

C O P Y....

8th September, 1953.

My dear Mr. Attlee,

I hope you had a good trip in Yugoslavia.

Enclosed is my confidential note on Kashmir in four parts written during the fortnight after Abdullah's dismissal and arrest. I could have sent it to you earlier in the week, but I waited for the return to Bombay of my friend, Frank Moraes, the Editor of the W "Times of India". He was one of the Indian Delegation which toured China last year and his book - "Report on Mao's China" - was published by Macmillan in New York at the end of May. It has been very favourably reviewed by the American Press including the "New York Times" and "Nation". This book is also being published in London.

During the last three weeks Moraes toured in Pakistan • Karachġ, Lahore and North-West Frontier Province - and he spent a few days in New Delhi before returning to Bombay. In Karachi he had a tete-a-tete three hour dinner with Ghulam Mohamad, lunched with Prime Minister Mohammad Ali, met Foreign Minister Zafrullah Khan, Cabinet Minister Abdul Quayum and also Nazimuddin, ex-Prime Minister. In Lahore he lunched with Chief Minister Pheroze Khan Noon and in New Delhi he had a private talk with Nehru and also met the American Ambassador, Allen.

Ghulam Mohamad talked to him frankly. Ghulam Mohamad is half paralysed and he speaks with difficulty, walks with the aid of a stick, but his brain is clear and powerful. But another

sudden stroke at any unexpected time and off he will go. He took matters in hand when Nazimuddin became wobbly and shaky and his administration went very weak. Ghulam Mohamad would like to come to terms with India. So also Mohammad Ali, the Prime Minister, whom Moraes found to be extremely pleasant and really eager to come to terms with India.

I asked Moraes that when Pakistan realised that there would be no plebiscite, would she make any trouble? The answer to this you will see in the last paragraph of Moraes' article in the "Times of India" of 7th September:

" What if the plebiscite is delayed interminably? That there will be repercussions in Pakistan I have no doubt. What ~~form~~ form this will take depends on many imponderables - political, economic, military, even personal. For the men in power with goodwill towards India are few and shrinking rapidly in number and two of the most important of these men ride today on a razor's edge. Will the deluge descend after they have gone? That again depends on Pakistan's strength and will. The will is there."

In his broadcast to the Pakistan people Mohammad Ali emphasised two points. He said: "Before I pass to any other subject, I feel it is my duty to try and reach out to the people of Kashmir to secure whose right of self-determination at all costs you and I are irrevocably pledged. I wish to assure them that their sorrow is our sorrow, their suffering is our suffering their misery is our misery and their hardship is our hardship. Tonight I want to proclaim to them and to you that the Government of Pakistan will stand solidly by the pledge to which we are all committed. We shall not rest content until we have redeemed that pledge however heavy this task may be, however difficult the

the solution, however much sacrifice it may entail we shall not fail the people of Kashmir."

Then he spoke about the reduction in the expenditure for the armed forces proposed by the Nazimuddin Government. He said: "Orders have been issued for the stopping of retrenchment. You may rest assured that nothing will be done that may in any way weaken the effectiveness of our forces. I wholly endorse the view that I often see expressed in our country that defence is of paramount importance. It must be given top priority."

"We would rather all starve than allow our freedom to be put in jeopardy. Your Government will spare no pains, no sacrifice will be too great to ensure to the fullest degree the preservation of your country's hard won independence." He also assured that all leave to armed forces was cancelled.

I have been in close touch with the American Consulate General, Bombay, which asserts that neither the American Administration nor Stevenson had interfered in the Kashmir affairs and the Ambassador in Delhi has definitely denied all charges regarding such interference. In spite of all these denials the strong belief in Delhi is that the Americans were definitely involved in the Kashmir problem.

As regards the internal situation in Kashmir, we get very little direct news from Kashmir because of the strict censorship, but I am afraid all cannot be as quiet and smooth as we are asked to believe. There has been much talk from Srinagar about getting the endorsement of the National Conference for Bakshi

Government's policies. But five members of the Working Committee are in jail, though Abdullah was supposed to have three supporters amongst its members. Of the ten left at least four will almost certainly vote against Bakshi and the "Times of India" says:- "This is not the kind of majority to carry conviction of Bakshi's hold on the party." Both the "Hindustan Times" and the "Times of India" more than point out that India will not tolerate any non-sensical talk from Pakistan as Pakistan is too weak to give effect to its threats.

Then there is the trouble about Nimitz being the Plebiscite Administrator and his reported resignation does not yet make the solution any nearer. U.N. Headquarters have denied Nimitz's resignation. My own opinion is that Abdullah is not likely to be released and he would be in jail for an indefinite period. If he came out he would surely make trouble with the people. And though therefore there is some kind of sullen as amongst the people at removal, the Bakshi Government would be able to control the situation and law and order would be maintained.

A disturbing factor all over the world is the deterioration in the morale of the American Administration and its foreign policy. America has slipped down at a terrific speed from the leadership of the world and its prestige in India today is as low as the prestige of the British after the fall of Singapore early in 1942. Dulles goes on making one mistake after another and in your speech in the House of Commons in July you represented not only the opinion and feelings of the British people, but also of

India. Nehru himself has in his utterances shown admirable restraint even though provoked by the childishness, stupidities and blunders of Dulles. Dulles has sunk to the level of Rhee and Chiang. Unfortunately he drags the American Administration down.

You know Eisenhower well. Do you think he has the greatness of mind and courage to assert himself and stop Dulles from all these blunders. And if he wants to assert himself is he not delaying action against Dulles too long. Eisenhower has common sense and he does understand that sooner or later China must be admitted in the U.N.

Is there any likelihood of new elections in Great Britain which I thought would be possible if Churchill's Government did not show sufficient strength against the present American Foreign Policy and the main election issue would be on this point as I think you and your Labour Party will have the full support of the British people in telling America - thus far and no further. Secondly, what is behind Beria's dismissal? Does it show Malenkove's strength or weakness? I feel that Russia certainly does not want war and would welcome the easing of the tensions of the cold war. How far does the American policy responsible for the continuation of the cold war, or is this policy based on their secret intelligence that all is not well within the Iron Curtain and that the forces of liberation may asset themselves against Moscow's dictatorship. How far can Titto be relied upon to stand solidly with the West.

On the other hand there is the weakness of France and Italy. The defeat of De Gasperi is the defeat of the Roman Catholic

Church. Whilst America talks of liberation behind the Iron Curtain, France, Italy are fast slipping out of America's hands. My two long visits to U.S.A. in 1946 and 1951 made me very uncomfortable from what I saw of the methods used by the Roman Catholic Church in fighting the Red Menace. Am I right in this unpleasant feeling about the R.C.Church?

The Eastern Economist (a Weekly in New Delhi) recently wrote that it was very well for India to gain a big reputation in the international world, but the paper added it was time Nehru gave some thoughts to the consideration of the serious internal situation in the country. As you know Nehru is the one man in India who keeps India going as one solid unit and as senior I.C.S. man told me in Delhi last year the other factor is the Indian Army which was brought up during the time of the British regime and which continued to be efficient, non-political and loyal to the cause and not to any particular Party.

The man spoken of now as the successor to Nehru is Chintaman Deshmukh, Finance Minister. But the Congress Party feels great resentment at this suggestion.

The biggest problem today in India is the unemployment and no solution to eliminate the sufferings of unemployment has been suggested or attempted even step by step. Of course, there ~~ix~~ are no unemployment figures in India. But including the rural population I believe - I am not wrong in suggesting that 60 to 70 million people are unemployed in this country which means that they have to and live on the meagre earnings of the joint

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family members. This means one-fifth of the population is in direct and terrific economic distress. The other disturbing factor to my mind is the attempt to popularise Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoo-Dan" Movement. I take it as one of the biggest hoaxes on the Indian people meant to dope them into a false sense of safety and to avoid serious thinking and rational action on the solution of the land problem. The movement is being taken up by the crankies who were followers of Gandhi and by fools and frauds and by the politically unemployed and frustrated leaders, amongst this last I include some of Gandhi's colleagues who have not been rewarded with Ministerships and people like Acharya Kripalani who is now the leader of the Praja-Socialist Party in the House of the People and Jaiprakash Narain, Asoka Mehta and Ram Manohar Lohia, the Socialists. The exact rendering in English of the word "Bhoo-Dan" is gift of land and Jaiprakash now talks openly of starting civil disobedience to strengthen "Bhoo-Dan" and just now this week the socialists have started satyagraha against Bombay Government and ordered arrests and following communist tactics and exciting the landless peasants to break the law as if we had not had enough of the damage done to the country by Gandhi's civil disobedience movements. Lawlessness, indiscipline and disobedience preached to the college and school students in 1921 are having its reactions in Indian Universities and the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities have been closed down because of the troubles created by the students.

With kindest regards, Yours sincerely,

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