

INDIA-PAKISTAN. — Indian Bomber shot down Pakistan. - Mutual Protests. - Incidents on Assam-Pakistan Border. - Conferences on Boundary Clarification and Avoidance of Border Incidents.

Indian Air Force *Canberra* jet bomber was shot down by Pakistan Air Force *Sabre* jet fighter over Pakistani territory, south of Rawalpindi, in the morning of April 10. The pilot and navigator, who baled out of the burning plane, were treated for multiple injuries and shock at Rawalpindi military hospital, and were flown back to India two days later. Protests were lodged by both Governments on April 11, the Indian version of the incident being given by both sides.

Indian Statement. The Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Rao told the *Lok Sabha* on April 11 that the *Canberra* had not been equipped for bombing or hostile purposes but that its mission was to take aerial photographs for the Survey of India in the States of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir, and that it had been driven off course into Pakistani air space owing to operational and navigational difficulties. He alleged that cases of violation of Indian air space were "by no means uncommon," and that 17 had been driven over Kashmir alone in the last quarter of 1958; in no case, however, had the Indian Air Force sought to initiate hostile action against Pakistani aircraft. In reply to questions on the Government's policy, Mr. Menon said that the Air Force would not shoot down Pakistani planes which violated Indian air space, but that whether such planes should be armed in future was "a matter of serious consideration."

First Pakistani Statement. A statement issued by the Pakistani Ministry later the same day said that the *Canberra* had been seen over Pakistan over the Lahore area, had been observed circling the Gujrat and Kharian areas, and had been intercepted while flying for Rawalpindi; it had refused to land when instructed, and started to manoeuvre in a hostile manner," and had disregarded a warning burst of tracer bullets. The statement also alleged that the aircraft could not have entered Pakistani territory by mistake, as the weather was clear, visibility perfect, and landmarks like the Himalayas and the rivers easily recognizable, and said that it was about 150 miles inside Pakistani territory. The issue, however, had been placed beyond doubt "by a statement signed by the *Canberra's* pilot in which he admitted that he had deliberately violated Pakistani territory in order to photograph military and strategic targets. For several months Indian *Canberra's* had been flying over Pakistan, apparently on reconnaissance and photographic missions," and the protests had been of no avail. The statement added: "Mr. Krishna Menon has held out a threat that his Government would have to consider seriously whether Indian aircraft should be allowed to fly in the future. If he had in mind Indian aircraft sent on similar missions to Pakistan, such a step would lead to serious consequences."

Second Indian Statement. In a second statement to the *Lok Sabha*, Mr. Menon said on April 21 that both the pilot and navigator of the aircraft had stated "categorically and repeatedly" that their flying over Pakistani territory had been the result of a navigational error; the pilot had said that the weather was so hazy that he could not see the ground. Both officers claimed that while in Rawalpindi they had been "subjected to interrogation, harassment, and threats by Pakistani officers." The navigator, who after several hours' continuous interrogation had been so exhausted that he "could neither see nor appreciate the contents of anything read out to him," had signed a paper which, he was assured, said that they had crossed Pakistani territory as the result of a navigational error; the pilot, who had been unconscious most of the time he was in Pakistan, had no recollection of signing anything. Both were positive that they had received no warning of any kind before being attacked, and that the first indication of anything unusual happening was when their plane was hit.

Mr. Menon claimed that the plane, which had flown too far to the west on its way from Agra to the Jammu area, had apparently crossed over Pakistani territory for less than 80 miles, and continued: "It is inconceivable that a *Canberra* on a deliberate mission of reconnaissance and photography, as alleged, would knowingly expose itself even for 80 miles in Pakistani territory. If taking photographs in that area was the intention, the *Canberra* could reach the same area by three or five minutes' flight across the border." India had protested against Pakistani violations of Indian air space 27 times between July 1958 and January 1959, and 21 times between Jan. 26 and March 26, 1959. Mr. Menon stated, while three complaints had been received from Pakistan since the beginning of the year. On four occasions since April 9 Pakistani aircraft had flown over Indian territory for distances of up to 100 miles, but Indian aircraft had not resorted to any hostile action.

Second Pakistani Statement. The Pakistan Government issued a statement on April 23, denying the Indian version of the incident. It maintained that weather and visibility on April 10 had been "excellent," and that it would be "difficult to believe that in such ideal weather conditions an experienced crew" such as the one in charge of the *Canberra* "could have made so great a navigational error." The statement claimed that it had been "clearly established" that this was a deliberate attempt by the Indian Government to photograph military targets in Pakistan," and that Id Day [the high festival] had been chosen for the flight because it had been expected that the Pakistani defence forces would observe a holiday. A second *Canberra* had also been sent over Pakistan on the same day and had been seen in the Multan area.

Mr. Menon's contention (the Pakistani press note went on) that the Indian pilot and navigator had not signed any statements was "refuted" by the photostat copies of their statements now published. As to Mr. Menon's allegation that the Indian officers had been "harassed and threatened in Pakistan," the press note described this as "a slur on the hospitality shown to the Indian officers by all Pakistanis," and said that both officers had been taken by ambulance to the military hospital in Rawalpindi and given there the best treatment. The statements, voluntarily made by them, had been recorded only on the afternoon of the following day after a surgical specialist had certified their fitness. At no time, the press note maintained, had the Indian officers been incapacitated by shock, and the pilot had not only read his statement before signing it but had initialled all the corrections. Both officers had been sufficiently conscious to accept personally the blame for violating Pakistani territory, and to attempt to exonerate the Indian Government.

The Pakistani press note also refuted Mr. Menon's statement that the aircraft was unarmed, declared that "cameras are the most lethal weapons that a hostile aircraft can carry in conditions short of a shooting war," and maintained that a photo reconnaissance mission was "an aggressive and armed mission." Finally, the note rejected as "completely devoid of truth" Mr. Menon's allegation that Pakistani jet aircraft had penetrated 90, 100, and 85 miles respectively into Indian territory on April 9, 14, and 20, and made counter-charges of alleged Indian violations of the air space in the West Pakistan border areas and over Azad Kashmir on a specified number of occasions between November 1958 and February 1959.

On the same day the Pakistan Government released the text of the statement made by the Indian pilot, which read: "I purposely changed the authorized flight route and entered Pakistan territory, took pictures of the railway bridge over the Ravi, and the airfield en route. My main targets were Dhamial and Chaklala, which I photographed. I came over Pakistan at 47,000 feet and felt safe because I was under the impression that a *Sabre* jet fighter cannot match a *Canberra* bomber at that altitude."

According to the release the pilot added: "I was not authorized by the Indian Air Force authorities to fly over Pakistan and did so entirely on my own responsibility. . . . This is the first time that I have flown over Pakistan without authority."

Third Indian Statement. The Indian Government replied to the Pakistani statement on April 29, alleging that the signatures on the photostat copies of the confessions purporting to be those of the two Indian airmen had been forged. The signature of the navigator as recorded in official Indian documents and the one published in Pakistan did "not tally," whilst the handwriting of the statement said to have been written by him "varied widely" from that in Indian documents, and the handwritten portion of the pilot's statement was not in the latter's handwriting either. Both officers had confirmed that the signatures were not theirs, and it was impossible to believe—as stated by the Pakistani authorities—that any crew would have made a voluntary statement which implicated themselves.

The Indian Government on April 30 lodged another strong protest with the Pakistan Government over the shooting down, rejecting the Pakistani version of the incident and demanding compensation for the loss of the aircraft and the injuries sustained by the Indian airmen. This demand was, however, rejected by Pakistan on May 15; the Pakistani reply described the shooting down as an "unfortunate incident" but said that under the circumstances in which the aircraft was shot down "there can be no case for compensation for damage to the plane or for its occupants." A second Indian demand for compensation made on June 1 was likewise rejected on July 21. Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, the Indian Deputy Minister of External Affairs, stated in the *Lok Sabha* on Aug. 3 in reply to questions that in spite of Pakistan's attitude the Government of India was pursuing the matter further.

Incidents on Assam-East Pakistan Border.

Following the conclusion of the agreement on border disputes between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Noon (the former Prime Minister of Pakistan) on Sept. 11, 1958 [see 16416 A], no serious incidents occurred on the frontier of Assam and East Pakistan for about two months. Thereafter, however, many incidents were reported between November 1958 and July 1959, and cease-fire agreements concluded by both sides had a temporary effect only.

Four separate outbreaks of firing took place in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Patharia Forest areas during November, December, and January, a cease-fire being arranged on each occasion by the local authorities, and on Nov. 10 two Indians were killed when Pakistanis raided a border village in Tripura. Mr. Nehru warned the *Lok Sabha* on Dec. 8 against attaching too much importance to "these petty eruptions here and there," and pointed out that during the harvesting season there were often quarrels between the peasantry on the two sides, in which they were supported by the police of their respective countries.

A more serious outburst of firing began in the Patharia Forest on Feb. 6, spread on Feb. 13 to the Karimganj area, and continued at intervals until a cease-fire came into force on March 8; both sides accused each other of aggressive action and reported one person

killed on each side. Firing was resumed in the same areas on March 25 and continued until a cease-fire was concluded on April 1. Only three minor incidents, none of which resulted in casualties, were reported during May; Mr. Rajeswar Dayal (Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan) said on May 14 that the situation on the Assam-East Pakistan border had improved remarkably, and that life there was now almost normal.

Nevertheless, further outbursts of firing in the Patharia Forest were reported in the Indian Press on several occasions during June and the first half of July. During the second week of July firing spread to the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, whilst Indian reports also spoke of Pakistani troop concentrations in the Dawki area during the third week of July. Following protests to the Pakistani authorities by the Assam Government on July 20 and the Government of India on July 23, another cease-fire agreement for the entire border along the Khasi-Jaintia Hills was concluded by the Deputy Commissioners of both sides on July 28. In spite of this, firing by Pakistani forces was reported by India to have started again during the night of July 31 and to have continued on Aug. 1-2, until another cease-fire came into effect on the latter date.

A number of incidents occurred during March in the Murshidabad area of the West Bengal-East Pakistan border, these being the first which had taken place in this section of the frontier. A small patch of territory in this area had been exchanged on Jan. 15 under the Nehru-Noon agreement, and the incidents were attributed to resulting disagreements between the peasantry over harvesting.

The Indian Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Mrs. Menon, stated in the *Lok Sabha* on April 27 that 229 border incidents had occurred between Dec. 9, 1958, and April 20, 1959, of which 160 were in the eastern and 69 in the western zone. Seven people had been killed and 41 injured in the eastern zone, as against one injured in the western zone. The Governor of Assam, Mr. Fazl Ali, said on Feb. 24 that the number of incidents on the borders of the State had increased from 36 in 1957 to 171 in 1958.

A conference of Indian and Pakistani officials on the demarcation of the boundary between Assam and East Pakistan was held in Dacca from June 10-12, it being reported afterwards that considerable progress had been made.

Mr. Nehru had previously announced on April 2 that President Prasad had decided to refer to the Supreme Court for its advisory opinion the question whether an Act of Parliament or an amendment to the Constitution was necessary for the implementation of the provisions of the Nehru-Noon agreement on the transfer to Pakistan of the Berubari Union and the Cooch-Bihar enclaves. The West Bengal Assembly had previously passed unanimously a resolution in favour of retaining the Berubari Union in India. The Supreme Court on April 22 fixed Nov. 10 for hearing the question.

Indo-Pakistani Discussions on Border Problems.

The Chief Secretaries of East Pakistan, West Pakistan, and Assam and the Chief Commissioner of Tripura met in Calcutta from Aug. 17-19 to discuss questions in relation to the Indo-East Pakistani border. They decided:

(1) That where the international boundary had not yet been demarcated on firm land by the placement of boundary pillars, the Governments concerned would endeavour to see that peaceful *de facto* possession was not disturbed;

(2) That where temporary demarcation marks of land boundaries over river beds became covered by water during the rainy season and new islands formed when the water level went down, the Governments concerned would provide an adequate number of survey parties for joint seasonal demarcation of the international boundary at the earliest possible moment after such islands appeared;

(3) That whenever border incidents occurred the district magistrates concerned on either side should meet promptly for joint inspection of the locality, and that they should also meet once every three months to discuss administrative difficulties over border matters.

The communiqué also mentioned the following other points:

Patharia Reserve Forest and Takergram. The conference discussed the provisional demarcation in the forest and the evacuation of Takergram [by Pakistan], but "no conclusions were reached," though it was decided "to examine the matter further by exchange of information between the Governments of the two countries."

Dawki Area. It was agreed that in this area (the Indian checkpost bordering Sylhet) the border forces on both sides would withdraw from their forward positions back to their original border outposts, and that forward trenches and bunkers would be filled up.

Assam-East Pakistan Border (General). Detailed discussions had taken place between the Chief Secretaries of East Pakistan and Assam on special problems arising out of the Delhi meeting of Mr. Nehru and Mr. Firoz Khan Noon [see 16416 A]. The items discussed included the question of handing over to Assam possession of Borobari village (Goalpara district), which was still in the possession of Pakistan although demarcation in this sector had been completed. The Chief Secretary of East Pakistan had promised to refer the matter to his Government for early decision.

Illegal Border Crossings and Border Crimes. The Chief Secretaries agreed that attempts by nationals of one country to cross the border illegally for such crimes as kidnapping, arson, and dacoity should

not be countenanced by the police of their country, and that officials of both countries should meet once a month to discuss the extra-situational and help each other in the investigation and prevention of crimes committed across the border.

River Bed Borders. It was agreed that attempts by Indian or Pakistani cultivators to cultivate the above-mentioned new islands before the seasonal demarcation was completed should be discouraged and not be supported by the police of either country; once temporary seasonal demarcation was complete, no one should have any claim to reap crops which might have been grown by him on parts of the island falling within the other country.

Following the Delhi meeting of Mr. Nehru and President Ayub Khan, it was announced on Oct. 1 that Sardar Swaran Singh, the Indian Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, and Lieut.-General K. M. Sheikh, the Pakistani Minister of the Interior, would meet in Delhi on Oct. 15 to discuss "border disputes and broader border problems concerning the Indo-East Pakistan border." The conference would later move to Dacca and was expected to last about seven days.—(The Statesman, Calcutta - The Hindu, Madras - Indian and Pakistani High Commissioners' Offices, London) (Prev. rep. Border Incidents 16416 A; Ayub Khan-Nehru Meeting, 17032 A.)

A. SOUTH VIETNAM. — General Elections.

General elections held in South Vietnam on Aug. 30 resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Government, all but two of the 123 seats in the National Assembly being won by parties or Independent candidates supporting President Ngo Dinh Diem. The distribution of seats was as follows:

National Revolutionary Movement	..	78
Vietnamese Socialist Party	4
Social Democratic Party	3
Vietnamese Restoration Party	2
Democratic Liberties Party	2
Independents	32
Opposition Independents	2

The electorate, comprising all men and women aged 18 and over, totalled 7,328,328, of whom 6,302,000 (86 per cent) went to the polls.

The 123 seats were contested by 460 candidates, of whom 353 stood as Independents. Another 165 candidates withdrew before the elections; the Government said that they had done so voluntarily or because they did not fulfil the requirements of the electoral law, but the Opposition alleged that the Government had made use of "ostensibly legal manoeuvres" to disqualify many candidates.

Although greater freedom of speech was allowed than in the 1956 elections, Government officials maintained rigid control over every detail in order to prevent the infiltration of Viet Cong (Communist) elements; Western correspondents in Saigon pointed out that while this had been achieved, it had also led to the exclusion of a vigorous non-Communist Opposition. All the political parties permitted to take part in the elections consisted of Government supporters; the two Opposition members returned, Dr. Phan Quang-Dan and Mr. Phan Khae-Suu, stood as Independents because their party, the Democratic Bloc, had been refused registration.

Dr. Phan Quang-Dan founded the Democratic Bloc in 1957 to press for greater civil liberties, whilst at the same time supporting the fight against the Communists with American aid, and advocating closer economic and cultural relations with France.

Nine women members were returned, compared with six in the previous Assembly. A notable feature of the elections was the prominent part which the trade union movement played in the campaign in Saigon and its suburbs, where two of its leaders were elected as Independents.

When the new Assembly met for the first time on Oct. 5, Dr. Phan Quang-Dan and another Independent deputy, M. Nguyen Tran—both elected by large majorities in Saigon—were not permitted to attend, and the Ministry of State Security subsequently informed the Assembly's credentials committee that their election was invalid. Both had been found guilty and fined on Aug. 28 on charges of infractions of the electoral law, their appeals being rejected by the Court of Cassation on Sept. 15.—(Vietnam Press, Saigon - Times - Le Monde, Paris - New York Times) (Prev. rep. 14949 A.)

B. UNITED STATES. — Launching of Second Polaris Missile Submarine.

The second American atomic submarine to be equipped with Polaris missiles was launched on Sept. 22 at Groton, Connecticut. Named the *Patrick Henry*, she has a displacement of 5,400 tons and is a sister-vessel of the *George Washington*, launched in June. (New York Times) (Prev. rep. 16926 A.)

C. NIGERIA. — Royal Nigerian Navy.

The Federal House of Representatives passed a Bill in August giving the Nigerian Navy the prefix "Royal," with the Queen's permission.—(Daily Telegraph) (Prev. rep. 16697 A.)