honour to belong."

Sadar-i-Riyasat's letter to Sheikh Abdullah dismissing his Cabinet

Karan Mahal,
Srinagar, August 8, 1953.

My dear Sheikh Abdullah,

You will recall that in the course of our meeting today I conveyed to you my deep concern at the serious differences which exist in your Cabinet. I impressed upon you the immediate necessity for restoring harmony and unity of purpose among the members of the Cabinet in the execution of its policies. You were, however, unable to assure me that these acute differences could be remedied.

This conflict within the Cabinet has for a considerable time been causing great confusion and apprehension in the minds of the people of the State. The situation has reached an unprecedented crisis with the effect that three of your four Cabinet colleagues have in a memorandum to you, a copy of which they have sent to me, expressed their complete dissatisfaction with your actions and policies, which have lost the present Cabinet the confidence of the people. This document clearly indicates that the divergence within your Cabinet has reached proportions in which the unity, prosperity and stability of the State are gravely jeopardised.

When we met today I further suggested to you that an emergent meeting of the Cabinet should be held at my residence this evening so that we could jointly explore the possibilities of securing a stable, unified and efficient Government for the country. But to my regret you evaded the issue.

Under these conditions I, as head of the State, have been forced to the conclusion that the present Cabinet cannot continue in office any longer and hence I regret to inform you that I have dissolved the Council of Ministers headed by you. A copy of my Order in this connection is attached herewith.

I need hardly add how deeply distressed I was at having to take this action but the vital interests of the people of the

State, which it is my duty to safeguard, leave me no alternative. I trust that this will in no way affect the mutual regard and cordial feelings we have for each other.

Yours sincerely,
KARAN SINGH
SADAR-I-RIYASAT.

Text of the Order issued by the Sadar-i-Riyasat dissolving Sheikh Abdullah's Ministry :

ORDER

Whereas for some months I have been noticing with growing concern that there have existed acute differences of opinion between members of the Government on basic issues—political, economic and administrative—affecting the vital interests of the State ;

And whereas members of the Government have been publicly expressing sharply conflicting points of view regarding these matters ;

And whereas on these fundamental issues the views of a majority of the members of the Cabinet are sharply opposed to the view held by the Prime Minister and one of his colleagues ;

And whereas efforts to work in harmony and pull together as a team having failed, and the majority in the Cabinet has expressed that, lacking as it does in unity of purpose and action, the present Cabinet has lost the confidence of the people ;

And whereas the economic distress of the people has considerably increased which needs prompt and serious attention ;

And whereas a stage has reached in which the very process of honest and efficient administration has become impracticable ;

And whereas, finally, the functioning of the present Cabinet on the basis of joint responsibility has become impossible and the resultant conflicts have gravely jeopardized the unity, prosperity and stability of the State ;

I, Karan Singh, Sadar-i-Riyasat, functioning in the interests of the people of the State who have reposed the responsibility and authority of the Headship of the State in me, do hereby dismiss Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah from the Prime Ministership of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and consequently the Council of Ministers headed by him is dissolved forthwith.

Srinagar,
August 8, 1953.

SADAR-I-RIYASAT
JAMMU AND KASHMIR

**Text of Sadar-i-Riyasat's letter dated August 8,
1953, to Baskshi Ghulam Mohammad
asking him to form a Cabinet**

I have just dissolved the Cabinet which functioned till today and have relieved it of the powers and functions of civil administration of the State. I, however, feel that a new Cabinet should be constituted immediately so as to avoid a political and administrative vacuum. In the task of forming a new Ministry, I have decided to seek your aid and advice. Will you, therefore, make it convenient to meet me immediately so that we might discuss the formation and composition of the new Cabinet. I need hardly add that the continuance in office of the new Cabinet will depend upon its securing a vote of confidence from the Legislative Assembly during its coming session.

**Text of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's
reply dated August 8, 1953, to the
Sadar-i-Riyasat**

I am highly grateful to you for the trust you have reposed in me by calling me to offer you my aid and advice in the task of constituting a new Cabinet.

In accepting your kind invitation, I am solely guided by a sense of duty to my country, and its people and I shall try to the best of my ability to fulfil the responsibilities which you propose to entrust to me.

I shall be available for consultation at your convenience.

BROADCAST BY PREMIER BAKSHI GHULAM MOHAMMAD

The following is the English translation of a broadcast made by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, from Radio Kashmir, Srinagar, on the evening of August 9, 1953 :—

Today a momentous decision has been taken which will determine the course of our national history.

As you are aware, during the last few months, the entire State had been forced into a grave political and economic crisis, which threatened to disintegrate it and disrupt the unity of its people. The compelling necessity of averting a national disaster has impelled me and my colleagues to accept, in a spirit of humility and duty, the responsibility of Government from our erstwhile colleagues with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder for the freedom and honour of the country. In times of historic crisis, when the fate of millions is at stake, personal relations and affections have to be subordinated to the paramount interests of the country. In the course of our joint struggle for liberty what kept us together was the community of ideals and principles. These principles formed the bedrock of the democratic movement in our State. But of late, we were extremely shocked and grieved to see that our former colleagues were not only repudiating these vital principles but were attempting to destroy all vestiges of democratic functioning in all spheres of administration and organisation.

We know that many friends will be perplexed by the trend of events and the parting of the ways between us and our colleagues will be as painful to them as it has been to us. They must, however, realise that all along these arduous years of trials and tribulations we have been united by our devotion to certain common purposes affecting the destiny of our people. But recent develop-

ments have made it abundantly clear to all of us that a betrayal of the country's interests and the traditions of our democratic struggle was in the offing, which would inevitably have led to grave consequences. None of us could afford to watch complacently the repetition of events which uprooted the lives of millions of people in the Indian subcontinent in 1947. We felt strongly that silence and inaction on our part would surely bring about chaos and anarchy in every part of the State. It was, therefore, after careful deliberation and serious thought that we decided to avert this explosive situation at the risk of breaking our personal relations.

Foreign Interests

Certain recent developments have made it possible for disruptive forces to make desperate attempts at the disintegration of the State. The activities and utterances of some of our erstwhile colleagues make it clear that they have been thinking in terms of carving out a portion of the State from the wreckage as an "Independent State". These moves have naturally the connivance and support of interested foreign powers who have all along been resisting the exercise of the right of the people of the State to freedom and self-determination.

The present situation threatens to open up explosive possibilities for the future of the people of Jammu and Kashmir unless the designs of these forces and their foreign supporters are foiled in time. The democratic movement in the State has been consistently fighting for the realisation of an autonomous status for the State within the Indian Union. But efforts are now afoot so as to bring about conditions in which this objective will perish. There are elements at work today for the merger of the State with Pakistan or India, and in the midst of ensuing confusion some opportunist elements are dangling the alluring picture of an "Independent State" before the people.

It is clear that in the interests of the unity and integrity of the state none of these alternatives is going to be helpful for the people of this State. Any attempt to secure the merger of the State with Pakistan will result in its

dissolution as an entity and the idea of an independent position carries with it deep implications of political and economic dependence on foreign charity. The slogan of "independence" is highly misleading and there should be no doubt as to the motive for sponsoring such an idea in the context of international developments in Asia and other parts of the world.

Danger of another Korea

An "independent" Kashmir under the influence of an imperialist power will be a grave threat to the freedom and independence of the Indian or Pakistani people. In view of the geographical position of the State, such independence is bound to involve us in a bitter and violent international controversy and another Korea may be staged here, as a result of the armed conflict between interested powers.

Let us objectively understand how our accession to India in terms of the Instrument of Accession and the Delhi Agreement affects the substance of our independence, material interests and national honour. We have transferred only Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications to the Union of India and the limit of the ancillary and implied powers has been defined in the Delhi Agreement. In the context of the international situation today many countries, especially the Asian-Arab group at the United Nations, look to the foreign policy of India as the way out of the prevailing strife and tension. The interests and honour of our State are safe in association with such a foreign policy and its further progressive orientation with the rapid development of the democratic forces in India.

The defence forces of India are meant for protecting the country against foreign aggression. The experience of the people of our State during the last six years of emergency and strain bear ample testimony to the correct role of the Indian Army. In view of the State's special position the Armed Forces of India are meant only for the defence of the State against foreign aggression. They are not to interfere in the autonomous administration of the State. Can there be a better position of security or a more honourable status for a small State like Kashmir with its poor resources, backward economy and

complex geographical situation ? We must not forget that the huge expenditure of the Indian Army in the State has been a source of employment and income to a large number of our people. Without this expenditure, our economy would have been under a terrible strain. The Indian Army has not been an army of occupation, feeding on the people. On the contrary, their economic help, exemplary conduct and humanitarian work have been appreciated by all sections of our people.

A great Edifice

Another subject which we have transferred to the Union Government is Communications, *i.e.* Posts and Telegraphs, Railways, Aviation and National Highways. It does not require much reasoning to understand that the technological and financial implications of such services put them beyond the means and capacity of administration by local and State authorities. They are becoming more and more subjects of international administration under inter-governmental agreements and conventions. If we have some grievances about the representation of certain sections of our nationals in the Departments administering such services, they can be easily redressed and any possible mistakes of policy rectified. Such small matters cannot be the valid reasons for destroying the edifice we have built with our blood and sweat. If with such excuses we seek to go adrift from our anchorage, we shall be guilty of the greatest act of folly against our substantial and major interest.

The Delhi Agreement seeks to establish a common citizenship between India and the State, governed by a common system of Fundamental Rights, but subject to the concessions to the State that she may make special provisions in respect of her agrarian and economic reforms. It preserves the rights of her permanent residents in matters pertaining to employment, acquisition of property and the pursuit of local trades and in every sense we gain from such a relationship. We secure an autonomy in our economic policy which is unknown in any other Federal State and yet we get all the benefits of the common Indian citizenship.

The Delhi Agreement does not impose any financial integration on us. It is for us to decide in our own in-



KHAWAJA GULAM MOHD. SADIQ
President, Kashmir Constituent Assembly



MR. SHAM LAL SARAF
Minister of Development

terests, whether, how and when the Customs duties should be abolished. Who does not want the abolition of the Customs duties for giving relief to our poor consumers? We have to see how the loss of revenue and other possible economic difficulties consequent upon the removal of the Customs barrier can be met and our budgetary position stabilized, without reducing the standards of the Government's beneficent activities. Obviously, such of the financial arrangements which help us immediately, as well as in the long run, are in the best interest of the common people of the State.

No false Prestige

Our policy ought to be to introduce such financial arrangements gradually and with discrimination so that their benefits are maximized and disadvantages minimized. The guiding principle in such matters ought to be the interests of the masses rather than considerations of false prestige.

Irrespective of the constitutional relations and formal agreements the Government of India have been generous to us with financial help during the last six years within the capacity of their own limited resources. It would be uncharitable to forget the unstinted financial aid given to us during the emergency years 1947-49. They have advanced us other loans from time to time to balance our budgets. We have found an honourable place in the Five-Year Plan of India and we have been allotted about Rs. 13 crores for our plans including the Community Development Projects. We cannot honestly grudge the demand that our system of financial procedures, audit and accounts must ensure that the available funds are well-spent and that checks and balances are introduced to prevent wasteful expenditure.

If like the agrarian reforms, our development plans and community projects have not roused the enthusiasm of the common people, something must be wrong with our system and we must try to rectify that with courage and determination. Instead of finding the scapegoat in the political uncertainty or the "stingy" Indian exchequer and playing to the tune of foreign interests, we must do a certain amount of self-questioning and find out what is

wrong with our economic policies, what are the social objectives of our economic plans and what stands in the way of their realization? We cannot afford to be complacent with our achievements in certain directions. But to overcome the economic and political crisis and to inspire confidence in the masses we must admit our failures also.

Indissoluble Links

The secular and democratic traditions and ideology of our national movement have established indissoluble links with the democratic movement in India.

We can be the best friends of the forty million Muslims in India.

The reactionary communal forces in India are instigated by the same imperialist influences which seek to create the illusion of an "Independent Kashmir." It is obvious that the communal elements in India are much weaker today than they were in 1947, when the glorious example set by the National Conference and its leadership in Kashmir gave a death blow to the morale of such evil forces. We cannot forget how the Jammu people welcomed and hailed our leaders in 1947-49 and felt ashamed of the misdeeds of the communal elements there. The testimony of history is that we cannot fight reaction through further reaction.

We are, therefore, convinced that the external affiliation of our state can be determined only on the basis of the character of our political movement. Today impatient voices have been raised to the effect that the external conflict about Kashmir should be resolved here and now. We concede that the parties concerned should lose no time in arriving at an amicable settlement of the Kashmir dispute without, of course, seeking foreign intervention. But it needs to be reiterated that an honourable settlement can be possible only on the basis of recognition of the right of the people of the State to pursue the political, social and economic ideal for which they have been fighting for the last two decades.

Democratic Ideals

At present mischievous and subtle attempts are being made to repudiate these democratic ideals in the name of ending "the present uncertainty" in regard to the future of the State. We would like to make it clear that the future of the State is inherently linked with its political aspirations and democratic traditions. The primary task before the people of Jammu and Kashmir is to evolve a suitable constitutional pattern incorporating these ideals and traditions. We regret to note that so far we have failed to achieve this objective. We are, however, greatly perturbed that this basic task, which would secure to the people of the State their rights and privileges, has been ignored.

We welcome the recent developments in the relations between India and Pakistan. There is no doubt that these reflect the desire of the peace-loving peoples of India and Pakistan to come closer to each other for the common good of both the countries. We pray that the two countries which have much in common should achieve good-will, amity and friendship among their peoples. At the same time, we are aware that the recent activities of the agents of interested powers inside the State may wreck the chances of an amicable settlement between them.

If these attempts succeed, the conditions of chaos and disorder that are sure to prevail in the State will touch off a chain of unfortunate events in the Indian sub-continent leading to a repetition of the grim tragedies of 1947. Any communal retrogression in Kashmir will inflict a great blow to the democratic movements in India as well as in Pakistan. Our aim is to unite the peoples of India and Pakistan under democratic auspices, which can be assured only by the existing relationship of Kashmir with India. It will be a great folly to indulge in the delusion that through an "Independent Kashmir" or the breaking of her present ties with India, India and Pakistan will be brought nearer. It will perpetuate their animosities and give a fillip to the reactionary and communal forces in the entire sub-continent.

These dangers must be realised by all peace-loving peoples in India and Pakistan. Those who are consciously

or unconsciously bringing about such conditions are, therefore, actually sabotaging the efforts of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of India and Pakistan for closer association and cordial relationship.

Key to the Crisis

It has, however, to be recognised that the key to the present crisis lies in the deep-rooted economic discontent of the masses of the State. This crisis cannot be overcome by the termination of the State's association with India or by a merger of the State with Pakistan. Nor can it be avoided by an alignment with a foreign power. In the history of a people there are no short-cuts to success.

During the last five years, serious shortcomings in the handling of the economy of our State have led to some violent dislocations in a number of trades and professions resulting in unemployment and under-employment, economic maladjustments and a heavy fall in the living standards of the people. Along with this, the standards of efficiency and ethics of administration as a whole have deteriorated greatly. This has considerably shaken the faith of the people in the competence and ability of the Government to solve their basic economic problems. There is urgent need, therefore, of paying immediate attention to economic reconstruction of the State.

We, therefore, call upon all patriotic and peace-loving people of the State to unite themselves in this task so as to avert the present crisis. At no time in the history of the State has there been a greater need for unity among its different sections and units than today when we are face to face with the prospect of disintegration and a fresh period of servitude.

The main foundation of our policy has to be built on our solemn resolution to give ourselves a progressive and enlightened constitution as the beacon-light of a democratic Government. This is vitally linked with our aspirations for preserving our autonomy within the Indian Republic.

Pledge to the People

We should re-affirm our pledge to build anew the economic and social life of the people of the State

in accordance with our genius, traditions and resources, with the help of and in partnership with the people of India and those other States who are friendly towards us. In this pattern, we envisage greater unity of Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir. The rights and privileges that we secure for the State as a whole have to be shared in equal measure by the people of its different parts. We are aware that some of these peoples have their various local grievances in the matter of language, services, education, lands, etc. A genuinely democratic set-up has to satisfy the demands of each one of these constituent units of the State with due regard to its basic unity and integrity. Greater opportunities of cultural development should be made available to these units. Such an approach alone can checkmate the designs of reactionary and communal forces, which have succeeded in exploiting the genuine grievances of the people for the purpose of dividing their ranks and thus breaking up their essential unity.

Along with this, there is the paramount need of weeding out corrupt and unpatriotic elements from the administration so as to make it an effective weapon in the execution of ameliorative measures calculated to raise the standard of living of the people. Power must not be allowed to get concentrated in a clique for their self-aggrandisement. We are aware that there is urgent need for a strict watch on public expenditure so as to avoid wastage and haphazard planning. This expenditure must be regulated in a manner that priority is given to urgent items relating to the daily life of the people.

Above all, we recognise the urgent need of solving the problems of the vast masses of the rural population who have so far been deprived of reaping the full benefits of our land laws. We must look into the needs of the artisans and the educated youth who suffer from the ills of unemployment and under-employment.

Removing Corruption

The failure of many of our policies and ameliorative measures can be attributed to the prevalence of corrupt practices. We shall enact appropriate legislation to suppress corruption and entrust this task to a special tribunal in

whom the public will have full confidence. Besides this high power agency at the top, there will be popular committees of citizens of integrity in all towns and villages to help remove the evils of corruption from the administrative machinery at all levels.

We believe that we command the support of the largest sections of the common people, of an overwhelming majority in the National Conference Organisation and also a majority in the Constituent Assembly to which we are legally and constitutionally responsible. We shall approach the Legislative Assembly for a vote of confidence at the earliest possible opportunity—and in the meantime, we want to continue with a firm determination the tasks of national reconstruction in accordance with our traditions of secularism and popular democratic principles.

Many of our policies will take time to materialize. We, however, want that immediate benefits should be conferred on the people. For that purpose, we propose, to do the following :—

Most of our people live in villages and our agrarian reforms, though sound on principles, do not seem to have aroused the enthusiasm of the masses. The prevailing discontent about *mujawaza* (compulsory foodgrain levy) has to be removed. We have, therefore, decided that the Kandi areas shall not be assessed to *mujawaza*. Crops other than *shali* (paddy) will be completely free from compulsory procurement. The levy of *mujawaza* shall be rationalized. No *mujawaza* shall be levied on small peasants who produce just sufficient for their needs. Wherever *mujawaza* is levied, the equitable distribution of the burden will be borne in mind. The *mujawaza* procured from an area will be utilized for meeting the local needs and those of other deficit areas. In assessing the levy of *mujawaza* help will be taken from honest persons in the villages, who will form popular committees for this purpose.

Radical Concessions

The *mujawaza* price of *shali* will be increased by rupee one per khirwar (165 lbs apprx.) immediately. The price of *shali* in the city of Srinagar will be reduced by rupees two

per khirwar. Due attention will be paid to provide rations in the deficit rural areas. The Government undertakes to incur the additional burden of this radical concession to the people. We shall try to protect the interests of the producers as well as the consumers.

The Co-operative Movement which might have inspired the people towards voluntary efforts for the reconstruction of our national economy became a symbol of tyranny in the country-side. The functioning of the Co-operative Stores will be thoroughly investigated and after purging them of their present corrupt elements and other evils they will be reorganized on sound lines. The Government will allow the re-opening of competitive retail shops which can buy supplies from the free market. State Trading Organisations will function only for the purpose of keeping prices at a competitive level so that there is no profiteering by private traders and the adequacy of supplies is ensured throughout the year in all parts of the State.

It is unfortunate that the land reforms and Debt Legislation have dried up the sources of credit. The Co-operative Credit Societies have failed in building an alternative agency of credit, and during the current year the total advances made by them have been very meagre. In the first instance, we shall earmark a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs in order to organize alternative agencies of credit in rural areas and for the artisan, boatman and small shopkeeper in the towns. Co-operative debts would also be stayed in cases of genuine distress on the recommendations of the popular committees.

Some other beneficial measures for the rural population will be undertaken. Evictions will be stayed wherever land transfers have taken place—and where lands have been distributed under “Grow More Food” campaign. The arbitrary authority of Tehsildars and other Revenue Officers will be subordinated in such matters in order to increase food production. A sum of Rs. 5 lakhs will be ear-marked for supplying better seeds and fertilizers at concession rates.

Providing Employment

To provide employment to villagers throughout the year, cottage industries will be developed and every effort will be made to encourage and help the production of cottage products such as *chaddars* and *ghabbas* in different parts of the State.

Special measures will be undertaken to look after the welfare and security of the migrant labour during winter months. Arrangements will be made to look after their problems. We, however, realise that these ameliorative measure can only give immediate relief to the masses. We have to direct all our energy towards developing our rich national resources and raising industrial and agricultural production of our country. For that purpose, we propose to appoint a Planning Commission which will go into the details of raising the productivity of the country.

In order to raise the cultural level of the masses, we will soon announce a comprehensive cultural and educational programme for the country. Certain bureaucratic tendencies in our educational system have caused great hardships to our students and teachers. The difficulties of the teachers about the revision of grades will be removed and every teacher will get a minimum salary of Rs. 50 p. m. Educational fees will be abolished in schools and colleges for those whose income is below Rs. 100 p. m. The system of co-education in schools will be abolished except where parents willingly send their children to mixed schools. Cheap text-books will be provided to students and arrangements will be made to supply free books in the primary stage of education.

Developing Languages

Every effort will be made to develop our national language, particularly Kashmiri, Dogri and Ladakhi. The medium of instruction in the primary stage will be the mother tongue. The publication of suitable text books will be expedited. Academies will be established to provide scripts for languages which have no script or whose script is lost to the people. Special scholarships will be provided for the spread of education amongst backward

classes, such as Kashmiri Muslims, Harijans, Sikhs, Ladakhis, Gujjars and Bakrawals.

Every effort will be made to keep the Banihal road open throughout the year and the construction of the tunnel will be expedited. This will ensure communications and flow of supplies throughout the year.

The Government will take prompt measures to implement the recommendations of the Wazir Committee regarding rehabilitation of refugees and resettlement of ex-servicemen in the Jammu province. The Government are determined to secure equal share of its beneficent activities to the people of the various constituent units of the State. Special attention will be paid towards the development of the Ladakh district and the Kandi area in Jammu province. This assurance is being repeated to remove the apprehensions caused by any possible mistakes of policy on our part in the past and the mischievous activities of the disruptive agents.

Although it is the policy of the Government to remove communalism from every sphere of administration and social life, it seems correct that the representation of all regions, particularly of the educationally backward sections of the community, should be safeguarded.

The deteriorating health conditions of our people are a cause of great anxiety to us. We shall try our best to extend health facilities in the towns and villages of the State and infuse the spirit of service in our medical personnel. Special attention will be paid to establish maternity homes in every part of the State.

Promoting Trade

The working of the Emporia will be so reorganised as to give an equal opportunity of trade to small businessmen and the full fruits of labour to the actual producer. Industrial Co-operatives will be organised in such a way that the producers obtain cheap credit and adequate wages without profiteering by the intermediary agencies.

In order to encourage tourism, the permit system will be abolished. The transport system will be so reorganised as to enable adequate scope to private enterprise and to

lower the costs of service, both in goods and passenger traffic. Other measures will be taken to encourage tourist traffic and we hope it should not be difficult for us to attract a large number of visitors every year.

To conclude, I appeal to all countrymen to stand united and face the dangers with courage and determination. Our freedom is at stake and we must wake up to this reality. All of us must cast away false sentiments and fears and save the State from wreck and ruin. We are committed to the purposes of the "New Kashmir" programme and have given an indication of how we are going to fulfil them. Let us rededicate our lives to the service of the people and enlist the support of all sensible and patriotic people for the greater task that lies before us. We are at the crossroads of our destiny and I appeal to all countrymen, young and old, men and women, to be prepared for the struggles ahead of us. We are not alone in our struggle. We have the overwhelming support of the large sections of people in different parts of the State and of the progressive people of India and the freedom-lovers of the world at large. We feel sure that with the co-operation of these forces of love and peace we shall not fail you, our countrymen, in the trust and confidence you repose in us.

PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON KASHMIR DEVELOPMENTS

The following is the text of the statement on Kashmir made by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in the House of the People on August 10, 1953 :—

Certain events have occurred in the State of Jammu and Kashmir with dramatic suddenness during the last two days, and I am therefore venturing to take some time of the House in placing before it such facts as we know them. Not only this House but the country at large must have viewed these developments with anxious concern. The State of Jammu and Kashmir has been to us not merely a piece of territory which acceded to India five and three quarter years ago, but a symbol representing certain ideals and principles for which our national movement always stood and which have been enshrined in our Constitution. It was because of a community of these ideals and principles which brought the State in a moment of grave crisis in October, 1947, into the larger family of India. But even before that constitutional development took place, a devotion to these ideals and to certain common purposes had brought the national movement of the Jammu and Kashmir State in line with the struggle for freedom that inspired our people. In the Kashmir State it was the National Conference which represented this struggle and spoke on behalf of the masses of the people there. The association of the State with India therefore had a deeper significance than even the constitutional link that was built up.

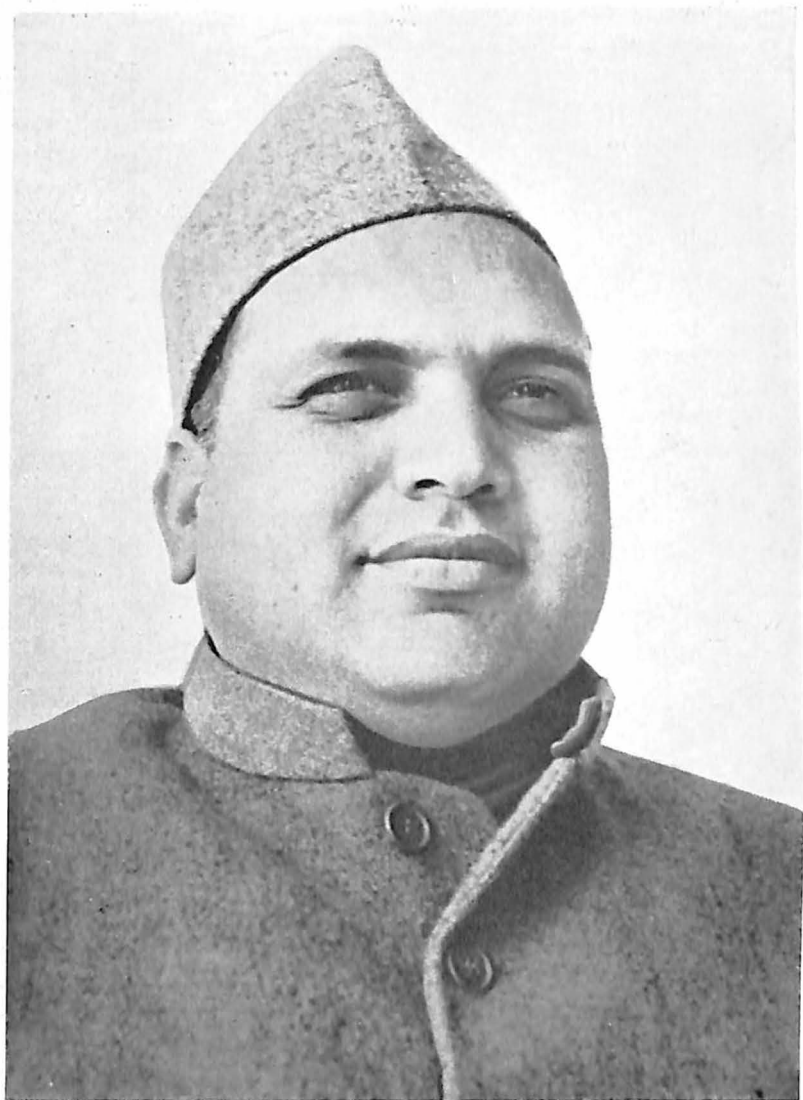
Much has happened during these years and we have faced trial and tribulation together. Even at the time of the accession of the State to the Union of India, it was made clear that it was for the people of the State to determine their future when suitable opportunities for this arose. The Union was a free union of free people without any compulsion on either side. It was recognised from

the very outset that the peculiar position of the State made it necessary for a special position to be accorded to it in our Constitutional relationship. Later, when the Constitution of the Republic of India was drawn up and finalised this special position was recognised and it was made clear that any change in or addition to that position would depend upon the wishes of the people of the State as represented in their Constituent Assembly. The subjects of accession were three, namely Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. In an agreement that was arrived at last year, known as the Delhi Agreement, certain consequential and implied powers were defined. But the essential subjects of accession remained the three already mentioned.

Basic Fact

I mention this because much confusion has been caused by forgetting this basic fact that we have all along stood for a special position of the Kashmir State in the Indian Union. Some people have talked of "merger". That word, of course, is totally inappropriate in any event and, to the extent it meant something beyond the constitutional position and our present agreements, was opposed to our policy and those very agreements. Others advocated a weaker association which would also have been against the basic policy that had all along been agreed to and would have involved grave difficulties.

In recent months, an unfortunate agitation sought to undermine this basic position and created not only confusion but powerful reactions, more especially in the Valley of Kashmir. That has been one of the important causes of the difficulties that the people of Kashmir and of India have had to face. Unfortunately some persons in the State were so affected by this agitation as to forget that community of ideals and principles which had brought Kashmir and India together. It was still more unfortunate that wrong advice was given by them to Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah who had been the acknowledged leader of the National movement in the State and the Prime Minister. Certain utterances of Sheikh Abdullah reflected this advice and created confusion in the minds of the people of the State. Disruptive ele-



PANDIT GIRDHARI LAL DOGRA
Ministry of Finance.



MR. MIR QASIM
Minister of Revenue.

ments, who had not accepted the principles on which the democratic movement in the State had been built up, took advantage of this position and attempted to disrupt the State. At a time when economic problems of grave import all over the State demanded attention and solution, the Government of the State was divided and ceased to function effectively.

Tendency towards Disruption

A serious situation was thus created and there was a progressive tendency towards disruption. The Government of India was naturally gravely concerned at these developments, but they did not wish to interfere, except with advice, in the internal structure and administration of the State. Advice was frequently given, but unfortunately it did not succeed in bringing about that unity which had been shaken in the course of the past few months.

Some two weeks ago, two Ministers of the Kashmir Government, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Mirza Afzal Beg, visited Delhi and had prolonged consultations with us. We pointed out to them the necessity for resolving their differences and working as a team in furtherance of the aims and objectives of the State. We assured them that we recognised the special status of the State and the Government of India did not wish to interfere in any way in internal problems which should be decided by the Government of the State. We were anxious to help, financially and otherwise, in the development of the State, and were interested in the maintenance of the security and internal order of the State.

Differences within Kashmir Cabinet

A few days ago, we were informed that the differences within the Kashmir Cabinet had become even more pronounced and in fact Ministers publicly spoke against and criticised each other and advocated rival policies. The majority in the Cabinet adhered to the objectives for which they had always stood. One member of the Cabinet, Mr. Beg, however, progressively encouraged by Sheikh Abdullah, opposed these policies. A considerable majority of the Executive of the National Conference sided with the majority in the Cabinet and against the Prime Minister. The

break was almost complete and it was impossible for the Government to carry on in this way.

When we were informed of this and our advice was sought, we urged that some way should be found for the working of the Cabinet as a team on agreed principles and policies. This was an internal matter and we did not wish to interfere. Our interest was in a peaceful and progressive Government having the support of the people. Three days ago we learnt of the demand made by Sheikh Abdullah to one of his Ministers to resign and the latter's refusal to do so. Events then moved rapidly. We were informed of them, but our advice was neither sought nor given. On the 7th August, the majority of the Cabinet presented a memorandum to Sheikh Abdullah in which they pointed out that a factional tendency had been evident in the Cabinet and that this had been responsible for a progressive deterioration in the administration, that their advice had been disregarded and that the Cabinet, as constituted, could not continue. They communicated this memorandum to the Head of the State, the Sadar-i-Riyasat.

Sadar-i-Riyasat's Concern

On the 8th August, the Sadar-i-Riyasat sent for Sheikh Abdullah and conveyed his deep concern at the serious differences which existed in his Cabinet. He impressed upon him the immediate necessity for restoring harmony and unity of purpose among the members of his Cabinet in the execution of his policy. Sheikh Abdullah could not give any assurance about the future and as to how he would be able to get over these differences. The Sadar-i-Riyasat thereupon suggested that an emergent meeting of the Cabinet should be held at his residence that evening so that the possibilities of securing a stable, unified and efficient Government for the State could be jointly explored. Sheikh Abdullah, however, did not agree to this. Later in the day, the Sadar-i-Riyasat wrote to Sheikh Abdullah pointing out all these facts and stating that in these conditions he had been forced to the conclusion that the present Cabinet cannot continue in office any longer and hence he had decided to dissolve the Council of Ministers. A formal order to this effect was passed and a copy of it sent to Sheikh Abdullah. In concluding his letter, the Sadar-i-Riyasat said : "I need hardly add

how deeply distressed I was at having to take this action, but the vital interests of the people of the State, which it is my duty to safeguard, leave me no alternative. I trust that this will in no way affect the mutual regard and cordial feelings that we have for each other."

Immediately afterwards the Sadar-i-Riyasat called upon Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad to form a new Cabinet. In doing so he stated that the continuance in office of the new Cabinet would necessarily depend upon its securing a vote of confidence from the Legislative Assembly during its coming session. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad accepted this invitation and was sworn in as Prime Minister of the State.

I received information of some of these developments at 11 on the night of Saturday, (August 8). Further information followed on Sunday morning.

Detention of Sheikh Abdullah and Beg

Sheikh Abdullah had meanwhile gone to Gulmarg. In fact the last order was served upon him in Gulmarg. Later he was placed under detention and so was Mr. Beg. I have not received the exact papers in regard to this matter yet, but I understand that this was done in the interests of the peace of the State which was threatened in various ways.

Some time after the news of Sheikh Abdullah's arrest became known yesterday morning, small processions in protest started in some parts of Srinagar and converged towards Amira Kadal. These processions became violent in some places and threw stones at the police and militia. On two occasions the police had to fire on the crowd, it is stated, in self-defence. Three rounds were fired on one occasion and four rounds on another. The total casualties were three killed and one injured. The dead body of one person was paraded through the streets.

As it was Sunday, shops were generally closed and there was little obstruction to traffic. There were no communal incidents of any kind.

So far as is known, there has been no trouble in any of the outlying areas. By the evening the situation had improved considerably. Till last night, 35 arrests had been made.

Indian Army Personnel Not Involved

The Indian Army personnel was not involved in any way. The situation was dealt with by the Jammu and Kashmir police and militia. One party, however, of the Central Reserve Police functioned in one place.

Sheikh Abdullah was taken to Udhampur where he is lodged in the Rest House and every comfort has been provided for him.

It is a matter of deep regret to me that Sheikh Abdullah, an old comrade of 20 years, should have come into conflict with our other comrades in Kashmir and that it should have been considered necessary by the Kashmir Government to place him in detention for the time being. I earnestly trust that this is a passing phase and that the leaders of Kashmir will cooperate together in the service of that beautiful and unfortunate land.

Last night, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the new Prime Minister, broadcast a long speech in which he has referred to the recent developments as well as to the policies which he and his Government intend pursuing. I would commend this speech to the Members of the House.

Policy Unchanged on Larger Issues

I should like to repeat that we have considered these recent developments in Kashmir as an internal matter with which we should interfere as little as possible. On the larger issues our policy remains what it was and we shall stand by the assurances we have given.

To the members of this House, to the Press and this country and the people generally, I would make an earnest appeal to exercise forbearance and restraint in regard to these events which have followed each other in quick succession in the Jammu and Kashmir State. We must send our full sympathy to the young Sadar-i-Riyasat, to the Government and to the people of that State who are facing this crisis, and assure them of all the help that we can give them to bring about normality and a progressive administration which will serve the cause of the people of that State.

JOINT PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The following is the text of the Joint Press Communique issued by the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India, at the conclusion of their talks in New Delhi on August 20, 1953 :—

The Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India held several meetings on August 17, 18, 19 and 20 in New Delhi. These talks were in continuation of the talks they had had in Karachi three weeks earlier. Kashmir and other problems outstanding between the two countries were discussed fully and frankly. Both the Prime Ministers were actuated by a firm resolve to settle these problems as early as possible, peacefully and co-operatively to the mutual advantage of both countries.

2. The Kashmir dispute was especially discussed at some length. It was their firm opinion that this should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State, with a view to promoting their well-being and causing the least disturbance to the life of the people of the State. The most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people was by fair and impartial plebiscite. Such a plebiscite had been proposed and agreed to some years ago. Progress, however, could not be made because of lack of agreement in regard to certain preliminary issues. The Prime Ministers agree that these preliminary issues should be considered by them directly in order to arrive at agreements in regard to them. These agreements would have to be given effect to and the next step would be the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator.

3. In order to fix some kind of a provisional timetable, it was decided that the Plebiscite Administrator should be appointed by the end of April, 1954. Previous to that date, the preliminary issues referred to above should be decided and action in implementation thereof should be taken. With this purpose in view, committees of military and other experts should be appointed to advise the Prime

Ministers. On the Plebiscite Administrator's formal appointment and induction into office by the Jammu and Kashmir Government, he will examine the situation and report upon it. He will then make such proposals as he thinks proper for preparations to be made for the holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite in the entire State, and take such other steps as may be considered necessary therefor.

4. The Prime Ministers considered the Evacuee Property issue and were glad to find that as a result of discussions between the representatives of the two Governments at Karachi, considerable progress had been made. Certain data were now being collected to enable final decisions to be taken. It was hoped that a meeting of the representatives of the two Governments would be held within a month for a further consideration of these problems.

5. At their meeting in Karachi the Prime Ministers had agreed that the Cooch-Bihar enclaves in East Bengal should be exchanged with East Bengal enclaves in Cooch-Bihar. It was accordingly decided that a conference should be held in Calcutta as soon as possible to work out the necessary details. The conference should also consider travel and trade facilities and other issues, especially relating to East Pakistan, West Bengal and Assam. This conference should be attended by the representatives of East Pakistan, West Bengal and Assam and the two Central Governments.

6. The Prime Ministers are happy to record this large measure of agreement on vital matters affecting their two countries and they trust and believe that further success will attend their efforts so that all the problems which have unfortunately come in the way of good relations between the two countries should be solved satisfactorily. But progress can only be made in this direction if there is an atmosphere of peace and co-operation between the two countries. This has, therefore, to be actively encouraged. The Prime Ministers deprecate any propaganda or attacks on one country by the other in the Press, by radio, or by speeches and statements made by responsible men and women of either country. They trust, therefore, that all organs and responsible leaders of public opinion will direct themselves to this great task of

promoting goodwill between the two countries and thus help in solving all problems and disputes that might exist between them. The Prime Ministers attach the greatest importance to this friendly approach and to the avoidance of words and actions which promote discord between the two countries.

7. The Prime Ministers intend to keep in close touch with each other so as to expedite progress in the directions indicated above.

Initiating the Foreign Affairs debate in the House of the People on September 17, 1953, the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, referring again to Kashmir spoke as follows :—

I have already informed the House—on two occasions, I think—of certain developments in Kashmir in the course of the last five or six weeks. These developments did not come out of thin air or as a result of some secret conspiracy. Those who had been following events in Kashmir saw this crisis developing for several months past, and the crisis was not so much a crisis *vis-à-vis* India—though we may take that aspect also—but it was an internal crisis which had affected all other relations and questions.

Before I went to Europe in May, I paid a brief visit to Srinagar. I had always kept myself in fairly close touch with events there. I went at the end of May there, and I was surprised and distressed to see what was happening there—what had happened regarding the state of affairs—economic, political and other—internally. In the past couple of years, Kashmir has been praised by us for various land reforms and they were very good reforms. I do not withdraw my praise for those reforms.

But, unfortunately, while the reforms were good, the manner of giving effect to them was not good. It was not good in two ways : one, that other consequences were not thought out of ; secondly, in the actual implementation of them, as it appears from subsequent reports, a great deal of injustice was done—it was not fairly done. I refer to this merely to show that a large number of factors, among them being these, produced a feeling of grave economic discontent among the people there. Much later a committee was appointed, the Wazir Committee. Its report was published only recently. It brings out much of this discontent, the way the land problem was not properly dealt with and the discontent that arose after hopes had gone up very high among the peasantry and others.

There were other matters too : the co-operatives there failed and other things happened.

Now, as a result of all this, which was entirely an internal matter, grave disputes arose within the Government there, within the party, the National Conference, from which the Government draws its sanction. And when I went there towards the end of May I was greatly distressed to see this, because I noticed that gradually the Government of Kashmir was not functioning. It could not function, because of internal conflicts. Naturally, in a friendly way, I advised them to pull together, to lay down one definite policy and carry it out as a Government, and not pull in two or three directions all the time. This was one thing that was happening.

The other thing which gave me some disquiet, a good deal of it, was the fact that over a year ago we had arrived at some kind of an agreement with the Kashmir Government which the House knows well. This House approved of it; the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir approved of it. It was in a very small part given effect to and then the rest remained in cold storage. Now, I could very well understand certain difficulties which, perhaps, the House does not appreciate. So, if there was some delay I would not have minded it. This delay was largely caused by certain events in Jammu which suddenly accentuated a peculiar situation and produced its reactions in the Kashmir Valley.

It produced some powerful reactions in the Kashmir Valley and those who are not friends of ours, or friends of the Kashmir Government exploited this position fully. This created another tremendous complication there and delayed the implementation of the agreement.

All these things worked together and, as I said, when I went there in May last I was gravely disturbed. I went away to Europe.

Abdullah's changed attitude

When I was away my respected colleague, the Education Minister who has been closely connected with developments in Kashmir and my colleague the States Minister who

also, in his official capacity has been connected with it and who had followed developments there, visited Kashmir. The Education Minister went there at the invitation of the Government and gave them a lot of good advice. Nevertheless, conditions continued to deteriorate and when I came back these reports reached me. I invited Shiekh Abdullah to come to Delhi. In fact, even when I was in Europe I had sent word that he should be invited. On return, I invited him. He did not come; then he said he would come a little later. Later again this invitation was repeated by telephone, by letter. Ultimately he did not come. Meanwhile—in fact, before I had come back—Sheikh Abdullah and some others began speaking in a way which seemed strange to me and distressed us greatly. I could do nothing about it, except to remonstrate with him and ask him why he did so. Obviously he was troubled by these problems to which I have referred, economic and others, that had arisen in Kashmir and for which he could not see any easy remedy. There were remedies, of course; there are remedies, but he did not see them. So, he drifted in a different direction, and rather unfairly cast the blame for some of the economic occurrences there on the Government of India—lack of help or whatever it is. Anyhow the position we took throughout was that it is for the Kashmir Government to decide what policy they will follow. Let their party decide, let the Government decide and have one policy. If that policy was in keeping with the Government of India's policy, as we would like it, of course, and as we have always endeavoured it to be, to have a joint policy in regard to matters affecting Kashmir, well and good. If not, if the Kashmir Government had a policy with which we differed completely, then it was up to us, the Government of India—I told Sheikh Abdullah and other members of his Government—to sit together and consider, even if we parted company, what we could do about it.

The fact of the matter was that Sheikh Abdullah himself was in a minority in his Government in these matters, and a still smaller minority in his party. It was that which produced this element of confusion. So, apart from giving good advice and feeling rather distressed; I felt I could do

very little. The situation was developing in this way. Ultimately it blew up as the House knows and changes took place.

Kashmir Problem : Symbolic for India

Now, having been connected with Kashmir, politically speaking, for a trifle over twenty years and having been intimately connected in the Government with all these developments that have occurred during the past six or seven years, the House can well imagine the extreme distress that all these developments have caused me. It is not a personal matter, I mean. We have always considered this Kashmir problem as symbolic for us, as having far-reaching consequences in India. Kashmir was symbolic for us to illustrate that we were a secular State, that Kashmir with a majority, a large majority of Muslims, nevertheless, of its own free will wished to be associated with India. It had consequences both in India and Pakistan, because if we disposed of Kashmir on the basis of that old two-nation theory, well, then, obviously millions of people in India and millions in East Pakistan would be powerfully affected. All kinds of consequences would flow from it. Many of those wounds that had healed might open out again. So that, this problem was not, it has never been, a problem of a patch of territory being with India or not. It has been a problem of infinitely deeper consequence.

Kashmir is a place of infinite beauty. What is more, Kashmir is a place of great strategic importance, and it has always been a misfortune for a country to be situated strategically, because envious eyes fall upon it. Certainly, so far as we are concerned, it is desirable for us from a strategic point of view. But however that may be, we cannot impose our desire or wish in this matter. Therefore, we have put it aside and right from the beginning we have laid stress on this that the people of Kashmir should decide this question,—not other considerations. We have held by it, and we hold by it still, that they must decide it in the proper way, in the proper context, not in the way that one would imagine some people in Pakistan Press want it done.

Pakistan Press Hysteria

We have been pretty well used to the tone and contents of the Pakistan Press and sometimes to the statements of their people, more or less responsible people, in the past few years, but the actuality in the last few weeks has far exceeded the wildest of my imagination in this respect. It is amazing that there should be so much wild hysteria without the slightest justification. I can understand irritation, I can understand strong language, but this type of wild hysteria does rather make one feel that one is not dealing with a matter which cannot be dealt with by logic or reasoning or by any argument.

As for the kind of facts, so-called facts, that are given in the Pakistan Press about happenings in Kashmir, they are so very very far from truth that they cannot be called exaggerations. The numbers given as killed in Kashmir, I say, is false, whoever may say it, and there are people who have said it in Delhi, and I say, after due enquiry, that these statements of happenings in Kashmir are 100 per cent false. I say so with full responsibility having sent our own men regardless of the Kashmir Government.

Of course, there has been trouble in Kashmir ; of course, there have been disturbances, demonstrations and all that ; I do not wish to minimise that. Big things have happened ; big upsets have happened, because the National Conference which represented the national movement during all these years there had a sudden split—some on one side and some on the other, all these things have happened. I should say, taking everything into consideration, that it is surprising that very little trouble has happened there, not so much. Anyhow, we have to approach this question with as much calm and wisdom as we possess. It is a difficult question and I repeat that that question is going to be decided ultimately by the wishes of the people of Kashmir. Whether it is Kashmir or any other part, we are not going to hold it by strength of arms.

Foreign Interference

Now, a great deal has been said. Much has been said about foreign interference in Kashmir. These kinds

of charges are often made, and if there is modicum of truth in them, that is greatly exaggerated as expressed and it becomes a little difficult to deal with them. In a matter of this kind, it is not easy for me to state every fact, that may come in our knowledge, before the House, but, broadly speaking, I would say that in the course of the last few weeks, in the course of past few months and sometime more, hard cases of this type of interference have come before us—individual interference. It would not be correct to call it governmental interference, but individuals have not behaved properly because again you must remember the basic fact that Kashmir is a highly strategic area. Many countries are interested in it and they seek sources of information, intelligence and all these things. You go to Kalimpong. It is a nest of spies, international spies of every country—it is perfectly amazing—and sometimes I begin to doubt if the greater part of the population is not foreign spies. News comes out of Kalimpong which sometimes may have some relation to truth—usually it has none. So that inevitably in a place like Kashmir, the people are interested and individuals are interested. There is espionage and the rest, but having said it, it would be unfair for these wild accusations to be made in the Press or elsewhere. Individuals have functioned there. I suppose they try to get contacts and sometimes no doubt the information is passed on from hand to hand and all that, and we have checked it often enough, but that kind of thing is happening in international affairs in many places—not in Kashmir only. It may be that sometimes it happens even in the city of Delhi. So, I don't think it is right for these wild accusations to be thrown about, and if there is any trifle of evidence of something, well naturally we take action. If there is not, mere shouting is not helpful; in fact, it is definitely harmful.

Admiral Nimitz

The House knows that recently I saw the Prime Minister of Pakistan when he was here in Delhi and we issued a statement which was an agreed statement. Soon after the return of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, a tremendous propaganda started there in the Press, partly

against me and partly against our country as a whole. Now, I should like to say that Mr. Mohammed Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and I discussed this question at great length, and we discussed it in a very friendly way, trying to find some way out of the difficulty, trying to take at least one step, if we cannot decide about others immediately. And, therefore, I was surprised at this barrage of press propaganda from Karachi especially and later from Lahore. This was chiefly directed to the subject of Admiral Nimitz being Plebiscite Administrator or not. It so happens that since the day Mr. Mohammed Ali left Delhi—since the day our statement was issued to the Press, I have not discussed this subject in public anywhere till today. I haven't said a word in public—in private or in the Cabinet I might have mentioned a little of it—but I have not seen a press man as a press man. And an enormous barrage of propaganda started that I was undermining this agreement that I have made with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and undermining it—well, apparently through the devious method of bringing in Admiral Nimitz into it. I confess I have been greatly surprised at this and I found some difficulty in dealing with it in correspondence elsewhere, with a situation which seems to me difficult to understand or grasp. Here I am, quietly sitting here, and I am being accused of this kind of deep conspiracy. Well, I should like to make it perfectly clear, and I am quite certain that Mr. Mohammed Ali has not only not liked this but actively disliked much of this propaganda there.

Away from Big Power Politics

Now, so far as Admiral Nimitz is concerned, he is a very eminent person and I would hate to see anything at all in criticism of him. He is a person whom I have had the privilege of meeting. He is not only eminent in his own field but otherwise too he struck me as a very admirable person. I have nothing against him. He was appointed as Plebiscite Administrator about more than four years ago. In a sense he functioned, that is to say, he had an office in the United Nations Building, may be for a year. Then, about three years ago, he himself felt

that nothing much was happening and was not likely to happen soon. So far as we are concerned, we thought that in all probability the thing had ended. But apart from this, frankly, the reason I put forward before Mr. Mohammed Ali was this: I said much has happened in these three or four years—just then the discussion in the Political Committee was taking place, this argument about India being in the Political Conference in Korea or not—I told him quite frankly that if we are to get on with this question of Kashmir, as we want to get on,—we must try to isolate it from big power politics. Big Powers are admirable individually, and may be collectively !

Therefore I said it will not be fair to any of the Big Powers to ask them to supply a representative as a Plebiscite Administrator, however admirable he may be, because that would be embarrassing and needlessly creating suspicion, not in my mind necessarily, but in some other Big Power's mind. I said therefore it is far better for us—there are plenty of countries in Europe and Asia which are fortunately not too big—let us try to select the man from there.

So, I would beg the House, if I may say so, and the Press and others that in this matter of Kashmir, we should not lose our bearings merely because the Pakistan Press has no bearings at all. We have to keep firm to our position and hold by the statements we have made and continue functioning calmly and dispassionately. That is the best way of dealing with this situation, as indeed with any situation. Whenever any important occurrence takes place, I shall naturally come to the House for the advice of the House, for such guidance as the House can give me.