



**NOTES, MEMORANDA AND LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN
THE GOVERNMENTS OF INDIA AND CHINA**

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Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking to the Embassy of India in China, 31 December, 1963

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with reference to the notes of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government, dated July 16, September 16, October 15, October 22 and November 2, 1963, has the honour to state as follows:

1. In the above-mentioned notes, the Indian Government tried hard to deny the fact that Indian troops had successively intruded into the area northwest of the Spanggur Lake, the Hsialinkung Terrace, the area north of the Lo Pass and Demchok Village, in Tibet, and the area north of the Karakoram Pass, in Sinkiang, China. This is completely futile.

2. In its note of July 16, the Indian side asserted that it had not crossed the 1959 line of actual control between the two sides. Unfortunately, such is not the fact. In its documents and maps, the Chinese Government time and again clearly specified the location of the line of actual control and made it known to the world. The above areas into which Indian troops intruded are all on the Chinese side of the line. This indisputably shows that the Indian side's claim that it respects the Colombo proposals and has not crossed the line of actual control is a sheer lie.

3. As for the line of actual control in the Demchok area, the Chinese Government long ago pointed out that on the whole it coincides with the traditional customary line in this area. Only Parigas was included in the Indian side of the line of actual control, because it had been occupied by India before 1959. In an attempt to include Demchok Village, too, in the Indian side of the line of actual control, the Indian side in its note of October 22 confused

this village with Parigas in disregard of the fact and alleged that China had in the past accepted India's absurd claim. But back in 1960 during the meeting between the officials of the two countries, the Chinese side already pointed out the different locations of the two places: "West of Demchok, after crossing the Chopu river one arrived at Parigas" (of p. 21, the Indian report in the Report of the officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question). In order to expand its aggression, the Indian side did not hesitate to repeat its old trick of confusing place names. This is indeed an unseemly act.

4. In its note of November 2, the Indian side not only completely denied the fact that Indian troops had crossed the Karakoram Pass to intrude into Chinese territory, but took the opportunity to dwell on its one-sided claim about the boundary, arbitrarily describing as Indian territory large tracts of Chinese territory, which are irrelevant to the places where Indian troops intruded. The aggressive and expansionist ambition entertained by the Indian Government is once again revealed.

5. In view of the fact that the Indian side keeps denying the facts and resorting to unreasonable prevarication, the Chinese Government will not exchange more notes with the Indian side on the above-said intrusions by Indian troops. The Chinese Government hopes that the Indian Government, in its future actions, will strictly abide by its promise of not crossing the line *of* actual control between the two sides so that the situation on the Sino-Indian border, which has been eased owing to China's efforts, may remain eased.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking to the Embassy of India in China, 11 January, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with reference to the two notes of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government dated April 9 and September 4, 1963, has the honour to state as follows:

In its note of September 4, 1963, the Indian Government virtually admitted that Indian troops and administrative personnel had intruded into the Wuje area. Despite its vigorous attempt to minimize its crime of unjustifiable harassment and detention of Chinese border inhabitants by juggling with the specific date and detailed facts, the Indian side had to admit that Chinese border inhabitants going to the Wuje area were harassed and "stopped at an Indian checkpost."

In order to explain away its intrusion, the Indian side asserted that the Indian checkpost was located "some kilometres to the south of Wuje". This false argument has already been refuted by the Chinese Government many times. In an attempt to make up for its inconsistency in stating the size of the Wuje area, the Indian side racked its brains to cook up the story that "the Bara Hoti plateau" was "about 6 square miles" and that "the Bara Hoti Plain is 1· 5 square miles in size." This sort of patch work merely serves to show up the seams. There is only one Wuje area; how can it be said that there are two, one of them a "plateau" and the other a "plain"? Such sophistry by the Indian side for the purpose of territorial expansion can deceive no one.

As the Chinese Government pointed out long ago, the Wuje area is about 150 square kilometres in size. With a view to easing the border situation, the Chinese Government has on its own initiative vacated the entire area of 150 square kilometres, which has always been China's territory, as one of the areas where there is a dispute about the ceasefire arrangements, refraining even from setting up a civilian checkpost there. The Indian side has stated in its notes that it, too, would not enter the Wuje area. If the Indian side is sincere in this assurance and truly desires to keep the situation eased on the Sino-Indian border in the middle sector, it should suit its action to its words and stop sending its personnel into the entire 150 square kilometers of the Wuje area which has been vacated by China on its own initiative, and should not make any more prevarication on the Size of Wuje.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 26 February, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and has the honour to state as follows:

2. The Government of India have recently obtained very definite information that the Chinese troops who are in illegal occupation of Indian territory in Aksai Chin, after China's massive invasion across the Indian borders in October/November, 1962, are now setting up stone cairns in

this region to mark the so called "line of actual control" as unilaterally defined by the Government of China.

3. The Government of India, in various notes addressed to the Chinese Government, have pointed out that after announcing their so called acceptance "in principle", of the Colombo proposals the Chinese Government have been deliberately doing all they could to subvert these proposals by their unilateral actions. Under the guise of accepting the Colombo proposals "in principle", the Chinese Government have, in open and wilful contravention of the same proposals, established 7 posts in the Western Sector, 6 of which are located in the 20 kilometre demilitarized zone. As indicated in the Government of India's note dated the 6th July, 1963, these posts which China claims to be only civilian posts are largely the creation of the massive Chinese aggression on India in October/November, 1962. It is obvious that what the Chinese Government seek to do is to impose an unilateral settlement on India in the terms of the Chinese declaration of 24th October and 21st November, 1962.

4. This illegal activity of attempting to mark what China calls the "line of actual control" by setting up stone cairns, referred to in paragraph 2 above, is a clear proof of the Chinese intention to consolidate their illegal occupation of Indian territory in the Western Sector, which they have over-run by force of arms. Needless to say that this action of the Chinese Government is in direct contradiction to China's acceptance "in principle" of the Colombo proposals. By their latest action, the Chinese Government stand convicted of deliberately negating the spirit, as well as the letter of the Colombo proposals, which specifically stipulate that the acceptance of the proposals would not in any way "prejudice the position of either of the two Governments as regards its conception of the final alignment of the boundaries".

5. The Government of India wish to make it perfectly clear that if it is imagined that these stone cairns that are now being erected will demonstrate, at some future date, the existence of any demarcated boundary along the so-called "line of actual control", the Government of China are deceiving no one but themselves. The Government of India are perfectly well aware that no such stone cairns have existed before and that they are being set up only now during these last few weeks, by the Chinese army of occupation, completely illegally and with obvious sinister motives.

6. The Government of India wish to place it on record that these latest moves of the Chinese Government must necessarily add to the existing tensions between the two countries and can in no way help towards a peaceful settlement of the India-China differences, which the Chinese Government have always professed to seek.

7. The Government of India hereby vehemently protest against this latest action of the Chinese Government and demand that the Chinese Government immediately cease their illegal activities to consolidate their hold on Indian territory in the Western Sector of the India-China border.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 7 March, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and with reference to the note

dated December 31, 1963, handed over by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China, to the Indian Embassy in Peking, has the honour to state as follows:

2. The Government of India have, in their earlier notes conclusively proved the baselessness of the Chinese allegations about so-called intrusions by Indian troops into areas like the north-west of Spanggur Lake, the "Hsialingkung Terrace", the area north of the Karakoram Pass and across the so-called "line of actual control" in the Demchok area in Ladakh.

3. In keeping with the Government of India's earnest desire to find a peaceful solution to the boundary question and out of deference to the Proposals made by the Six friendly Afro-Asian countries who met at Colombo, the Government of India have all along ensured that Indian defence forces do not cross the so-called Chinese "line of actual control". At no stage, whatsoever, since the Chinese attack of October-November, 1962, have Indian troops gone beyond the limits upto which they could station themselves under the Colombo Proposals. The Government of India, therefore have no hesitation in categorically rejecting these baseless Chinese allegations.

4. The Chinese Government have, in their note dated September 18, 1963 and again in the note under reply made vague allegations that Indian troops had crossed the so-called Chinese "line of actual control" from Parigas and 'intruded' into Demchok. Apart from these allegations being without any foundation, it may be pointed out that even recent Chinese maps depicting the so-called Chinese' "line of actual control" show Demchok clearly on the Indian side. The Chinese Government, have once again resorted to their old practice of inventing place names to expand the area of their claims. Thus, a meaningless distinction has been drawn by the Chinese Government between what they call Parigas and

what has always been known as Demchok, the former being supposedly to the west of the so-called Chinese "line of actual control" and the latter east of this arbitrary Chinese line. As has been pointed out in the Government of India's note dated 22nd October, 1963, there had been no Chinese presence of any kind on the Indian side of the traditional customary boundary south of Rezangla till the massive Chinese invasion across the Indian borders in October /November, 1962.

5. The absurd Chinese allegations that Indian troops crossed the international frontier at the Karakoram Pass and proceeded into Chinese territory in Sinkiang, have already been tully refuted in the Government of India's note dated November 2, 1963. In that note, the Government of India gave a clear description of the international frontier in this area, establishing that there is no ambiguity as to where the boundary lies, and it is a fact that Indian troops have never crossed this international boundary.

6. The Chinese Government's note under reply, states that the Government of India have made a 'promise' that Indian troops would not cross the so-called "line of actual control" as unilaterally defined by the Chinese Government. As has been pointed out above, in keeping with their acceptance of the Colombo Proposals, the Government of India have, all along scrupulously refrained from crossing this line. However, this by no means, can be taken to mean that the Government of India have thereby given up their legitimate and sovereign rights over these territories. Indeed, the Colombo Powers themselves have made it quite clear that the acceptance of their Proposals would not In any way "prejudice the position of either of the two Governments as regards its conception of the final alignment of the boundaries". Obviously what the Chinese Government are now attempting to do by their repeated references to their so-called "line of actual control" is to subvert the spirit of the Colombo Proposals which China has, so far, refused to accept.

The Ministry of External Affairs takes this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.***

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi to the Embassy of China in India, 26 March, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and with reference to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Note of January 11, 1964 has the honour to state as follows:

In their Note dated April 9, 1963, the Government of India stated quite clearly that in view of the Chinese Government's assurance that they have decided "to vacate the Wuje (Bara Hoti) area" the Government of India would reciprocate "by suspending the practice of sending civilian personnel to the Bara Hoti plain which has been followed hitherto". The Government of India had, in fact, as long ago as 1958, suggested that neither civil nor military personnel of either side should be sent to the Bara Hoti area.

The Chinese note under reference has again raised the fictitious charge of "unjustifiable harassment and detention of Chinese border inhabitants going to the Wuje area." In their reply dated September 4, 1963, to the Chinese Government's Note dated August 29, 1963, which had initially made these allegations of so-called "harassment" of Tibetans coming into India, the Government of India had pointed out that these Tibetans had proceeded well beyond the Bara Hoti plain and come up to the Indian

check-posts situated some kilometers to the south of Bara Hoti, where they had been apprehended. The Tibetans in question were then requested to return to Tibet, which they did. Rather than proving the Chinese allegations in any way, this episode only goes to establish beyond all doubt that the Government of India have been scrupulously adhering to the decision conveyed in their Note dated April 9, 1963, that they would not despatch any military or civilian personnel to enter the Bara Hoti plain, so long as the Chinese Government also abide by their commitment not to despatch any military or civilian personnel to the Bara Hoti area.

In their note under reference the Chinese Government have claimed that "the Wuje area is about 150 square kilometers in size." This statement is in keeping with the ignorance that has been constantly displayed by the Chinese Government in regard to the extent and the size of the Bara Hoti area (which they call Wuje). This fact has been adequately brought out in the Government of India's Notes dated August 27, 1962, January 17, 1963 and April 9, 1963. As pointed out in these notes, the demilitarisation of Bara Hoti was arrived at by mutual agreement between the Governments of India and China, at the Officials Talks in 1958. Since the Chinese Government had not then agreed to the further suggestion made by the Indian side, that civil patrols of either side should also not go into the area, the Government of India had been constrained to continue sending their civil administrative personnel to the Bara Hoti plain, which is 1.5 square miles in area and not 150 square kilometres as claimed by the Chinese. Following the statement by the Chinese Government in their note dated April 3, 1963, that they had decided to "vacate the Wuje area", the Government of India have, since April 1963, also not sent even civil personnel to the Bara Hoti plain, despite their earlier practice. The Chinese Government, however, have tried to confuse this clear enough situation to suit

their own purposes, by arbitrarily expanding the size of what they term the Wuje area, to 150 square kilometers.

The Chinese Government's allegation made in their Note dated August 29, 1963, of so-called "harassment" of Tibetans in the Bara Hoti area has been shown to be completely baseless in the Government of India's reply dated September 4, 1963. It is regretted that in spite of this fact, the Chinese Government should persist in their baseless allegations and even resort to the device of expanding the size of the area in question in a meaningless attempt to prove that the Government of India have not honoured their obligations. The Government of India have no intention of taking any further notice of any repetition by the Chinese Government of these baseless allegations.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note Given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 31 March 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with reference to the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated February 26, 1964, has the honour to state the following:

In its note the Indian Government charges that Chinese troops were now setting up stone cairns in Aksai Chin region of Sinkiang, China to mark the Sino Indian boundary line of actual

control of November 7, 1959 and on this pretext lodges a vehement protest with the Chinese Government. This charge of the Indian Government is a sheer fabrication and slander, which is aimed at aggravating the Sino-Indian border situation which has already eased and at conducting anti-China propaganda. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the Indian Government's unwarranted protest.

As is known to the world, for the purpose of stopping the border conflict and promoting peaceful negotiations to settle the boundary question, the Chinese frontier guards, after taking the initiative in effecting the ceasefire, voluntarily began to withdraw along entire Sino-Indian boundary on December 1, 1962 and by February 28, 1963 had completed their withdrawal to areas twenty kilometres behind the line of actual control on the Chinese side. Since then, the Chinese frontier guards have never entered the twenty-kilometre zone; how could they have come to the line of actual control to set up stone cairns?

The Indian Government asserts that the Chinese frontier guards are setting up stone cairns in order to mark the line of actual control. This is most absurd. The Chinese Government consistently holds that its boundary questions should be settled through friendly consultations with its neighbouring countries and then the boundaries should be jointly demarcated. It has never approved of any unilateral action. With regard to the line of actual control along the Sino-Indian border, the Chinese Government consistently holds that, pending a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, both China and India should strictly abide by this line and neither side may upset the status quo on the boundary by unilateral action. The exact location of the line of actual control along the Sino-Indian border has long

been published by the Chinese Government in both descriptions and maps for the world to see. Any breach of the line of actual control cannot possibly escape notice. Under such circumstances, what is the need for the Chinese side to be anxious to mark the line of actual control by setting up stone cairns?

The Indian Government asserts that Chinese troops were setting up stone cairns in the region of Aksai Chin, but fails to describe their specific location and conditions. According to the note of the Indian Government of February 26, 1964, the Chinese troops were setting up stone cairns "during these last few weeks," and were still doing so "now". The period thus indicated by the Indian Government was in the winter season when the Aksai Chin border region was snow-bound. Moreover, the line of actual control on the Sino- Indian border between the Aksai Chin area of China and Ladakh is several hundred kilometres long. Yet the Indian Government asserts that Chinese troops were then and there setting up stone cairns to mark the line of actual control. Is this not a sheer fable?

The Indian Government cannot answer even these commonsense questions which are directly relevant. The rumour fabricated by the Indian Government to the effect that Chinese troops were allegedly setting up stone cairns to mark the line of actual control can deceive no one but only exposes once again the Indian Government's usual practice of trumping up charges.

In its note, the Indian Government also unscrupulously slanders and attacks China in connection with its establishment of seven civilian checkposts in the western sector of the border.

This shows that the Indian Government indeed has

"obvious sinister motives" when it plays this "stone cairns" trick. As is known to all, the twenty-kilometre demilitarized zone, which is formed as a result of the withdrawal made by the Chinese frontier guards on China's own initiative from the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, has always been Chinese territory and under the effective control of the Chinese Government. Even before November 7, 1959 China had maintained seven frontier posts here. It was only after 1959, and especially after 1961, that the Indian side took advantage of the halting of patrols by the Chinese frontier guards to make military encroachments and set up 45 aggressive strongpoints in a small part of this area. After repulsing India's massive attacks and clearing up these aggressive strongpoints, the Chinese frontier guards on China's own initiative withdrew twenty kilometres from the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959 in order to effect a disengagement and create an atmosphere for peaceful negotiations, and that was how the present demilitarized zone was formed. Within this demilitarized zone, China only maintains civilian checkposts at the seven places where there used to be frontier posts even before November 7, 1959. Moreover, the Chinese side on its own initiative has vacated all the places where Indian troops once set up 43 aggressive strong- points and the places where additional frontier posts were set up by China for surveillance against Indian encroachments, and has even refrained from setting up civilian check-posts in all these areas, as being areas where there is a dispute about the ceasefire arrangements. These are measures taken by China on its own initiative for promoting direct Sino-Indian negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question and major efforts made by China in response to the call of the Colombo Conference. On the other hand, the Indian Government has failed so far to make any

positive response to China's peace efforts; more than that, it now attacks China for setting up the seven civilian checkpoints in the western sector and, disregarding the fact that all these civilian check-posts are located at places where China used to maintain frontier posts before November 7, 1959—a fact which India itself partially recognized—makes the absurd charge in its note under reference that these civilian checkpoints "are largely the creation of the massive Chinese aggression on India in October/November, 1962." The Indian Government's act of distorting the facts and confounding right and wrong can only serve to show that it is deliberately trying to hoodwink world opinion and aggravating the border situation which has already eased.

Through fabricating the story about Chinese troops setting up stone cairns to mark the line of actual control, the Indian Government charges China with an action which is "in direct contradiction to China's acceptance 'in principle' of the Colombo proposals." This charge does not deserve refutation. Its worth is clearly indicated by the stone cairns trick itself. The Chinese Government's support for the peaceful efforts of the Colombo Conference nations and its positive measures have won the unanimous appreciation of these and other Asian-African nations. The Chinese Government consistently holds that China and India should immediately enter into direct negotiations on the basis of the Colombo proposals for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question and hopes that the Indian Government will take the same attitude. The Chinese Government is convinced that the Sino-Indian boundary question can only be settled peacefully through negotiations and that a peaceful settlement will be attained in the end.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity

to renew to the Embassy of India the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking to the Embassy of India in China, dated 7 July, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with regard to India's repeated intrusions into China's territory and air space along the Sino-Indian border and its intrusive activities on the China-Sikkim and the China-Bhutan borders occurring in the first half of 1964, has the honour to state the following:

1. In the first half of 1964, there occurred twenty-three intrusions of China's territory by Indian military personnel crossing the line of actual control between China and India as of November 7, 1959 (See Appendix I for the specific cases). The intruding Indian troops repeatedly spied on the Chinese civilian checkpoints there, with some of them carrying out unlawful activities for more than one and half hours. At the same time, the Indian troops which had crossed the Nathu La on the China-Sikkim border remained entrenched in Chinese territory and moved around.

2. In the first half of 1964, there occurred twenty-six sorties of Indian air intrusions over Sinkiang and Tibet, China, across the 1959 line of actual control between China and India and across the China-Sikkim and the China-Bhutan borders (See Appendix II for the specific cases). The Indian aircraft brazenly circled over China's territory, with some coming even over such important cities

and towns in Tibet as Lhasa, Damshune, Shigatse, Lhatse, Rudok Dzong and Shanho, for prolonged harassment and reconnaissance, penetrating as deep as over 230 kilometres.

3. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against the above-mentioned continuous serious Indian intrusions into China's territory and air space, and urges the Indian side to put an immediate stop to such unlawful intrusions.

4. The Sino-Indian border situation has long since eased as a result of the ceasefire, withdrawal and other measures effected by China on its own initiative. In the past year and more, despite the fact that the Indian side has ceaselessly made intrusions and harassments, the Chinese Government has all along scrupulously abided by its pronouncement and refrained from sending frontier guards into the twenty-kilometre zone on the Chinese side of the line of actual control, in the continued hope that after China's patient reasoning and solemn protests the Indian side might stop its intrusions. It is to be regretted that, the Indian Government, while refusing to take any corresponding measures to ease the situation and trying to renew tension on the border, has in its replies to the Chinese notes of protest claimed many places intruded by the Indian side to be within India and slanderously countercharged China with "occupying" Indian territories. This peremptory and unreasonable attitude shows that the Indian Government has not yet given up its expansionist ambition towards China's territory, but persists in its refusal to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question through peaceful negotiations.

5. The Chinese Government hopes that the Indian side will change its course, stop its intrusions, and act truly in accordance

with its own repeated promise of not crossing the 1959 line of actual control between China and India, so as to keep the Sino-Indian border situation relaxed.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

APPENDIX I.

Intrusions into Chinese Territory by Indian Troops in the First Half of 1964

In the western sector of the Sino-Indian border:

In January, March and April 1964, five batches of Indian troops, totalling nine persons, successively crossed the 1959 line of actual control between China and India and intruded into the area west of the Spanggur Lake in Tibet, China, for reconnaissance towards the Chinese civilian checkpoint at Spanggur. The times and numbers of persons involved are as follows:

1905 hours on January 5, two persons; 1655 hours on January 18, three persons, reconnoitring for about 30 minutes; 1128 hours on January 30, one person; 1155 hours on March 27, two persons, reconnoitring for about 45 minutes; 1115 hours on April 11, one person, carrying out illegal activities for over one and half hours.

II. In the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border:

1. In February and March 1964, three batches of Indian troops, totalling thirteen persons, crossed the 1959 line of actual control between China and India and intruded into Ruyu in the Longju area (one of the areas where there is a dispute between China and India about the cease-fire arrangements) in Tibet, China for reconnaissance and harassment. The times and details are as follows:

In the evening of February 21, two Indian officers and four Indian soldiers, all fully armed, intruded into Ruyu. At around 1200 hours on March 6, one Indian officer and three Indian soldiers, all fully armed, intruded into Ruyu and did not leave until the following morning. At around 1400 hours on March 18, one Indian officer and two Indian soldiers, all fully armed intruded into Ruyu and did not leave until the following day.

2. In the first half of 1964, fifteen batches of Indian troops, totalling 37 persons successively intruded into the Hsialingkung Terrace on the 1959 line of actual control between China and India, crossed that line and observed the Chinese civilian checkpoint at Sama. The times and numbers of persons involved are as follows:

1140 hours to 1220 hours on January 1, two batches, totalling four persons; 1235 hours to about 1300 hours on January 4, two batches, totalling five persons; 1840 hours on March 29, two persons, observing for about 40 minutes; 1804 hours on April 2, five persons; 1220 hours on April 21, two persons; 1040 hours on April 27 one person; 1140 hours on April 30, one person; 1425

hours on May 9, four persons, observing for about 40 minutes; 1150 hours on May 10, five persons; 1755 hours on May 13, four persons; 1155 hours on May 24, one person, observing for about 30 minutes; 1520 hours on June 18, one person; and 1425 hours on June 28, two persons.

III. On the China-Sikkim border:

In the first half of 1964, the Indian troops which had unlawfully intruded into the Chinese side of the Nathu La on the China-Sikkim border since September 1962 remained entrenched in the aggressive military structures which had been unlawfully built on Chinese territory, refused to withdraw and came forth for reconnaissance and harassment from time to time.

APPENDIX II

Indian Air Intrusions into China's Air Space in the First Half of 1964

I. Intrusions into China's air space over Sinkiang and Tibet to the east of the 1959 line of actual control in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border (twelve sorties):

1. On January 16, 1964, at 1514 hours, an Indian air-craft intruded into China's air space over the civilian checkpost at the Kongka Pass and its vicinity in Tibet for reconnaissance.

2. On January 18, 1964, at about 1600 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over Shanho, the civilian checkpost at Khurnak Fort and other places in Tibet for reconnaissance. It did not leave until flying for about one hour over Chinese territory.

3. On January 19, 1964, at about 1300 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over Manlachu, Kaijake, Shanho, Rudok Dzong, the civilian checkpost at Spanggur, and other places in Tibet for reconnaissance, penetrating as deep as over 110 kilometers. It flew for as long as one hour over Chinese territory.

4. On January 29, 1964, at 1245 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over Sirijap and its vicinity in Tibet.

5. On January 30, 1964, at 1135 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over Sirijap and its vicinity in Tibet.

6. On February 11, 1964, at 1154 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Spanggur in Tibet.

7. On March 14, 1964, at 1515 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Hot Springs in Sinkiang.

8. On April 11, 1964, at 1155 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the Spanggur and Pangong Lake areas in Tibet. It repeatedly circled for reconnaissance over the Chinese civilian checkpost at Spanggur, Sirijap and other places for over one hour.

9. On April 18, 1964, at 1005 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Hot Springs in Sinkiang.

10. On May 8, 1964, at 0940 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Hot

Springs in Sinkiang.

11. On May 12, 1964, at 1105 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the civilian checkpost at the Kongka Pass and its vicinity in Tibet for reconnaissance.

12. On June 30, 1964, at 0935 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Hot Springs in Sinkiang.

II. Intrusions into China's air space over Tibet to the north of the 1959 line of actual control in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border (eleven sorties):

1. On January 8, 1964, at 1330 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Sama in Tibet.

2. On January 9, 1964, at 1204 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the civilian checkpost at Hsiao, Kata, the civilian checkpost at Tamaden and other places in Tibet for reconnaissance for over an hour.

3. On January 9, 1964, at 1337 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over Ketang in Tibet.

4. On January 9, 1964, at 1415 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the civilian checkpost at Tsayul in Tibet for reconnaissance.

5. On March 18, 1964, at 1730 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded

into China's air space over Longju, the civilian checkpost at Migyitun and its vicinity in Tibet for reconnaissance.

6. On March 31, 1964, at 1000 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the civilian checkpost at Lusha and other places in Tibet for reconnaissance.

7. On April 11, 1964, at 1150 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the civilian checkpost at Hsiao, Kata, Tsona Dzong, the civilian checkpost at Le and other places in Tibet.

8. On April 14, 1964, at 1203 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space in Tibet over the Chinese air ports at Hsiao and Le and other places for reconnaissance.

9. On May 14, 1964, at 0845 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Sama in Tibet.

10. On May 23, 1964, at 1138 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Sama in Tibet.

11. On May 24, 1964, at 1205 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over Tibet for reconnaissance, flying successively over Tsona Dzong, Tsetang, Lhasa, Tuilungteching and Damshune, turning westward to fly over Gyantse, Shigatse, Lhatse and other places, and then left in the south-west direction. Its illegal flight over Tibet lasted over four hours and twenty minutes; the scope of its intrusion into China's air space extended over 230 kilometres from south to north and over 430 kilometres from east to west.

III. Intrusions into China's air space over areas of Tibet along the China-Sikkim border and the China-Bhutan border (three sorties):

1. On April 11, 1964, at 1105 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over Phari, Chumbitan, Yatung and other places in Tibet for reconnaissance.

2. On April 14, 1964, at 1130 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the Lamo Lake, Khamba Dzong and other places in Tibet.

3. On May 24, 1964, at 1144 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the area south of Kharnba Dzong in Tibet.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs New Delhi to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India, 16 July 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and with reference to the note of the Chinese Foreign Office dated March 31 1964 has the honour to state that the Ministry's Protest Note of February 26, 1964 was based on definite and indisputable facts, and the Government of India are, accordingly, constrained to repeat the charge that Chinese personnel have set up stone cairns along the so-called 'line of actual control' in the Western Sector.

2. The Chinese Government has, in this Note in question,

showered compliments upon itself for its so-called unilateral actions which are alleged to have brought about an 'easing of the situation on the border. As is well-known to everyone the basic facts are that the People's Republic of China launched a massive attack across the Indian border, committed aggression, and China's armed forces today continue to occupy over 14,500 square miles of Indian territory in the Ladakh region of India. The Chinese armed forces have resorted to every possible means to consolidate their hold over this territory illegally occupied by them. The People's Republic of China have refused to accept all reasonable proposals for negotiations, including those made by the six Asian and African countries at the Colombo Conference. They have brought into Tibet large concentrations of military forces which are poised against the Indian border and they have continued to conduct a concerted propaganda campaign against India not only in China but also outside China in other countries, especially in Asia and Africa. These actions of the Chinese Government, far from easing the situation, have obviously led to the continuation of the tension on the Sino-Indian border.

3. The Chinese Government has in its Note under reference sought to justify their action in setting up, unilaterally, civilian posts in the demilitarized area in Ladakh. This unilateral action of the Chinese Government is a clear violation of the letter as well as the spirit of the Colombo Proposals, which clearly stated that 'pending a final solution of the border dispute, the area vacated by the Chinese military withdrawals will be a demilitarized zone to be administered by the civilian posts of both sides to be agreed upon without prejudice to the rights of the previous presence of both India and China in the area'. No amount of juggling with words can obscure this clear recommendation of the Colombo Conference. In justifying the unilateral establishment of civilian posts, the Chinese Note has gone to the extent of claiming that the 20 k.m. demilitarized zone "has always been Chinese territory

and under the effective control of the Chinese Government". This is a false and historically unjustified claim. It is well-known that the first intrusions by China into India took place in the north-eastern part of Aksai-Chin in 1957 when it illegally unlawfully built a road across Indian territory. By the end of 1959 Chinese forces had only set up a series of illegal posts in this area. In November, 1959, these Chinese posts were at Spanggur, Khurnak Fort, Kongka la and near the main Aksai-Chin Road. From 1960 onwards the Chinese forces made deep encroachments into Indian territory in this Sector. The present so-called 'line of actual control' in the Western Sector was reached by Chinese personnel only as a result of their aggression and invasion in the autumn of 1962. To claim, seriously, that what has been acquired by these aggressive military operations has always been Chinese territory and under the effective control of the Government of China, is something that India and world opinion cannot and does not accept.

4. The Chinese Note has attempted to expatiate on what it calls "the major efforts by China in response to the call of the Colombo Conference" and of "the Chinese Government's support for the peaceful efforts of the Colombo Conference nations". The facts are that ever since the Colombo Proposals were formulated by friendly Asian and African countries the major efforts of the Chinese Government have been directed towards thwarting and circumventing these proposals. While India, responding positively to the call of the Colombo Conference accepted the proposals fully and completely, China has all along talked about accepting them only "in principle". If there is one thing clear about the Chinese Government's attitude to the Colombo Proposals, it is that they have, hitherto, refused to accept them. Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, speaking in the Ceylonese Senate on the 23rd February, 1964, said that the Chinese Government

"have accepted the proposals in principle as a basis to start negotiations, but unfortunately they have not accepted in toto as India has". Everybody knows that the so-called 'acceptance in principle' by China was a euphemism for non-acceptance in practice of the Colombo Proposals. Indeed, the Chinese leaders themselves have admitted their negative response to these Proposals. Marshal Chen Yi, the Vice-Premier of the People's Republic of China, told a correspondent of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation on February 17, 1963, that the Colombo Proposals "are neither a command, nor an arbitration decision. The Chinese Government is not obliged to accept them in toto". Marshal Chen Yi also said: "The Colombo Proposals contain contradictions and fallacies in logic". Is this what China calls her positive response to the Colombo Proposals?

5. In the context of all this the Government of India must reiterate their protest recorded in their Note of February 26, 1964, on the setting up of stone cairns in the region of the so-called line of actual control and emphasise again that if it is imagined that these stone cairns that have now been erected can demonstrate, at some future date, the existence of any demarcated boundary in this region, the Government of China are sadly deceiving themselves.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India, 28 July, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to draw their attention to certain serious and objectionable activities of Chinese military personnel in Ladakh, and to firmly protest against the continuance of these military activities in this region.

2. On May 30, 1964, seven armed Chinese military personnel were observed 8 miles north of Fukche in Ladakh. This area, as China is aware, falls in the 20 k.m. demilitarized zone specified by the Colombo proposals. The Chinese military personnel returned towards Chang La, after coming all the way up to Dumchele. Similar military activity was also observed in Kongka La, Jara La, and Chang La areas. These Chinese intrusions amply prove the falsity of the statement in the Chinese Government's note dated March 31, 1964 that "Chinese frontier guards have never entered the 20 k.m. zone" after the so-called unilateral withdrawal by Chinese forces in February, 1963.

3. In their note dated the 27th May, 1963, the Government of India had lodged a protest about the intrusions by a Chinese party into Indian territory in the area south of Longju on April 26, 1963. The Government of India in their note dated the 7th June, 1963, had again protested about the intrusion at Rezang La in Ladakh by a Chinese force of 200 men with eighty or more horses. In their note dated the 5th July, 1963, the Government of India had protested about Chinese military patrols which had intruded into Sikkim State near Sebu La. These land intrusions, it must be stated, were over and above a number of violations of Indian air-space by Chinese aircraft.

4. The Chinese Government has so far sought to convey the impression that it has accepted the Colombo proposals "in principle", although it has continued to maintain reservations of substance in

regard to these proposals. This posture of the Chinese Government stands fully exposed by the above-mentioned Chinese action in the 20 k.m. demilitarized zone.

5. The Government of India hereby lodge a strong protest in regard to this continuous military activity by Chinese troops on Indian territory. This aggressive activity, the Government of the People's Republic of China should realise, not only adds to tensions in the area, but is in open contravention of the provisions of the Colombo proposals and the declarations of the Chinese Government themselves.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking to the Embassy of India in China, 1 September, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with reference to the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated July 28, 1964, hereby replies in refutation as follows:

1. In its note the Indian Government slanderously asserted that on May 30, 1964, armed Chinese personnel were observed eight miles north of Fukche and that similar military activity was also observed in Kongka La, Jara La and Chang La areas. This is a sheer fabrication. The fact is that since the withdrawal on China's own initiative in the end of February 1963, no Chinese military personnel had at any time ever been to these

areas. And the Indian Government is fully aware that all the above-mentioned places are within Chinese territory and that the twenty kilometre wide demilitarized zone was vacated through the withdrawal by China from its side of the boundary merely for the purpose of relaxing the border situation and promoting a reconciliation between China and India. It is really the height of absurdity for the Indian Government to assert stubbornly on the basis of a fabrication of its own making that Chinese troops were engaged in "military activities" in these places and lodge a so-called protest with the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government cannot but categorically reject it.

2. The Indian Government repeated its lies about "intrusions" by Chinese personnel into the area south of Longju, Rezang La and Sebu La respectively in April and June 1963. These lies were long thoroughly refuted by the Chinese Government. Take the so-called Rezang La, even the map attached to the "Letters of the Prime Minister of India" published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Indian Government in December 1962 shows it on China's side of the 1959 line of actual control. And yet the Indian Government talks about an "intrusion" of Chinese troops at "Rezang La" in 1963. Is this not outright trouble-making?

3. It must be pointed out that the Indian Government's purpose of tirelessly fabricating lies about Chinese "intrusions" is obviously to create tension so as to achieve its unrepresentable aims in its domestic and foreign policies. The Indian Government's unreasonable stand of persistently rejecting a peaceful settlement of the Sino- Indian boundary question through negotiations and its continuous provocations of sending

military personnel and aircraft to intrude into China's territory and airspace are becoming ever more obnoxious and have placed it in an extremely difficult position both at home and abroad. Thereupon, the Indian Government sought help through spreading lies, vainly attempting thereby to counterbalance the tremendous influence produced by the measures taken by China for the peaceful settlement of the boundary question, cover up India's intrusions and escape condemnation by the people of India and by other Asian and African countries and just world opinion. However, lies can in no way take the place of the facts. Such a vicious practice on the part of the Indian Government can only serve to expose itself all the more and cannot have any other result.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 5 September, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to state that on 27th August, 1964, at 1830 hrs. a Chinese military patrol consisting of three men intruded into Sikkim State, across Nathula.

2. The Chinese Government is well aware that under the Anglo Chinese Convention of 1890, between Great Britain, acting for the Government of India, and China, the boundary between

Sikkim and Tibet was clearly recognised by both sides. The Government of the People's Republic of China, in various notes exchanged between the Government of India, has also recognised this position. The latest Chinese intrusion into Sikkim is, therefore, a calculated Violation of a well-recognised boundary and a projection of the aggressive concentration of troops and military installations by China in the Chumbi Valley. In the context of the Chinese Government's negative and intransigent attitude towards the Colombo Proposals and other constructive suggestions made by India for a peaceful and honourable settlement of the border problem, these military concentrations, and intrusions across the border are, Undoubtedly, part of China's scheme for keeping up the tension along the Sino-Indian boundary.

3. The Government of India hereby lodge a strong protest against this intrusion into the Sikkim State and ask the Government of China to desist from such aggressive activities.

4. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi to the Embassy of China in India, 5 September, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in New Delhi, and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Government's note of the

7th July, 1964.

2. The Government of India have, in their previous notes, clearly established the total lack of substance in complaints made by the Chinese Government of violation of Chinese airspace by Indian aircraft. It is regrettable that the Chinese Government in their note of the 7th July, 1964, continues to repeat the same type of baseless allegations. Enquiries conducted by the Government of India have confirmed, beyond any doubt, that no Indian aircraft has ever crossed the traditional and well-recognised boundary of India.

3. As regards the allegations in the note in question of intrusions by Indian army personnel, it is well-known that in keeping with India's full acceptance of the Colombo Proposals, Indian defence personnel are under strict instructions not to cross even the Chinese so-called "line of actual control". The Chinese Government are fully aware that although the Government of India have at no stage accepted the Chinese version of the so-called "line of actual control", they have exercised supreme self-restraint and not sent any Indian troops across this line, even though the international frontier in the Western Sector of the India-China border lies far to the East of this line. In these circumstances, it is fantastic that the Chinese Government should have alleged intrusions by Indian troops across Nathu La. The Chinese Government is fully aware that the India-China boundary in this sector is not only well-defined but has been actually demarcated on the ground.

4. The Chinese note under reference states "the Indian Government has not yet given up its expansionist ambition towards China's territory ". It is ironic that China should

accuse India of expansionist ambitions, when China openly preaches violence, revolution and the overthrow of established Governments in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world, and when China continues to occupy by force, 14,500 square miles of Indian territory in the Ladakh region. The expansionist nature of the Chinese Government itself is further demonstrated by the fact that many of the places, where the so-called violations by Indian aircraft are alleged to have taken place in the Chinese note, are in acknowledged Indian territory.

5. In the light of the above facts, it is obvious that the Chinese Government has made the false allegations in its note of 7th July 1964, merely to serve the ends of its anti-Indian propaganda and to heighten the tension on the India-China border. This is confirmed by the veiled threat introduced in paragraph 5 of the note, that "the Chinese Government hopes that the Indian side will change its course, stop its intrusions so as to keep the Sino- Indian border situation relaxed". It is clear that the Chinese Government has fabricated these so-called Indian 'intrusions' solely for the purpose of stepping up more and more tension on the border.

6. In view of all this, the Government of India, categorically reject the Chinese Government's note of 7th July, 1964.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking to

the Embassy of India in China, 28 September, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state as follows:

Having made repeated checking, the Chinese Government has recently confirmed that Indian troops have crossed the Tungchula Pass (southeast of the Nathu La Pass) on the China-Sikkim boundary and intruded into China's Tibet. Up to August 1964, Indian troops had successively built up eighteen aggressive military structures (dugouts, shelters, bulwarks, etc.) on the Chinese side of the above mentioned pass or on the boundary line (eleven on the Chinese side and seven on the boundary line). The Indian troops entrenched there have engaged in incessant harassment. Besides, Indian troops have time and again intruded into China's territory across other passes on the China-Sikkim boundary. On August 12, 1964, at about 1400 hours, five Indian soldiers crossed the Tagi Pass on the China-Sikkim boundary and intruded into China's territory for reconnaissance. On August 14, 1964, at about 1500 hours, four Indian soldiers crossed the Peilungla Pass (west of the Tagi Pass) and intruded into China's territory for reconnaissance. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against the above-mentioned grave intrusions by Indian troops.

As early as September 1962, Indian troops already crossed the China-Sikkim boundary, built up dozens of aggressive military structures on the Chinese side of the Nathu La Pass and unlawfully entrenched themselves there, blocked the pass and interrupted normal traffic of border inhabitants. Disregarding the repeated protests of the Chinese Government, the Indian Government has up till now refused to withdraw its intruding troops or make a joint

investigation by the two parties into the intrusion by Indian troops. Now, the Indian Government has further sent its troops to cross the Tungchula Pass, build up military structures there and repeatedly infringed on Chinese territory at other places on the China-Sikkim border. These iron-clad facts clearly demonstrate that the Indian Government, un-reconciled to the relaxation of the Sino-Indian border situation due to the initiative measures of the Chinese side, is not only making repeated intrusions along the Sino-Indian border, but also extending its aggressive activities along the China-Sikkim border in order to create tension to meet the needs of its domestic and foreign policies.

It should be pointed out that the Indian Government and its propaganda organs have recently been pouring out abuses and groundlessly slandering China as "concentrating troops" and building bases" along the China-Sikkim border, "penetrating deep into Sikkim", etc. The purpose is evidently to provide a cover for India's own aggressive activities and make anti-China propaganda. This trick of a thief crying "Catch thief!", which is often played by the Indian Government, will deceive nobody and will only be appreciated by U.S. imperialism and its followers.

In order to safeguard China's territory and sovereignty and maintain tranquillity along the China-Sikkim border, the Chinese Government seriously urges India to put an immediate stop to its aggressive activities, dismantle all the military structures it has built up on Chinese territory and on the China-Sikkim boundary line and withdraw all its troops which are unlawfully entrenched on Chinese territory.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its

highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking to the Embassy of India in China, 29 September, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and hereby replies as follows in refutation of the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated September 5, 1964 on the alleged intrusion of Sikkim by three Chinese military patrolmen across the Nathu La Pass on August 27, 1964.

The above allegation of the Indian Government is an out-and-out fabrication. As is well known, even before the Indian Ministry of External Affairs delivered the note, a spokesman of the Indian Defence Ministry spread on September 3, 1964, the lie about Chinese intrusion into Sikkim. However, not only are the stories about the Chinese "intrusion" fabricated by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs and the Indian Defence Ministry full of loopholes, the two Indian Ministries have given the lie to each other. The Hsinhua News Agency of China was authorised to issue a statement on September 11, 1964, exposing and sternly refuting the Indian fabrication. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the Indian Government's unjustifiable and mischievous protest.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 7 October 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Foreign Office note, (64) Pu Yi Ya Tzu No. 460, dated 1st September, 1964.

2. The Government of India's note of 28th July 1964, protesting against Chinese military activities in the demilitarized area in the Ladakh region of India was based on verified facts. The Chinese note has not only blandly denied these indisputable facts, but has made the untenable assertion that all the places intruded into by the Chinese forces are in the territory of China. It is well-known that not only the 20 k.m. demilitarized zone but the entire area of 14,500 square miles in Ladakh, now in the unlawful occupation of China, was seized by the Chinese, at first, by clandestine intrusions and, later by large-scale aggression. It was because they had come into this area, illegally and in violation of international law that the Chinese troops ultimately withdrew 20 k.m. behind their advance positions in Indian territory. It is perfectly well-known that it was due to this very reason that the six Asian-African countries who met at the Colombo Conference asked the Chinese Government to withdraw its troops 20 k.m. behind the so-called 'line of actual control' in the Western Sector. In the face of these facts it is futile for the Government of China to contend that what are the fruits of its aggression on Indian soil have always been "Chinese territory". The Government of India vehemently reject this expansionist logic of the Chinese Government, and once again register a strong

protest against the military activities of China in the demilitarized area in Ladakh.

3. The Government of India in its note of 28th July had reiterated its protest against the various intrusions made by Chinese troops into places like Longju, Rezangla, Sebula, as well as against the violations of Indian air-space by Chinese aircraft. The Chinese note has tried to dismiss these legitimate protests by taking refuge in undiplomatic language and using the simple word "lies". This is, of course, no answer at all in official correspondence, by any international standards. In addition to the intrusions and violations mentioned above, Chinese troops have recently, on August 27, intruded into Sikkim, across the well-recognised and demarcated border between China and Sikkim and, as the Chinese Government is aware, the Government of India lodged a strong protest with the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi about this latest violation in their note dated 5th September, 1964.

4. In its attempt to confuse matters and to cover up its military intrusions, the Chinese note has referred to a rough sketch map in an Indian booklet "Chinese Aggression in War and Peace—Letters of the Prime Minister of India"—, and claimed that Rezangla is on the Chinese side of the so-called 'line of actual control'. The inscription below this map in the booklet makes it clear that what it shows is the "fictitious line now being claimed by Chinese as the line of actual control of November 1959". This fictitious line of actual control is actually the line of aggression reached by the Chinese forces in their massive invasion of India during October-November, 1962. As the Government of India had pointed out in earlier notes, there had been no Chinese presence of any kind on the Indian side of the traditional,

customary boundary, south of Rezangla and India had, in fact, maintained a defence post at Rezangla, until November, 1962, when it fell under China's massive attacks. To say, in these circumstances, that Rezangla is on the Chinese side of the so-called 'line of actual control' of November, 1959, is a fantastic and aggressive claim.

5. In para 3 of the Chinese note it has been alleged that India has persistently rejected a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question and carried out provocative intrusions into Chinese territory. This is a complete travesty of facts. It is the Government of China who has turned its back on peaceful negotiations and is indulging in military pressure on India and is guilty of intrusions into Indian territory in the pursuit of its long-term strategy of conflict with India. Nothing makes this basic policy of the Chinese Government clearer than its attitude towards the Colombo Proposals. India has accepted these Proposals formulated by disinterested Afro-Asian countries, but China has, so far, resolutely refused to accept them. If China has any desire for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border question, it should accept the Colombo Proposals and enter into negotiations with India. That alone will meet the aspirations of the peoples of India and China, and enable the Chinese Government to talk with a clear conscience about Sino- Indian friendship and Afro-Asian solidarity.

6. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi to the Embassy of China in India, 6 November, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Foreign Office note dated September 28, 1964.

2. The Ministry of External Affairs, in a statement issued by its official spokesman on October 5, had categorically denied the wild allegations of so-called Indian intrusions into Tibet contained in the Chinese note under reply. The boundary between Sikkim and Tibet is demarcated and well recognized, and Indian defence forces have at no time crossed this boundary at any point. The Chinese allegations are nothing but fabrications, pure and simple, designed to meet the ends of China's propaganda and to keep up the tension on the Sino-Indian border.

3. The Chinese note has mentioned Tungchula, Peilungla, and Tagi Pass as points at which Indian defence forces are alleged to have crossed the international boundary. These names do not correspond to the names of any of the passes that the Government of India are aware of on this well-known Sikkim-Tibet border. The Chinese note has not given the location and the co-ordinates of these "passes". The rough sketch map of the so-called Indian intrusions which was published in the 'Peking Review' of 9th October, along with the text of the Chinese note, also did not give the co-ordinates of these passes. It is obvious that this vague sketch map in the 'Peking Review' is a sheer propaganda device. The charge in the Chinese note that Indian troops have built military structures, 11 on the Chinese side and 7 on the boundary, at the so-called Tungchula Pass is a totally baseless fabrication.

4. The Government of China, in its note in question, has chosen to resurrect the old and unfounded charge that India has, as early as 1962, built dozens of military structures on the Chinese side of Nathula and has up to now refused to withdraw its "intruding troops" or make joint investigations. The Government of India had effectively and finally answered these false charges in their note dated 16th January, 29th March, 15th June and 19th September, 1963, and had pointed out that there was no case whatever for a joint investigation. It is interesting that the Chinese note has alleged that India had crossed the China-Sikkim boundary in September, 1962, and that the "Indian Government has uptill now refused to withdraw its intruding troops". The Government of China knows that it was after September, 1962, that the Chinese forces launched their massive invasion of India in the name of self-defence and penetrated deep into Indian territory. In these circumstances, to say that Indian troops had intruded into Tibet in September, 1962, and continued to remain there uptill now (and also maintained military structures) is a story that nobody can believe.

5. The note of the Chinese Government ends with a peremptory demand for the dismantling of military structures and the with-drawal of troops from Chinese territory "in order to safeguard China's territory and maintain tranquillity along the Chinese-Sikkim border". As there are absolutely no Indian, military structures or troops in any part of Chinese territory, the question of dismantling structures or withdrawing troops does not at all arise. The Government of India would like to recall to the Chinese Government that it was under the pretext of safeguarding Chinese territory and maintaining tranquillity along the border that the Chinese armed forces launched their massive attacks

across the Indian border in the autumn of 1962. If the Chinese Government is genuinely interested in a peaceful settlement of the border question, it should put a stop to making these unnecessary and meaningless demands and accept, instead, the Colombo Proposals, unreservedly, so that negotiations may take place between the two countries as the Government of India has so often stated.

6. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi to the Embassy of China in India, 6 November, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Foreign Office note dated September 29, 1964.

2. The Government of India, in its note of September 5, 1964, had lodged a strong protest with the Chinese Embassy against the intrusion into Sikkim State by a Chinese patrol party of three military personnel. This protest was based on observed and verified facts. The Chinese note and the Hsinhua statement of 11th September referred to therein have tried, in vain, to deny these facts and to draw what looks like a smokescreen over the whole incident of intrusion by alleging contradictions between the protest note of the Ministry of External Affairs and the statement made by the spokesman of the Ministry of Defence. There is

absolutely no contradiction in the Government of India's stand, which is that a Chinese patrol consisting of three men intruded into the Sikkim State from Tibet on August 27, 1964. The Government of India once again strongly protest against this violation by Chinese troops of Sikkim territory.

3. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Embassy of India in China, 14 November, 1964.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and hereby makes the following refutation of the notes of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government dated July 16 and October 7, 1964.

The rumours fabricated by the Indian Government that the Chinese personnel had set up stone cairns along the line of actual control between the two countries in the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary and that Chinese military personnel had entered the twenty-kilometre zone on the Chinese side of the line of actual control have been thoroughly refuted in detail by the Chinese Government in its notes of March 31 and September 1, 1964. In the face of the established facts cited by the Chinese Government, the Indian Government found itself devoid of all

arguments and unable to give any answer. However, it evaded the facts by rambling haphazard, continued to level all sorts of slanders on China and persisted in its unreasonable protests. This sort of fabrication and unreasonable attitude is indeed rarely seen. The Chinese Government cannot but express regret at that.

The Chinese Government wishes to point out once again that the Chinese side has never set up any stone cairns to mark the line of actual control between the two countries on the Sino-Indian border and it holds that there is no need to do that at all. As for the location and origin of the line of actual control, the Chinese Government has long since made them known to the world both by documents and by maps. The line of actual control has long existed and China has always exercised effective jurisdiction over the areas up to the line of actual control on its own side. All this is a conclusive historical fact. It will be futile for the Indian Government to deny the objective facts no matter how many myths it may create in order to deceive the public.

In its note the Indian Government once again attempted to deny the existence of some of the posts set up by China prior to November 7, 1959 within the twenty-kilometre zone on the Chinese side of the line of actual control in the western sector, and even insolently claimed that large tracts of territory which have always belonged to China were Indian. But this is of no avail. The Chinese Government has fully elucidated the facts and furnished evidences in this regard in numerous documents and will pay no more heed here to India's nonsensical haggling.

More and more people have now become aware of the truth about the Sino-Indian boundary question, the attitudes of China and India towards the Colombo Proposals and direct Sino-Indian

negotiations, etc. Of late, in its Statement of October 9, 1964, the Chinese Government made another clear exposition on that and there is no need to repeat it here. The Chinese Government wishes to tell the Indian Government in all seriousness that whatever distortions or slanders the Indian Government may resort to, it will never succeed in its attempt to take advantage of the Colombo Proposals and China's sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question to achieve its aim of seizing China's territory.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi to the Embassy of China in India, 31 December, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to state as follows:

On December 25 at 1710 hours two armed Chinese personnel violated the border of Sikkim and intruded 800 yards into Sikkim about one and a half miles East South-East of Nathu La. Again at 1720 hours on the same day a larger group of fifteen Chinese military personnel were seen about 800 yards inside the border in the same area. The Chinese intruders took up firing position on observing an Indian patrol. On December 26 at 1730 hours another group of three armed Chinese intruders were seen approximately 50 yards on the Sikkim side of the border about two miles East South-East of Nathu La. Seeing an Indian patrol they

withdrew into Tibet and after crossing the border fired one green verrey light into the sky.

The Government of India lodge a vehement protest against these provocative intrusions by Chinese troops into Sikkim territory. The boundary between Sikkim and Tibet is well-defined and well-recognised. The violations of this border cannot, therefore, be anything but calculated aggressive moves by China. In the context of the large concentration of Chinese troops in the Chumbi Valley and the resolute refusal of China to accept the Colombo Proposals, these frequent intrusions into Sikkim cannot be ignored by the Government of India. The Government of India hereby register their strong protest and ask the Chinese Government to desist from violations of this recognised international border.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 3 January, 1965

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state the following: -

After careful checking, the Chinese authorities concerned have recently confirmed that Indian troops have again crossed the China-Sikkim boundary and perpetrated the following fresh intrusions.

1. Up to November 1964, Indian troops had built 27 military structures (dug-outs, bulwarks, etc.) on the Chinese side of the Jelep La (nearly five kilometres southeast of the Natu La) or on the boundary line. They also erected breast works and dug communication trenches and placed guards there.

2. Up to November 1964, Indian troops had built four military structures on the boundary line at the Cho La (about five kilometres northwest of the Natu La).

3. On November 27, 1964, a group of Indian troops crossed Latuo La (about 16 kilometres southeast of Choding Gompa of Khamba County) on the China-Sikkim boundary, intruded into Chinese territory for reconnaissance and harassment and seized 59 yaks which belonged to the Chinese herdsman Akyid and others.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this series of grave intrusions by the Indian troops.

It must be pointed out that long before their intrusions listed above the Indian troops had built up a mass of aggressive military structures at the Natu La and the Tungchula on the China-Sikkim boundary and unlawfully entrenched themselves there, and have up to now refused to withdraw therefrom in spite of the repeated serious protests from China. Nor was it the first time that Indian troops intruded into Chinese territory to seize live-stock of Chinese herdsmen (reference Chinese Government's note of September 19, 1963). In bluntly disregarding China's sovereignty and constantly expanding the scope of intrusion, India is obviously attempting to create tension and disturb the tranquility along the

China-Sikkim border.

In its note of November 6, 1964, the Indian Government made a vain attempt to deny its aggressive activities at the Tungchula, the Tagi La and the Poilungla on the China-Sikkim boundary. To seek a pretext, India tried to make it appear that it was not aware of the location of the three passes. In fact the Chinese side has long made public the related sketch map, and India also admitted in its note that it had seen this map. This map clearly shows the location of these three passes. Take for instance the Tungchula. It is distinctly shown on the map as just located southeast of the Natu La. Is it conceivable that the Indian Government is not even aware of the location of the Natu La. Take the Tagi La for another instance. Five notes were exchanged between China and India on the incident of Indian troops crossing that Pass to kidnap Chinese shepherds and seize their sheep in August 1963. In that exchange of notes the Indian side did not say that it was unaware of the location of the Tagi La, and what is more it admitted the fact that Chinese shepherds had been "apprehended" by it. How is it that the Indian side now suddenly pretends ignorance about the location of the Tagi La. As a matter of fact, the Indian Government itself is well aware of where Indian troops have carried out aggressive activities. India's repeated refusal to conduct joint investigation of the Indian troops' intrusion at the Natu La is a best proof of its guilty conscience.

In order to safeguard China's territorial sovereignty and maintain the tranquillity along the China-Sikkim border, the Chinese Government once again urges the Indian side to dismantle immediately all its military structures built on Chinese territory or on the China- Sikkim boundary line, withdraw all its troops unlawfully entrenched there, return the livestock of Chinese

herdsmen seized by the Indian troops and stop all its aggressive activities.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 21 January, 1965

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in New Delhi, and has the honour to state as follows: -

On January 19 at 0400 hours 30 armed Chinese soldiers in uniform carrying a wireless set and accompanied by two civilians were noticed approximately 2½ miles inside Sikkim south of Kongrala (Longitude: 88°- 37'- 52", Latitude: 28°- 03'- 48"). The Chinese intruders withdrew into Tibetan territory on being detected by an Indian patrol party in the area.

The Government of India lodge a strong protest against this latest intrusion by Chinese troops into Sikkim. Having built up large concentrations of armed forces and a net-work of military installations in Tibet on the other side of Sikkim, China has been, in recent months, slowly extending its aggressive activities well across the border of Sikkim. On August 27, 1964 a Chinese military patrol intruded into Sikkim across NATHULA again, on December 25 and 26, 1964 Chinese patrol parties violated the Sikkim border east south-east of Nathula, and one of these parties even took up

firing position on observing an Indian patrol. In the latest intrusion, which took place on January 19, 1965, the Chinese troops came nearly 2 ½ miles inside Sikkim territory south of Kongrala. The boundary between Sikkim and Tibet is well-defined and clearly recognized, and there could be no misunderstanding at all as to where the border lies in this sector. Therefore, the Government of India is compelled to look upon these frequent intrusions as nothing but projections of China's aggressive moves and designs against India. The Government of India call upon the Chinese Government to refrain from such aggressive and provocative activities along the Tibet-Sikkim boundary.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 2 February, 1965

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in New Delhi and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Government note of January 3, 1965.

The Chinese note has alleged that up to November 1964, Indian troops had built 27 military structures on the Chinese side of JELEP LA and along the boundary line at CHO LA on the SIKKIM-TIBET border. The Government of India have made careful enquiries into this matter and have found that these allegations are complete false and unfounded. The Government of India are absolutely certain that their troops and defence works are

located, beyond any possibility of doubt, on the SIKKIM side of the border. They have not stationed any troops or built any military structures whatsoever on the TIBETAN side of the border, nor have Indian troops crossed the border at any point and seized yaks from Chinese herdsmen as alleged in the Chinese note. The Government of India, therefore, categorically reject the protest lodged by the Chinese Government as entirely baseless and unwarranted.

In its note under reply, the Chinese Government has once again raked up the old and worn-out allegation that Indian troops had built military structures on the TIBETAN side of NATHU LA and "TUNGCHU LA" and committed intrusion across passes, which it calls "TAGI LA" and PEILUNG LA". All these charges have been thoroughly refuted by the Government of India in their note of November 6, 1964. It is regrettable that the Chinese Government is once again harping upon these allegations, obviously for the purpose of creating trouble and tension on the border. The Chinese note has criticised the Government of India's statement that they are not aware of the so-called 'TUNGCHU LA', 'PEILUNG LA' and 'TAGI LA', and has asserted that the location of these passes is well-known. At the same time, the Chinese note has refused to throw any light on the location of these passes and to give the exact co-ordinates of these places. It was already pointed out in the Government of India's note of November 6, 1964 that the map published in the PEKING REVIEW" of October 9, 1964 was a vague Sketch-map and little more than a propaganda document, which does not give any information about the co-ordinates of these passes. As regards 'TAGI LA', while it is true that several Chinese notes have mentioned this name, the Government of India had, in their note of September 10, 1962 told the Government of China that the Indian Government "are not

aware of any places called TZELUNGLA and TAGILA". The assertion in the Chinese Note that the Indian side had admitted that Chinese shepherds were 'apprehended' by it at Tagila is a complete distortion of facts. The Chinese note of 19th September, 1963, had alleged that on the morning of August 5, 1963, a group of Indian soldiers crossed the Sino-Sikkim boundary and kidnapped two Tibetan shepherds and seized their sheep. India in its note of November 12, 1963, denied this allegation, and said that two Tibetans who had illegally crossed the border through Banchola into Sikkim were apprehended on 4th August, 1963. To conclude from this that the Government of India admitted that it knew the location of Tagila is a deliberate and unwarranted distortion. The Government of India are surprised that the Chinese Government should continue to put forward such spurious and confusing arguments and keep referring to vague sketch maps when they make serious allegations of border crossings, instead of giving the correct co-ordinates of the "passes" in question where incidents are alleged to have taken place.

The Government of India are a little puzzled by the increasing number of false and reckless charges which are being made by the Government of China in regard to the Sikkim-Tibet border. It is significant that since January, 1963 the Chinese have gradually enlarged the extent of their allegations and fabrications concerning this border. First it was NATHU LA, then "TUNGCHU LA", "TAGI LA" and "PEILUNG LA" and now JELEP LA and CHO LA. These baseless charges are accompanied by unreasonable demands for withdrawal of troops and dismantling of Indian military structures in Tibetan territory which do not exist at all, and by a propaganda demand for joint investigations. The Chinese note also contains veiled threats about safeguarding "China's territorial sovereignty" and maintaining "the tranquility of the border". This attitude of the Chinese Government is all the more serious in view of the

considerable concentration of Chinese troops and the construction by them of a network of military installations in the CHUMBI VALLEY, just across the Sikkim border. There have also been recently a number of violations of this border by Chinese troops. The Government of India had vehemently protested against these intrusions to the Chinese Government, in their notes of September 5, November 6, December 31, 1964, and January 21, 1965. It is obvious that the false allegations of Indian intrusions and the building up of military structures by India across the Tibetan border are intended as a cover for the aggressive activities of the Chinese troops along the Sikkim-Tibet border. These allegations are reminiscent of the charges which the Chinese Government levelled against India in the autumn of 1962 before launching their massive attacks across the border. The Government of India hope that similar charges are not now being repeated, again and again, in order to build up tension and to provide a pretext for more serious incidents.

The boundary between Sikkim and Tibet is well-defined and well recognised. The Chinese Government is fully aware and has, indeed, admitted that this boundary had been formally delimited, long ago, and that there could be no misunderstanding as to its exact location on the ground. As far as Indian troops and personnel are concerned, they have never transgressed this boundary, at any time. On the contrary, it is Chinese troops who have repeatedly violated the boundary of Sikkim. The Government of India would urge the Chinese Government to abandon their policy of tension and conflict on the Sino-Indian border. India has declared that she is willing to enter into talks with China on the basis of the Colombo Proposals. It is now for China to demonstrate its willingness for a negotiated settlement by accepting the Colombo Proposals.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this

opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 12 February 1965

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Foreign Office note of November 14, 1964.

2. The Chinese note under reply has not only attempted to deny the incontrovertible fact that Chinese troops have set up stone cairns along 'the line of actual control' in the Western sector in Ladakh, but has also maintained that there is "no need to do that at all" as this, so-called line of 'actual control' has "long existed" and is well- known. The truth of the matter is that 'the line of actual control' was created as a result of Chinese aggression and was the farthest line of advance reached by the Chinese forces during their massive military operations in Ladakh in the autumn of 1962. The above fact was reflected in the Colombo Proposals, which asked the Chinese Government to withdraw its forces 20 kilometres from the 'line of actual control' while asking the Indian Government "to keep their existing military position" in the Western Sector. It was also reflected in the recommendation of the Colombo Conference that "pending a final solution of the border dispute, the area vacated by the Chinese military withdrawals will be a demilitarized zone to be administered by the civilian posts of both sides to be agreed upon without prejudice to the rights of the previous presence of both India and China in this area". It is, therefore, preposterous for

the Chinese Government to argue that 'the line of actual control' and the Chinese posts in the demilitarized area had "long existed" and that China has always exercised effective jurisdiction up to this line. The entire area of 14,500 square miles of territory in Ladakh, stretching up to the so-called 'line of actual control', was seized by force by China and is, at present, illegally in her occupation. To argue that this illegal occupation "is a conclusive historical fact" is to fabricate history in a vain attempt to sanctify aggression.

3. The Chinese note has referred to the Chinese Government's statement of October 9, 1964, and claimed that it contained "a clear exposition" of the attitudes of India and China to the Colombo Proposals. The Government of India cannot but point out that this statement once again proves, if any proof was still necessary, China's uncompromising refusal to accept the Colombo Proposals and to enter into talks with India on the border question. Furthermore, this statement, which was issued, significantly, at the time of the Cairo Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations, went to the extent of admonishing the Colombo Powers for trying to enter into consultations amongst themselves on the border question. "Such consultations", the statement said, "will place more obstacles in their way, making it more difficult for the six Colombo Conference Nations to conduct mediation in the future". It is clear that the purpose of issuing this warning was to dissuade the Colombo Powers from undertaking any mediatory efforts to bring India and China to the Conference table. This October 9 statement also contained a categorical rejection of the suggestion that the two countries should enter into discussions on the basis of there being no posts of either side in the de-militarized zone in the Western Sector. As has been pointed out earlier in this note, the Colombo Proposals

has unambiguously laid down that the demilitarized area should be administered by civilian posts of both India and China. China has not only refused to accept this provision, but has unilaterally set up her own posts in the demilitarized area, in defiance of the Colombo Proposals. It is well-known that the suggestion that there should be no posts of either side in this area was made by an impartial third party in order to overcome one of the major reservations the Chinese Government had raised in regard to the Colombo Proposals. By reacting positively to this suggestion, India made a definite gesture of conciliation. To say that it was "an Indian precondition to negotiations" is a deliberate distortion of facts. Nobody, who studies the facts, objectively, will be deceived by this kind of Chinese propaganda.

4. The Chinese note ends by asserting that India "will never succeed in its attempt to take advantage of the Colombo Proposals". Were the Colombo Proposals made by the friendly Asian-African countries to be accepted, or were they made only to be rejected by either or both sides to the conflict? All that the Government of India can say on this is that if only China had taken 'advantage' of the Colombo Proposals by accepting the Proposals, the present unfortunate deadlock in Sino-Indian relations would not have continued and negotiations would have taken place for a peaceful settlement of the border question. It is up to the Chinese Government to accept the Colombo Proposals, even today, and to sit down for talks with India if China sincerely desire to solve the conflict through peaceful methods.

5. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 23 January, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state as follows:

1. Disregarding the repeated protests made by the Chinese Government, the Indian Government has kept on dispatching its aircraft to intrude into China's airspace. During the period of October-December 1963, the total number of verified intrusions by Indian aircraft reached forty-two sorties (See appendix for details).

These Indian aircraft time and again crossed the 1959 line of actual control between the two sides on the Sino-Indian border and unscrupulously circled over China's frontier areas for reconnaissance. One of them even flew over Shigatse, Lhasa, Damshune and Nagchuka across vast areas in the hinterland of Tibet for reconnaissance, penetrating a depth of more than 400 kilometres north of the line of actual control and making harassment for more than two hours. The Chinese Government noted the fact that India had stopped up its air intrusions into China at a time when the Indian Government was conducting air exercises jointly with the United States and Britain and strengthening its military collusion with them. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against the above-mentioned serious intrusions by the Indian aircraft, and urges the Indian side to put an immediate end to all its intrusions into China's airspace.

2. In its notes of October 19 and 23, 1963, the Indian Government, as usual, denied the established facts about Indian air intrusions into China's airspace in the third quarter and on October 10, 1963 as cited by the Chinese Government. Moreover, in its note of October 23, the Indian Government absurdly claimed that one of the Chinese areas into which Indian aircraft intruded lies in Indian territory. This can only serve to further reveal the unreasonable position of the Indian side.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

APPENDIX

Facts of Indian Air Intrusions into China's Airspace in October, November and December, 1963

I. Intrusions into China's airspace over areas of the Sinkiang and Tibet regions on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border (eighteen sorties):

1. On October 11, 1963, at 1354 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Khurank Fort and Nyagzu in Tibet.

2. On October 5, 1963, at 1033 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of the civilian checkposts at Spanggur in Tibet.

3. On October 15, 1963, at 1035 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of Sirijap in Tibet.

4. On October 15, 1963, at 1120 hours, two Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the civilian checkpost at Spanggur in Tibet.

5. On October 20, 1963, at about 1400 hours, two Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of the civilian check- post at Spanggur in Tibet.

6. On October 30, 1963, at 1250 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Tashigong and Gargunsa in Tibet and circled over there for reconnaissance, penetrating a depth of more than 70 kilometres inside China.

7. On November 11, 1963, at 1220 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of the Spanggur Lake in Tibet.

8. On November 11, 1963, at 1248 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of the Spanggur Lake in Tibet.

9. On November 20, 1963, at 1125 hours, two Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of the Spanggur Lake in Tibet and circled over there for reconnaissance.

10. On November 29, 1963, at 0950 hours, two Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Sirijap in Tibet.

11. On December 1, 1963, at 1317 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Nyagzu in Tibet.

12. On December, 1, 1963, at 1330 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Sirijap in Tibet.

13. On December 23, 1963, at 0952 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Howeitan in Sinkiang.

14. On December 30, 1963, at 1120 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Howeitan in Sinkiang.

II. Intrusions into China's airspace over areas of the Tibet region on the middle sector of the Sino-Indian border (three sorties):

1. On October 12, 1963 at 1345 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Gyanima in Tibet.

2. On October 12, 1963, at 1630 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Gyanima in Tibet.

3. On October 12, 1963, at 1653 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Gyanima in Tibet.

III. Intrusions into China's airspace over areas of the Tibet region to the north of the 1959 line of actual control on the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border (nineteen sorties):

1. On October 9, 1963, at 1308 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of the civilian checkpoint at Sama in Tibet.

2. On October 10, 1963, at about 1300 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Shigatse, Tibet, from the south- west, then went northward along a highway and flew over Wuyu, Damshune, the vicinity of the Toke Lake, and Nagchuka (located over 200 kilometres north of Lhasa). Then it turned southward and flew over Lhasa, Gyantse, and Tuichiung and left China in a south- west direction. This aircraft flew illegally for more than two hours over Chinese territory, covering a distance of over 1700 kilometres and penetrating a depth of over 400 kilometres north of the line of actual control.

3. On October 11, 1963, at 1540 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of the civilian checkpost at Sama in Tibet.

4. On October 23, 1963, at 1257 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the civilian checkpost at Tsayul, Chikung, Polo and other places in Tibet, circling repeatedly over there for reconnaissance and penetrating a depth of more than 70 kilometres north of the line of actual control.

5. On October 30, 1963, at 1000 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Kata, the vicinity of Hsuekke, Minla, Thetang, Langkatzu, Khamba Dzong and other places in Tibet for reconnaissance. Its unlawful flight over Chinese territory lasted about two hours, penetrating a depth of over 160 kilometres north of the line of actual control.

6. On November 11, 1963, at 1149 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Chihpa in Tibet.

7. On November 1, 1963, at 1153 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Chikung, the civilian checkpoint at Tsayul and other places in Tibet.

8. On November 18, 1963, at 1314 hours, and Indian aircraft intruded into China's *airspace* over the civilian checkpoints at Lusha, Nanyi and Tamaden and other places in Tibet.

9. On November 1, 1963, at 1210 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Tsona Dzong, Kata and other places in Tibet.

10. On November 21, 1963, at 1230 hours an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over **Kata, Lungtzu and** other places in Tibet.

11. On November 22, 1963, at 1305 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Linchih, Nishi and other places in Tibet, repeatedly Circling over there for reconnaissance and penetrating a depth of more than 50 kilometres north of the line of actual control.

12. On December 18, 1963, at 1455 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Tiyu and other places in Tibet and circled over there for reconnaissance.

13. On December 19, 1963, at 1034 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Ketang in Tibet.

14. On December 20, 1963, at 1300 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the civilian checkpoints at Tamaden and Laiguo Bridge and other places in Tibet for

reconnaissance.

15. On December 20, 1963, at 1342 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the vicinity of Sananchulin in Tibet.

16. On December 21, 1963, at 1100 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Sananchulin in Tibet.

17. On December 21, 1963, at 1342 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the civilian checkpost at Budzong and other places in Tibet.

18. On December 28, 1963, at 1248 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over the civilian checkpost at Titung and other places in Tibet.

19. On December 31, 1963, at 1355 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Hsuehka in Tibet.

IV. Intrusions into China's airspace over areas in the Tibet region bordering on Sikkim and Bhutan (two sorties):

1. On October 10, 1963, at about 1530 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace over Yatung, Phari, Yakeshachu, the Numuchang Lake and other places in Tibet.

2. On October 11, 1963, at 0915 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace via Natu La, which lies on the Sino-Sikkim boundary.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 12 February, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to state as follows:

2. On the 18th January, 1964, a Chinese jet aircraft intruded into Indian airspace in the Ladakh area. It flew over Leh at 1109 hours and then onwards to a point 45 nautical miles south of Leh, at a height of about 35,000 feet. Thereafter the aircraft turned east and disappeared. The Chinese jet aircraft had thereby penetrated over 120 kilometres into Indian territory, even measured from the nearest point of the India-China boundary.

3. This renewed violation of Indian airspace by Chinese aircraft reveals the continued aggressive intention of the Chinese Government and the threat posed to India's security and territorial integrity. The Government of India lodge a strong protest against this latest violation of Indian air space by a Chinese aircraft and demand that the Chinese Government put a stop to such intrusions forthwith.

4. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking to the Embassy of India in China, 29 February, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state as follows:

In its note of February 12, 1964, the Indian Government slanderously charged that a Chinese airplane intruded into the airspace of Leh and other places on January 18, 1964. But the Indian Government cannot turn lies into facts. The Chinese Government clearly pointed out long ago and the Indian Government is well aware that Chinese aircraft never go beyond China's territorial air. In fact, Chinese aircraft have never even come over China's frontier areas by the line of actual control on the Sino-Indian border, how is it possible for them to commit "violation of Indian airspace"? The Chinese Government categorically rejects the unwarranted protest of the Indian Government.

In its notes of August 23 and 26, 1963, the Indian Government rejected the slander that Chinese aircraft had violated Indian airspace several times in the same year. The Chinese Government has repeatedly refuted such slanders, and deems it unnecessary to pay further attention to them.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs New Delhi to the Embassy of China in India, 11 March, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, and with reference to the Chinese Foreign Office Note, dated January 23, 1964, has

the honour to state as follows:

2. In keeping with the Government of India's acceptance of the Colombo proposals in toto and without reservations, the Government of India have issued strict instructions to Indian aircraft not to cross what the Chinese term the "line of actual control" in the western Sector, as also the International border in the Middle and Eastern Sectors of the India-China border. However, after receipt of the Chinese Government's Note dated January 23, 1964, alleging violations by Indian aircraft of "China's air space", detailed investigations have been carried out and the Government of India hereby categorically confirm that no Indian aircraft, have been involved in any such flights. The Chinese allegations in their note under reference are false and baseless.

3. In the appendix to the Note under reply, the Chinese Government have listed 14 alleged "intrusions" by Indian aircraft in the Western Sector of the India-China border. At least 11 of the places mentioned refer to areas which are indisputably within Indian Territory, although presently under the illegal occupation of China. As the Government of India have repeatedly pointed out, approximately 14,500 square miles of Indian territory in the Western Sector of the India-China border have been forcibly seized, progressively, by Chinese forces ever since 1957. These incursions culminated in the massive invasion launched by Chinese forces in October/November, 1962, across India's northern frontiers. Since the Government of India have accepted the Colombo proposals, as the first step towards the possible peaceful solution of the India- China border differences, consistent with this, Indian aircraft have, at no time, crossed the so-called Chinese "line of actual control". This is, of course, purely a self-imposed restraint in keeping with the Colombo

proposals, and can, under no circumstances be construed to imply that China has acquired any right over the area presently under the illegal occupation of Chinese forces. The allegations that Indian aircraft have flown across the international border to areas like Tashigong and Gargunsa in Tibet, are factually equally false and baseless. So are the allegations that Indian aircraft have flown across the international border in the Middle and Eastern Sectors of the India-China border. It is clear that the Chinese Government continue to make these false allegations solely for the purpose of propaganda.

4. In view of the facts stated above, the Government of India reject the Chinese protest note, dated January 23, 1964.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of the opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 26 March, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, and with reference to the Chinese Foreign Office's Note, dated February 29, 1964, has the honour to state as follows:

The Note of the Government of India, dated February 12, 1964, had clearly pointed out the fact that a Chinese aircraft had intruded into airspace near Leh in Ladakh. This fact cannot be denied by calling it a 'slander' or merely asserting that the "Chinese aircraft never go beyond China's territorial air". The explanation

given by the Chinese Government is, therefore, rejected.

The Government of India's notes dated August 23, 1963 and August 26, 1963, had merely reaffirmed the earlier instances of violation of Indian airspace by Chinese aircraft in regard to which violations protests had been lodged with the Chinese Government. The fact of these violations cannot be altered by mere denials on the part of the Chinese Government.

The Ministry of External Affairs takes this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Embassy of India in China on the 4 June, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state as follows:

At noon time on May 24, 1964, an Indian aircraft intruded into China's airspace and wantonly carried out reconnaissance and harassment for a long time over a number of important cities and towns in Tibet.

The Indian aircraft intruded into the airspace over Tibet around 1205 hours on May 24, flew successively over Tsona, Tsetang, Lhasa, Tuilungtehching, and Damshune, turned westwards to overfly Gyantse, Shigatse, Lhatse and other places and then left

in the southwest direction. Its illegal flight over Tibet lasted over four hours and twenty minutes; and the scope of its intrusion exceeded 230 kilometres from south to north and 430 kilometres from east to west.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this serious incident in which an Indian aircraft intruded into the airspace of Tibet, China, for prolonged reconnaissance and harassment over vast areas in such an unbridled way.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry, of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 27 July, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state as follows:

On July 19, 1964, at 1315 hours, an Indian aircraft intruded into the airspace over the Demchok area in Tibet, China in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. It then flew over Tashigong, Gargunsa, Toling, Poling and other places, circling over Chinese territory for reconnaissance for nearly an hour before it flew back to India through the vicinity of the Mana Pass in the middle sector of the Sino-Indian border at 1408 hours. It penetrated Chinese airspace as deep as about 100 kilometres. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a serious protest with the

Indian Government against such unscrupulous intrusion of the Indian aircraft.

It must be pointed out that as late as July 7, 1964 the Chinese Government lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government against India's repeated intrusions into Chinese territory and airspace occurring in the first half of 1964. However, only twelve days thereafter, the Indian Government brazenly sent another aircraft deep into China's airspace for reconnaissance and harassment. This once again shows that the Indian Government is bent on creating tension and unwilling to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry, of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India, 28 July, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Government's note dated June 4, 1964, alleging that an Indian aircraft had "carried out reconnaissance and harassment for a long time over a number of important cities and towns in Tibet."

2. This allegation is not only completely baseless but is, obviously, yet another attempt by the Chinese Government to

serve the ends of their anti-Indian propaganda. The fictitious and propagandist nature of the charge is demonstrated by the fact that these false allegations were first publicised in a New China News Agency report of the 26th May, 1964, and the same have been incorporated in a formal note of the Chinese Government more than a week later.

3. The Chinese note under reference dated June 4, 1964, has made the fantastic allegation that the flight of Indian aircraft "over Tibet lasted over four hours and twenty minutes and the scope of its intrusion exceeded 230 kilometres from south to north and 430 kilometres from east to west". This Chinese charge appears particularly absurd in the context of the Chinese Government's statement in their note of October 17, 1962, that "the Chinese side, upon discovering any intruding alien aircraft in China's airspace, will immediately force them to land or shoot them down". It is patent that the Chinese Government has concocted these false allegations for propaganda purposes only, in order to step up tension on the Sino-Indian border.

4. As has stated repeatedly in earlier notes of the Government of India, all Indian aircraft have strict instructions to keep within the international frontiers of India and these instructions are being scrupulously observed. There is, therefore, no question of any Indian aircraft having at any time intruded into Chinese airspace. The Government of India accordingly firmly reject the Chinese protest in their note of June 4.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry, of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 9 September, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs note (64) Pu Yi Ya Tzu No. 401, dated July 27, 1964:

The note of the Chinese Government, alleging the flight of an Indian aircraft over the air-space over places in the Tibet region of China, like Tashigong, Gargunsa, Toling, Poling, for so-called reconnaissance, lasting for nearly an hour, is utterly baseless. It may be pointed out that though no Indian aircraft has flown over Demchok in Ladakh, as stated in the note under reply, this area is unmistakably in Indian territory, a fact already made clear in the earlier notes of the Government of India.

The allegations of violations of Chinese airspace by Indian air-craft, contained in the Chinese Government note of July 7, 1964, have already been rejected as being utterly baseless fabrications. However, once again, the Chinese Government have chosen to invent so-called instances of violation of Chinese airspace by Indian aircraft in their note, dated July 27, 1964. All this can only mean that the Chinese Government is making these allegations merely to suit their propaganda purposes.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Peking to the Embassy of India in China, dated 28 December, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state the following:

On December 16, 17 and 20, 1964, Indian airplanes successively intruded into China's airspace over extensive areas well inside Tibet and Sinkiang for long-duration reconnaissance and harassment. One of these planes even intruded over Szechuan Province. The details are given as follows:

1. On December 16, at about 1310 hours, an Indian airplane intruded into China's airspace from southeast of Pulan, Tibet, and flew northward along the Sinkiang-Tibet Road, passing over Gartok, Gargunsa, Rudok and Shanho in Tibet and Howeitan Tienwentian, Kangsewar and Saittulla in Sinkiang. The plane reached as far as Pishan (Ghuma Bazar Country) at 1457 hours, then flew eastward to intrude over Hotien and then turned back to Kangsewar, from where it flew along the Sinkiang-Tibet Road, passing over Tienshuihai, Shanho, Gargunsa and other places, and returned to India at about 1600 hours. The aforesaid plane conducted reconnaissance over Chinese territory for as long as about three hours and penetrated as deep as about two hundred and fifty kilometres.

2. On December 17, an Indian airplane intruded into China's air-space from southwest of Tsona, Tibet, at about 1320 hours, and flew over Chayul, Linchih and other places. Then it flew eastward and reached as far as Paiyu, Szechuan Province,

from where it turned and flew over Chiangda, Chamdo, Pienpa and other places in Tibet. It flew over Lhasa at 1613 hours, and then passing over Gyantse, it flew southwestward and left China at about 1640 hours. The Indian plane made harassments over Chinese territory for more than three hours and the deepest place of intrusion was more than three hundred kilometres from the line of actual control on the Sino-Indian border.

3. On December 20, an Indian airplane intruded into China's airspace from southwest of Rongshar, Tibet, at about 1300 hours, and flew over Shigatse, Gyantse, Lakang, Jiacha and other places. It intruded into the airspace over Lhasa at 1442 hours. Then the plane flew northward over Damshune, reaching as far as the vicinity of Nagchuka, from where it turned back to Damshune and flew over Lhasa again. Then it flew southwestward and left China from southeast of Khamba at about 1600 hours. The Indian plane made harassments over China's territory for about three hours and the deepest place of intrusion was about three hundred and fifty kilometres from the line of actual control on the Sino-Indian border.

The successive frantic intrusion by Indian airplanes and their penetration into the airspace over areas well inside China for long duration reconnaissance and harassment constitute a flagrant defiance of China's sovereignty and airspace and serious provocations against China. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this and demands that India put an immediate stop to all its intrusive activities.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its

highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 11 January, 1965

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and has the honour to refer to Chinese Foreign Office note of December 28, 1964.

2. The allegations contained in the Chinese note, that on December 16, 17 and 20, 1964, Indian airplanes intruded into China's airspace have already been refuted in a statement issued by a spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs on December 29, 1964. As the Government of India has informed the Chinese Government on several occasions in the past, all Indian aircraft have strict instructions not to cross the well-recognised borders of India. The instructions also apply to the so-called 'line of actual control' in the Western Sector. Indian aircraft have invariably and scrupulously complied with these instructions, and there has never been any instance of an Indian aircraft flying beyond the international border of the so-called 'line of actual control' in the Western Sector. Careful enquiries made on the receipt of the Chinese note under reference have shown that the allegations contained in the Chinese note are absolutely false and are pure fabrications. It is obvious that the Chinese Government has fabricated these 'violations' for propaganda purposes. The Government of India reject the Chinese protest note of December 28, 1964.

3. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Memorandum given by the Embassy of China in India to the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 8 February, 1964

The Chinese Government and the Chinese Embassy in India have time and again made serious representations and lodged protests with the Government of India against its wanton persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals in India. The Indian Government, however, in disregard of these protests and representations, has arbitrarily continued its unwarranted expulsion of innocent Chinese nationals. The Embassy has recently learnt that Mr. Chung Pingnan alias Chung Parn-nam, Mr. Chen Chih-wen, Mr. Wang Hung-hsiang, Mr. Mao Szu-kuan and Mr. Liao Tien-hsing, Chinese nationals in Calcutta, have been all ordered to leave India within a short period. It is obvious that in taking this measure the Indian Government aims at keeping on worsening the relations between China and India. The Embassy hereby lodges a protest with the Indian Ministry of External Affairs against this and demands that the Indian Government immediately stop all forms of persecution of Chinese nationals and provide facilities to the above-mentioned victimized Chinese nationals in their departure procedures and in bringing back their properties and give them necessary time.

Memorandum given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi to the Embassy of China in India, 13 March, 1964

Reference Chinese Embassy's Memorandum dated the 8th February, 1964:

2. The five Chinese nationals referred to in the abovementioned Memorandum were served with orders to leave India on account of their anti-Indian and anti-social activities. Apart from indulging in these activities, in wilful violation of the local laws, they had acted in a manner highly prejudicial to the security of this country. The externment of such lawless elements is a matter within the sovereign internal jurisdiction of the Government of India and there can be no justification for the Chinese Embassy to attempt to interfere therein.

3. The Chinese Embassy is aware that there are thousands of Chinese nationals living, peacefully, in India, and no impediments are placed in regard to their stay in this country so long as they abide by the laws of the land. There is no basis, whatsoever, for the Embassy's allegation that the Indian Government are "persecuting" Chinese nationals living in India.

4. In the light of the above facts, the Government of India categorically reject the Chinese Memorandum under reference.

Memorandum given by the Embassy of China in India to the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 22 May, 1964

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India has recently learnt that in January 1964 Chinese national in Bombay Mrs. Ma Kee alias Mary Kee, wife of Yu Fah Chaun, and her three

children were unjustifiably ordered to leave India within a period of one month. Failing to leave India for lack of money to cover the travelling expenses, she was imprisoned for as long as two months. After she was released, she and her children were again ordered to leave India within a short period. This is another outrageous act of persecuting the peaceable and law-abiding Chinese nationals in India by the Indian Government in disregard of the repeated representations and protests by the Chinese Government and the Embassy. This act not only crudely tramples upon the principles of the international law but constitutes a deliberate vitiation of the relations between China and India. The Embassy hereby lodges a protest with the Indian Ministry of External Affairs against this and demands that the Indian Government immediately stop all forms of persecution of the Chinese nationals in India.

Memorandum given by the Embassy of China in India to the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 6 July, 1964

The Chinese Embassy has learnt that Mr. Yu Tsungchuan and Mr. Wang Tao-Shin alias Wang To-sheng, Chinese nationals in Bombay, and Mr. Chen Ai-chun alias Chen Ai-khen alias Cheng Aoi-kheng, Chinese national in Calcutta, were unjustifiably ordered to leave India within a short period in November 1963 and February 1964 respectively. This is another act of persecution of the peaceable and law-abiding Chinese nationals in India by the Indian Government in disregard of the repeated representations and protests by the Chinese Government and the Chinese Embassy. The Embassy hereby lodges a protest with the Indian Ministry of External Affairs against this and demands that the Indian Government immediately stop all forms of

persecution of the Chinese nationals in India.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 21 July, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and with reference to Ministry's Note No. C/436/1/163/TB, dated the 29th May, 1963 has the honour to give below particulars regarding the death of the

Six Chinese nationals referred to in the Chinese Embassy's note No. M/138/63, dated the 6th May, 1963:

Sl.No	Name (s) of the deceased	Date of death	Cause of death	Place of death
1.	Tchen Wen Chin alias Chay Yun Chong	28-2-1963	Coronary insufficiency leading to left Ventricular failure.	Bombay
2.	Cheng Chang Ming	11-9-1962	Heart trouble.	Kalimpong
3.	Leong Pin Kwong alias Liang Pin Kuang	18-7-1962	Tuberculosis	Calcutta
4.	Tham Wei Men Chang	17-11-1962	Illness	Bombay
5.	Tashi Pensho	10-1-1963	Nephritis with hyper tension	Delhi
6.	Tan Feng Ying	27-10-1962	Tuberculosis	Calcutta

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Memorandum given by the Ministry of External Affairs New Delhi, to the Embassy of China, New Delhi, 4 September, 1964

Reference Memorandum dated 22nd May, 1964 from the Embassy of People's Republic of China.

Mrs. Ma Kee alias Mary Kee was served with a notice on 8th January, 1964 directing her to leave India with her children on account of her anti-social activities. As she failed to comply with the Government orders legal proceedings were taken against her by the State Government. She was convicted and also sentenced to two months imprisonment as she was found guilty. On her return from imprisonment, on a guarantee of good conduct, quit India proceedings were suspended and she was allowed to continue to stay in India. It may, however, be stated that should the subject continue to indulge in anti-social activities, it is within the competence of the Government of India to take proceedings against her and also to send her out of India.

It is alleged in the Chinese Memorandum under reply that the Government of India are trampling upon the principles of International Law with a view to deliberately vitiating the relations between China and India. This is a baseless and mischievous allegation. It may be emphasized that according to

the Code of Conduct for foreign nationals they are required to respect the local laws and not indulge in anti-social and anti-national activities. The Government of India have informed the Chinese Embassy several times that in the case of Chinese nationals living in India peacefully as law-abiding citizens, no impediments will be placed in regard to their stay in this country.

In view of the foregoing the Chinese Embassy's protest memorandum is rejected.

Memorandum given by the Ministry External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 15 September, 1964

Reference Chinese Embassy's Memorandum dated the 6th July, 1964.

In the numerous notes and memoranda it has been unequivocally stated that the Government of India would not place any impediments in the way of peaceful and law-abiding Chinese nationals in their continued stay in India and carrying on their usual avocations. In the case of the three Chinese nationals mentioned in the Memorandum under reference it had been established beyond doubt that they were engaged in activities highly prejudicial to the State. Therefore, in accordance with the local laws, the State Governments concerned were compelled to serve them with quit India notices.

It may be emphasised that the externment of these three Chinese nationals is purely a matter within the internal jurisdiction of the Government of India and this interference of the

Chinese Embassy in the internal affairs of the Government of India is unwarranted. The Embassy's protest in this regard is, therefore, rejected.

Note given by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 15 September, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the note addressed to the Chinese Embassy in India by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on January 1, 1964, states as follows:

The Chinese Government is not the least satisfied with the reply of the Indian Government regarding the case in which Chinese border inhabitants were put in a difficult position at the Mordo Post in India. This reckless and totally irresponsible attitude adopted by the Indian Government on this question is sufficient proof that Indian Government has deliberately sabotaged the traditional and habitual trade and contact between the peoples of China and India. The Chinese government declares: Before receiving a satisfactory reply from the Indian side, the Chinese side reserves the right to raise its demand as put forward in the note on this question by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy of India in China on December 11, 1963.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of the opportunity to convey to the Embassy of India in China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 3 October, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and has the honour to refer to note No. 13/26 dated 15th September, 1964, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. The Ministry of External Affairs in their notes dated 3rd December, 1962, 9th October, 1963 and 1st January, 1964 had categorically stated that the allegations have been investigated and found utterly baseless. It may be emphasised that this Ministry will not entertain any more notes repeating the same baseless allegations.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 31 January, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents compliments to the Embassy of India in China, and with reference to the Embassy's notes dated December 6, 1963, January 4 and January 11, 1964, addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, wishes to state as follows:

Regarding the question mentioned in the above-mentioned notes of the Embassy, a clear reply had already been given by the Assistant Director Feng Hsienpi of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs during, the conversations with Mr. Damodaran, the First Secretary of the Embassy on December 7, 1963 and January 11, 1964 respectively. That is, according to stipulations of the authorities concerned, during the period of trial, the request from any person to see the defendant is unacceptable; at the same time, the case is concerned with social morals, so no public hearing can be held. Therefore, visitors are unacceptable. As regards the question of arranging a defender, the local authorities concerned will accord the facilities in accordance with the regulations of the Chinese side.

We avail of this opportunity to convey to you the assurances of our highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 2 March, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and, with reference to Note No. 6/8, dated the 31st January, 1964, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China regarding the arrest of Shri M. L. Das, an Indian national in Shanghai, has the honour to state as follows:

2. On the 29th October, 1963, Shri Makham Lal Das, an Indian national resident in Shanghai, was arrested by the local authorities on alleged criminal charges. On 1st November, 1963, a consular official of the Embassy of India, Peking, met an official of the Consular Department of the Chinese Foreign Office and requested him that information on the circumstances leading to the arrest of Shri Das be

furnished to the Embassy, urgently. As no information was made available for some time, the Embassy sent a Note dated 6th December, 1963, to the Chinese Foreign Office, requesting an early reply and also seeking facilities for an Embassy representative to meet Shri Das in prison, in accordance with international law and practice. On 7th December, 1963, Mr. Feng Hsien-pi, the Assistant Director and Section Chief of the Consular Department of the Chinese Foreign Office, received the Indian Charge d'Affaires and informed him that the matter was still under investigation. The Charge d'Affaires was also told that according to the report of the local authorities, it was a case of criminal assault. However, no further information was given as to when the alleged offence was said to have taken place or even in regard to the name of the alleged victim. Regarding facilities for an Embassy representative to meet Shri Das, Mr. Feng Hsien-pi stated that the Foreign Office would contact the local authorities, but that, as far as they knew, it would be impossible to meet him before Shri Das had been sentenced! No further details were given to the Charge d'Affaires, beyond stating that "the local authorities have made very detailed and serious investigations".

3. Following a reminder from the Embassy dated January 4, 1964, for the details earlier requested in its note of 6th December, 1963, the Assistant Director of the Consular Department of the Chinese Foreign Office again received the Indian Charge d'Affaires. He, however, made no concrete reply to the points raised by the Charge d'Affaires who was seeking facilities under international law, but merely repeated, over and over again, the meaningless statement that "the Chinese Government have always given reasonable treatment to the nationals of other countries living in China" and that "there is no discrimination against Indians in this regard." Mr. Feng Hsien-pi informed the Charge d'Affaires again that they would be getting in touch with

the local authorities. During this interview Mr. Feng Hsien-pi, however, provided the extraordinary piece of information that the alleged victim of the "assault" had already given birth to a child and stated that "this child very much resembles an Indian"! Shri Das was arrested on October 29, 1963, on alleged criminal charges and Mr. Feng Hsien-pi gave this piece of information in January, 1964. All this cannot but arouse serious doubt about the bonafide nature of the charges levelled against Shri Das.

4. In a Note dated 11th January, 1964, the Embassy of India in Peking had reiterated their request, in conformity with normal Consular privilege, recognised in international law and practice, for the following facilities:-

- (i) To meet Shri Das in prison;
- (ii) to be present at his trial; and
- (iii) to arrange for his defence.

5. It is indeed surprising that the Chinese Government in their Note under reference should have adamantly refused to grant any of the legitimate facilities requested by the Embassy. The Chinese Government have perversely tried to justify their stand on various excuses, stating that: "according to stipulation of the authorities concerned, during the period of trial, the request from any person to see the defendant is unacceptable; at the same time, the case is concerned with social morals, so no public hearing can be held. Therefore, visitors are unacceptable. As regards the question of arranging a defender, the local authorities concerned will accord the facilities in accordance with the regulations of the Chinese side".

6. The Government of India feel compelled to ask whether

the "regulations of the Chinese side" conform to normally accepted international law and practice or not in these matters relating to the arrest, detention and trial of foreign nationals. One of the main functions of any Embassy is to protect the interests of its nationals living in the country of its accreditation, within the limits of international law. As the Chinese Government are fully aware, it is well recognised International Law and practice that a consular officer has the right to be informed of the arrest of nationals of his country, to visit them if they are in prison, custody or detention, and to converse and correspond with them and also to arrange for their full and proper legal representation, whenever and wherever found necessary. The Embassy in its notes dated 6th December 1963 4th January, 1964 and 11th January, 1964, has accordingly repeatedly requested the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China to have the matter investigated, and the facts of the case and the reason for the arrest ascertained and communicated. The Embassy, at the same time, had requested that facilities referred to paragraph 4 above to be extended to it by the Chinese Government. However, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has flatly denied these facilities on the flimsiest pretexts, completely ignoring international law and practice recognised all the world over.

7. The laws and regulations of all Governments are required to give full effect to the purpose for which specific rights have been accorded to consular officers under International Law. The laws and regulations of the receiving State must give full effect to the purposes for which consular rights have been accorded to a consular officer under International Law, and the laws and regulations of a receiving State cannot nullify the rights which accrue from International Law. That these rights have always been recognised

in the law and practice of all States will be evident from the fact that they are embodied in Article 36 of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 1953. The Indian Embassy in Peking has the right, under International Law, to visit Shri Das in prison and also to arrange for his legal representation before the court which is supposed to try him for the alleged criminal offence, and the Chinese Government would be flouting International Law and Convention if it continues its present stand.

8. The Chinese Government have stated that no public hearing is to be held and arrangements for Shri Das's defence can be made only in accordance with "the regulations of the Chinese side". This attitude of the Chinese authorities clearly indicates that they have no intention of administering proper justice to Shri Das. This is not only a denial of justice to the accused, but is also a clear violation of International Law.

9. In view of the above facts, the Government of India earnestly urge the Chinese authorities to reconsider their stand and to provide immediately facilities to the Indian Embassy in Peking to visit Shri Das in prison, arrange for his defence, and also for the Embassy officials to be present at his trial, when the trial takes place.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 16 September, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs to the Chinese Embassy in India on January 18, 1964, states as follows:

Regarding the question of nationality of Kajis in China's Tibet region and the question of passing sentence on a few law-breakers of the Kajis in China by the local authorities of China's Tibet region, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already fully and clearly stated the stand and the views of the Chinese side in its notes addressed to the Embassy of India in China on September 11, 1959, December 31, 1959 and September 23, 1960 respectively, and during the conversation held between Keng Piao, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and His Excellency Ambassador Parthasarathi on July 14, 1960. Yet the Indian Government had more than once in its notes repeated its standpoint which had for long already been refuted by the Chinese side. Hence, the Chinese Government holds that it is not necessary to give any more reply towards such unreasonable haggling. If the Indian side continues with its unreasonable haggling on this question, the Chinese side will pay no attention to it.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to convey to the Embassy of India in China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 5 December, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to

the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and, with reference to note No. 13/296 dated 16th September, 1964 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, would like to state as follows:

In their note dated 31st December, 1959, the Chinese Government has admitted that the Kashmiri Muslims resident in Tibet are of Indian origin. Therefore, it is unreasonable for the Chinese Government to take the stand now that these Kashmiri Muslims are not nationals, of India, but of China. These persons are, undoubtedly, Indian in origin and in law, and are entitled to be treated as foreign nationals in Tibet with the right to return to their country of origin. As the Indian laws are consistent with the recognized international principles of nationality, the Government of India cannot accept any so-called law of nationality or executive decree of the Chinese Government which would deprive Indian nationals in Tibet of their nationality and citizenship.

The Chinese Government in their note under reference have termed the five Kashmiri Muslims under detention in Lhasa as "Law breakers", because they were leaders of the Kashmiri Muslim community in Tibet. As stated in this Ministry's note dated 18th January, 1964, all that they did was to express a desire to return to India due to the harsh and inhuman treatment meted out to them by the Chinese local authorities. Their refusal to register themselves as Chinese nationals has obviously, displeased the local authorities and false charges were framed against them in order to take revenge on these innocent people. The local authorities have even gone to the extent of sentencing them to long imprisonment without giving them an opportunity to defend themselves before a legally constituted authority. The Government of India once again vehemently

protest against the arbitrary and inhuman treatment meted out by Chinese local authorities in Tibet to these Kashmiri Muslims and demand that these innocent people be released and repatriated to India in order to enable them to return to their homeland and to join their families.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 2 December, 1963

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with reference to the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated August 8, 1963, has the honour to state as follows:

The building of the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong had all along been property of and used by the Trade Agency. Since the withdrawal of the Trade Agency, the building has been under the charge of the Chinese Embassy in India. Therefore, there can be no question of handing over the building to the owners.

The Chinese Government has noted the information, to which the Indian note referred, that some Indian miscreants had broken into the building of the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong early in May this year and that the Indian local authorities had posted a guard on the building. The Chinese Government asks the Indian Government to keep its guard on the

building of the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

**Note given by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China
in New
Delhi to the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 29
January, 1964.**

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India presents its compliments to the Indian Ministry of External Affairs and has the honour to state as follows:

In the earlier part of January 1964, a so-called Tibetan troupe organized by the Tibetan rebel bandits in India staged at Chandigarh, Punjab State, an anti-China play entitled "the blood in the land of milk and honey", openly describing China's Tibet region as an "independent country" and making vicious slanders against the Chinese Government. The Indian press gave publicity to this play by carrying its stage photograph and the description of its contents. This once again proves that the Indian Government, in violation of the principles of international relations and its own past pledge, continues to connive with the Tibetan rebel bandits in carrying out political activities in India against the People's Republic of China. The Embassy hereby lodges a protest with the Indian Government against this and demands that the Indian Government take effective measures to put an end to such activities.

The Embassy takes this opportunity to renew to the Ministry

the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Embassy of China in India, to the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 31 January, 1964

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India presents its compliments to the Ministry of External Affairs of India and, with reference to the Ministry's note dated January 9, 1964, has the honour to state as follows:

It is an established and unalterable fact that the Indian authorities concerned unwarrantedly delayed, opened and examined the Embassy's mails. The Embassy is in possession of conclusive evidence for this. The explanation made in the Ministry's note is obviously a fallacious argument; at such an attitude of disregarding facts the Embassy expresses its regret. If the Indian side continues to make denials on this matter, the Embassy will ignore it. The Embassy demands that the Indian Government take measures to ensure against the recurrence of incidents of delaying, opening and examining the Embassy's mails.

The Embassy takes this opportunity to renew to the Ministry the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 12 February, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and, with reference to Chinese Embassy's Note No. M/48/64, dated the 31st January, 1964, has the honour to state as follows:-

The Embassy has been informed in the Ministry's Note dated the 9th January, 1964, that diplomatic mail intended for foreign missions in India are not subject to censorship and, on the contrary, they are despatched to the addresses with the utmost expedition. It is regretted that the Embassy should have again repeated its previous baseless allegations, which have already been refuted by the Government.

In the light of the above facts the Government of India reject the Chinese Note dated the 31st January, 1964.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

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Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 20 March, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and, with reference to the Chinese Foreign Office Note dated the 2nd December, 1963, has the honour to state as follows:

The building as well as the land on which the premises of the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong had been located, have never been the property of the Chinese Government. They

had merely been let out for the use of the Chinese Trade Agency. This position had been clearly conveyed in the Government of India's Note dated the 16th November, 1959, wherein it was stated that while the West Bengal Government would not take possession of the property for the time being, so as not to inconvenience the Trade Agency, "transfer of the property by sale or permanent lease by the owner will, however, not be permissible". The reference in the Chinese Note to the building "having all along been the property of and used by the Trade Agency" is, therefore, not correct.

The Ministry of External Affairs takes this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, the assurances of its highest consideration.

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Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 23 March, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state the following.

1. The Tibetan rebel clique, which has all along been shielded and supported by the Indian Government, issued on March 9, 1964, another traitorous statement in the name of the Dalai Lama, viciously slandering the Chinese Government and people and making an other effort to stir up a rebellion in Tibet, China. The Indian official press agency published this statement. Indian Minister without Port-folio Shastri declared in the Indian Parliament on the same day that Dalai had been functioning in accordance with the Indian Government's policy, and that there

was no bar on the activities of Dalai. On March 10, he further declared in the Indian Parliament that the Indian Government would discuss with the Tibetan rebel clique the "details" of Dalai's intended "visit" to Buddhist countries in South-east Asia.

India still maintains diplomatic relations with China, and yet the, Indian Government supported the fugitive Tibetan rebel clique in India in its activities against the motherland. This is a grave action on the part of the Indian Government constituting out-and-out interference in China's internal affairs and violations of principles governing international relations. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this action.

2. Five years ago, the Indian Government engineered and supported the rebellious activities of the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in the Tibet Region, China, and failed ignominiously. In the ensuing years it has been using the Tibetan rebels, who fled to India, to carry on subversive and disruptive activities against Tibet, China. The Chinese Government has on many occasions lodged protests against this and offered serious advice for the Indian Government to stop interfering in China's internal affairs. In this regard, the Indian Government has more than once assured the Chinese Government that the Tibetan rebel clique would not be allowed to engage in any political activity in India directed against the People's Republic of China. But the assurances of the Indian Government are totally hypocritical. In fact, the Indian Government has year after year continued to allow and support the Tibetan rebels to issue traitorous statements and carry on other activities against the motherland. The Indian Government's conduct of going back on its own words and violating faith has been condemned by just world

opinion.

3. Going from bad to worse, the Indian Government now has not only again supported the Tibetan rebel clique in issuing a traitorous statement, but openly directs Dalai to carry on activities in regions outside India, in a vain attempt thereby to sow discord in China's friendly relations with Southeast Asian countries. It is obvious that the Indian Government is still dreaming of expansion into China's territory of Tibet. The Chinese Government seriously warns the Indian Government once again that interference in China's internal affairs is absolutely intolerable and that, like the fugitive Tibetan serfowners' dream of a comeback, the Indian Government's dream of expansion is doomed to be shattered.

4. The Chinese Government once again asks the Indian Government to fulfil its promise in earnest, respect the minimum standards of international relationship and immediately stop supporting the Tibetan rebels and cease its activities of interference in China's internal affairs.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy in China the assurances of its highest consideration.

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**Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi,
to the Embassy of China in India, 30 March, 1964**

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and with reference to the latter's Note No. M/407 /64, dated the 29th January, 1964,

has the honour to state that the Government of India reject the protest lodged by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China against the staging of a Tibetan play in Chandigarh in the month of January, 1964.

2. The play in question was staged by the Tibetan Refugees Cultural and Dramatic Troupe and was part of a Cultural programme, which included Tibetan songs, dances and folklore. Neither the Government of India nor the State Government of the Punjab had anything to do with the cultural performance arranged by these Tibetan refugees, who are residing in India with the permission of the Government of India. As the Embassy of the People's Republic of China is aware, India is a democratic State, where all sections of the resident population, including all foreigners, enjoy, *inter alia* the freedom to stage plays and organise other cultural activities, provided these do not offend against the laws of the land. Newspapers in India are also free to report these activities, in consonance with the freedom of expression they enjoy in this country.

3. The Government of India are, therefore, surprised that the Embassy should have thought it proper to lodge a protest against the staging of a cultural performance by Tibetan refugees in India, whom the Embassy Note under reference unwarrantedly describes, as 'Tibetan rebel bandits'. The Government of India firmly repudiate the suggestion in the Chinese note under reference, that any Tibetan refugees in India can be described as "rebel bandits". It has been repeatedly made clear to the Chinese Government that the Government of India do not permit the Tibetan refugees in India to indulge in subversive political activities directed against the People's Republic of China. In spite of the unfriendly and aggressive attitude of the

Chinese Government towards India, the Government of India have always scrupulously adhered to this policy. That does not, however, mean that Tibetan refugees should be prohibited from staging plays and other cultural performances which do not, in any way, offend against the laws of India.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

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Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 25 April, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and, with reference to the Note dated March 23, 1964, sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, to the Embassy of India in Peking, has the honour to state that all the allegations made in this Chinese Note are false and malicious. The Chinese protest is, therefore, firmly and categorically rejected by the Government of India.

The Chinese Government have once again levelled wild and baseless charges against the Government of India, using bitter and unbecoming language, which is against normal international practice and usage. The charges levelled against the Government of India in this Note have been disproved and repudiated by the Government of India on more than one occasion in the past. It is clear that they are being now repeated, solely with a view to stepping up tension between India and China and to provide a camouflage for China's aggressive designs against

India.

The Note under reference has repeated outmoded allegations, that the Government of India, five years ago, "engineered and supported the rebellious activities of the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet". As the world is fully aware, the popular rebellion in Tibet, five years ago, was not something which the Government of India had 'engineered', but was the spontaneous and inevitable reaction of the unfortunate people of Tibet against the attempt by the Chinese Government to extinguish by brute force the autonomy of Tibet, which China had solemnly undertaken to respect. The Government of the People's Republic of China is, doubtless, aware of the dictum that where there is oppression there is bound to be resistance. It is, therefore, of no avail to blame India for the trouble that the Chinese Government has itself created in Tibet. The truth is well known to the world that, far from interfering and supporting rebellious activities in Tibet, the Government of India had voluntarily relinquished their historic rights in Tibet and extended their hand of friendship to China, which the Government of China grasped, to begin with only to be able to stab India in the back all the more effectively, later.

The Chinese note has also accused the Government of India of having "shielded and supported" the so-called "Tibetan rebel clique", of having allowed them to make "traitorous statements", and directed the Dalai Lama to carry on activities outside India. In order to give these absolutely false allegations an air of verisimilitude, the Chinese note has quoted out of context and completely misconstrued some of the remarks of the Minister Without Portfolio in the Indian Parliament. What the Minister without Portfolio said in the Parliament was merely the

reaffirmation of the policy that the Government of India had announced when the Dalai Lama was given political asylum in India in 1959, and to emphasise that the Dalai Lama has been in fact, functioning in India within the framework of that declared policy. On May 14, 1959, the Prime Minister of India had made the attitude of the Government of India perfectly clear, at a press conference in New Delhi. when he said: "I have told the Dalai Lama that he is perfectly free to say or to do what he likes, to go back to Tibet, to remain here or to go anywhere else. But having said that, I pointed out that he will no doubt consider the circumstances and events leading up to his coming here and the present position, and function wisely and with some restraint". On April 27, 1959, the Prime Minister also stated in Parliament that it was "open to the Dalai Lama, at any time, to go back to Tibet or wherever he wants to". It is this policy that the Minister Without Portfolio reaffirmed in Parliament on March 9 and 10, 1964. The Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees in India have never been allowed by the Government of India to indulge in subversive political activities directed against the People's Republic of China. That does not, however, mean that the Government of India has denied them freedom of expression and freedom for legitimate activities which do not offend against the laws of the land. Nor does it mean that the Government of India will place any obstacles in the way of the Dalai Lama if His Holiness wishes to make a tour of the Buddhist countries of Asia.

The Chinese note has specifically referred to the statement issued on March 9, 1964, on behalf of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The Government of India holds no responsibility for this statement and rejects the allegations in the Chinese note that they have "supported" the statement issued on behalf of His Holiness and "gone back upon their words" and "violated faith"

and "the principles of international relations". As for sowing discord in the friendly relations with the countries of Asia or South East-Asia, it is precisely the Chinese Government who have made such mischievous and vain attempts, in accordance with their neo-imperialistic policy of dividing and dominating Asia. And yet, the Chinese note has the audacity to speak of "the Indian Government's dream of expansion". As mentioned earlier, far from trying to "expand" into or interfere in Tibet, the Government of India has willingly and completely relinquished the privileges she had inherited in Tibet. China, on the contrary, has not only gone on to destroy the historic autonomy of Tibet, but has advanced fantastic territorial claims against India and even committed aggression across the northern borders of India, in furtherance of Chinese policies. The "dream" that is haunting Asia, today, is the dream of Chinese expansionism.

In conclusion, the Government of India regret to note that besides making unjustified allegations, the Chinese note has also held out a threat and a warning against absolutely imaginary Indian interference in the internal affairs of China. To hurl accusations and warnings in this manner is to render hollow the professions of the Chinese Government that they have done and are doing everything possible to ease the tension between India and China and that they want to live in "peaceful co-existence" with their neighbours.

The Ministry of External Affairs takes this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, the assurances of its highest consideration.

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**Memorandum given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 4 June, 1964.**

Reference memorandum of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated January 8, 1964

In its memoranda of June 3, August 20 and November 26, 1963, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China repeatedly stated that there were conclusive and undeniable evidence proving that the fact that the Indian Embassy abused the courtesies accorded it by the Chinese Government by carrying out anti-Chinese propaganda on Chinese territory. However, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs has so far prevaricated and failed to give a serious and responsible reply. In its memorandum of January 8, 1964, it vainly attempted to evade its bounden responsibility for the above-mentioned wrong deeds, by using a single sentence denying the facts. This will never succeed but merely shows that the Indian Government is devoid of all reason and arguments.

Moreover, in its memorandum of January 8, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs once again arbitrarily levelled slanders against the normal publicity work of the Chinese Embassy in India. As everybody knows, it is unimpeachable and fully consistent with international practice for a diplomatic mission to carry in its bulletin official documents and statements of its own Government. In its verbal note of September 24, 1959, the Indian Government explicitly stated that it had no objection to the publication and distribution by diplomatic missions of official statements of their own Governments. But the Indian Government has again and again confiscated the Chinese Embassy's bulletins carrying documents of the Chinese

Government, and has restricted and disrupted the normal publicity work of the Chinese Embassy. Such practice on the part of the Indian Government contradicts its own words. The Indian Foreign Ministry's memorandum of January 8 shows that the Indian Government not only has no intention to cease such unreasonable practice but is playing with words in an attempt to seek pretexts for continuing its wanton infringements of the proper rights of the Chinese Embassy. This further reveals the Indian Government's deliberate intention of violating accepted international practice.

That the Indian Embassy has carried on anti-Chinese propaganda on Chinese territory and that the Indian Government has restricted and disrupted the normal publicity work of the Chinese Embassy in India are iron-clad facts. No matter how many more times the Indian Ministry of External Affairs may make denials, it cannot alter the facts, nor can it absolve the Indian Government of its responsibility. Should the Indian Government haggle any further, the Chinese Government would deem it unnecessary to give the matter further attention.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking to the Embassy of India in China, 8 June, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state the following:

Entrusted by the Scientific and Technical Association of China and the Peking Centre of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, the Chinese Embassy in India on April 29, 1964

requested the Indian Ministry of External Affairs to forward letters inviting Indian scientists to attend the scientific symposium to be held in Peking in August this year. It was purely out of the desire of strengthening the friendship between the peoples of China and India and promoting international scientific and cultural exchange that the Chinese side sent out the invitation. The Indian Government should have taken measures of active assistance to this friendly act on the part of the Chinese side, or at least shown normal courtesy. However, in his reply of May 4, 1964 to the counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in India, the official of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs not only unreasonably refused to consider the cordial invitation from the Chinese side but viciously attacked the Chinese Government. The rudeness of the Indian Government is indeed surprising, and the Chinese Government can not but express its deep regret at it.

That no satisfactory settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question has so far been reached is entirely caused by the Indian side. This is a fact for everybody to see. The Chinese Government, therefore, deems it unnecessary to make detailed explanations here. As for the shop-worn slander of "violation of India's territorial integrity by China" repeated by the official of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs in his letter, it is not at all worthy of refuting.

The Chinese Government holds that although there is a dispute between the Governments of China and India on the Sino-Indian boundary question, it should not prejudice friendly contacts between the two peoples. On the contrary, such contacts are exactly needed for promoting understanding and creating a favourable atmosphere for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. But the Indian Government is using the boundary issue

as a pretext resolutely to obstruct any friendly contacts between the peoples of China and India. The one thousand million people of China and India should thus be able to see clearly which party really desires to ease the relations between the two countries.

In line with its consistent stand of upholding Sino-Indian friendship, the Chinese Government has once again seriously set forth the reason with the hope that the Indian Government, like the Chinese Government, will adopt a positive attitude towards the promotion of friendly contacts between the Chinese and Indian peoples. :

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of India the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking to the Embassy of India in China, 25 June, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with reference to the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated March 20, 1964, has the honour to state the following:

The building and grounds of the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong are property of the Chinese Government. No empty denial by the Indian Government can deprive the Chinese Government of its title to this property.

As for the facts regarding the purchase of the above-

mentioned property by the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong, the Chinese Government has given a detailed account in its previous notes. Should the Indian Government continue to distort the facts and make unreasonable haggling, the Chinese Government will no longer give the matter further attention.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew, the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 26 June, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state the following:

1. Recently a Delegation of Indian Members of Parliament led by D. V. Patel, member of the Indian Rajya Sabha, arrived in China's Taiwan Province on June 18 for a so-called visit. This Delegation including a member of parliament of the Indian ruling party, the Indian National Congress, has been carrying out unbridled anti-Chinese activities in Taiwan. They openly called the Chiang Kai-shek clique "free China" and stated that their desire was through this visit to "gradually normalize" the relations between India and the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

This "visit" to Taiwan by the Delegation of Indian Members of Parliament is another serious step taken by the Indian

Government in following U.S. imperialist scheming activities to create "two Chinas" as well as an open provocation to the Chinese people. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this.

2. The whole world knows that Taiwan is China's territory, that the Chiang Kai-shek clique, long repudiated by the Chinese people, has been able to prolong its feeble existence in Taiwan only because it is being protected and fostered by U.S. imperialism; and that the purpose of the U.S. imperialist plot of creating "two Chinas" is to perpetuate its occupation of Taiwan so as to facilitate the execution of its policies of aggression and war in Asia. While maintaining diplomatic relations with China, the Indian government has in recent years made continuous flirtations with the Chiang Kai-shek clique and served the U.S. imperialist plot of creating "two Chinas". The bulletin of the Indian Embassy in China even carried anti-Chinese resolutions of the Chiang Kai-shek clique's so-called "Overseas Chinese Association of India". There appeared such terms as "mainland China" and "the Republic of China" in a note addressed by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs to China. Both the Indian Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan and Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari openly clamoured about the alleged existence of "two Chinas". Speaking in Parliament, the Indian Minister of Education M. C. Chagla openly called the Chiang Kai-shek clique "Nationalist China". Indian member of Parliament M. R. Masani visited Taiwan last year and claimed that China was a common enemy of India and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The late Indian Prime Minister himself received the Chiang Kai-shek clique's "Buddhist Delegation" which went to India for scheming activities.

The Chinese Government has lodged more than one protest

with the Indian Government against these anti-Chinese activities in which it followed U.S. imperialism in trying to create "two Chinas". Yet the Indian Government, while hypocritically professing that it only recognizes the People's Republic of China, has continued its collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique for anti-Chinese activities. The present visit of the Delegation of Indian Members of Parliament to Taiwan is a case of such anti-Chinese activity. It shows that the Indian Government willingly serves U.S. imperialism as a tool for pushing ahead with its "two Chinas" plot and does not scruple to violate principles guiding international relations and exacerbate the relations between China and India.

3. The Chinese people are determined to recover Taiwan and complete the unification of their motherland. Foreign interference in China's internal affairs absolutely will not be tolerated. The U.S. imperialist plot to create "two Chinas" is doomed to go bankrupt. The Chinese Government advises the Indian Government to treasure the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples, respect the elementary principles guiding international relations and immediately stop its activities of creating "two Chinas". The Indian Government would definitely gain nothing should it insist on following the lead of U.S. imperialism and ganging up with the Chiang Kai-shek clique without regard for the consequences.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 27 June, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs to the Chinese Embassy in India dated December 11, 1963 and the memorandum of January 9, 1964, has the honour to state as follows:

As the Indian Government had expressed the wish that somebody may be kept for the caretaking of the premises of the former Indian Trade Office in Yatung, the authorities concerned in China's Tibet region, proceeding from friendly assistance, had already hired 3 house caretakers for the Indian side. The concerned information was communicated to the Embassy by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its memorandum of December 6, 1963. The ministry of Foreign Affairs once again draws the attention of the Indian side to the relevant information given in the above-mentioned memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails of this opportunity to convey to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 5 August, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to

the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, and with reference to the Chinese Foreign Office Note No. (64) Pu Yi Ya Tzu No. 349, dated the 26th June, 1964, handed over to the Indian Embassy at Peking, has the honour to reject categorically the protest lodged therein in regard to the visit of certain Indian nationals to Taiwan in June last.

2. The Chinese Government is aware that the citizens of India enjoy freedom of travel and freedom of speech in accordance with the law of the land. It is a fact that some members of the Indian Parliament visited Taipeh in June last, but they had gone there purely in their private capacity. The Government of India has absolutely no responsibility for their visit or for any statements that they may have made during or after the visit. The protest lodged by the Chinese Government is, therefore, completely uncalled for and amounts to little other than an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of India. The Government of India must state very categorically that they resent this interference by the Chinese Government.

3. The Chinese Note has, maliciously and without the slightest regard for truth, accused the Government of India of serving "US imperialism as a tool for pushing ahead with the 'two China's plot'". This is a perfectly ludicrous charge. As the world knows and the Government of the People's Republic of China knows, India was one of the first countries to recognise the People's Republic of China and India has, year after year, pressed for the restoration to China of her proper place in the United Nations. And yet in its propaganda, it is evident from the Note under reply, the Chinese Government persists in its attitude of returning evil for good. There is no other explanation for the patently untruthful allegation that the Government of India "has continued its

collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek regime". In its anti-Indian frenzy, the Chinese Note has not only tried to hold the Government of India responsible for statements made by members of the Opposition parties in the democratically elected Indian Parliament, but has also taken out of context and distorted the remarks of some of the Ministers of the Government. All this hardly merits any detailed refutation. It has also levelled the false charge that a member of the Indian National Congress was one of the group of Parliamentarians who went to Taipeh, when in fact, there was no such person in the group. Falsehood and distortion of facts seem to have become an integral part of Chinese propaganda.

4. The Government of China is aware that there are a number of countries in the world, including some in Asia and Africa, who recognise Taiwan and have diplomatic relations with Taiwan; but India is not one of these. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government has chosen to direct this volley of false propaganda against India for its so-called "collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek regime". All this only makes it obvious that the root-cause of these false charges and hostile propaganda is nothing but the anti-Indian animus that China has allowed herself to develop in recent years.

5. The Chinese Note in question sanctimoniously advises the Government of India "to treasure the friendship between the Chinese and the Indian peoples". It would be pertinent to ask whether China has given any evidence of being in the least interested in friendship and good relations with India. The Chinese Government has struck a heavy blow at the traditional friendship between the two countries by its massive invasion and aggression across the northern Himalayan border of India in October-November 1962. This invasion was a blow aimed at the stability,

prosperity and dignity of the people of India and was a woeful negation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. With what face can the Chinese Government give advice about friendship between the peoples, when the invading Chinese armies continue to occupy 14,500 square miles of Indian territory in the vital Ladakh region of India? Friendship between peoples must be based on other things than violence, aggression and false and malicious propaganda, and the Government of India are waiting to see evidence of this in the China of today.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 10 August, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and with Reference to the Note No. 13/71, dated 27th June, 1964 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China has the honour to state as follows:

In the Note under reference it is stated that "as the Indian Government had expressed the desire to appoint care-takers, the local authorities in Yatung had already hired three care-takers for the Indian side". In this connection an extract of the Government of India's Note, dated the 4/5th September, 1963 is reproduced below:

"The contents of the Chinese Government's Note itself now

make it clear that it is essential to have care-takers to look after the buildings and the property they contain. It is, therefore, hoped that at least now the Chinese Government will agree to the appointment of at least *one or two of the former local employees of the Agency as care-takers for the building.*"

Without taking this fact into consideration the Chinese side in its Note, dated the 16th October, 1963, informed the Government of India that the Chinese Government had instructed the local authorities concerned to employ two or three care-takers for the Indian side. The intention of the Government of India to engage ex-employees of the former Indian Trade Agency was reiterated in the Government of India's Note, dated the 11th December, 1963. It was also mentioned in this Note that it was proposed to depute one or two officials of the Indian Embassy in Peking to visit Lhasa, Gyantse and Yatung to inspect the Indian Government's buildings and property and also to make arrangements for the appointment of care-takers as already agreed to by the Chinese Government.

In the context of what has been stated above the Government of India request the Chinese Government in the first instance, to extend facilities for a consular officer of the Indian Embassy in Peking to visit Lhasa, Yatung and Gyantse at an early date so that an inspection of the Indian Government buildings and property in Tibet may be undertaken and necessary arrangements made for the appointment of care-takers.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

**Memorandum given by the Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 11 August, 1964**

Reference Memorandum of the Chinese Foreign Office, dated June 4, 1964.

2. It has been already clearly established in previous notes of the Government of India that the Indian Embassy in China has never indulged in anti-China propaganda. The Memorandum under reference contains little more than a repetition of baseless charges against the Indian Embassy in China.

3. In their Memorandum, dated January 8, 1964, the Government of India have clearly pointed out that they do not question the Chinese Embassy's right of publishing in its bulletins official documents of the Chinese Government handed over to the Government of India. Such official documents of the Chinese Government, addressed to the Government of India, are allowed to be circulated in India when printed in the Chinese Embassy's publicity bulletins, even when these documents are critical of the Government of India's policies. This has been the consistent policy of the Government of India and has been brought to the notice of the Chinese Embassy in India even as early as on September 4, 1959.

4. The Government of India must however reiterate their contention that they cannot permit the Chinese Embassy in India to print and circulate articles with a propagandist, anti-Indian bias, in the Embassy's bulletins, particularly articles that violate the law of the land.

5. In the light of the above facts, the Government of India reject the Chinese Government's Memorandum under reference.

Note given by the Embassy of China in India, to the Ministry of External Affairs, 3 September, 1964

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India presents its compliments to the Ministry of External Affairs of India and, with regard to the incidents in which the Indian authorities unwarrantedly confiscated and delayed the Embassy's mails, has the honour to state as follows:

The Embassy has received three letters dated August 18, 1964 from the Asstt. Collector of Customs for Postal Appraisalment, G.P.O., Calcutta, saying that a number of packets of books sent to the Embassy from Peking are liable to confiscation. Besides, the "People's Daily" regularly airmailed from Peking to the Embassy, the "Daily News Release" of the Hsinhua News Agency regularly airmailed from Hongkong to the Embassy, and other packets of books and magazines sent from Peking to the Embassy, have still been constantly confiscated or delayed by the Indian authorities without any justification. For instance, ten issues of the "People's Daily" and twenty issues of the "Daily News Release" in the month of July have not yet been received up to now. The Embassy has made inquiries at the Indian Post Office, but no reply has been received as yet.

It must be pointed out that all the above-mentioned mails are sent to the Embassy for official use and that the delay in delivery and confiscation of these mails by the Indian Post Office or Customs are outrageous acts in total.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 9 September, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's a Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Government's Note dated June 25, 1964, in regard to the premises occupied by the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong.

In its Note dated January 15, 1960 the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India had stated as follows:

"With regard to the attempt of the Darjeeling local authorities of India to acquire without any justification the land being used by the Chinese Trade Agency at Kalimpong, the Embassy would like to reiterate to the Ministry that it is clearly laid down in the Notes exchanged in 1954 pertaining to the Agreement between China and India on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India that the two Governments agree to render assistance to each other's Trade Agencies in the use of land and in housing. The Embassy, therefore, still requests that the Government of India, in line with the above-mentioned provisions withdraw the acquisition of the land being used by the Chinese Trade Agency and kindly give facilities so that the two properties of buildings and land concerned may be transferred to the Chinese Trade Agency at Kalimpong at an early date".

In the context of the above statement by the Chinese Embassy the present contention of the Chinese Government that "the building and ground of the former Trade Agency in Kalimpong are the properties of the Chinese Government" is not sustainable. As stated in the

earlier Notes of the Government of India and reiterated in their last Note dated March 20, 1964, the building, as well as the land on which the premises of the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong had been located, have never been the properties of the Chinese Government. They had merely been let out to them for the use of the Chinese Trade Agency.

The Government of India would like to state here that they have no interest in continuing this futile correspondence. Any further Note from the Chinese Government repeating the baseless claims in this regard, will not merit a reply.

The Ministry of External Affairs takes this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Memorandum given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 19 September 1964

Please refer to the memorandum of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs to the Chinese Embassy in India on December 6, 1963

With ulterior motives, on the eve of withdrawal from China the staff of the former Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa had carried out grave destruction of the premises and property of the former Indian Consulate General in Lhasa and the former Indian Trade Agency in Yatung; the testimony of witnesses and material evidence are all there, and as such absolutely cannot be prevaricated. In its Memoranda of December 29, 1962, March 11, 1963 and November 12, 1963 to the Indian side, the Chinese Government had given a full explanation of the truth of the fact and its stand on this question. After

the foul act by its officials was exposed, the Indian Government had over and over again repeated its unfounded accusations in an attempt to extricate itself from the boundry. The fact, however, remains a fact. No matter how the Indian side painstakingly fabricates and prevaricates, it is futile. The

Chinese Government once again condemns such foul act of the Consul-General of India and others. Should the Indian side continue to haggle on it, the Chinese Government will not pay attention to it. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, reasserts that the Chinese Government reserves the right to look into the matter. . . .

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 7 October, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Foreign Office Note (64) Pu Yi Ya Tzu No. 326, dated the 8th June, 1964. .

2. On April 29, 1964, the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi handed over to the Ministry of External Affairs two letters of invitation for the Association of Scientific Workers of India, to attend the 1964 *Peking Symposium*. On May 4, the Ministry of External Affairs wrote to the Chinese Embassy, saying that "in the context of the occupation of Indian territory by Chinese forces and the consequent violation of India's territorial integrity by China, it would not be possible for any delegate from India to participate in the 1964 Peking Symposium".

3. The Chinese note, in question, has characterized this reply as an act of 'rudeness of the Indian Government', and has argued that China had sent out the invitation to the Indian Scientists 'purely'

out of the desire of strengthening the friendship between the people of China and India and promoting international scientific and cultural exchange.

4. In the context of the Chinese aggression in October/November, 1962, this is, to say the least, sanctimonious hypocrisy. The Government of the People's of Republic of China has advanced vast and fantastic territorial claims against India, launched a massive invasion across the Indian borders in the autumn of 1962, and is still unlawfully occupying 14,500 square miles of Indian territory in Ladakh. To talk of promoting friendship with India, without any intention of undoing these wrongs and without showing any concrete signs of wanting to enter into negotiations on an honourable basis, is nothing but a thinly veiled attempt to mislead and deceive world public opinion.

5. As regards the promotion of international scientific and cultural exchange mentioned in the Chinese Note, the world is painfully aware of the Chinese Government's policy of opposition to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which has been signed by an overwhelming majority of the nations of the world, and the open declaration by Chinese leaders that it is bent upon manufacturing that mighty weapon of destruction the atom bomb. It is clear that the Government of China are trying feverishly to harness the forces of science, not for the peaceful purpose of improving the living standards of the six hundred and fifty million people of China, but for serving the chauvinistic, expansionist, big-power dreams of the Chinese Government. The Government and the people of India, committed as they are to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, cannot enter into any 'international scientific and cultural exchange' with China, as long as China openly advocates the use of nuclear science for war-like purposes.

6. The Chinese Note has referred to the creation of 'a favourable atmosphere for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question'. It was precisely for this that the six Asian-African countries who met at the Colombo, Conference formulated certain proposals for the acceptance of India and China. India has, accepted the Colombo Proposals, but China has not. If the People's Republic of China are sincere in their desire to create a favourable atmosphere, they should accept the Colombo Proposals, completely and without any reservations, just as India has done, so that negotiations may commence between the two countries as envisaged in the Colombo Proposals.

7. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India, the assurances of its highest consideration.

**Memorandum given by the Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 8 October
1964**

Reference Memorandum No. 13/303, dated 19th September, 1964 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, to the Indian Embassy in Peking.

In the Ministry of External Affairs Memoranda dated the 8th February, 1963, 1st April, 1963 and 6th December, 1963 indisputable facts have been given to prove that the vandalism perpetrated on the buildings and property of the Government of India at Yatung and Lhasa had been deliberately caused by miscreants with the connivance of the local authorities. In spite of this, the Chinese Government, in their characteristic manner, are

still trying to shield the actions of these hooligans by slandering the officials of the former Indian Consulate General at Lhasa.

The Chinese Government are fully aware that Mr. Hang, the Vice Director of the Lhasa Foreign Bureau had himself told the former Indian Consul General that the local authorities were neither responsible for the safety of the Indian Government's property left at Yatung nor were they interested in what happened. What does this attitude of a Chinese Government official indicate? Is it not a clear proof that the local authorities had deliberately adopted an indifferent attitude so as to encourage the hooligans to destroy the Indian Government's property left behind in Tibet? Instead of dealing with the miscreants who have caused damages to the property of a foreign Government, the Chinese Government continues to slander the Indian officials. This can deceive nobody and the Government of India continues to hold the Chinese Government solely responsible for the damages done to the property of the Government of India at Lhasa and Yatung.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 11 November 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state as follows:

1. In its note of April 3, 1964 to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Indian Embassy in China extended an invitation on behalf of the Organizing Committee for the XXII International Geological Congress to the Chinese Government to send its official delegates to the XXII International Geological

Congress which will be held in New Delhi in December, 1964.

The Chinese Government has always actively favoured and vigorously supported cultural and scientific interflow and friendly contacts between the peoples of different countries, including the peoples of China and India. In this spirit, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a reply to the Indian Embassy on May 30 expressing its appreciation for the Indian invitation and its readiness to give it favourable consideration. However, an Indian responsible officer of the Organizing Committee for the XXII International Geological Congress had earlier indicated to the Chinese organisation concerned that the Committee intended to invite the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan. Moreover, the Chinese Government learned that the XXII International Geological Congress is sponsored by the International Union of Geological Sciences of which the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan remains up to now a member. In view of this, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in replying to the invitation note of the Indian Embassy, solemnly made clear its just stand of resolutely opposing the utilization of any international conference to create "two Chinas," and put forward three relevant questions for clarification by the Indian Government.

On July 28, 1964, the Indian Embassy in China sent a note in reply to the Chinese Foreign Ministry whose substance consisted only of three words, something which is indeed seldom seen in diplomatic correspondence.

The first question raised in the Chinese note was: Whether the Organizing Committee for the XXII International Geological Congress has changed its original stand of intending to invite the Chiang clique? The answer in the Indian Embassy's note was: "No." The second question was: Whether the International Union of

Geological Sciences has deprived the Chiang clique in Taiwan of membership? The Indian Embassy answered: "No." The third question was: Whether an invitation has been extended to the Chiang clique to attend any of the other international conferences and activities in the field of the geological sciences due to take place concurrently with the XXII International Geological Congress? The Indian Embassy answered: "Yes".

This shows that the Indian Government has long been aware that the Chiang clique elements in Taiwan have been invited to attend the XXII International Geological Congress. Yet the Indian Government glaringly sent a diplomatic note to the Chinese Government inviting it to send its official delegates to the Congress. Is this not a flagrant attempt to create a situation of "two Chinas" at an international conference to be held in New Delhi? The Chinese Government cannot but express extreme indignation at this and hereby solemnly state once again that the Chinese Government will never send delegates to any conference in which Chiang clique elements are taking part and that it will definitely not play into the hands of the Indian Government. Incidentally the Indian Government is advised to note the fact that the U.S. imperialist scheme of creating "two Chinas" is becoming more and more discredited in the world and has long been repudiated by all countries which uphold justice and face up to reality. The Indian Government, however, is ever more energetically working to promote this scheme. This will bring no other result than exposing the Indian Government before the world as a tool serving the policies of U.S. imperialism.

2. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that in April this year China invited Indian scientists to attend the 1964 Peking Symposium held last August. This was done solely for the purpose of

promoting international scientific exchanges and friendship between the people of different countries. It was regrettable that the Indian Government not only unreasonably rejected the invitation before the invited Indian organizations had time to give their reply, but took the opportunity to slander China by rehashing its shop-worn charge of Chinese "violation of India's territorial integrity". In its note of June 8, 1964 to the Indian Embassy in China, the Chinese Foreign Ministry reasoned things out in a serious manner and refuted the truculent and unreasonable attitude of the Indian Government.

The Indian Ministry of External Affairs, however, continued to make slanders and attacks against the Chinese Government in its October 7 note of reply to the Chinese Embassy in India. In this note, while slanderously charging China once again with "aggression", the Indian Government racked its brains and sought out a pretext to obstruct the friendly contacts between the Chinese and Indian peoples by declaring that as the Chinese Government was opposed to the tri-partite partial test ban treaty and was determined to manufacture atom bombs, India could not enter into any scientific and cultural exchanges with China. Such sophistry is indeed both nonsensical and clumsy.

The Chinese Government's just stand on the tripartite partial test ban treaty and on nuclear weapons has long been elucidated in detail in numerous official documents. It is futile for the Indian Government to vilify China on this score. It should be pointed out that if, according to the Indian Government's logic no cultural and scientific interflow should be carried out with China because China is determined to manufacture atom bombs, then, one may ask the Indian Government whether it has stopped its contacts with the United States whose Government has for the past twenty

years conducted hundreds of nuclear tests and has manufactured, stockpiled and is continuing to manufacture huge quantities of nuclear weapons. The United States has established nuclear bases in many parts of the world and U.S. Air and naval forces armed with nuclear weapons are rushing hither and thither throughout the world intimidating the peoples and jeopardizing world peace; has the Indian Government made any effective opposition to all that? All the world knows that it is precisely the Indian Government which is in a passionate embrace with the U.S. nuclear overlord. The facts are very clear: In making the question of nuclear weapons a pretext for disrupting friendly contacts between the Chinese and Indian peoples, the Indian Government is motivated by sheer hypocrisy and is serving the U.S. imperialist policies of nuclear monopoly and blackmail.

3. The two matters mentioned above are by no means unrelated to each other. They precisely show that while painstakingly trying to make use of the international conference to be held in India to promote the scheme of creating "two Chinas," the Indian Government is bent on obstructing and sabotaging genuine cultural exchanges between nations and friendly contacts between the Chinese and Indian peoples. These most unseemly acts of the Indian Government will surely meet with the just condemnation of the peoples of China and India and fair-minded public opinion of the world.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Embassy of China in India, to the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 14 November, 1964

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India presents its compliments to the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, and has the honour to state as follows:

On October 10, 1964, the Chiang Kai-shek clique elements in India held so-called national day celebrations in Calcutta, Bombay, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in India, and made all sorts of slanders and raised hue and cry against the People's Republic of China. On October 31, the Chiang Kai-shek clique elements openly held meetings in Calcutta to celebrate the birthday of bogus president Chiang Kai-shek, clamouring against China. In Calcutta, a responsible office-bearer of the West Bengal organization of the Indian ruling Congress Party even went so far as to take part, together with some people of the United States of America and South Korea, in such activities of opposing the People's Republic of China as the so-called national day celebrations of the Chiang- Kai-shek clique elements. The Indian press outrightly carried articles saying "October 10 is the National Day of China" and calling the Chiang Kai-shek clique "Republic of China" and "the Government of China". It must be pointed out that the Chiang Kai-shek clique elements would not have been able to carry out these illegal activities but for the connivance and support of the Indian Government. This shows that how far the Indian Government has gone along the road of scheming to create "two Chinas" and deliberately worsening the relations between China and India, while it still maintains diplomatic relations with China. The Embassy expresses great indignation at this, lodges a strong protest with the Indian

Government and demands that no similar incident shall recur.

.The Embassy takes this opportunity to renew to the Ministry the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 8 December, 1964

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic, of China and has the honour to refer to the Embassy's note No. M/541/64, dated November 14, 1964.

The Government of India, in its note of January 23, 1964, in reply to a similar protest lodged by the Chinese Embassy on 6th January, had clearly stated that people in India enjoy the fullest freedom to assemble and hold meetings, as long as they do not infringe the law. The Chinese nationals who held meetings in Calcutta and other places had obviously done so in full conformity with the law of the land. For the Chinese Embassy to protest against this and to 'demand that no similar incident shall recur' is a futile and meaningless attempt on their part to interfere in the internal affairs of India. It is equally meaningless for the Chinese Embassy to say that these meetings could not have taken place 'but for the connivance and support of the Indian Government'. In making this charge, the Embassy is either trying deliberately to distort the facts or is betraying its inability to understand that lawful assemblies and meetings can and do take place in India, at any rate without 'the connivance and support' of the Government. The Chinese Embassy has also seized this occasion to

accuse India of 'scheming to create two Chinas'. This utterly false accusation demonstrates the strange unwillingness of the Chinese Government to appreciate the support the Government of India has given, ever since 1950, to the cause of the restoration of China's seat in the United Nations. The Government of India reject this propagandist protest note of the Chinese Embassy.

The Ministry of External Affairs takes this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 28 December, 1964

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and refutes the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated August 5, 1964 as follows:-

1. In its note the Indian Government could not but admit that a delegation of Indian Members of Parliament had "visited" Taiwan and carried out anti-Chinese activities, yet it quibbled that this was "freedom of travel and freedom of speech" in accordance with the law of India. It further said that the Chinese Government's protest with the Indian Government against its activities to create "two Chinas" "amounts to little other than an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of India". This is indeed most absurd. It shows that the Indian Government is getting so frantic in its anti-Chinese campaigns that it is talking utter nonsense.

2. The Indian Government maintains diplomatic relations with China and has stated on numerous occasions that it recognizes the People's Republic of China only. However, in the past few years, it has carried out flirtations and come into ever closer contacts, both overt and covert, with the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has long been repudiated by the Chinese people, working ever more energetically for the U.S. imperialist plot to create "two Chinas". Following the "visit" to Taiwan by the Delegation of Indian Members of Parliament last June, an Indian named S. N. Sinha went to Taiwan in November in an ambiguous capacity and joined the Chiang clique in making the clamour that the People's Republic of China was the common enemy of India and the Chiang clique. Immediately thereafter, Member of the Indian Parliament Patel and others went to Taiwan to attend a conference of the "Asian people's anti-communist league" and clamoured for restoration of diplomatic relations between India and the Chiang clique. According to the Indian Government, all these are "freedom of travel and freedom of speech enjoyed by the citizens of India in accordance with the law of the land". The Indian Government is thus revealing its unseemly features by listing all activities serving the U.S. imperialist plot of creating "two Chinas" as "freedom" protected by the law of India.

3. Moreover, both the official organs of India and its Ministers have openly clamoured about the existence of "two Chinas". Unable to deny these iron-clad facts in its note, the Indian Government tried to slip away by falsely charging the Chinese Government with having "taken out of context and distorted the remarks of some of the Ministers of the Government". This is of no avail. The Seventh World Fellowship of Buddhist Conference was illegally held in India between the end of November and the beginning of December this year. During that conference, the

Indian Government treated the so-called Buddhist delegation sent by the Chiang clique as guests of honour. According to news reports, the Indian President openly received the Buddhist delegation of the Chiang clique and accepted gifts from the Chiang clique elements; the Chief Minister of West Bengal of India had a friendly meeting with them; and with the arrangement of the Indian Government, the Chiang clique elements held talks with Dalai, the rebel Chieftain of Tibet. One would like to ask the Indian Government: Is this whole series of grave acts in collusion with the Chiang clique not an attempt to create "two Chinas" or a violation of the accepted standards of international relations? No amount of sophistry and prevarications can deny the facts.

4. What is more absurd and ridiculous is that in its note the Indian Government has gone so far as to call the just protest of the Chinese Government "an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of India". Well, let the people of the whole world see who after all is interfering in the internal affairs of the other. The Indian Government is helping U.S. imperialism in its attempt to carve out China's sacred territory Taiwan Province by creating "two Chinas". Is this not gross interference in China's internal affairs? The Indian Government has been directing the fugitive Tibetan rebels in India to engage in all sorts of subversive and disruptive activities against China's Tibet, and recently it even supported the attempt to place the so-called "Tibet question" on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly. Is this not gross interference in China's internal affairs? In the face of these instances of naked interference in China's internal affairs, the Chinese Government has every reason to lodge its serious protests. The Indian Government however, has labelled this as China's "attempt to interfere in the internal affair of India." It is really unthinkable that the Indian Government should have made such an

arbitrary and unreasonable statement which confounds the right and wrong.

5. In its note, the Indian Government repeated its slanderous allegation of what it called China's "invasion" and "occupation" of Indian territory. As is well known, in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, India is upto now in occupation of 90,000 square kilometers of Chinese territory; and in the western sector, it has laid claims to target tracts of China's territory. But the Indian Government has all along refused to hold peaceful negotiations. World opinion has long formed its definite judgment as to who is right and who is wrong on the Sino-Indian boundary issue. Although the Indian Government has all along used its slanderous shopworn charge about China's "aggression" as a fig-leaf to cover up its subservience to U.S. imperialism, its begging for foreign aid and its frantic anti-China activities, the people of the world have already seen through this trick and it no longer works. The pro-American and anti-Chinese policy persistently followed by the Indian Government has not only seriously impaired the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples but also run counter to the vital interests of the Indian people. The Indian Government is advised not to follow U.S. imperialism any longer in taking the anti-China road which is a blind alley and to put an Immediate end to all its scheming activities for creating "two Chinas".

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 9 February, 1965

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and has the honour to refer to the Embassy's note No. M/498/64, dated September 3, 1964.

2. The Chinese Embassy is presumably aware that under the existing regulations in India, entry into India of any publication or document which directly or indirectly questions the territorial integrity of India or is of such a nature as would affect India's friendly relations with third countries, is prohibited. The Chinese Embassy is presumably also aware that, according to the practice prevailing in India also according to the international practice, any material transmitted through ordinary postal channels must not violate the law.

3. In their note dated September 3, 1964, the Chinese Embassy has made a reference to the letter received from the Postal Customs Authorities informing the Chinese Embassy that certain packets addressed to the Embassy had been held up by the Postal Customs. This is in keeping with the prevailing regulations where the Postal Customs Authorities are required to send a notice to parties, to whom the offending material has been addressed, requesting the addressees to state their views on the material seized. From the letter from the Postal authorities addressed to the Chinese Embassy enclosed with the note under reply, it is clear that the material sent to the Chinese Embassy could not have been meant for the official use of the Embassy, as claimed in the Embassy's note, but was meant for carrying on propaganda against countries with whom India has friendly relations. It is

impermissible for foreign diplomatic missions accredited to India to conduct propaganda against countries with whom India has friendly relations.

4. The Government of India cannot accept the view that this action of the Postal Customs Authorities in seizing offensive material infringing the laws of India addressed to the Chinese Embassy, have, in any way, created "utmost difficulties for the normal functioning of the Embassy". The Ministry of External Affairs are constrained to point out the fact that the "normal functioning" of the Chinese Embassy in India must not include the conducting of adverse propaganda against countries with whom India has friendly relations.

5. In view of the circumstances explained above, the protest of the Chinese Embassy dated September 3, 1964, is categorically rejected.

6. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 12 February, 1965

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Foreign Office notes, dated November 11 and December 28, 1964, and to say that the "protests" made in

both these notes are rejected by the Government of India for reasons stated in paragraph below.

Both these notes harp on the usual, mendacious Chinese propaganda theme, that the, Government of India is pursuing a policy of creating "two Chinas". Everyone knows that India recognizes the People's Republic of China and has diplomatic relations with it, and that India does not recognize Taiwan and has no diplomatic relations with it. India has not changed its policy in this matter, in spite of the wanton aggression committed by the People's Republic of China on the soil of India. As against this, it may be significant to record that there are many countries in Asia and Africa and else- where which, unlike India, have diplomatic relations with Taiwan and do not recognize the People's Republic of China. In fact, some 50 countries have diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, while over 50 countries still recognize Taiwan and have diplomatic relations with Taiwan. The Government of India can well appreciate the feelings of the Chinese Government in this matter, but it fails to understand why the Chinese Government should simulate indignation and direct slanderous charges against the Government of India, who does not have any diplomatic or official relations with Taiwan. These meaningless allegations are all the more extraordinary, because, as a matter of fact, the Chinese Government carries on commercial and cultural contacts and has friendly relations with a number of countries who continue to recognize Taiwan. Indeed, some countries whose diplomatic Missions the Chinese Government have received in Peking still maintain Consular Offices in Taiwan. And yet it is the Indian Government which has frequently been singled out by the Chinese Government for virulent attacks for alleged "flirtations" with the Taiwan Government and for "plotting to create two

Chinas". It is obvious that by making these charges and protests, the Chinese Government is merely adding grist to its propaganda mill, and also betraying its animus against the people and the Government of India.

In its note of December 28, the Chinese Foreign Office has cited the visits of private individuals from India to Taiwan to prove that the Government of India is supporting the idea of creating "two Chinas". It has been pointed out to the Chinese Government, on several occasions in the past, that the Government of India hold no responsibility for these visits of private individuals to Taiwan, and that to protest against such visits is a waste of effort, since personal freedom is guaranteed to citizens of India under the Indian Constitution and the Government of India can, therefore, pay no serious attention to "protests" on this issue.

The Chinese note of November 11, 1964, refers to the invitations issued by the Organizing Committee for the 22nd International Geo-logical Congress to representatives of the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, for attending the 22nd International Geological Congress which was held in New Delhi in December, 1964. The Chinese Government is aware that the International Geological Congress is a non-governmental body, and the invitations to the Congress are governed by the rules and procedures of the International Geological Congress itself. The statute of the Congress lays down that geological institutes all over the world should be invited to send one or more representatives to the Congress Sessions. The Organizing Committee for the 22nd Session, which was held in New Delhi, was following this prescribed practice in respect of invitations. At the previous Sessions of the Congress held in other countries invitations had been set to, both, the People's Republic of China and Taiwan. It is, therefore,

surprising that the Chinese Government has chosen to "protest" about this to the Government of India and to deliberately misconstrue the invitation extended to it as "evidence" of the so-called Indian attempt to create "two Chinas".

The Chinese note of November 11 has complained about the brevity of the reply given by the Government of India in its note of July 28. The above note was in answer to a peremptory demand contained in the Chinese note of May 30, 1964, according to which India was asked three questions and required to give a 'clear-cut answer'. It is extraordinary that when clear-cut and unambiguous answers have been given the Chinese Government should feel aggrieved about the precision and brevity of the replies.

The Chinese note has taken objection to a statement in the Indian note of October 7, 1964, that India could not enter into "any inter-national, scientific and cultural exchange" with China, as long as China remains in illegal possession of Indian territory and advocates the use of nuclear science for war-like purposes. The Chinese note, deviating from the scurrilous into the perversely romantic, has alleged that the Government of India "is in passionate embrace with the U.S. nuclear war-lord". In its note of December 28, 1964, further slanderous expressions like "subservience to U.S. imperialism" and "begging for foreign aid" have been used about India. The Government of India would like to tell the Chinese Government that nobody is impressed by this kind of bad language. As regards India's nuclear policy, it is too well-known to suffer from China's misrepresentations. India has held that the production, testing and proliferation of nuclear weapons is against the interest of peace and the aspirations of mankind, especially of those millions of human beings in Asia and

Africa who are struggling to raise their living standards and to consolidate their newly-won political freedom through economic and social development. Between the Government of India's policy of peaceful utilisation of nuclear energy for the benefit of mankind and China's policy of producing and stockpiling nuclear weapons for war and destruction, there can be no meeting point. What is strange is that when more than 100 nations of the world have signed the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, as a practical step towards total and complete disarmament, China has not only refused to sign the Treaty, but opposed it vehemently and has conducted a nuclear explosion of its own. China stands condemned for its Lop Nor explosion because this nuclear test was conducted in defiance of powerful opinion expressed by the 47 non-aligned nations who had just then debated this question and called upon "all States to accede to the Moscow Treaty partially banning the nuclear tests and to abide by its provisions in the interests of peace and welfare of mankind". To argue that China's nuclear policy, today, is a "just stand", it may be pointed out, is a surprising reversal of what the Chinese Government had stood for in the Bandung declaration of 1955 which had appealed to all powers to reach an agreement to suspend nuclear experiments. The Lop Nor explosion thus stands condemned even in terms of China's own solemn commitment in 1955 which China apparently wants her friends to forget.

The Chinese Foreign Office note of December 28, 1964 has referred to the 7th World Fellowship of Buddhist Conference, recently held in India. The Chinese Government has taken this opportunity to vilify the Government of India, because some Buddhist religious leaders from Taiwan came to India and took part in this Conference. The Government of China is aware that the World Fellowship of Buddhists is a non-

governmental organisation. The Conference was held in India under the auspices of this organisation and not that of the Government of India. It is, therefore, extraordinary that the Chinese Government should have thought it fit to protest about this to the Government of India. India is a secular state where all religions enjoy full freedom. India is also the historic home of Buddhism. It was, therefore, only natural that Buddhist religious leaders from different parts of the world should have come to attend this Conference in India. The Chinese Government's protest is, therefore, impertinent and unwarranted and cannot be entertained by the Government of India. The Chinese note has made this also an occasion for accusing India of "directing the fugitive Tibetan rebels in India to engage in all sorts of subversive and disruptive activities against China's Tibet". This is a completely false allegation which has been thoroughly refuted by the Government of India on many occasions in the past. The Government of India has already told the Chinese Government that if China has any trouble from the people of Tibet, it is solely because of the oppressive policies they have pursued against the traditional autonomy and the elementary human rights of the people of Tibet. The Government of India is prepared to repeat this again and again so that China may realise the folly of its inhuman policy towards the people of Tibet.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Copy of letter dated the 17th October, 1964 from His Excellency Mr.Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China to the Prime Minister of India.

On October 16, 1964 China exploded an atom bomb, thus successfully making its first nuclear test. On the same day, the Chinese Government issued a statement on this event, setting forth in detail China's position on the question of nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government consistently stands for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China has been compelled to conduct nuclear testing and develop nuclear weapons. China's mastering of nuclear weapons is entirely for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from the U.S. nuclear threat.

The Chinese Government solemnly declares that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government will continue to work for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons through international consultations and, for this purpose, has put forward in its statement the following proposal:

"That a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and that, as the first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-

free zones, nor against each other".

It is the common aspiration of all peace-loving countries and people of the world to prevent a nuclear war and eliminate nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that its proposal will be given favourable consideration and positive response by your Government.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

ANNEX: Text of the Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China, dated October 16, 1964.

Statement of Chinese Government dated 16 October, 1964

China exploded an atom bomb at fifteen hundred hours on October sixteen nineteen sixty-four, A.D. thereby conducted successfully its first nuclear test. This is a major achievement of the Chinese people in their struggle to increase their national defence capability and oppose the U S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats.

To defend one is the inalienable right of every sovereign state. And to safeguard world peace is the common task of all peace loving countries. China cannot remain idle and do nothing in the face of the ever increasing nuclear threat posed by the United States. China is forced to conduct nuclear tests and develop nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government has consistently advocated the

complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Should this have been realized China need not develop the nuclear weapon. But this position of ours has met the stubborn resistance of the U.S. imperialists. The Chinese Government pointed out long ago that the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests signed by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union in Moscow in July nineteen hundred sixty three was a big fraud to fool the people of the world that it tried to consolidate the nuclear monopoly held by the three nuclear powers and tie up the hands and feet of all peace loving countries and that it not only did not decrease but had increased the nuclear threat of U.S. imperialism against the People of China and of the whole world. The U.S. Government declared undisguisedly even then that the conclusion of such a treaty does not at all mean that the United States would not conduct underground tests or would not use, manufacture, stockpile, export or proliferate nuclear weapons. The fact of the past year and more fully proves this point.

During the past year and more the United State has not stopped manufacturing various nuclear weapons on the basis of the nuclear tests which it had already conducted. Furthermore seeking for ever greater perfection the United States has during this same period conducted several dozen underground nuclear tests and thereby more perfecting the nuclear weapons it manufactures. In stationing nuclear submarines in Japan, the U.S. is posing a direct threat to the Japanese people, the Chinese people and the peoples of all other Asian countries. The U.S. is now putting nuclear weapons into the hands of the West German revanchists through the socalled multilateral nuclear force and thereby threatening the security of the German Democratic Republic and the other East European Socialist countries. U.S. submarines carrying polaris missiles with nuclear warheads are prowling the Taiwan straits, the Tonkin Gulf,

the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, threatening everywhere peace loving countries and all peoples who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. Under such circumstances, how can it be considered that the U.S nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat against the people of the world no longer exist just because of the false impression created by the temporary halting of atmospheric tests by the United States?

The atom bomb is a paper tiger. This famous saying by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung is known to all. This was our view in the past and this is still our view at present. China is developing nuclear weapons not because we believe in the omnipotence of nuclear weapons and that China plans to use nuclear weapons. The truth is exactly to the contrary. In developing nuclear weapons, China's aim is to break the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers and to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government is loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We believe in the people. **It** is the people who decide the outcome of a war, and not any weapon. The destiny of China is decided by the Chinese people, and the destiny of the world by the peoples of the world, and not by the nuclear weapon. The development of nuclear by China is for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from the danger of the United States launching a nuclear war.

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares that China will never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Chinese people firmly support the struggles for liberation waged by all oppressed nations and people of the world. We are convinced that, by relying on their own struggles and also through

mutual aid, the peoples of the world will certainly win victory. The mastering of the nuclear weapon by China is great encouragement to the revolutionary peoples of the world in their struggles and a great contribution to the cause of defending world peace. On the question of nuclear weapons, China will neither commit the error of adventurism nor the error of capitulationism. The Chinese people can be trusted.

The Chinese Government fully understands the good wishes of peace loving countries and people for the halting of all nuclear tests. But more and more countries are coming to realise that the more the U.S. imperialists and their partners hold on to their nuclear monopoly, the more is there danger of a nuclear war breaking out. They have it and you don't, and so they are very haughty. But once those who oppose them also have it, they would no longer be so haughty, their policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat would no longer be so effective, and the possibility for a complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons would increase. We sincerely hope that a nuclear war would never occur. We are convinced that, so long as all peace loving countries and people of the world make common efforts and persist in the struggle, a nuclear war can be averted.

The Chinese Government hereby formally proposes to the Governments of the world that a Summit Conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that as a first step, the Summit Conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which will soon become nuclear powers undertaking not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, nor against

each other.

If those countries in possession of huge quantities of nuclear weapons are not even willing to undertake not to use them, how can those countries not yet in possession of them be expected to believe in their sincerity for peace and not to adopt possible and necessary defensive measures?

The Chinese Government will, as always, exert every effort to promote the realisation of the noble aim of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons through international consultations. Before the advent of such a day, the Chinese Government and people will firmly and unswervingly march along their own road of strengthening their national defences, defending their motherland and safeguarding world peace.

We are convinced that nuclear weapons, which are after all created by Man, certainly will be eliminated by man.

Copy of letter dated the 27th November, 1964, from the Prime Minister of India, to His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

I have received your letter of the 17th of October, 1964, on the atomic explosion conducted by China, the previous day, along with a statement issued by the Government of the People's Republic.

2. Your Excellency's letter and the statement repeat the same arguments and make the same proposal which you made in July-

August, 1963 when the nations of the world were preparing to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which Your Excellency's Government refused to subscribe to.

3. As you are aware, over a 100 nations have since adhered to that Treaty and the international community has repeatedly hailed the Treaty as a significant landmark in the quest of humanity towards general and complete disarmament. The cessation of atmospheric test explosions which followed also reduced radio-activity in the atmosphere and consequently the hazards to health which these explosions were inflicting on the innocent inhabitants of the earth.

This was the first time in the history of mankind that the peoples of the world took a concrete step towards the ultimate objective of a disarmed world. Since then, the international community has taken several steps in that direction, particularly towards non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and limitation of the arms race by reducing the production of fissile material for weapons purposes. I regret to note that the Government of People's Republic of China has not only denied its cooperation in this common endeavour of the peoples of the world for progress towards elimination of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament, but has also placed serious obstacles to it. Whatever the political or military considerations, the nuclear explosion conducted at Lop Nor on the 16th of October in total defiance of the opinion of the nations of the world and in complete disregard of the health of its innocent inhabitants is a development that people all over the world must regard as retrograde and deplorable.

4. Your Excellency has proposed "that a summit conference of all countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and that, as a first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries

which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear free zones, nor against each other". As I said earlier, this proposal is similar to the one Your Excellency made when the Government of the People's Republic of China refused to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. My predecessor then replied to Your Excellency at some length. He said that general and complete disarmament covering conventional weapons and forces, as well as nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, was the most urgent and the most vital objective of the peoples of the world. Pending the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty, it was necessary that immediate and positive steps, embracing measures of arms control and limitation and reduction of the risks of war, be taken to reduce international tension and build up confidence. The international community had been seized of the problem and the United Nations and the Disarmament Committee had been dealing with the entire gamut of the problems of disarmament and of a disarmed world. My predecessor then enumerated the steps which had already been taken and were being taken by the international community in this regard. He made particular reference to the stoppage of nuclear weapons tests in respect of which an international treaty had just been entered into. He drew attention to the fact that Your Excellency was one of the signatories of the Bandung declaration, which stated, *inter alia*, that "Pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the conference appealed to all powers concerned to reach an agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons". He hoped that the People's Republic of China, in harmony with the majority of the countries of the world, would subscribe to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which was not only a step towards general and complete disarmament, but also of great significance in saving humanity from the death-dealing fall-out resulting from explosions in the atmosphere.

5. I regret to say that Your Excellency's Government has belied this hope and ignored the appeal of the peoples of the world. The radioactive fall-out from the Chinese explosion has traversed the atmosphere of the globe, spreading its unhealthy debris over the peoples of the world. It has also given a set-back to the efforts being made by the international community to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons and bring the world nearer to its goal of general and complete disarmament.

6. In your letter, last year, Your Excellency had ignored conventional disarmament. This particular aspect of the matter cannot be absent in any proposal from the People's Republic of China which has the largest army in the world, not including millions of armed men in the Chinese militia. In your last letter, Your Excellency had also proposed a Summit Conference, which was to consider the question of prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons and of taking certain measures as initial steps. These initial steps included establishment of nuclear-free zones, including one which would cover China, refraining from export or import of nuclear weapons and technical data for their manufacture and cessation of all nuclear tests. This time, Your Excellency has omitted these suggestions, as the People's Republic of China, in complete disregard of its own proposals, has now established China as a nuclear weapons zone, rather than a non-nuclear zone, and conducted a nuclear weapons test explosion. Now Your Excellency only suggests that steps to be taken should be that nuclear powers should not *use* nuclear weapons. There is no reference to non-manufacture of weapons, non-possession of weapons or non-testing of weapons.

7. In the reply we had sent to your last communication, we had pointed out that the problems of general and complete disarmament,

including nuclear and conventional arms, were highly complicated matters requiring a lot of detailed work and were not matters which could be debated and settled at a large conference of the kind proposed by Your Excellency. By their very nature, these intricate issues need to be negotiated in smaller committees and often at the level of experts, as was being done by the United Nations. We agreed that it was essential that all countries subscribed to a treaty on general and complete disarmament. but we felt that a conference of plenipotentiaries of the countries of the world could be useful only when substantial progress had been made in working out a draft treaty on general and complete disarmament.

8. The Government of India continue to adhere to these views, which are also the views of the majority of the nations of the world. What is needed is not declarations or exhortations, but concrete and specific steps, like cessation of tests, prohibition of the use of fissile material for purposes of weapons, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons reduction of large and intimidating armies etc. In this context, I trust Your Excellency's Government will take early steps to subscribe to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and stop the production of these weapons of mass destruction.

9. The Government of India believe that general and complete disarmament is the most urgent and the most vital problem facing mankind today. They have, for years, urged that a treaty on general and complete disarmament be agreed upon as speedily as possible, and have lent their full support to all measures, comprehensive or partial, preliminary or otherwise, to that end. They will continue to do so. We believe in the ultimate victory of the spirit of humanity over the glorification of war and violence to the detriment of the human race.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.
