



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

JULY 1962-OCTOBER 1962

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On 6 August 1962, the Prime Minister presented to Parliament the Sixth White Paper containing the notes, memoranda and letters exchanged between the Government of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China since 2 December 1961. This White Paper contains the notes, memoranda and letters exchanged between the two Governments, since 28 July 1962. It also contains 5 earlier notes which had not been included in the previous White Paper.

Ministry of External Affairs,

New Delhi,

1st November 1962.

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Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 21 July 1962

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

According to reports from Chinese frontier guards in Sinkiang Indian troops which have intruded into Chip Chap valley in Sinkiang suddenly launched an armed attack on the Chinese frontier post at approximately 25° 20' N, 78° 05' E at about 19.00 hours on July 21, 1962. The said Indian troops began to advance on the Chinese post at 18.35 hours on the same day. From 19.00 hours they began to attack the Chinese post by continuous firing in disregard of the Chinese frontier guards' repeated advice by waving arms and shouting. As their lives were under direct threat the Chinese frontier guards were compelled to resort to self defence. According to the latest information the aforesaid Chinese post is still under the Indian troops' attack. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indian Government against this.

The Chinese Government has repeatedly stated that China is not willing to fight with India and the Sino-Indian boundary question can be settled only through routine negotiations. It has all along exercised the greatest forbearance and self-restraint towards Indian armed intrusions and provocations on many occasions. However the Chinese Government can by no means sit idle while its frontier guards are being encircled and annihilated by aggressors. At this critical moment the Chinese Government demands that the Indian Government immediately order the Indian troops to stop attacking the aforesaid Chinese post and withdraw from the area lest the situation be further aggravated. If the Indian Government should ignore the warning of the Chinese Government and continue to persist in its own way India must bear full responsibility for all the consequences that may arise there from.

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

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 23 July 1962

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:

According to reports from frontier guards in Sinkiang, China, there occurred recently another two serious cases of Indian troops intruding into Chinese territory and firing provocatively at Chinese frontier guards:

(1) A detachment of Indian troops crossed the boundary and approached the Chinese frontier post located at 35° 30' N, 78° 07' E at about 13.30 hours on July 16, 1962 and suddenly fired two shots at the said post around 14.00 hours on the same day. The Chinese guards did not return the fire.

(2) Several dozens of Indian troops intruded recently into Chinese territory south of the Galwan River and reached a place at approximately 34° 34.5' N, 78° 35.5' E where they attempted to entrench themselves permanently. At 17.35 hours on July 19, 1962 the said Indian troops unwarrantedly fired provocatively at a Chinese patrol nearby. The Chinese patrol took no action against the provocation.

If the Chinese frontier guards had not remained cool and exercised self-restraint, the above two new cases of provocation would most probably have led to armed clashes. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a serious protest with the Indian Government against the two cases.

It must be pointed out that in the past two months and more Indian troops who had intruded into Chinese territory along the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary had on a number of occasions made provocations against Chinese frontier guards by firing at them. Although the Chinese Government has repeatedly made representations and served warnings, the number of provocative firings by Indian troops has still increased, as described above. Things went further till July 21 when Indian troops made an armed attack on the Chinese post at approximately 35° 20' N, 78° 05' E, and openly provoked an armed clash (reference the Chinese Government's note of July 22, 1962), thus pushing the situation to a new danger point. In order that further aggravation of the situation may be avoided, it is imperative that the Indian Government immediately order all the intruding Indian troops to stop advancing on Chinese frontier guards and refrain from firing provocatively at them and to withdraw at once from Chinese territory.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy 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, 26 July 1962

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 note presented to the Charge d'Affaires of India at Peking on July 21st in regard to the incident that took place in the Chip Chap Valley on July 20th.

2. The Chinese Government appears to have been misinformed about the facts of the incidents which occurred on 20th July. Their note of 21st July is based on inaccurate reports from their local forces. Full and

accurate details of the two incidents that occurred on July 20th have been given by the Government of India in their note of 22nd July, 1962, presented to the Chinese Charge d'Affaires in New Delhi. The Government of India has nothing to add to the facts given in this note.

3. Tension has been increasing in the past few months on the north-western frontier of India as a result of the recent establishment of a number of Chinese military posts and the increasing aggressive activities of the Chinese forces in that area. Details of Chinese posts recently established in Indian Territory in the Ladakh region and instances of intensive and aggressive patrolling in this area have been given in the notes presented by this Government on 14th May, 6th June, 16th June, 6th, 10th, 12th and 14th July, 1962. These notes had also drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to the dangers of these aggressive activities.

4. The Government of India has in their various notes stressed the importance of avoiding clashes and of creating the appropriate climate for settlement of the differences regarding the alignment of the Sino-Indian border by peaceful negotiations. Not only has there been no positive response from the Government of China to these suggestions but the local Chinese authorities have, during the last few months, established several new military posts in Indian territory and stepped up their aggressive patrolling activity in this region.

5. The Chinese Government has, in their note of 21st July, stated that China is not willing to fight with India and the Sino-Indian border question can be settled only through negotiations. The Government of India fully reciprocates this desire for settlement by peaceful negotiations.

6. The factual history of the activities of the local Chinese forces in the Ladakh region is, however, not consistent with this desire for settlement by negotiations expressed by the Chinese Government. The local Chinese forces have even in the last few months established several

new posts and resorted to aggressive patrolling in Indian areas which lie west of even the 1956 Chinese map claim line which Prime Minister Chou En-lai told Prime Minister of India "correctly shows the traditional boundary between the two countries in this sector".

7. The details of the correct international boundary in the Ladakh region have been given with full supporting documentation by the Indian side in the meetings of the officials of the two sides whose report is now before the two Governments. Even if the Government of China are inclined to contest this boundary, the Government of India fail to understand why the Government of China do not restrain their forces from going beyond even their 1956 Chinese map claim line which is capable of easy and quick verification. It is true that the Government of India contest the validity of the 1956 Chinese map claim line but the Chinese local forces should not go beyond their own claim line confirmed by Prime Minister Chou En-lai.

8. The Government of India is prepared, as soon as the current tensions have eased and the appropriate climate is created, to enter into further discussions on the India-China boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials as contemplated during the meeting of Prime Minister Chou En-lai with the Prime Minister of India in 1960. The Government of India hope that the Government of China will give a positive response on the concrete suggestions made by the Government of India for relaxation of the current tensions and for creation of the right climate for negotiations.

9. 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 July 1962

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:

The Chinese Government protested on July 16, 1962, against the establishment of three strongpoints for aggressive purposes by Indian troops in the Pangong Lake area of Tibet, China. According to further reports, three more new aggressive strongpoints have been recently set up by Indian troops in the same area. One is situated on the northern bank of the Pangong Lake, about two kilometres north of the strongpoint set up by Indian troops near Sirijap not long ago, and only about 200 metres from a Chinese border post (approximately 33° 45.5' N, 78° 50.5' E). Another is situated on the southern bank of the Lake, at approximately 33° 40.5' N, 78° 47' E, as deep as about 4 kilometres inside Chinese territory. The third is situated at approximately 34° 03' N, 78° 44' E, and only about one and a half kilometres from a Chinese border post. At the same time, Indian motor-boats have been more and more frequently intruding into the Chinese part of the Pangong Lake.

What is particularly serious is that the Indian troops intruding into the Pangong Lake area have even engaged in provocative activities against the Chinese border post at approximately 33° 45.5' N, 78° 50.5' E. On July 21, 37 fully-armed Indian soldiers setting out from the aforesaid aggressive strongpoint newly set up on the northern bank of the Pangong Lake pressed forward all the way to a point only about 100 metres from the Chinese post. The Indian troops stopped advancing only after the Chinese border guards had repeatedly given out warnings. The Chinese border guards displayed the greatest self-restraint all through in spite of the serious threats they faced. The Chinese Government, however, is surprised to learn from the Indian Ministry of External Affairs'

note of July 22, which it has just received, that the Indian Government not only evaded the fact that the Indian troops had pressed on the Chinese post, but also slandered without any ground whatsoever that the Chinese border guards had fired at the Indian troops. This allegation can only be regarded as an attempt to cover up the Indian troops' unwarranted provocative activities. The same Indian note also referred to the armed conflict which occurred in the Chip Chap River area on July 21, but the account given is completely contrary to the facts, of which the Chinese Government already made a correct narration in its note of July 22.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest against the new intrusions and provocations of Indian troops and categorically rejects the protest made in the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated July 22. The Chinese Government demands that the Indian Government immediately withdraw all its aggressive strongpoints and troops from the Pangong Lake area.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy 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, 28 July 1962

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 July, 1962 at 10.00 hours a Chinese patrol opened fire on an Indian patrol from a distance of 300 yards at a position approximately E 78° 46.30', N 33° 57'. The Chinese patrol then withdrew immediately. In spite of grave provocation the Indian patrol did not return fire. The

Government of India lodges a strong and emphatic protest against this grave provocation on the part of Chinese forces.

The Indian Government has already in its Note of July 22nd called the attention of the Chinese Government to two earlier incidents of a similar nature and warned them of the dangers implicit in the presence of Chinese forces in this area. But for the extreme self-restraint shown by the Indian patrols this incident might have resulted in an unfortunate clash. The Indian Government demands that immediate steps should be taken to end continuing Chinese military activity in this area.

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, 30 July 1962

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 a further case of unprovoked firing by Chinese troops occurred at 14.15 hours on 29th July when a group of 20 Chinese soldiers opened fire on an Indian party in the vicinity of Yula in the Pangong lake area. The Indian party, although provoked, did not return the fire.

The Government of India have in the recent past drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to the mounting tension in this area caused by the aggressive military activity and irresponsible behaviour of the Chinese local forces in the Ladakh region. If the Chinese Government does not restrain their local forces, they will have to bear full responsibility for any untoward incident that might occur.

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, 30 July 1962

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:

The Chinese Government has learnt from reports from local authorities that the Indian side, while intensifying its encroachment on Chinese territory on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. successively sent out two groups of soldiers with radio sets to intrude into China's Wuje area on the middle sector of the Sino-Indian border at the end of May and in the second week of June, 1962, and that these soldiers, having stationed themselves there, have built fortifications and illegally set up military strongpoints. At the same time, Indian aircraft have repeatedly intruded into the air space over that area to drop supplies for the intruding Indian troops.

As is well-known, the Wuje area has always been Chinese territory and under the effective jurisdiction of China. As a result of the intrusion of Indian troops in 1955, a situation of armed confrontation between China and India was once created in this area. Then, on the initiative of the Chinese side, the two sides reached an agreement in 1956 that both sides should refrain from sending troops into the Wuje area so as to ease the tension and prevent border clashes. In the summer of 1961, however, the Indian side, flagrantly violating the agreement, sent troops into the Wuje area and stationed them there. Against this the Chinese Government

lodged a protest with the Indian Government in its note dated November 2, 1961. Now the Indian troops have again intruded into the Wuje area and aggravated the border tension. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against India's violation of the agreement and intrusion into Chinese territory, and demands that the Indian Government immediately withdraw the intruding Indian troops from the Wuje area.

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

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 1 August 1962

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. Following the armed attack on the Chinese border post in the Chip Chap River valley area in Sinkiang, China, on July 21, 1962, the Indian troops which have intruded into this area have set up a new strongpoint for aggressive purposes at approximately 35°20'N, 78° 3.5' E, only about 2.5 kilometres southwest of the Chinese post. At 14.00 hours on July 27, 14 Indian soldiers from the said strongpoint pressed forward to a place about 700 metres west of the Chinese post and fired two shots at it provocatively. The Chinese troops did not return fire.

2. Two more aggressive strongpoints have been established by Indian troops, one in the area south of the Chip Chap valley and the other near the source of the Karakash River both, in Sinkiang, China. The former is located at approximately 35°07'N, 78°21'E, as deep as about 20

kilometres inside Chinese territory and the latter at approximately 34° 57.5' N, 78° 26' E, as deep as about 19 kilometres inside Chinese territory.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this new series of intrusions and provocative firing by the Indian side.

It must be pointed out that the above-mentioned activities of Indian troops show that the Indian side continues to make every effort to nibble away and move forward on Chinese territory in a deliberate attempt to assert its unlawful territorial claims on China by armed encroachment and threat of force. Moreover, these intrusions further demonstrate that the armed attack launched by Indian troops on the Chinese side in the Chip Chap valley area on July 21 was by no means accidental. It is a serious consequence arising solely from India's premeditated effort to expand its occupation of Chinese territory. To prevent further deterioration of the current situation along the Sino-Indian border, the Indian Government must immediately withdraw all its aggressive strongpoints newly established on Chinese territory and desist from all provocations against China.

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

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 1 August 1962

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:

A detachment of Indian troops crossed the boundary and intruded into the Nyagzu area north of the Pangong Lake in Tibet, China, at about 12.30 hours on July 27, 1962. Having made a reconnaissance on a nearby Chinese border post for about half an hour from a place at approximately 33° 57'N, 78°44.5'E, they suddenly fired 16 rounds at the Chinese post. It was only because the Chinese side did its best to maintain an attitude of self-restraint that an untoward incident was averted. The Indian troops did not withdraw from Chinese territory till about 13.40 hours. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this new deliberate provocation by the Indian side against Chinese border guards.

The aforesaid incident is the fifth in 12 days since July 16, 1962, in which provocative firing was made by the Indian side against Chinese border guards on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. Indian troops have recently set up 6 new strongpoints for aggressive purposes in Chinese territory in the area around the Pangong Lake and Nyagzu (vide the Chinese Government's Notes of July 16 and July 28). The intruding Indian troops moreover made reconnaissance and harassment on the Chinese posts there from time to time. The Chinese Government once again draws the attention of the Indian Government to the danger of the repeated intrusions and provocations. In order to avoid grave incidents, the intruding Indian troops must immediately stop making provocations to the Chinese side and withdraw completely from Chinese territory.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy 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 August 1962

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 23rd July, 1962.

The Chinese Note under reference has made three allegations namely:-

(i) that a detachment of Indian troops crossed the boundary and approached the Chinese frontier post at 35° 30' N, 78° 07' E at about 13.30 hours on 16th July 1962, and fired two shots at the said post;

(ii) that several dozens of Indian troops intruded into Chinese territory south of the Galwan River at 34° 34.5' N, 78° 35.5' E on 19th July 1962, at 17.35 hours and fired at a Chinese patrol; and

(iii) That Indian troops made an armed attack on a Chinese post at 35° 20' N, 78° 05' E on July 21, 1962.

The Government of India has carefully investigated all the three allegations and has found them to be without any basis whatsoever. As regards the first two allegations, it is significant that although they are said to have occurred on the 16th and 19th July respectively, neither of them finds any place in an earlier Chinese Note dated 21st July. The third allegation that Indian troops attacked a Chinese post at 35° 20' N, 78° 05' E is a repetition of the charge made in the Chinese note of 21st July 1962, which has been shown to be baseless in the Indian Government's reply dated 26th July, 1962.

The Government of India note in this connection that all the three areas referred to by the Chinese Government lie well within Indian territory. It is clear from this that such intrusions as have occurred, have in fact been committed by Chinese forces and not by Indian troops. The Indian border defence forces have, despite provocation by Chinese forces throughout shown considerable patience and self-restraint.

While rejecting the Chinese Note, the Government of India would once again press upon the Chinese Government the urgent necessity of issuing immediate instructions to all Chinese forces to desist from provocative action of any kind and to withdraw from Indian territory.

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, 4 August 1962

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

In disregard of the repeated protests of the Chinese Government, the Indian side has not only refused to withdraw its troops which have intruded into the Galwan River valley in Sinkiang, China, and menacingly surrounded the Chinese frontier guards there, but set up another military strongpoint on Chinese territory south of the Galwan River at approximately 34° 34.5' N, 78° 35.5' E. What is particularly grave is that the intruding Indian troops, after firing at nearby Chinese frontier guards on July 19, 1962 (vide Chinese Government's note of July 23, 1962) recently again fired provocatively at Chinese frontier guards on two successive occasions. The first occasion took place around 12.10 hours on July 31, 1962, at which time one shot was fired. The second occasion took place around 20.10 hours on August 1, at which time seven shots were fired. The bullets all struck the site where the Chinese frontier guards were located. It was only because the Chinese frontier guards exercised the utmost restraint and did not fire back that a clash was avoided. Such

actions of the Indian troops in continuing their provocative firings against Chinese frontier guards demonstrate that the Indian side has no intention of relaxing but is wilfully aggravating the tension in the Galwan River valley. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest against such intrusion and provocative acts of the Indian troops and once again demands that the Indian troops stop immediately their provocations against Chinese frontier guards and withdraw from Chinese territory.

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

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 4 August 1962

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:

It has been established by the Chinese Government on the basis of carefully verified reports from its frontier forces that since the middle of May 1962, there have occurred on the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border new instances of Indian troops crossing the so-called McMahon Line and intruding into the Migyitun area in China's Tibet.

(1) On the morning of May 18, five fully-armed Indian military- men intruded into Longju in the Migyitun area to conduct reconnaissance.

(2) On the morning of May 30, four Indian militarymen carrying weapons intruded into Ruyu in the Migyitun area and conducted reconnaissance for a long time on the Chinese frontier forces stationed in the northern part of the Migyitun area. They again gave out word that

Indian troops intended to come and stay in Longju.

(3) On the evening of June 4, five Indian militarymen carrying arms intruded into Ruyu.

(4) On the evening of June 11, six fully-armed Indian militarymen intruded into a place on the western bank of the Lo River northwest of Longju.

(5) On the morning of June 13, six Indian militarymen intruded into Longju and Ruyu.

(6) On the morning of June 18, three Indian militarymen sneaked surreptitiously to the mountain-sides north of Longju to make a reconnaissance.

(7) On the morning of June 22, five Indian militarymen carrying arms intruded into a place on the western bank of the Lo River northwest of Longju.

The above-cited facts of the repeated intrusions by Indian troops into Longju and other places have further exploded the falsehood of the assertion made in the Indian Government's note of May 28, 1962, that "Indian forces have not re-entered Longju since 26th August 1959." The Chinese Government hereby lodges another serious protest with the Indian Government against the repeated intrusions into Chinese territory by Indian troops.

The Chinese Government notes with regret that in the note of May 28, 1962 referred to above, the Indian Government not only refused to admit the fact that the Indian troops had intruded into Longju on April 28, 1962, but made a counter-charge against the Chinese Government, alleging that the fact of the Chinese Government protesting against the Indian Government is in itself a demonstration that "the Chinese troops again trespassed into Longju, and on this basis it even went so far as to lodge a counter-protest with the Chinese side. Such a counter-charge is

nothing but an unreasonable absurdity and does not worth refuting at all. The Chinese Government categorically rejects this counter-protest of India. The Chinese Government has also received the Indian Government's note of June 6, 1962, in which it repeated the allegation that Chinese personnel had entered Ruyu in the second week of January 1962. As pointed out in the Chinese Government's note of May 15, 1962, such allegation is completely baseless; the Chinese Government once again firmly refutes it.

Both Longju and Ruyu are part of the Migyitun area in Tibet, have always been under the jurisdiction of the Tibet region, China, and, moreover, lie to the north of the "McMahon Line". After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, there were units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in the Migyitun area and various administrative measures were adopted there by the Chinese authorities. It was only during the 1959 rebellion in Tibet that the Indian Government, taking advantage of the transferring of Chinese troops, sent its army into Longju and occupied it. Later, the Indian side launched an attack on Chinese frontier guards, which resulted in the first bloody clash between the Chinese and the Indian sides. All these are undeniable facts.

In an attempt to justify its deliberate violation of the status quo of the boundary and expansion of its encroachment on Chinese territory, the Indian Government has racked its brains to cook up a story about the geographical location of Longju and Ruyu and their relation to Migyitun. The Indian Government arbitrarily asserts that Migyitun is not an area, but merely a small village, and that the so-called McMahon Line just touches its southern edge. It is further asserted that Longju has no relation at all with Migyitun, that it lies south of the so-called McMahon Line, and 2 miles from both Migyitun and the so-called McMahon Line. However, a fabrication is after all a fabrication and does not hold water at all. In the first instance, this Indian story is inconsistent with the original map showing the "McMahon Line" attached to the secret notes illegally

exchanged between the representatives of Britain and the local Government of Tibet during the 1914 Simla Conference, As shown on that map, the "McMahon Line" does not touch Migyitun, but lies south of it at quite a distance. In the second instance, the present Indian story contradicts its past assertions. As stated in Prime Minister Nehru's letter to Premier Chou En-lai dated September 26, 1959, the alleged distance between Longju and Migyitun is not 2 miles but 1 ½ miles. In his speech at the Indian Lok Sabha on April 3, 1961, Prime Minister Nehru again had something different to say about the location of Longju, stating: "A little part of the village (Longju) this side (of the "McMahon Line") and a part of it on that side." All these contradictions fully reveal the fact that the Indian Government, in an attempt to usurp Longju, has tried hard to push the so-called McMahon Line further north, arbitrarily separated Longju from the Migyitun area and fabricated a non-existent distance which can be prolonged or shortened at will. But the truth cannot be covered up by such clumsy tactics.

In its note, the Indian Government again harped on its hackneyed false counter-charge against China with regard to the armed clash in the Migyitun area in August 1959. This is also a painstaking but futile effort. Regarding the cause and the full factual details of that unfortunate incident, the Chinese Government already gave a complete picture in its notes of August 27 and September 1, 1959. That incident, like the Kongka Pass incident which occurred two months later, took place solely because the Indian troops launched an unwarranted attack on the Chinese frontier guards, who were compelled to defend themselves in the circumstances. Immediately following the two incidents, the Chinese Government proposed on its own initiative that armed forces of the two sides each withdraw along the entire border 20 kilometres from the line up to which each side exercises actual control and stop patrolling. But these reasonable proposals aimed at ensuring tranquillity along the border and easing the border situation were all rejected by India. Every

fact shows that China, seeking a peaceful settlement of the boundary question, has all along stood for the maintenance, of the status quo of the boundary and worked for the preservation of tranquillity along the border while India's attitude is the very opposite.

It is an indisputable fact that Longju and Ruyu, as a part of the Migyitun area, are Chinese territory and located north of the "McMahon Line". There is no doubt about it. This area had always been tranquil and peaceful and there had been no dispute between the two sides over it till the armed clash provoked by the Indian side in 1959. If the Indian Government is really sincere about a peaceful settlement of the boundary question, it should change its line of action, maintain the status quo of the boundary and tranquillity along the border, and, in deeds and not merely in words, stop sending out armed personnel to intrude into any part of the Migyitun area.

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

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 4 August 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the note handed over to the Chinese Embassy in India by the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government on July 26, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

The incident which occurred in the Chip Chap valley on July 21, 1962 was unfortunate and regrettable. The Chinese Government has given in its note dated July 22, 1962 a correct account of the incident and

pointed out in its note of July 28 that the presentation given in the Indian Government's note of July 22 was inconsistent with the facts. The Chinese Government does not propose to reiterate the relevant facts.

The Chinese Government cannot agree to the allegation in the Indian note that the present tension in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border was caused by the Chinese side. This allegation is extremely unjust. The fact is that the Chinese side has never crossed its national border which has always been under China's control, and that the tension was created solely by the Indian side advancing into Chinese territory, establishing new posts, and making provocations. After the officials meetings of the two countries, Indian troops first stepped up their encroachment on the Demchok area in Tibet, and then, since last spring, they have successively intruded into such areas as the Chip Chap valley, the source of the Karakash River, and the Galwan River valley in Sinkiang, and the Pangong and Spanggur Lakes in Tibet. They have successively set up 27 military strongpoints on Chinese territory and more and more frequently resorted to armed threats against Chinese frontier guards by unwarranted firings which have occurred on 12 occasions up to now. At the same time, Indian aircraft have repeatedly intruded into China's air space over Sinkiang and Tibet for reconnaissance, airdropping and harassment purposes, making more than 300 sorties in the period from 1961 to the end of June 1962.

In the face of Indian intrusions and provocations, China has all along maintained an attitude of self-restraint. In its notes delivered during this period, the Chinese Government, while demanding that the Indian troops stop their intrusions and provocations and withdraw from Chinese territory, has all along maintained that the boundary question should be settled peacefully through negotiations, and that the status quo of the boundary should not be altered by force. The Indian Government's suggestion of May 14, 1962 is in fact requiring China to make a one-sided withdrawal from large tracts of its own territory. The Chinese Government

of course cannot give consideration to it, neither in the past nor in the future.

Mention was made in the note under reference of the question regarding the Chinese map of 1956. During the officials' meetings of the two countries, the Chinese side officially provided the Indian side with a map showing the Sino-Indian boundary. The delineation of the boundary in the western sector on the 1956 Chinese map affirmed by Premier Chou En-lai is the same as the delineation on that map. It is groundless to insist that there are discrepancies in the delineation of the boundary in the Western sector in these two maps and to blame China for crossing the boundary line affirmed by Premier Chou En-lai. The basic way to ease the tension is not for the Chinese side to withdraw whatever distance within its own territory, but for the Indian side to withdraw its troops and strongpoints from Chinese territory, and in the first place, to stop further encroaching on Chinese territory and desist from any armed provocations.

The Chinese Government approves of the suggestion put forth by the Indian Government in its note for further discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials of the two countries. There need not and should not be any pre-conditions for such discussions. As a matter of fact, if only the Indian side stop advancing into Chinese territory, a relaxation of the border situation will be effected at once. Since neither the Chinese nor the Indian Government wants war, and since both governments wish to settle the boundary question peacefully through negotiations, further discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials of the two countries should not be put off any longer. The Chinese Government proposes that such discussions be held as soon as possible, and that the level, date, place and other procedural matters for these discussions be immediately decided upon by consultations through diplomatic channels. The Chinese Government hopes that the Indian Government will give positive consideration to this proposal and kindly reply at an early date.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of India 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 1962

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 two Notes presented by the Chinese Government to the Indian Charge d' Affaires at Peking on August 1, 1962.

The Government of India in their note of 28th July lodged a protest that a Chinese patrol had opened fire at 10.00 hrs on 27th July against an Indian patrol in the Chip Chap valley area approximately in the region referred to in the Chinese Note. The Chinese note presumably refers to the same incident. The allegation by Chinese authorities that an Indian patrol resorted to firing at a Chinese post is not only baseless but appears to be an attempt to confuse issues and escape responsibility for the aggressive activity of the Chinese local forces against which a protest has been lodged in the Indian note of the 28th July.

The Government of India have satisfied themselves that no Indian military post has been established in any part of Chinese territory. It is the Chinese local forces who have established Chinese military posts in Indian territory and caused serious tension by their continuing aggressive activities in the Ladakh region of India. The Government of India emphatically reject the Chinese allegation that Indian posts have been set up in areas that are 19 and 20 kilometres respectively inside Chinese territory.

The Chinese allegation that on 27th July a detachment of Indian

troops fired at a Chinese post in Nyagzu north of Pangong Lake is absolutely without any foundation. No Indian party was in that area on that date. 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, 7 August 1962

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:

Indian troops have recently established a new strongpoint for aggressive purposes in Tsamageje about two kilometres southeast of the village of Demchok in western Tibet, China, and have built pillboxes, dugouts, trenches and other defence works there. The intruding Indian troops even gave out word that they would advance further inside Chinese territory. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest against this serious new encroachment by the Indian side on Chinese territory.

The Chinese Government has pointed out in its note of March 20, 1962, the various facts of Indian troops intruding into the Demchok area and setting up strongpoints there in the latter half of last year. The Chinese Government notes with regret that the Indian Government in its note of May 21, 1962, while completely evading the facts, merely repeated the assertions made in past Indian notes which had long been refuted by the Chinese Government, arbitrarily insisting that Demchok was within Indian territory. But the Demchok area has always been a part of Chinese territory, and this was established by the strong evidence

submitted by the Chinese side during the meeting of the officials of the two countries in 1960. Even the handbook "Tibet" compiled by the British Foreign Office in 1920 clearly recognized this fact. There is no need to cite others. It is extremely unjustifiable that the Indian Government has now again set up a new aggressive strongpoint in China's Demchok area in disregard of the Chinese Government's repeated protests and arbitrarily described what has always been Chinese territory as Indian. The Chinese Government hereby demands that the Indian Government immediately withdraw all its aggressive strongpoints and intruding Indian troops from the Demchok area.

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, 8 August 1962

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 August 3, 1962.

The facts in regard to the Indian border defence post at 78° 38' E 34 ° 39' 45" N in the Galwan Valley have already been stated in the Indian Government's note of 10th July 1962. This post is purely for defence purposes and is located on Indian Territory. It does not pose any threat to anyone. On the other hand, it is the Chinese forces who have intruded into Indian territory in this area in large numbers who continue to threaten the Indian post and who are sitting astride the lines of communication and supplies of the post. The Government of India emphatically protests against these aggressive questions of the Chinese forces who have intruded into Indian Territory. The Government of India

hopes that the Chinese Government will impress on their local forces the importance of avoiding provocative action of any kind and ask them to withdraw from their present positions back into Chinese territory.

In regard to the Chinese allegation about an Indian post at 78° 35.5' E, 34° 34.5' N an Indian ration party is located at present near 78° 38.5' E 34° 34.5' N. This area like the area where the Indian post at 78° 38' E 34° 39' 45" N is situated, also falls well inside Indian Territory. The disposition of Indian border defence forces in these areas is an internal matter within the sole competence of the Government of India.

The Chinese note under reference also makes two baseless allegations, namely, that on July 31, 1962 and on August 1, 1962, Indian troops had fired one shot and seven shots respectively at Chinese frontier guards. There is no truth whatsoever in these allegations. On the contrary, whenever an instance of this nature has arisen it has invariably been due to Chinese forces intruding into Indian Territory and shooting at Indian border defence forces. The Government of India have protested about two such incidents in their notes dated 28th July 1962 and 30th July 1962, addressed to the Chinese Government. On both occasions the Indian forces exercised great self-restraint and did not return the Chinese fire.

In the light of the above facts, the Government of India reject the Chinese note of 3rd August, 1962.

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, 8 August 1962

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 of 3rd August, 1962.

The facts in regard to the villages of Longju and Roi have been fully stated in the Government of India notes dated 28th May 1962 and 6th June 1962 respectively. It will be apparent from these notes that there is no substance in the Chinese assertion that Longju and Roi are situated north of the McMahon line. Both these villages are well inside the international boundary in this region and have always formed part of Indian Territory. Longju is about 2 miles south of the international border and Roi a further half a mile south of Longju.

There is absolutely no truth in the Chinese allegation that Indian military personnel have entered Longju on six separate occasions between 18th May 1962 and 22nd June 1962. After the forcible occupation of Longju in August 1959 by Chinese forces, the Indian Government had, in the interests of a peaceful settlement, expressed their willingness vide their note dated 10th September 1959, not to send their personnel back to the area, provided the Chinese personnel also withdrew. The Chinese personnel had withdrawn from Longju some time in 1961 but the Indian side has made no attempt to re-enter Longju.

As regards the village of Roi, it too forms an indisputable part of Indian territory. This has been made clear in the Indian Government's note of 6th June 1962. Such intrusions as have taken place there have, indeed, been committed by the Chinese.

In an attempt to confuse the issue, the Chinese note has made an out of context reference to a speech by the Prime Minister before the Indian Parliament and also quoted the Indian Prime Minister's letter to the Premier Chou En-lai, dated 26th September 1959, which stated that the distance between Longju and the Tibetan village of Migyitin is one and a half miles and pointed out that in the Indian Government's note dated

28th May 1962 this distance has been shown as "about 2 miles". The relevant portion of the annexure to the Prime Minister's letter, however, reads as follows:-

"The international boundary here runs just south of the village of Migyitin. Longju which is entirely distinct from Migyitin lies 1 ½ miles further south of the border. It cannot be a part of Migyitin which was a decaying village of 12 huts in 1913 and had further deteriorated to 6 huts and a monastic inn in 1935. The lands attached to Migyitin village were few and extended to a very short distance from the village."

It follows from this that the Chinese contention of Longju forming part of the Tibetan village of Migyitin is completely untenable.

To suggest in this connection that the incident at Longju in August 1959 was due to Indian troops launching "an unwarranted attack on the Chinese frontier guards" is a complete travesty of facts. In every instance of a clash on the Sino-Indian border it has always been Indian border defence guards who have been attacked, without warning and on Indian territory, by Chinese troops who intruded into Indian territory. There is no doubt that the Chinese Government has been responsible, by its aggressive policy, for converting a peaceful border into a border of tension. In order, therefore, to restore tranquility once again on the border it is imperative that the Chinese forces withdraw from Indian territory.

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, 15 August 1962

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

At about 19.30 hours on 14th August 1962 a party of Chinese troops took up position opposite an Indian post at Yula in the Pangong Lake region and commenced firing. The Indian post was compelled to return fire in self-defence. The Chinese party withdrew shortly thereafter.

This is another instance of continuing Chinese aggressive activity in the Ladakh region of India. The Government of India will hold the Chinese Government responsible for any untoward incident that might occur as a result of this intensified military activity.

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, 16 August 1962**

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and with reference to the Chinese Government's note dated 28th July 1962, has the honour to state as follows:

The Chinese note under reference merely repeats the baseless charges made in the earlier note of 16th July 1962. These have already been shown to be without any foundation in the Indian Government's reply dated the 24th July 1962.

In regard to the Indian posts said to have been established at 33° 45.5' N, 78° 50.5' E, 33° 40.5' N, 78° 47' E and at 34° 03' N, 78° 44' E, although the co-ordinates given are not all correct, it is a fact that there are some Indian defence posts in this area. All these posts are located well inside Indian territory. As the Government of China are aware, the international boundary in this sector of the border cuts across the eastern part of Spanggur Lake and follows the northern and eastern watershed of the Indus. The Government of India cannot entertain any representation from the Chinese Government regarding the disposition of Indian security forces inside Indian territory. Such attempts of interference in the internal affairs of India must cease.

The Chinese Government have also repeated the allegations contained in their note dated 22nd July 1962, that Indian soldiers "engaged in provocative activities against the Chinese border at approximately 33° 45.5' N, 78° 50.5' E". The facts in regard to this incident have already been conveyed to the Chinese Government in the Indian Government's note of 22nd July 1962. An Indian party in this region was fired upon by Chinese intruding troops on 21st July. In spite of grave provocation the Indian forces exercised great self-restraint and did not return the fire.

The Government of India must, in the light of the facts stated above, reject the Chinese Government's note dated 28th July 1962.

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, 17 August 1962

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:

At about 16.30 hours on August 13, 1962 the Indian troops unlawfully entrenched at approximately 34° 34.5'N, 78° 35.5'E south of the Galwan River in Sinkiang, China, once again fired unwarrantedly at the Chinese frontier guards in the vicinity. They fired four separate shots, which all fell on the position of the Chinese frontier guards. After firing each shot, the provocative Indian soldiers made observation and pried on the position of the Chinese frontier guards. In the face of the Indian troops' provocations the Chinese frontier guards throughout maintained self-restraint and did not return fire.

The above-mentioned incident is the Indian troops' fourth provocative firing at Chinese frontier guards since they intruded into the Galwan River valley last July. It has indisputably overthrown the Indian denial of the previous provocative firings at Chinese frontier guards (reference the Chinese Government's notes of July 23 and August 3, 1962). Regarding this incident, the Chinese Government hereby lodges another strong protest with the Indian Government and urges the Indian Government to give serious thought to the danger involved in India's ceaseless military provocations as well as its responsibilities and to withdraw at once all the Indian troops which have invaded the Galwan River valley.

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, 18 August 1962

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 Indian Government's note of June 30, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

The Chinese Government has noted that the Indian Government admits in the above-mentioned note that on May 29, 1962 Indian border guards pursued and fired at the Roma family, Tibetan inhabitants who were on their way home, and that Roma himself was shot dead by the Indian soldiers and Roma's sister-in-law Yekhu and two children she carried on her back were taken back to Taksing by the Indian side. To evade responsibility, however, the Indian Government in its note had turned the facts upside down and fabricated a false story, which the Chinese Government hereby categorically refutes.

The facts are most clear. The Roma family used to be peaceable inhabitants of the Lung Village in Lungtzu County, Tibet, China. In May 1959 they were taken to the Taksing area south of the "McMahon Line" under the compulsion of Tibetan rebels. Six members of the family, who made a narrow escape from the Indian soldiers' shooting, have now returned to their original abode in the Lung Village and reunited with their relatives and friends. The assertion in the Indian note that Roma and his family were "Indian tribesmen" or "fugitives" from India is wholly untenable. The Roma family were returning to the Lung Village of their own free will. But they met with obstructions and were pursued by Indian troops who crossed the so-called McMahon Line, fired at them and killed and wounded four of them, including a woman and her children. Such atrocity committed by Indian soldiers against peaceable Chinese inhabitants has shown up the falsity of the assertion in the Indian note that the Indian side has "never stood in the way" of any Tibetan inhabitants returning to their motherland. The Indian note furthermore attempts to describe the whole incident as taking place south of the so-called McMahon Line. This is entirely contrary to the fact. The place of the

incident created by the Indian soldiers is definitely Natiemula, which is north of the "McMahon Line." This can be testified by all the survivors of the Roma family. It is all the more absurd for the Indian side to say that the incident started because someone had "stolen a rifle" and "fired at" Indian soldiers. It is utterly unbelievable that a rifle of the Indian army or police should have been stolen so easily or that the Roma family, burdened with old people and small children, should be able to "fire at" six fully-armed Indian soldiers with one "stolen rifle" and "exchange fire" with them.

In view of the above, the Indian Government cannot escape the serious responsibility It should bear for this incident in which Indian soldiers intruded into Chinese territory and shot dead a peaceable Chinese inhabitant. The Chinese Government reiterates its demands made in its note of June 18, 1962, and urges that the Indian Government immediately return the body of Roma and the kidnapped Yekhu and her children.

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, 18 August 1962

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 Indian Government's note of August 15, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

In its note the Indian Government alleged that at about 19.30 hours on August 14, 1962 a detachment of Chinese troops fired on an Indian post at Yula in the Pangong Lake area, and the Indian post fired back. Careful investigation conducted by the Chinese Government shows that

the armed clash described in the Indian note is a sheer fabrication. On August 14 no Chinese frontier guards ever fired on the aggressive strongpoint set up by Indian troops in Yula, nor were they fired on in return by any Indian troops. The Chinese Government expresses great surprise and regret at this trumped-up charge made by India. At a time when the Governments of the two countries are exchanging views for holding discussions as soon as possible on the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Indian Government has invented an exchange of fire between the troops of the two sides in the Pangong Lake area in China. This cannot but be deemed as done with ulterior motives. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the trumped-up charge made by the Indian Government.

It must be pointed out that the current tension in the Pangong Lake area, including Yula, is created solely because Indian troops have intruded into Chinese territory in this area, unlawfully set up strong points and made provocations there. In order to ease the situation, the intruding Indian troops must immediately withdraw from Chinese territory.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy 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, 18 August 1962

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 of 7th August, 1962.

It is unfortunate that the Chinese Government should continue to repeat their unwarranted territorial claims in respect of the Demchok area

in Ladakh, ignoring the wealth of consistent and conclusive evidence brought out by the Indian side at the meetings of the officials of the two Governments. The traditional boundary alignment between the two countries in this sector has always been east of Demchok. This has been confirmed by impartial observers and travellers from the early eighteenth century onwards. They include Ippolito Desideri (1715-1716) and James Bailie Frazer (1820). There is also an unbroken administrative record showing the exercise of Indian jurisdiction over this area for many centuries. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the international frontier in this area runs five miles south-east of Demchok, which is well inside Indian territory.

In an effort to bolster up a non-existent case, the Chinese note has made an irrelevant reference to a Handbook entitled "Tibet". The only document quoted by the Chinese side at the official's talks, which contained a reference to a border point, clearly specified that the traditional alignment lay along the LHARI. This is very close to the traditional Indian alignment and far removed from the line now claimed by China.

In such a context, for the Chinese Government to raise question, about the disposition of Indian border defence posts in the Demchok area is an entirely unjustified interference in an internal matter which is within the sole competence of the Government of India. Indian border posts within Indian territory are intended purely for purposes of defence and stand in sharp contrast to the numerous unlawful Chinese posts set up in recent years on Indian soil.

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, 21 August 1962

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 the 18th August, 1962.

The Government of India have already given the full facts about the incident concerning the Roma family in their note dated the 30th June 1962, and have nothing to add to them. The incident took place inside Indian territory and full details of the incident were reported by the local administration to the Government of India in the first week of June long before the Chinese note of 18th June. Though this was a purely internal matter within the sole jurisdiction of the Indian Government, the Ministry, in its note of 30th June, communicated these facts in order to remove the possibility of any misunderstanding on the Chinese side. It is most surprising that the facts given by the Government of India should be questioned by the Chinese Government who could not possibly have any knowledge of what actually transpired inside Indian territory. The Government of India regret that the Chinese Government should attempt to exploit the misfortune of the Roma family, which they alone had brought upon themselves, for making false and propagandist allegations against 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.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 22 August 1962

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:

While the Chinese Government have been levelling baseless charges against the Government of India, Chinese forces have systematically continued to violate India's territorial integrity. In recent weeks Chinese forces have set up no less than 18 new aggressive military posts deep inside Indian Territory. These posts, particulars of which are given below, have been set up even subsequent to the establishment of the 9 previous posts which formed the subject matter of the Indian Government's note of protest dated the 12th July 1962:-

(a) Chip Chap region

1. Post at 78° 05' E, 35° 20' N—ten miles east of Daulet Beg Oldi.

2. Post at 78° 04' E, 35° 23' N—Seven miles east of Daulet Beg Oldi.

3. Post at 78° 05' E, 35° 23' N—near Daulet Beg Oldi.

4. Post at 78° 07' 30" E, 35° 17' N.

5. Post at 78° 17' E, 35° 18' N.

6. Post at 78° 15' 30" E 35° 10' N.

7. Post at 78° 12' 30" E 35° 22' 30" N.

8. Post at 78° 10' E 35° 22' N.

9. Post at 78° 07' 30" E 35° 27' 30" N.

10. Post at 78° 13' E 35° 19' N.

(b) Galwan Valley region

11. Post at 78° 38.5' E 34° 34.5' N.

12. Post at 78° 33.5' E 34° 40' N.

(c) Pangong-Spanggur region

13. Post at 78° 44' 45" E 34° 03' 30" N about a 1000 yards east of the Indian defence post near Kongma.

14. Post at 78° 54' 45" E 33° 42' N.

15. Post at 78° 52' E 33° 44' 30" N about a 1000 yards north east of the Indian defence post at Sirijap.

16. Post at 78° 47' E, 33° 38' 30" N.

(d) Qara Qash region

17. Post at 78° 26' 15" E 35° 03' N.

18. Post at 78° 25' 45" E 35° 02' N.

Besides the above posts four camps have been established and five additional strong points set up by Chinese forces around the Indian post at 78° 38' E 34° 39' 45" N on the Galwan river thereby greatly aggravating the tension in the area.

The Ministry lodges an emphatic protest against the establishment of these new Chinese posts, camps and strong points deep inside Indian Territory. These constitute further serious violations of India's territorial integrity. Not only are Chinese forces now located in menacing proximity to existing Indian defence posts in the area but their provocative activities are increasing the tension in the area and, if not restrained, might well result in untoward incidents. The Government of India will hold the Chinese Government responsible for any such incidents.

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, 22 August 1962

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 note of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 4th August, 1962. The Chinese Note refers to two points:

- (i) the incident that occurred in the Chip Chap Valley on 21st July and other matters connected with the India-China boundary in the Ladakh region of India; and
- (ii) the suggestions for further discussion on the India-China boundary question with a view to resolving the differences between the two governments.

This Note deals with point (i). A Separate note is being presented in connection with the second point.

2. It is surprising that the Chinese note, while referring to the incident that occurred in the Chip Chap Valley on 21st July, as "unfortunate and regrettable" continues, without giving any reasons, to dispute the carefully verified factual details of the incident given in the Government of India's note of 22nd July. There is no doubt whatever that the Chinese local forces wantonly and without any provocation fired upon the Indian patrol and that the latter had after some time to return the fire in self-defence.

3. Allegations have been made in the Chinese note about Indian intrusions into Chinese territory by establishing military strong points and by over 300 sorties by Indian aircraft into Chinese air space. Demchok,

Chip Chap Valley, the source of the Karakash river, the Galwan River valley and the Pangong and Spanggur lakes have been referred to in this connection. The Ministry of External Affairs must categorically state that these allegations are completely groundless. The areas referred to are well within Indian territory as stated in detail in the following paragraph. Indian posts established in these areas and routine flights of Indian aircraft in connection with maintenance of supplies and services to the Indian posts in these areas are purely internal matters to be decided by the Government of India in accordance with the requirements of security.

4. Mention has been made in previous correspondence of the boundary claims in the Ladakh region advanced by China in 1956 and in 1960. The Chinese note of 4th August also refers to earlier Indian notes in which the discrepancy between these varying claims was pointed out to the Government of China and attempts to explain away the differences between these claims. These varying Chinese claims were mentioned in the earlier Indian notes simply to illustrate the continuing aggressive activities of the Chinese authorities in making wider boundary claims from time to time and getting the Chinese forces to follow these up by further intrusions into Indian territory. These varying claims have no relevance other than the fact that they illustrate Chinese expansionist aims in the area and the confusion prevailing in the minds of the Chinese Government as to the international frontier in the Ladakh region. So far as the Government of India's position on this matter is concerned, the Indian officials have, during the discussions between the Indian and the Chinese officials, established the discrepancies between the various Chinese claims as regards this border and produced a mass of evidence in support of the well established and recognised international boundary in this region. This international boundary runs from the Karakoram Pass along the watershed between the Shyok (belonging to the Indus system) and the Yarkand, and runs through the Qara Tagh Pass (Lon. 78° 20' East and Lat. 35° 43' North) to cross the eastern bend of the Qara Qash river

(north west of Haji Langer) and to ascend the main Kuen Lun mountains. Thereafter the boundary runs through the Yangi Pass (Long. 79° 25' East and Lat. 35° 55' North) along the crest of the mountains separating the Yurungkash basin from those of the lakes in Aksai Chin. It leaves the main crest of the Kuen Lun mountains at a point approximately Long. 80° 21' East and descends in a South-westerly direction, separating the basins of the Amtogor and Sarigh Jilganang lakes in India from those of Leighten and Tsoggar lakes in Tibet, down to Lanak Pass (Long. 79° 34' East and Lat. 34° 24' North).

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 External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 22 August 1962

The Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the concluding paragraph of the note of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 4th August 1962 which deals with the suggestions for further discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question.

The Chinese note states that "there need not and should not be any pre-conditions for such discussions" and yet the Chinese Foreign Minister in a broadcast on the Italian-Swiss Radio TV Network on 3rd August proclaimed on a publicity media that has wide coverage that "to wish that Chinese troops would withdraw from their own territory is impossible. That would be against the will of 650 million Chinese. No force in the world could oblige us to do something of this kind". The Chinese note itself states that the Chinese Government cannot give consideration to the

suggestion made in Government of India's note of 14th May 1962 regarding mutual withdrawals in this region "neither in the past nor in the future". These are pre-conditions which contradict the repeated Chinese statements that they want to settle the boundary question peacefully through further discussions. It is obvious that it is the Chinese who are laying down impossible preconditions and asking for acceptance of the Chinese claim regarding the boundary in this region before further discussions start.

The statement in the Chinese note "that the Chinese side has never crossed its national border which has always been under Chinese control" is at complete variance with the facts of today and the history of Chinese aggressive activities in the Aksai Chin and Ladakh region since 1957. There was no Chinese presence of any sort in the Aksai Chin and the Ladakh region of India till 1957. The Chinese entered the uninhabited areas of Aksai Chin and its neighbourhood clandestinely some time about 1957 and began to improve the Sinkiang-Tibet caravan route across Aksai Chin. Thereafter they started a series of aggressive moves into the Ladakh area of India, stationing garrisons of troops and indulging in aggressive forward patrolling which led to clashes between the Chinese forces and the Indian patrols in this area. This aggressive activity has been intensified since 1959. The series of notes sent by the Government of India since 1957 onwards on various Chinese intrusions into Indian territory in this region conclusively show that the presence of the Chinese forces and the present acute tension in this region of India are the result of the concerted and deliberate aggressive activities of the Chinese forces in altering the status quo of the boundary in this region by use of force during the last five years. To allege in the context of this factual history of the last five years that what the Chinese claim to be their national border has, in fact, all along been the national border between China and India in this region is not only factually incorrect but definitely misconceived because it pre-judges the very issue on which further discussions have

been suggested.

The Indian authorities all along showed considerable patience and restraint in the face of these aggressive Chinese activities. They were compelled, however, in the face of continuing Chinese intrusions, to take necessary preventive action and had to establish some military posts in this area.

The above paragraphs fully confirm the statement made in the Ministry's note dated 26th July that the factual history of the activities of the local Chinese forces in the Ladakh region is not consistent with the desire for settlement by negotiations expressed by the Chinese Government. If the Government of China are genuinely desirous of resolving the differences between the two Governments on the boundary question by further discussions and negotiations, they must realise that these discussions cannot start unless the status quo of the boundary in this region which has been altered by force since 1957 is restored and the current tensions are removed. There can be no pre-judging or acceptance of the Chinese claim before discussions start.

It will be clear from the factual position and the history of the last five years given above that an essential preliminary to the holding of further discussions on the basis of the report of the officials of the two sides with a view to resolving differences between the two governments on the boundary question is a definition of measures that should be taken to restore the status quo of the boundary in this region which has been altered by force during the last five years and to remove the current tensions in this area so as to create the appropriate climate for purposeful discussions. The Government of India would be glad to receive a representative of the Government of China to discuss these essential preliminary measures.

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, 23 August 1962

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 of 18th August, 1962.

The Government of India protested against the firing by Chinese troops at an Indian post in the Pangong region to record a factual incident and to bring to the notice of the Chinese authorities that such irresponsible shooting might have had dangerous consequences and was in sharp contrast to the Chinese Government's own stand that they are desirous of peaceful negotiations to settle the Sino Indian boundary issue. The Government of India categorically reject the allegation that this was a "trumped-up charge" and trust that the Chinese Government, motivated both by a desire to respect the truth and to remove tension in the area would restrain their troops from irresponsible shootings and withdraw them to the east of international frontier, into Chinese territory.

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, 24 August 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in Chma and as the honour to state the following about cases in which armed Indian personnel crossed the China-Sikkim boundary and intruded into Chinese territory:

1. On June 4, 1962 four armed Indian personnel crossed the Nathu La on the China-Sikkim boundary and intruded into the vicinity of Chumbitan in Tibet.

2. On June 15, 1962 three armed Indian personnel crossed the China-Sikkim boundary at Tzelung La and intruded into Chinese territory.

3. In the fourth week of June 1962 five Indian soldiers intruded into Chinese territory north of Tagi La on the China-Sikkim boundary. They erected three cairns more than two kilometres north of the Tagi La and declared them to mark the points dividing China and Sikkim.

The above-mentioned activities of armed Indian personnel beyond the China-Sikkim boundary constitute a serious violation of Chinese territory, against which the Chinese Government hereby lodges a protest with the Indian Government. The China-Sikkim boundary has long since been formally delimited and tranquillity has always prevailed along it. It is deeply regrettable that the Indian side should have used the territory of Sikkim to carry out encroaching activities against Chinese territory and sovereignty. The Chinese Government solemnly calls the attention of the Indian Government to such activities and urges that India immediately stop similar 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, 24 August 1962

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 since the protest lodged on 22nd August by the Ministry of External Affairs on the establishment of 18 new aggressive military posts, deep inside Indian territory, the Ministry has just learnt about a further post having been established by intruding Chinese forces on the 23rd August at a point 78° 45' 00" E, 33° 39' 20" N.

This post, apart from being well within Indian territory, is provocatively located in close proximity of the supply line to Indian posts in this area. The Chinese Government should ensure that this new intrusion is immediately removed. The Government of India will hold the Chinese authorities responsible for any untoward incident that might develop in the area as a result of the continuance of this post in close proximity to the line of supply of the Indian posts in the area.

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, 25 August 1962

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 17th August 1962.

The Government of India have enquired fully into the allegation contained in the Chinese note that, on the 13th August 1962, at about

16-30 hours, Indian defence forces had fired on Chinese troops near a point at approximately 34° 34.5' N 78° 35.5' E and have found that the allegation is entirely baseless. Moreover, the area referred to is located deep inside Indian Territory where Chinese forces could have no justification to be present.

It is a matter of regret that the Chinese Government should repeat such baseless allegations which are obviously intended for purposes of anti-Indian propaganda. Similar charges made in the past have also invariably been proved to be without any foundation.

In recent weeks, it is the Chinese intruders who have on no less than five occasions opened fire on Indian defence forces stationed on Indian Territory. Except on two occasions, on the 21st July 1962 and 14th August 1962, when Indian defence forces were forced in self defence to return the Chinese fire, on all the other occasions they exercised great self-restraint and refrained from returning the fire. The Chinese Government have been informed about these incidents in the Government of India notes, dated 22nd July 1962, 28th July 1962, 30th July 1962 and 15th August 1962 and cannot disown their responsibility in regard to the same. If, therefore, the Chinese Government are earnest in their desire to reduce tension in the area, they should immediately put a stop to their aggressive activities on the border and peacefully withdraw their forces from Indian territory.

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, 27 August 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and has the honour to state the following with regard to the serious new cases, which happened in the last few days, of successive provocative firing at and armed encirclement of Chinese frontier guards by Indian troops which have intruded into Chinese territory on the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary.

The Indian troops which have intruded into the Galwan River area in Sinkiang have encircled the Chinese frontier guards and cut off the rear route of a Chinese post there for more than a month. They not only refuse to withdraw, but again fired repeatedly at the Chinese frontier guards of late after the four incidents of firing against which the Chinese Government has protested with the Indian Government (vide Chinese Foreign Ministry's note of August 17, 1962). At about 10.30 hours on August 21, 1962, the intruding Indian troops fired two shots at the Chinese frontier guards. At about 20.10' hours on August 22, four Indian soldiers pressed forward to a place as close as about 200 metres from the positions of the Chinese frontier guards and fired another two shots. At about 18.00 hours on August 25, the intruding Indian troops fired four more shots at the Chinese frontier guards. The latter exercised forbearance and self-restraint throughout and did not return fire.

Serious cases of intruding Indian troops closing in on Chinese posts have also occurred in the Pangong Lake area in Tibet. At about 14.00 hours on August 23, 1962, a batch of Indian soldiers in two motor-boats intruded into Chinese territorial waters in the Pangong Lake, where they sailed back and forth and fired nine shots at the southern bank of the Lake for reconnaissance purposes. At about 9.40 hours on August 24, a group of intruding Indian soldiers, numbering about 30, moved towards the Chinese post at approximately 33° 39' N 78° 44' E on the southern bank of the Lake. At about 12.50 hours, the same group of Indian soldiers came as close as about 300 metres of the Chinese post, where they threw

themselves down, facing the Chinese post and posing to shoot. Then several more groups of Indian soldiers closed in on the Chinese post from the west and the south. Having come to places as close as about 400 metres of the Chinese post, they constructed defence works and pitched more than 30 tents. These intruding Indian troops, together with those which had earlier, pushed to the eastern side of the Chinese post, now form an encirclement of the Chinese post on three sides, and cut off its communication and supply line to the rear.

The above-said provocations by Indian troops repeatedly firing at Chinese frontier guards and closing in on Chinese posts have seriously aggravated the tension on the border and endangering the safety of the Chinese frontier guards. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this and demands that the Indian troops immediately stop such dangerous acts and withdraw from Chinese territory.

In the past two months, Indian troops have intruded into the Galwan River area in Sinkiang and encircled Chinese frontier guards there, and provoked an armed clash in the Chip Chap River area in Sinkiang; after all this they have now encircled a Chinese post in the Pangong Lake area in Tibet and cut off its rear route. These facts indisputably show that India, besides lacking the desire to ease the tension on the border, is doing its utmost to extend its aggression on Chinese territory and intensify its provocations against China, thereby creating more obstacles to a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute through negotiations.

The Chinese Government reiterates that the Sino-Indian boundary question must be settled through negotiations and the Indian Government's attempt to realise its ambitious territorial claims by force and to coerce China into submission is bound to fail. If the Indian side should overdo it, the Chinese side will have to resort to self-defence, and

the Indian side must bear responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

The Chinese Government has just received the Indian Government's note of August 24, in which the above-said Chinese post encircled by Indian troops on three sides in the Pangong Lake area in Tibet was described as "located in close proximity of the supply line to Indian posts." The tactics of the Indian Government of turning the truth upside down and making false counter-charges can in no way cover up India's military provocations related above, nor can it absolve the Indian Government of its responsibility for aggravating the tension on the border. The Chinese Government categorically rejects this totally baseless and malicious charge made by the Indian Government.

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, 27 August 1962

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 the 30th July, 1962.

The Government of India have carried out detailed investigations into the allegations made in the Chinese note under reference and have found that they are without any basis whatsoever. Bara Hoti forms an integral part of Indian territory. However, no Indian troops are present in the Bara Hoti plateau; the Indian border defence forces are stationed some distance away.

The correct position in respect of Bara Hoti has been conveyed to

the Chinese Government on a number of occasions. It will be recollected that in 1955, the then Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in India had indicated that the location of Bara Hoti, which they claim to be Wuje, was 12 kilometres north of Tunjun La. The Chinese Government later resiled from that position.

In April-May 1958, at the conference on Bara Hoti held at Delhi between Indian and Chinese officials it was again apparent that the Chinese officials did not even know the precise location of Bara Hoti. When pressed for details, the Chinese side could only state vaguely that Wuje was an area south of Tunjun La, covered 15 kilometres north to south and 10 kilometres east to west but no coordinates were made available even with reference to this area. On the Indian side it was made clear that by Bara Hoti they meant a small pasture ground, covering 2 miles in length and $\frac{3}{4}$ mile in breadth, south of Tunjun La and the relevant coordinates had also been supplied by them. At the Officials' talks in 1960 Chinese claims had developed even further and the area was stated to be approximately 300 sq. miles.

At the 1958 Delhi conference the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India had proposed that, pending settlement of the dispute, both sides should refrain from sending armed personnel and neither side should exercise civil jurisdiction over this territory or send its civilian personnel. The Chinese delegation, while agreeable to the suggestion of not sending armed parties to the disputed area, had refused to agree to the proposal that neither side should exercise civil jurisdiction over this area. In the absence of such an agreement, the Government of India had informed the Chinese delegation that they would continue to send their civil administrative personnel to the territory. However, they expressly refrained from sending any armed personnel there.

Bara Hoti lies between the main watershed of the Sutlej and

Alakhnanda, which is the boundary in this sector and the range of the Himalayas further south. Revenue records and other official documents of the 19th century establish that the watershed is the traditional frontier between India and Tibet in the region. It has been shown in Indian maps since 1850 when maps of this region based on surveys were first drawn. Even Chinese maps upto 1958 have shown the watershed as the frontier. Bara Hoti, which is south of the watershed, has always been part of India. A large amount of evidence to substantiate this has also been produced by the Indian side at the talks held between the Indian and Chinese officials. It is therefore legitimate for the Government of India to establish checkpoints and despatch civilian personnel required for the administration of the area. To describe the continuation of this administration as "intrusion" is a distortion of facts.

In the light of the facts cited above, the Government of India reject the Chinese Government's note of 30th July 1962.

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, 27 August 1962

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 26th August 1962 at about midday, a party of Chinese troops attempted to ambush an Indian patrol on routine duties at a point approximately 33 miles south east of Daulat Beg Oldhi. The intruding Chinese troops were responsible for unprovoked firing which led to the

Indian patrol being forced to return the fire in self defence.

This is yet another instance of the aggressiveness of Chinese local forces that are unlawfully in Indian Territory and their interference with the supply line of Indian posts in the area. The Government of India lodge an emphatic protest against this unlawful provocative behaviour of Chinese local forces which may, unless they are immediately restrained, lead to untoward developments.

The Government of India hopes that such unlawful intrusions by Chinese forces will be stopped immediately and they will be withdrawn from Indian territory in order to eliminate the recurrence of such dangerous incidents which are not in keeping with the professions of the Chinese Government that they desire a peaceful solution of the boundary question.

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, 28 August 1962

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 Ministry's notes dated the 22nd August and 24th August 1962 wherein the Government of India have lodged protests regarding the setting up of new military posts by the Chinese forces on Indian Territory in Ladakh.

Subsequent to the above notes 4 more Chinese military posts have been established as follows:-

Pangong-Spanggur region

(1) Post at 78° 45' 45" E, 33° 57' 15" N.

(2) Post at 78° 45' 30" E, 33° 57' 45" N.

Qara Qash region

(3) Post at 78° 24' 30" E, 35° 06' 15" N.

(4) Post at 78° 28' 15" E, 35° 07' 45" N.

The Government of India lodge an emphatic protest against the setting up of these military posts deep inside Indian Territory and demand that they should be withdrawn along with the other Chinese posts from Indian territory.

The new Chinese military posts have been established in the past few days and are located extremely close to the existing Indian defence posts in the area. Apart from constituting further serious violations of India's territorial integrity they add substantially to the tension in the area and the possibility of fresh incidents.

It is particularly regrettable that Chinese forces should persist in their aggressive actions at a time when the Chinese Government are repeatedly professing their desire to have negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the question.

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, 29 August 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the notes of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government dated July 28 and 30 and August 3 and 5, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

Of late, Indian troops which have intruded into Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary have repeatedly fired provocatively at Chinese frontier guards, against which the Chinese Government has lodged a number of protests. In its notes of August 3 and 5, 1962, the Indian Government resorted to its usual practice of denying the indisputable facts cited by the Chinese Government, but this is entirely futile. The Indian Government even doubted the truth of the two incidents of firing by Indian troops of July 16 and 19, 1962, to which the Chinese side referred, on the ground that it was not until July 23 that the Chinese side lodged the protest. This is even less worthy of refutation. It is commonsense whether a protest is lodged a few days earlier or later does not at all affect the truth of the matter concerned in the protest. In advancing a sophisticated argument on that ground the Indian side is in no way taking an attitude of dealing with things earnestly and seriously.

It is particularly regrettable that the Indian Government, in its notes, further falsely counter-charged the Chinese side. Now the Chinese Government will confine itself to refuting the three specific charges made by the Indian side:

1. In its note of July 28, 1962, the Indian Government charged that on July 27 a Chinese patrol opened fire at an Indian patrol at approximately 33° 57' N, 78° 46.5' E. This place mentioned by the Indian side is in the Nyagzu area in Tibet, China. It is strange, however, that eight days later, in another note dated August 5, 1962, the Indian Government stated that "no Indian party was in that area (Nyagzu)" on July 27. This inconsistency clearly shows that the charge the Indian side

made in its former note is not in conformity with the fact. The fact is that on July 27 an intruding Indian force fired 16 shots in the Nyagzu area at a Chinese post there (vide the Chinese Government's note No. 796, dated August 1, 1962). It seems that, after failing to abuse the Chinese side, the Indian side tried to resort to quibbling, but in so doing unwittingly disproved its former charge. As paper cannot wrap up fire, a lie is bound to show up.

2. In its note of July 30, 1962, the Indian side charged that on July 29 Chinese troops opened fire at Indian troops in the vicinity of Yula in the Pangong Lake area. The Chinese Government has satisfied itself by careful checking that the Indian charge is a downright fabrication. It can be mentioned here that the Indian Government further trumped up the story of a clash at Yula between the Chinese and Indian sides in its note of August 15, 1962, which the Chinese Government, basing itself on the facts has already refuted by its note of August 18, 1962. The purpose of the Indian side in repeatedly preferring such framed-up charges is clearly to cover up its activities of unlawfully setting up a strongpoint and expanding its military intrusions in Yula, Tibet, and to further aggravate deliberately the tension in that area.

3. In its note of August 5, 1962, the Indian Government not only tried hard to deny the fact that Indian troops which had intruded into the Chip Chap River valley in Sinkiang, China, fired on a Chinese post there on July 27 (vide the Chinese Government's note No. 795, dated August 1, 1962), but falsely counter-charged the Chinese side with firing at the Indian troops on the same day, and asserted that India had already made this charge in its note of July 28, 1962. But in fact the Indian note of July 28 does not touch on the Chip Chap valley area at all. It seems that the Indian side has landed itself in a jumble in cooking up charges.

It can be seen from the above that it is no one but India itself which has distorted the facts and reversed the right and wrong. As for the

Indian side's usual practice of describing Chinese territory as Indian territory in an attempt to explain away the Indian troops' intrusions and provocations, and of even falsely counter-charging China with aggravating the border tension, the Chinese Government has refuted all these absurdities again and again and does not intend to repeat itself here. To ensure tranquillity along the border and ease the tension, the Chinese Government urges the Indian Government to desist from making statements which reverse right and wrong, strictly restrain the Indian troops so that they stop all provocations against the Chinese side and order them to withdraw immediately from 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, 31 August 1962

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 to the Chinese Embassy in India dated June 16, June 28 July 12 and August 22, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

The places where the Chinese side has set up posts and built a road as mentioned in the Indian Government's notes are all indisputably inside Chinese territory on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, that is, on the Chinese side east of the western sector of the traditional Sino-Indian boundary affirmed by Premier Chou, En-lai. The areas where those places are located have always been under the administration of the Chinese Government. That the Chinese side has set up posts and built roads on its own territory is purely China's internal affairs in which the

Indian side has no right to meddle at all. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the Indian Government's unwarranted charges and protests.

As is well-known, the Chinese Government, always standing for the maintenance of the status quo of the boundary, has given strict instructions to its troops to refrain from going beyond the traditional and customary boundary line. In order to maintain tranquillity on the border and avoid clashes, the Chinese side, starting from 1959, even one-sidedly stopped patrolling within 20 kilometres on its side of the boundary.

But the Indian side, instead of making an appropriate response, took advantage of that to alter the status quo of the boundary by force again and again. Since last spring it has even intensified its intrusion into and nibble at Chinese territory. It was under these circumstances that the Chinese side had to declare in its note of April 30, 1962 the resumption of border patrolling first on the sector where the Indian side had been making repeated intrusions and harassment and to adopt certain necessary defence measures. Those were the movements that, in Prime Minister Nehru's words, "the Chinese had also to make" "due to movements on our (the Indian) side." It was completely legitimate and necessary for the Chinese side to do so.

The Indian side tried to cover up its aggressive activities by slanderously accusing the Chinese troops of encroaching on Indian territory. This clumsy tactics has long been seen through and will not work at all. The Indian Government is advised to get down to the right path of easing the tension on the border in earnest, that is, to stop all intrusions and provocations of the Indian troops and withdraw them from Chinese territory.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy 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, 2 September 1962

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 an Indian patrol proceeding in the area south of the Chip Chap river region on routine task was surprised at 08.00 hours this morning the 2nd September and attacked by a large Chinese military force. Our patrol was compelled to return the fire in self-defence. At 14.15 hours on the same day yet another Indian patrol was attacked at approximately the same location forcing it to return the fire.

The Ministry lodges an emphatic protest against this further intrusion of Chinese forces into Indian Territory and their wanton and unprovoked attacks on small Indian patrols going about on their routine duties.

The Ministry has already brought several instances of such aggressive activities of Chinese forces inside Indian territorial limits and these further instances make it obvious that these aggressive activities of the Chinese forces belie the professions of the Chinese authorities to settle the differences between the Governments of India and China on the border question by peaceful talks and discussions.

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, 3 September 1962

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 Ministry's note dated 2nd September, 1962, protesting against the intrusion of Chinese forces into Indian Territory and attacking Indian patrols on two separate occasions. Both these incidents took place at approximately the same location, i.e., at 78° 17' 15" E, 35° 08' 15" N- about 15 miles West even of the claim line shown in the Chinese map of 1956 about which Premier Chou En-lai wrote to the Prime Minister of India in his letter dated the 17th December, 1959 that "it correctly shows the traditional border between the two countries in this sector".

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, 4 September 1962

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

On July 18, 1962, fully armed Indian military men, four in number, again intruded into Ruyu and Longju of the Migyitun area in Tibet, China. They sneaked to the hillsides east of Longju and pried about the camping ground of the Chinese border defence forces in the Migyitun area for as long as three hours. These Indian troops did not leave the Longju area till after two days' illegal stay there. This is the 9th illegal intrusion by Indian troops into the Longju area since last April. It gives the lie once again to the Indian Government's statement about its "Willingness not to send

their personnel back to the area." The Chinese Government hereby protests against the aforesaid serious violations of Chinese territory by the Indian side.

Longju and Ruyu have always been part of Chinese territory, and both lie north of the so-called McMahon Line. This is an indisputable fact, which the Chinese Government has, in its note of August 3, 1962, established with conclusive arguments. The Indian Government, in its note of August 8, 1962, while still insisting that Longju and Ruyu lie south of the "McMahon Line", fails to explain the inconsistencies which were pointed out in the Chinese note of August 3 as existing in its various descriptions of the geographical location of Longju and Ruyu. The Indian note lays a pretentious charge against the Chinese side as if the Chinese side misrepresented Prime Minister Nehru's statements by "making an out of context reference" to them. But Prime Minister Nehru stated in his letter of September 26, 1959, as cited in the Indian note, that Longju lies 1 ½ miles south of the "McMahon Line". Later, when speaking before the Indian Parliament on April 3, 1961, he further stated that Longju sits astride the "McMahon Line", and most of it lies north of the Line. And now the Indian side asserts that Longju is about two miles south of the "McMahon Line". It is entirely futile for the Indian side, being unable to explain these obvious inconsistencies, to charge baselessly the Chinese side with "making an out of context reference."

In addition to its illegal occupation of large tracts of Chinese territory south of the "McMahon Line", the Indian side has repeatedly sent out troops to intrude into Longju and Ruyu north of the Line. This obviously represents a deliberate attempt to create new troubles and tensions. To maintain tranquillity on the border, the Indian Government should, not merely in words but in deeds, stop sending out troops to intrude into Longju and the adjacent areas.

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, 4 September 1962

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

At about 12.30 hours on August 26, 1962, seven Indian soldiers, five of them mounted, who had intruded into the vicinity of the source of the Karakash River in Sinkiang, China, pressed forward from north to south up to a place in front of the positions of the Chinese post located at approximately 35° 3. 5' N, 78° 22' E. Ignoring the warnings of the Chinese frontier guards who waved their arms and shouted, the Indian soldiers unscrupulously opened fire. Then another batch of Indian troops, ten in number, approached from the south and seized the high ground southwest of the Chinese post. At about 6.50 hours on the morning of August 29, the intruding Indian troops again pressed forward to the vicinity of the Chinese post and fired 17 shots at the Chinese frontier guards. During these two incidents, the Chinese frontier guards maintained self-restraint throughout and did not return fire. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against the above mentioned provocations of the Indian troops.

After the closing in on a Chinese post in the Pangong Lake area in Tibet on August 24, the Indian intruders have now advanced on and fired at another Chinese post, this time in the vicinity of the source of the Karakash River in Sinkiang. This shows once again that India is intensifying its intrusions into and provocations against China in a planned way, thereby aggravating further the border situation, and is not, as it

has professed, willing to relax the border situation and peacefully settle the boundary question through negotiations.

It is regrettable that the Indian Government has again adopted the method of a thief crying "stop thief" and distorted this incident in its note of August 27, 1962, alleging that the Chinese frontier guards "attempted to ambush" an Indian patrol on routine duties and conducted "unprovoked firing", whereas the Indian troops were "forced to return the fire," and so on and so forth. All these allegations were sheer fabrications. One cannot help asking why the Indian troops should have proceeded to and patrolled at a place deep inside Chinese territory and "33 miles" away from its border post. Could it be the "routine duties" of the Indian patrol to invade the territory of others and press forward in a menacing manner to the border posts of others? This is absolutely impermissible. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the Indian Government's aforesaid false charge which turns the facts upside down and shifts the blame on others.

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.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 5 September 1962

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

At about 12.10 hours on September 2, 1962, a transport team comprising 6 rear service personnel of the Chinese border defence forces, when proceeding on a mission to approximately 35° 8.5 N, 78° 14.5' E south of the Chip Chap River area in Sinkiang, was ambushed by a large

number of intruding Indian soldiers. The intruder unwarrantedly opened up fierce fire at the Chinese non-combatants with machine-guns and rifles. The transport team of the Chinese border defence forces was compelled to stop advancing and make retreat under the cover of the terrain features. The Indian soldiers continued to chase it with gunfire, shooting a total of nearly 200 rounds. The Chinese rear service personnel did not return fire throughout.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest against the aforesaid grave incident in which Indian troops penetrated deep into Chinese territory and even came to a supply route in the rear of Chinese border defence forces to ambush their rear service personnel. It seriously urges the Indian Government to give careful consideration to the grave consequences that may arise from such acts of playing with fire by the Indian side. One should be aware that whoever plays with fire will burn himself.

It must be pointed out that the above-mentioned Indian action of ambushing and attacking Chinese rear service personnel with fierce fire marked a new peak in the Indian troops' recent series of intruding and provocative activities, including the continuous setting up of aggressive strongpoints, the firing of provocative shots and the encirclement of Chinese posts and patrols on Chinese territory. This incident once again revealed that what India is after is not to relax tension and settle the boundary question through negotiations, as it claims, but deliberately to provoke new armed clashes, further aggravate the situation on the border and worsen the Sino-Indian relations.

The note handed over in the midnight of September 2 to the Charge d' Affaires of the Chinese Embassy in India by the Director of China Division of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, turning the truth upside down, has described the incident as one in which Indian patrols were twice "surprised and attacked by a large Chinese military force" on the

same day at a certain place south of the Chip Chap River region and were "compelled to return the fire." While pretentiously lodging a protest in the note, the Indian side was unable to give the specific location where the incident occurred. Under the questioning of the Chinese Charge d' Affaires the Director of the China Division of the India Ministry of External Affairs could only reply that he was not yet clear about it. Making a hasty accusation without ascertaining the most rudimentary facts, the Indian Government was resorting to too naked a method of fabrication and false counter-charge. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the Indian protest which has no factual basis. The Indian attempt of using that protest to cover up its deliberate scheme of creating an armed clash and shift on to China the responsibility for obstructing peaceful negotiations is bound to fail.

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, 6 September 1962

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 27th August, 1962.

The allegations made in the Chinese note are not only baseless but also indicate the lack of a proper understanding on the part of the Chinese Government of the Indo-Chinese boundary in that area.

Indian forces have never established any strong points in Chinese territory. On the contrary, it is Chinese intruders who have, in recent years, unlawfully established numerous military posts deep inside Indian Territory. This will also be evident from the fact that even the areas

referred to in the present Chinese note are located well within Indian territory where Chinese forces could have no justification to be present.

The Government of India have carefully investigated the allegations in respect of each of the two areas mentioned in the Chinese note under reference and the facts, as verified are stated below :-

(i) There is absolutely no truth in the allegation that Indian troops have "encircled the Chinese frontier guards and cut off the rear route of a Chinese post" in the Galwan Valley region. The fact is that Chinese forces had intruded into this sector of Indian Territory in Ladakh, for the first time in July 1962. They had thereafter set up no less than 5 strong points around the Indian defence post at $78^{\circ} 38' E 34^{\circ} 39' 45'' N$ and had begun to consolidate themselves in the area. In this process Chinese forces had established a post at $78^{\circ} 33' 5'' E 34^{\circ} 40' N$. They had also set up another post at $78^{\circ} 38' 5'' E 34^{\circ} 34' 5'' N$, about 800 yards north of an Indian Ration Party in the vicinity so as to obstruct supplies from reaching the main Indian defence post at $78^{\circ} 38' E, 34^{\circ} 39' 45'' N$. In their notes dated 10th July 1962, 22nd August and 25th August, 1962 the Government of India have already drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to these aggressive Chinese actions.

As regards the allegations of shooting by Indian defence forces in this area on the 21st, 22nd and 25th August, 1962, these are entirely without foundation. There has been no shooting in this area by either side on the specified dates.

(ii) The correct position relating to the Pangong Lake area has been given in the Indian Government's note, dated 24th August, 1962 in which a protest was lodged about a new Chinese post set up at $78^{\circ} 45' E 33^{\circ} 39' 20'' N$ on the southern bank of the Pangong Lake. Here again it is the Chinese who are attempting by a series of provocative moves to isolate an Indian defence posts in the area. The Chinese post at $78^{\circ} 45' E 33^{\circ} 39' 20'' N$ which has been established only in the last few days has obviously

been set up to interfere with the main supply line leading to the above mentioned Indian defence post near Yula. There is no question in such a context of any "communication and supply lines to the rear" of a Chinese post being cut off. The Chinese allegation stands exposed as a palpable attempt to conceal the aggressive activities carried on by Chinese intruders and will convince no one.

The Government of India has been repeatedly drawing the attention of the Chinese Government to the provocations carried out by Chinese forces intruding into Indian territory. They have so far themselves refrained from taking any steps which could further aggravate the situation. However, if Chinese forces should persist in their illegal encroachments on Indian territory and continue to interfere with the supply lines of Indian defence posts, the responsibility for any consequences that might arise therefrom will rest solely on the Chinese Government.

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 September 1962

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 Ministry's notes, dated 22nd August, 24th August and 28th August 1962 wherein the Government of India had lodged protests about the setting up of new military posts, deep inside Indian territory, by Chinese forces in Ladakh.

It is most regrettable that even subsequent to the above protests,

two more Chinese military posts should have been set up on Indian Territory, as follows:

Changchanmo valley region:

(i) Post at 78° 46' E 34° 03' 30" N.

Pangong-Spanggur region:

(i) Post at 78° 54' E 33° 40' 45" N.

These new Chinese posts not only constitute further serious violations of India's territorial integrity but also add to the possibility of fresh incidents arising in the area.

The Government of India lodge an emphatic protest against the setting up of the above mentioned Chinese military posts and demand that they be withdrawn immediately, along with other Chinese posts, from Indian territory.

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, 8 September 1962

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 the 4th September, 1962 and to state as follows:

The Government of India had, in their protest note of the 27th August, given clear and detailed facts of the incident that occurred on the

26th August. That the intruding Chinese troops opened fire against an Indian patrol engaged on routine tasks in Indian territory has been fully and clearly established.

The location at which the incident took place is 78° 23' 15" E 35° 05' 15" N and not 35° 3.5' N 78° 22' E as stated in the Chinese note. The Government of India categorically rejects the absurd claim in the belated Chinese note of the 4th September that the Indian patrol was inside Chinese territory. The Chinese Government is fully aware that the point at which the incident took place is not only well inside Indian Territory but is about 100 miles west of the international frontier between India and China in this region. There can be no doubt of any sort on this point as the question of the location of the boundary in this region has been gone into in great detail by the officials of the two sides.

Apart from the location, even on the facts of the incident, the details alleged in the Chinese note are inconsistent and illogical. No sensible person would believe that an Indian patrol of seven pressed forward in a menacing manner against a large Chinese force which had intruded in Indian territory. The version of the incident given in the Chinese note must, therefore, be rejected as factually incorrect and baseless.

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, 10 September 1962

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:

The Chinese note of 5th September refers to the incident regarding which the Ministry had handed over a protest note to the Chinese Embassy on the 2nd September. The facts given in the Indian note are clear.

The note handed over to the Chinese Charge d' Affaires on 2nd September clearly stated that the incident took place in an area south of the Chip Chap region. When the Chinese Charge d' Affaires asked for the exact location where the incident occurred, he was told that the exact coordinates of the point would be communicated to him the next day. These were supplied in the note of 3rd September after careful verification.

It was the Chinese Charged' Affaires who stated in the talk with the Indian Director on 2nd September that the incident must have been caused by Indian troops moving forward into Chinese territory. The Director of China Division expressed surprise that the Charged' Affaires should make such an allegation without full verification of the site where the incident had occurred. This would show that the Charge d' Affaires repeated the usual baseless allegation made in all Chinese notes that any incident taking place in the Ladakh region is in Chinese territory.

The Government of India cannot understand why the Chinese authorities should, even after the exact coordinates of the site of the incident has been supplied in the Ministry's note of the 3rd September, reiterate the usual baseless allegation that the incident was caused by Indian troops penetrating deep into Chinese territory. Verification of the site on the basis of the coordinates given will show conclusively that the point at which the incident took place is deep within Indian Territory. It is the Chinese forces who continue to penetrate deep into Indian Territory and are causing tension in the area by their aggressive activities in Indian Territory. In fact even on 5th September a group of Chinese soldiers provocatively advanced towards Indian troops at the above mentioned

location resulting in an exchange of fire. The presence of Chinese forces deep inside Indian territory, their aggressive forward patrolling and their repeated unprovoked firing against Indian posts and patrol in the area is fraught with danger and the Chinese authorities will themselves be solely responsible for any untoward incident that may take place.

The Chinese report of the incident states that the transport team of the Chinese forces was compelled to stop advancing. Where was it advancing and why so far from the Chinese border? Not only were the Chinese forces intruding into Indian Territory but they opened fire on the Indian patrol that had to reply in self defence. The facts are clear and straight forward and the Ministry must therefore reject the allegations in the belated Chinese note of 5th September.

Indian forces have no desire to "play with fire" or to cause any provocations but they are determined not to permit any aggression into Indian territory.

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, 10 September 1962

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 24th August 1962.

The Government of India have found after careful investigation that the allegation in the Chinese note about Indian armed personnel having crossed the Nathu La border on 4th June 1962, is completely baseless.

The Indian Government are not aware of any places called Tzelung

La and Tagi La on the Sikkim-Tibet border and have not been able to go into the details of the other allegations due to the absence of proper map coordinates of the places referred to.

The Ministry would reiterate, for the information of the Chinese Government, that Indian defence personnel, unlike the Chinese forces on the border, are well aware of the limits of the International Boundary.

They are under strict instructions not to cross the boundary and invariably follow these instructions.

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, 10 September 1962

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

The Indian side, persisting in its policy of realizing its territorial claims by armed force, has recently established on Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border six more aggressive strongpoints, the locations of which are as follows:

The first one is located at approximately 35° 10'N, 78° 13' E, which is as deep as around 13 kilometres inside Sinkiang.

The second one is located at approximately 35° 9.5' N, 78° 14' E, which is as deep as around 13 kilometres inside Sinkiang.

The third one is located at approximately 35° 24' N, 78° 04' E,

which is north of the Chip Chap River is Sinkiang.

The fourth one is located at approximately 34° 23' N, 78° 53.5' E, which is northwest of the Kongka Pass and inside Sinkiang.

The fifth one is located at approximately 33° 39.5' N, 78° 44' E on the southern bank of the Pangong Lake in Tibet. It is only about 300 metres away from a Chinese post in the area.

The sixth one is located at approximately 33° 26.5' N, 78° 50' E south of the Spanggur Lake, lying across the boundary line between the Ari district of Tibet, China, and Ladakh, India.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a serious protest against the above new violations of China's territorial integrity and sovereignty by the Indian side.

Since last spring, Indian troops have continually nibbled at and pressed forward in the border areas of China's Sinkiang and Tibet. The aggressive strongpoints established by India on Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border have now totalled up to 34 in number. From these strongpoints, Indian military personnel have further incessantly carried out threats and provocations against Chinese frontier defence forces. The Chinese Government has lodged a number of protests with the Indian Government against this. In its reply notes of June 22, June 28, July 6 and July 14, 1962, the Indian Government did not deny that India had indeed established these strongpoints on Chinese territory, but it repeatedly engaged in prevarication, asserting that India was taking defensive measures the objectives of which were "peaceful," and falsely counter-charged China with continuously committing "agression" since 1957. And in its note of July 6, it again repeated its absurd proposal which actually meant that China should unilaterally withdraw from large tracts of China's own territory. All this was refuted again and again by the Chinese Government in its previous notes. Facts are very clear. It was

India which, having occupied much Chinese territory in the eastern and middle sectors of the Sino-Indian border, turned to press forward into Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, establishing more aggressive strongpoints and nibbling at Chinese territory. The Indian press has boasted that this was a "unique triumph for an audacious Napoleonic planning"; and Prime Minister Nehru himself openly admitted in the Indian parliament that "our movements sometimes go behind the Chinese positions," and that "India had opened some new patrol posts endangering the Chinese posts." One must ask: How can this be called defensive measures? Can this be the "peaceful objectives" flaunted by the Indian Government? If the Indian Government really has any sincerity for peace, it should, in deeds, immediately stop its intrusions into and withdraw its aggressive strongpoints from Chinese territory.

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

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 12 September 1962

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 31st August, 1962.

The Indian team of officials at the talks of the officials of the two Governments clearly established that there is no basis for the claim advanced then and again in the Chinese note under reply that the place where the Chinese side has set up posts and built a road are on the Chinese side of the international boundary in the Ladakh region nor for the claim that any part of Ladakh has, except since the Chinese aggression in recent years, been under the administration of the Chinese

Government.

Full details of the Chinese aggression in the Ladakh region since 1957 have been conveyed to the Government of China in numerous Indian notes on the subject. It is a matter of regret that the Chinese Government should persist in their attempts to justify their aggression into and forcible seizure of Indian territory in the Ladakh region since 1957 by unwarranted territorial claims.

The Chinese note has referred to the status quo on the border. But it is the Chinese Government themselves who have unilaterally sought since 1957 to change the long existing status quo on, the border by the use of force.

Chinese forces have not only intruded deep inside Indian territory but there has been no halt in their incessant aggressive forward patrolling and setting up of new posts on Indian territory. It is in the context of these aggressive Chinese activities that Government of India had to take action to prevent further violations of India's territory. This is a purely defensive measure. It is the Chinese forces who continue their aggressive activities and who have in recent months deliberately manoeuvred to encircle Indian defence posts, to interfere with their line of supply and communications and to resort to unprovoked firing causing clashes and tension in the area. The various notes presented by the Ministry to the Embassy give full factual details of these irresponsible and aggressive activities of the Chinese forces.

Government of India must, in view of the reasons given in the above paragraphs, reject the fallacious and untenable contentions in the Chinese note under reference.

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, 13 September 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, in regard to India's recent establishments of additional strong points for aggressive purposes within Chinese territory on the Western sector of the Sino-Indian border and the numerous serious incidents of firing provocative shots at Chinese frontier guards, has the honour to state the following:

1. The intruding Indian troops have established four additional aggressive strong points in Chinese territory.

The first one is located at approximately 35° 09' N, 78° 16' E, which is to the south of the Chip Chap River area in Sinkiang and as deep as about 17 kilometres inside Chinese territory.

The second one is located at approximately 35° 06' N, 78° 13' E, which is also south of the Chip Chap River area in Sinkiang, to the southwest of the aforesaid aggressive strong point and as deep as about 9 kilometres inside Chinese territory.

The third one is located at approximately 34° 59' N, 78° 24.5' E, which is to the west of the source of the Karakash River in Sinkiang and as deep as about 18 kilometres inside Chinese territory.

The fourth one is located at approximately 33° 39' N, 33° 44' 50" E, which is on the southern bank of the Pangong Lake in Tibet and behind a Chinese post in that area.

2. Intruding Indian troops provocatively fired on six more occasions at Chinese frontier guards.

In the area south of the Chip Chap River valley:

At about 7.00 hours on the morning of August 29, a group of Indian soldiers sneaked to the vicinity of the Chinese post at approximately 35° 10' N, 78° 14' E and fired five shots in succession. The bullets flew over the heads of the Chinese guards.

At about 1.20 hours on September 5, intruding Indian soldiers fired another shot at the above-mentioned Chinese post.

At about 17.00 hours on September 5, a batch of Indian soldiers fired 19 rounds with rifles and machineguns at four Chinese frontier guards from a place approximately 35° 07' N, 78° 13' E.

At 17.10 hours on September 5, a batch of Indian soldiers fired two shots at a small group of Chinese frontier guards from approximately 35° 8.5' N, 78° 17.5' E.

In the area north of the Chip Chap River:

At about 11.30 hours on September 2, a group of Indian soldiers fired two shots at the Chinese post located at approximately 35° 30'N, 78° 07' E on the eastern bank of the Lungnak Lungspa River. Following that, they even fired a mortar shell, which exploded in front of the Chinese post.

In the small hours of September 5, a group of intruding Indian soldiers sneaked to the vicinity of the Chinese post at approximately 35° 25' N, 78° 07' E, firing two shots at 1.55 hours and then one shot each at 3 and 3.05 hours respectively.

During all the aforesaid six incidents of provocative firings by Indian troops, the Chinese frontier guards exercised great restraint and fired not a single shot in return.

The Chinese Government hereby strongly protests against the above-mentioned series of fresh intrusions and provocative activities by

the Indian side. These facts demonstrate that the Indian side is intensifying more and more its aggressive activities on Chinese territory. Taking only the cases of provocative firings at Chinese frontier guards, apart from the daily increase of shooting incidents, (as many as four such incidents occurred on September 5 alone), even the use of artillery shelling has been started. The Indian Government should be aware that shooting and shelling are no child's play; and he who plays with fire will eventually be consumed by fire. If the Indian side should insist on threatening by armed force the Chinese border defence forces who are duty-bound to defend their territory and thereby arouse their resistance, it must bear the responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

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, 13 September 1962

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 29th August, 1962.

2. The Indian Government's note dated 3rd August 1962 had refuted Chinese allegations of firing on the 16th and 19th July, 1962. This was done after detailed verification. The note also pointed out that although a protest had been lodged by the Chinese Government about an incident near the Chip Chap river region on the 21st July, 1962 in their note dated 22nd July, 1962, these incidents which were alleged to have taken place even earlier had curiously enough found no mention therein. This additional feature of the case was mentioned as it also supported the results of the detailed verification undertaken by the Indian authorities.

This is, therefore, not a "sophisticated" argument but an additional argument which establishes that the Chinese allegations are baseless. It may also be mentioned that the Chinese note dated 22nd July, 1962, had been fully answered in the Ministry's note dated 26th July, 1962.

3. The Chinese note has further referred to the Indian Government's notes dated 28th July, 1962 and 5th August, 1962 and claimed an imaginary contradiction in the information conveyed therein. The actual area where the Chinese patrol opened fire at an Indian patrol and about which the Indian Government had protested in their note, dated 28th July, 1962, was approximately $78^{\circ}46' 5''$ E $33^{\circ} 57'$ N whereas the Chinese note dated 1st August, 1962, referred to an area at $78^{\circ}44'5''$ E $33^{\circ}57'$ N. These two points are separated by nearly 3 miles and the Indian Government's note dated 5th August, 1962 correctly stated that "No Indian party was in that area on 27th July, 1962".

4. Referring to the Indian Government's note of 28th July, 1962, the Chinese Government have further tried to draw unwarranted conclusions from a typographical error in the place reference in the Indian Government's note dated 5th August, 1962. The map coordinates given in the Indian note dated 28th July, 1962, namely, $78^{\circ}46.5'E$ $33^{\circ} 57'$ N, however, clearly indicated the actual place referred to and it is surprising that the Chinese note deliberately overlooks this detailed place reference and merely makes a play with words.

5. The Chinese Government have referred to the Indian note, dated 30th July, 1962, protesting against unprovoked firing by Chinese troops, and have denied that Chinese troops fired at Indian troops near Yula in the Pangong lake area. The Chinese note has further denied that any clash took place on 14th August, 1962 near Yula between the two sides. The Ministry would stress in this connection that the facts conveyed in the Indian Government's notes are carefully verified before being communicated to the Chinese Government. The Ministry cannot,

therefore, accept the Chinese Government's routine denials made without serious and earnest consideration of duly verified facts given in the Indian posts. It is undeniable that whenever there have been incidents on the border, they have been invariably caused by Chinese forces intruding into Indian territory and opening fire on Indian defence personnel.

6. The Government of India regret in particular the tone of the Chinese note which can only aggravate the situation which the Chinese have themselves created in Ladakh.

7. 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, 13 September 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the Indian Government's two notes of August 22 in reply to the Chinese Government's note of August 4, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

1. The Chinese Government regrets that the Indian Government in its notes under reference refuses to hold further discussions on the boundary question as soon as possible on the basis of the report of the officials of the two countries.

2. In its notes, the Indian Government wilfully slandered China with alleged aggressive activities in the western sector of the Sino- Indian border. In order to seek a pretext for refusing to discuss the boundary question with the Chinese Government, the Indian Government insisted in

its note that "discussions cannot start unless the status quo of the boundary in this region which has been altered by force since 1957 is restored and the current tensions are removed." The Chinese Government has always held that pending a settlement of the boundary question through negotiations both sides should maintain the status quo of the boundary and should not change it by unilateral action. The Chinese Government has strictly adhered to this stand. It has never crossed the line of actual control in any of the sections of the Sino-Indian boundary, let alone carrying out any aggressive activities. This fact can in no way be altered by any slander. It is exactly the Indian Government itself that has carried out aggressive activities in the Sino-Indian border areas and changed the status quo of the boundary by armed force. Such aggressive activities of the Indian Government not only took place in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, but extended also to its middle and eastern sectors. If the status quo of the boundary, which has been altered by force, must be restored before discussions on the boundary question can start, then it is the Indian troops that should withdraw from the Chinese territories which they have occupied along all the sectors of the Sino-Indian boundary. The Chinese Government has on numerous occasions protested against the Indian Government's aggressive activities and repeatedly asked it to withdraw its troops from Chinese territory. Yet the Chinese Government is always willing to resolve through negotiations all the disputes between the Chinese and Indian Governments on the boundary question, and has never put forth any pre-conditions for the negotiations. Now the Indian Government, while carrying out aggressive activities in the Sino-Indian border areas, has turned to put before the Chinese Government a pre-condition for negotiations. It can be said definitely that it is utterly futile for the Indian Government to use this inapt method to disguise the fact that it lacks sincerity for negotiations.

3. The Indian Government pretends to take interest in easing the tension along the border, but actually at the very moment when it is

repeatedly expressing the hope of easing the border situation it is stepping up its intrusions and provocative activities within Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. Since August 4, Indian troops have established eleven more military strong-points on Chinese territory in the western sector, opened fire at Chinese frontier guards on 14 more occasions and even ambushed a transport team of the Chinese border defence forces, firing as many as 200 rounds at it. These daily growing aggressive activities of the Indian side have brought the border tension to a new danger point. The above facts completely belie the Indian Government's professed desire to ease the border tension.

4. The border tension ought to be eased. The Chinese Government has pointed out in its note of August 4 that if only the Indian side stop advancing into Chinese territory a relaxation of the border situation will be effected at once. But the Indian Government, while persisting in advancing into Chinese territory, changing the status quo by force and aggravating the border tension, asserts that "an essential preliminary" to the holding of discussions on the boundary question is a "definition of measures that should be taken to restore the status quo of the boundary in this region which has been altered by force during the last five years and to remove the current tensions in this area." This assertion is utterly absurd. It is necessary to remind the Indian Government again that, if India should continue to nibble Chinese territory, it will certainly meet with China's resistance, and it must bear responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

5. In the face of the above-stated facts one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the Indian Government has no desire to solve the boundary question peacefully through negotiations but is using peaceful negotiation as a cover for its plans of nibbling Chinese territory and altering the status quo of the boundary. In his speech at the Rajya Sabha on August 22, 1962 Prime Minister Nehru stated' outright that on the Sino-Indian boundary question the Indian Government is following a "dual

policy" and intends to gain from China what it seeks to gain "by political pressure, military pressure or other pressures." To adopt one policy or another is India's own business. But the Chinese Government wishes to point out that China will welcome negotiations, if seriously intended, but will resist, whenever attacked, and that it will bring India no good to pursue a policy of "sham negotiations and real fighting."

6. In its two notes the Indian Government tried at length to prove that Indian intrusions into Chinese territory are "purely internal matters to be decided by the Government of India in accordance with the requirements of security." The Chinese Government has in its previous notes refuted this absurd assertion in detail, and so does not intend to repeat itself here. What needs to be noted is that, in an attempt to find an excuse for rejecting discussions on the boundary question, the Indian Government interpreted China's position on the boundary question, as explained by the Chinese Foreign Minister in his August 3 television interview and in the August 4 note of the Chinese Government, as putting forth a pre-condition for negotiations. Every State has the freedom and right to set forth its own position. The Chinese Government has never said that discussions cannot start unless India accepts China's position on the boundary question. On the contrary, it has time and again stressed that "there need not and should not be any pre-conditions for such discussions." How can it be said that once the Chinese Government states its own position it is putting forth a pre-condition? To be quite open, if the Indian Government has no desire to negotiate, why not say so plainly? There is no need to rack its brains to fish out a reason where there is none.

7. In China's opinion it is, after all, not good to maintain prolonged border tension between two big Asian countries, China and India. With a view to easing the border tension the Chinese Government once again proposes that the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres along the entire border. It believes that the implementation of this measure will

not only immediately ease the border tension but also in a way stabilize the Sino-Indian boundary pending a peaceful settlement through negotiations.

8. The Chinese Government still considers that the Chinese and Indian Governments should quickly hold further discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials of the two countries without setting any pre-conditions. The Chinese Government is convinced that this will be in conformity with the desire of the Chinese and Indian peoples as well as peace loving countries and people all over the world. It formally proposes that the two Governments appoint representatives to start these discussions from October 15 first in Peking and then in Delhi, alternately. The details can be discussed and decided upon through diplomatic channels.

The Chinese Government awaits the reply of the Indian Government.

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, 16 September 1962

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

Indian troops recently again crossed the so-called "McMahon Line", intruded into Che Dong of the Le village (approximately 27° 49' N, 91° 48' E) in China and constructed barracks and defence works there in preparation for prolonged entrenchment. At the same time, Indian aircraft

repeatedly intruded into the air space over the Le village and circled over there for reconnaissance purposes on August 29, September 9 and September 10. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest against the above mentioned fresh intrusions by the Indian side.

After swallowing up by force large tracts of Chinese territory south of the "McMahon Line" on the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, the Indian side went further to intrude into Khinzemane north of the Line in 1959 and has since hung on there. And now it has further intruded into Che Dong. These systematic nibbling activities fully reveal how ambitious the Indian side's aggressive designs are. They also show that the Indian side is actively extending the tension to the entire Sino-Indian border. The Indian Government must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

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 External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 17 September 1962

The Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the note sent by the Chinese Foreign Office to the Indian Charge d' Affaires in Peking on the 16th September, 1962.

At the meeting of the officials of the two sides in 1960, the boundary between the North-East Frontier Agency and the Tibet Region of China was described in full detail by the Indian side. The Chinese Government are fully aware that the boundary in this sector, commencing from the point approximately 91° 40' E and 27° 48' N, runs in an easterly direction along the crest of the Tang La (Thagla) ridge, separating the

North-East Frontier Agency of India from the Tibet Region of China.

Neither the Indian border forces nor Indian aircraft have at any time crossed this international boundary at any point, much less constructed barracks and defence works on the Chinese side. Such defence arrangements as exist are entirely on the Indian side of the boundary.

It is not the Indian side that is creating tension in this border area which has been peaceful all along. Reports received by the Government of India from their local authorities indicate that it is the Chinese who have been attempting, since the beginning of September, to cross the international boundary, intrude into Indian territory and to create tension in this border region. Khinzemane, to which the Chinese note refers, is indisputably Indian territory.

The Government of India categorically reject the baseless allegations made in the Chinese note of the 16th September. The Government of India will hold the Chinese Government responsible for any untoward incident that may occur due to the failure of the Chinese authorities to restrain their forces from crossing the border and attempting to intrude into the Indian territory in this region.

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, 18 September 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with regard to the intensified intruding activities of Indian troops in the

Pangong Lake area, Tibet, has the honour to further state as follows:

In its previous notes of protest, the Chinese Government has recorded in detail the facts about the wilful intrusions by Indian troops and aircraft into Chinese territory and air space in the Pangong Lake area for threats and provocations, and there is no need to repeat them here. Apart from that, the Indian side, taking advantage of the fact that the western part of the Pangong lies astride of the Sino-Indian boundary, has continually dispatched military motor-boats to intrude into Chinese territorial waters in the Pangong Lake for all sorts of provocative activities. Within the two months from July 5 to September 5, Indian military motor-boats made intrusions in at least 90 sorties. Recently these intrusions have become even more frequent. Within a matter of 10 days and more from August 20 to September 5, there were intrusions in approximately 50 sorties, with an average of about 3 sorties a day.

Apart from frequently sending men and military material to the various aggressive strongpoints established by the Indian side on the banks of the Chinese part of the Pangong Lake, the motor-boats of the intruding Indian troops often fired harassing shots and even pressed forward menacingly and provocatively against the Chinese posts along the banks. On August 23, two Indian military motor-boats fired 9 shots at the southern bank of the Lake for reconnaissance purposes, against which the Chinese Government already protested on August 27. And on August 25, another group of intruding Indian troops, in two motor-boats, steered up to only about 100 metres from a Chinese post (approximately 33° 39' N, 78', 44' E) on the southern bank where they loudly reviled and threatened the Chinese frontier guards. Incidents of Indian Military motor-boats firing harassing shots again took place on September 2 and 5 successively.

The Chinese Government strongly protests against the Indian intruding and provocative activities in the Chinese territorial waters in western part of the Pangong Lake and has to point out that the Indian

side would be definitely mistaken if it thinks that China could allow the Indian intruders to run riot on Chinese waters.

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 External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 19 September 1962

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 13th September 1962.

The Government of India is disappointed both at the contents and the tone of the Chinese Government's note of 13th September. It is a matter of regret that there has not been the slightest effort on the part of the Chinese Government to understand and appreciate the constructive suggestions put forth by the Government of India in their note of 22nd August. The Chinese Government, on the contrary, have resorted to undiplomatic language and even held out threats of force.

In the context of the tone and content of the Chinese note and the concurrent attempts at creating tension in the Eastern Sector of the India-China border which has till now been peaceful, it would appear that the Government of China, while repeating their professions for a peaceful settlement, are determined to do all they can to continue their aggressive activities and to alter by force the status quo of the boundary unilaterally, using talks and discussions between the two Governments only as a cloak to further their aggressive and expansionist aims.

In paragraph 2 of the Chinese note it has been claimed that the

Chinese Government have maintained the status quo of the boundary. Paragraph 3 of the Indian note dated 22nd August briefly sets out the factual position in this regard. The Government of India does not have the slightest doubt that the status quo along the Sino-Indian boundary has been strictly observed by India and it is the Chinese side that has, by unilateral action and aggressive activities altered the status quo which it now fallaciously calls "the line of actual control". The hard facts of the situation cannot be altered merely by brushing them aside as "slander" or "utterly absurd".

In paragraph 6 of the Chinese note it has been stated that "Every State has the freedom and right to set forth its own position. The Chinese Government has never said that discussions cannot start unless India accepts China's position on the boundary question." Despite this unobjectionable statement of principle, the Chinese note throughout argues that "the line of actual control" established by aggressive Chinese activities during the last few years should be accepted and suggests that Indian forces should stop their defensive activities on Indian territory and withdraw from areas claimed by China. How is this contention of the Government of China consistent with their profession that they are not imposing any pre-conditions about the acceptance of the Chinese position on the boundary question?

The Government of India agree that every State has the freedom and right to set forth its own position. This is in fact what has been done by the officials of both sides in their discussions in 1960. Having done this, however, further discussions to resolve the differences between the two Governments can only start after measures have been taken to restore the confidence between the two Governments, disturbed by unilateral alteration of the status quo, and after the border tension has been eased. The proposal in this regard made in paragraph 7 of the

Chinese note about withdrawal of the armed forces of each side by 20 kilometres, suffers from the serious defect that it leaves the aggressor who altered the status quo by unilateral action over the last few years, in possession of the fruits of his aggression. This could hardly create that climate of confidence and good in between the two Governments which is an essential pre- requisite for fruitful discussions to resolve the differences between the two Governments on the boundary question.

The Government of India hope that the Government of China will earnestly and in a constructive spirit, consider the suggestions, made by the Government of India in their note of 22nd August and not try to confuse the issues either by use of undiplomatic language or by holding out threats of force, or by putting forth the fallacious argument about the "line of actual control" which has, as everyone can see, been established by unilateral aggressive action and alteration of the status quo of the long existing traditional boundary. The Government of India repudiate the unwarranted assertion in the Chinese note that India refuses to hold further discussions on the boundary question. The Government of India are sincere in their desire to resolve their differences with the Government of China by peaceful means and to do their utmost to promote peaceful, neighbourly relations between the Government and people of India and the Government and people of China, but no amount of casuistry or threats of force will deter them from their resolve to maintain inviolate the territorial integrity of India.

The Government of India are prepared to hold further discussions at the appropriate level to define measures to restore the status quo in the Western Sector which has been altered by force in the last few years and to remove the current tensions in that area. The implementation of such measures will create a climate of confidence between the two Governments which alone can make possible constructive discussions to resolve the differences between the two Governments on the boundary question on the basis of the report of the Officials.

The Government of India are agreeable to these discussions starting from 15th October, first in Peking and then in Delhi. The Government of India will take further action to discuss and settle the details of these discussions through appropriate diplomatic channels after the Government of China indicate their acceptance of the proposals in the preceding paragraph.

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, 20 September 1962

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to draw the attention of the Chinese Government to yet another incident that has taken place at a point approximately 78° 80' 15" E 35° 07' 45" N as a result of intruding Chinese troops opening fire on an Indian defence post at approximately 9.00 A.M. on 15th September 1962. This area is over one hundred miles west of the International Boundary in this region.

The Chinese troops advanced menacingly close to the Indian post in the area and attempted to interfere with its normal supply line. They wantonly disregarded the repeated warnings of the Indian side and continued to advance towards the post resulting in an exchange of fire.

Latest reports indicate that the Chinese troops have been spread out in dangerous proximity to the Indian post as indicated below-

(a) about 50 Chinese at a distance of 800 to 1000 yards north-west of the Indian post;

(b) about 40 Chinese at a distance of 600 yards north-east of the Indian post; and

(c) about 50 Chinese at a distance of 1500 yards south-east of the Indian post.

The Government of India lodge an emphatic protest against these new provocations by Chinese forces on Indian territory and demand that these provocative activities be halted forthwith and the Chinese forces withdrawn immediately from Indian soil. If the Chinese forces do not cease their aggressive activities, the responsibility for any untoward incident that might occur will rest solely with the Chinese Government.

The Ministry of External Affairs takes this opportunity to renew to

the Embassy of 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, 20 September 1962

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 the grave tension caused by the intensified provocations on the part of intruding Indian troops against Chinese frontier guards at Che Dong, has the honour to state as follows:

On September 16, 1962, the Chinese Government already lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government against the Indian troops' crossing the so-called McMahon Line and establishing an aggressive strongpoint at Che Dong, Le village in Tibet. The Indian side not only turned a deaf ear to the protest, but has actively built up additional barracks and defence works around the aforesaid aggressive strongpoint, and has kept sending reinforcements there. What is particularly serious, a detachment of Indian troops made a harassing raid to the Che-jao Bridge, which is about one and a half kilometres east of Che Dong, and made threats and provocations against the Chinese frontier guards there. Around 09:00 hours on September 17, more than ten Indian soldiers, in combat formation, pressed towards a Chinese sentry post near the Che-jao Bridge. Some of them came as near as about three metres from the Chinese sentry on duty there. At 11:40 hours, two intruding Indian soldiers even aimed their guns at the Chinese sentry, posing to shot. At 16.20 hours, the Indian troops made unscrupulous threats and intimidations by placing machine-guns each on the eastern, southern and western sides of the Chinese sentry post. In the morning of the same day,

an Indian air-plane again intruded into the air space over the area of Le village, and made reconnaissance and provocative circlings there. Nevertheless, the Chinese sentry maintained the greatest calm and self-restraint and issued repeated warnings to the Indian troops. But the Indian troops, instead of giving any heed to the warnings, built defence works on the spot and have thus far refused to withdraw therefrom.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indian Government against the above-mentioned expanded aggression and intensified armed provocation by Indian troops.

In order to ease the tension and avoid clashes on the Sino-Indian border, the Chinese Government once unilaterally stopped sending its patrols to the area within 20 kilometres on its own side of the entire boundary. However, the Indian side took advantage of this situation and steadily pressed forward into Chinese territory. The Chinese Government, bearing the sacred duty of defending China's territory and maintaining tranquillity on its border, cannot remain indifferent to the intensified aggressive activities of the Indian side. In order to prevent Indian troops from further nibbling Chinese territory and carrying out armed provocations, the Chinese frontier guards were ordered to resume border patrolling and set up additional post in the western sector. Now the Indian side, instead of ceasing its aggressive activities in the western sector, has extended them to the eastern and middle sectors. In view of this, the Chinese frontier guards have been ordered to take the same defensive measures in the eastern and middle sectors as in the western sector. The position of the Chinese Government for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations is consistent and remains unchanged. However, should the Indian side continue its intrusion into Chinese territory and carry on its provocations in disregard of the protests and warnings of the Chinese Government, the Indian Government must be held fully responsible for the consequences arising therefrom.

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 September 1962

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 Ministry's note dated 22nd August, 24th August, 28th August and 7th September 1962, wherein the Government of India have lodged protests regarding the setting up of new military posts by intruding Chinese forces on Indian territory in Ladakh.

The Government of India note with regret that, even subsequent to these protests, six more aggressive military posts have been set up by Chinese forces, deep inside Indian territory, as follows:-

Chip Chap region

- (i) Post at 78° 18' 30" E 35° 07' 45" N.
- (ii) Post at 78° 18' 30" E 35° 09' 45" N.
- (iii) Post at 78° 15' E 35° 13' 30" N.
- (iv) Post at 78° 09' 30" E 35° 17' 30" N.

Qara Qash region

- (v) Post at 78° 22' 45" E 35° 05' 15" N.

Pangong-Spanggur region

- (vi) Post at 78° 45' 45" E 33° 35' 30" N.

The Government of India lodge a strong protest against the setting

up of the above mentioned new Chinese military posts which constitute further evidence of China's expansionist aims.

The aggressive activities pursued by Chinese forces on Indian territory also belie the oft-repeated claims of the Chinese Government that they have not disturbed the status quo and that they are anxious to ease the tension prevailing in the area and to avoid clashes.

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, 21 September 1962

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 20th September at about 21.30 hours two Chinese soldiers crept up to an Indian patrol post approximately one mile east of the Dhola Indian post (approx. $91^{\circ} 42' E$ $27^{\circ} 46. 5' N$) and threw two head-grenades injuring three Indian soldiers. The Indian post fired very lights and saw a substantial number of Chinese soldiers massed some distance away. The Chinese soldiers thereupon opened fire on the Indian patrol post which was compelled to return the fire in self- defence. Intermittent firing continued for approximately two hours.

The Chinese soldiers again opened fire at 03.30 hours on the 21st September and this exchange of fire continued till 05.30 hours the same day. The Chinese once again fired at the Indian patrol post at 07.00 hours on 21st September.

The Chinese Government are fully aware that the boundary in this

Sector commences from a point at approximately 91° 40' E 27° 48' N and runs in an easterly direction along the crest of the Tang La (Thagla) ridge separating the North-East Frontier Agency of India from the Tibet Region of China. The location of the main Dhola Indian post, to which the Chinese refer as Tse Dong is about 2 ½ miles south of the Tang La (Thagla) ridge.

The Government of India lodge an emphatic protest against the unprovoked aggression and wanton attack on the Indian patrol post by Chinese forces in this area which has resulted in three Indian casualties and demand that the intruding Chinese troops should stop their provocative activities and withdraw immediately into Chinese territory.

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, 21 September 1962

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 September 20, 1962, at 24:00 hours, Indian troops in the Che Dong area of Tibet, China, north of the so-called McMahon Line, into which they had intruded, made a sudden armed attack on Chinese frontier sentries standing on guard west of the Che-jao bridge. From 24:00 hours on September 20 to 07:00 hours on September 21, the Indian troops on four successive occasions fired rifles and machine-guns, totalling more than 60 rounds, and hurled seven hand grenades. An officer of the Chinese frontier guards was hit and killed and a soldier was seriously wounded. Up to 08:30 hours on September 21, the Indian

troops had not yet stopped firing. The Chinese frontier guards exercised the utmost self-restraint and fired four rounds back only after they had suffered casualties. These Chinese frontier guards west of the bridge are now still encircled by the Indian troops and their contact with the rear have been cut off. The situation in the Che Dong area is extremely dangerous, and flames of war may break out there.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges the most serious and the strongest protest against the above-mentioned frantic attack by the intruding Indian troops and their crime of killing and wounding Chinese frontier guards. The Chinese Government demands that the Indian side immediately stop its attack and withdraw at once from the area of Che Dong and the Che-jao bridge. The Chinese Government reserves the right to ask for an apology and compensation from the Indian Government. If the Indian Government does not immediately accept the Chinese Government's demand, then, in order to protect the Chinese frontier guards west of the Che-jao bridge and restore their contact with the rear, the Chinese side will be compelled to take the necessary defensive measures. Should the Indian troops again open fire at the Chinese troops during the latter's defensive action, the Chinese troops will necessarily defend themselves resolutely, and the responsibility for any casualties of the Indian side under Chinese defensive fire must be borne completely by the Indian side itself.

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, 24 September 1962

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

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

Recently the Indian side again set up on Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border three additional strong- points for aggressive purposes. Two of them are located respectively at approximately 30° 34' 30" N, 78° 45' 05" E and approximately 33° 33' N, 78° 46' E, both lying astride the Sino-Indian boundary west of the Spanggur Lake in the Ari district, Tibet. The third one is located at approximately 35° 10' N, 78° 12' E south of the Chip Chap River area in Sinkiang.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a serious protest against this insatiable nibbling of Chinese territory by the Indian side, and once again demands that the Indian Government immediately withdraw all its aggressive strong points.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy 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, 25 September 1962

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 two protest notes handed over to the Charge d'Affaires of India on 22nd September 1962.

2. The Government of China is either completely mis-informed about the location of the area referred to in their Note of 16th September or are deliberately confusing the precise location where the Chinese

troops are carrying on their aggressive activities in Indian territory.

3. The Chinese note of 16th September alleged that Indian troops crossed the McMahon line and intruded into Che Dong of the Le village in Tibet and gave the co-ordinates of the location as 27° 49' N and 91° 48' E. A reference to the map would show that according to the co-ordinates given, the area referred to lies to the north of the Thagla Ridge and is obviously in Tibet. There is a village called Le at this location in Tibet. The Government of India have categorically stated in their note of 17th September that no Indian forces or defence works of any kind exist to the North of the Thagla Ridge which is the McMahon line boundary in this region and pointed out that the Chinese forces have intruded to the south of the line into Indian territory.

4. The Indian note of September 21st has given full factual details to show that the Chinese troops have not only provocatively crossed the McMahon line i.e. the Thagla ridge which forms the Indo-Tibetan boundary in this region, but have wantonly attacked Indian troops and inflicted casualties on them. Indian forces in the vicinity of the main Indian Dhola Post are only exercising their legitimate right of defence of Indian territory in resisting the aggressive attacks of Chinese forces on Indian soil.

5. In the light of the factual details given in the above paragraphs, the Chinese Government's statement that "they reserve the right to ask for an apology or compensation", is either misconceived because it is based on incorrect and misleading information, or is deliberately confusing and patently aggressive with the sole idea of supporting the provocative activities of the Chinese forces in Indian territory. The Government of India must in either case firmly reject it.

6. The Indian defence forces have firm instructions to remain within Indian frontiers. They are unmistakably clear as to where the frontier lies in this region. No amount of confused allegations or aggressive threats,

as indicated in the Chinese notes will deter them from resisting with firmness any violation of the Indian border by Chinese forces whether here or elsewhere.

7. The Government of India hope that the Chinese Government will even now pause and consider the factual position of the boundary in the area where their forces are carrying on their aggressive activities in Indian territory, stop making unwarranted threats, and issue immediate instructions to their intruding forces to cease their aggressive activities on Indian territory and direct them to return to Chinese territory across the frontier to the North of Thagla Ridge, that is, to the region indicated by the co-ordinates given in the Chinese note of 16th September, 27° 49' N and 91° 48' E. The Government of India will hold the Chinese Government responsible for all the consequences that flow from this deliberate aggression and unwarranted attacks by Chinese forces on Indian forces in Indian territory.

8. 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, 25 September 1962

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 the Indian troops' grave crime of successively creating incidents of bloodshed in Che Dong by killing and wounding Chinese frontier guards, has the honour to state as follows:

The Indian troops which intruded into Che Dong, China, north of the so-called McMahon Line, have in the past few days kept shooting, day and

night, at Chinese frontier sentries standing on guard to the west of the Che-jao bridge, in disregard of the repeated protests and warnings by the Chinese Government. Within the one and half hours from 21:30 to 23:00 hours on September 21, 1962 alone, the intruding Indian troops fired more than 400 gun shots and two artillery rounds and threw two hand grenades. In the period from 07:50 hours on September 22 to 02:12 hours on September 23, the Indian troops opened fire five times, firing more than 200 gun shots and five artillery rounds and throwing 11 hand grenades, wounding a Chinese sentry. What is more serious, from 13:00 to 13:50 hours on September 24 the aggressive Indian troops again opened fierce fire, threw a large number of hand grenades and blew up part of the defensive works of the sentries' post of the Chinese frontier guards to the west of the Che-jao bridge, causing four casualties among the Chinese sentries.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges once again the most serious and strongest protest with the Indian Government against the above-mentioned grave crime committed by the aggressive Indian troops, and reserves the right to ask for an apology and compensation from the Indian Government. In its note dated September 21, 1962 the Chinese Government demanded that the Indian side immediately stop its attack on the Chinese frontier guards and withdraw at once from the area of Che Dong and the Che-jao bridge. The Indian Government, while failing to give an answer so far, has successively created new incidents of bloodshed. In the face of the increasingly frantic armed attacks by the aggressive Indian troops, the Chinese frontier guards cannot but take resolute measures of self-defence. The Indian Government must be held fully responsible for all the consequences arising from this.

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, 25 September 1962

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 18th September 1962.

The detailed facts in regard to recent developments in the Pangong Lake area have already been given in the Ministry's notes dated 22nd July, 24th July, 28th July, 30th July, 15th August, 6 September, 7th September and 13th September 1962. These notes show that there has not only been an increase in the aggressive and provocative activities carried on by Chinese forces on Indian territory in this area but also that Chinese forces have been continuously setting up additional aggressive military posts.

The western half of the Pangong Lake is an integral part of Indian territory and there can be no justification whatever for the presence of any Chinese forces in that area. It is clear that such intrusions and incidents that have occurred in the area have been caused by Chinese intruders and not by Indian troops. As far as the deployment of Indian defence forces inside Indian territory is concerned, this is a matter purely for the Government of India to decide. The Indian Government cannot countenance any interference from the Chinese Government in this regard.

The allegation in the Chinese note that on 23rd August 1962, Indian military motor boats on the Pangong Lake had fired 9 shots for reconnaissance purposes at an illegal Chinese post is a repetition of the baseless allegation made once before in the Chinese note of 27th August 1962. This allegation has been fully refuted in the Indian Government's reply dated 6th September 1962. Similar allegations of firing on the 2nd

September and 5th September 1962 are equally baseless.

In the light of the facts cited above, the Government of India reject the Chinese note under reference.

The Ministry of External Affairs takes this opportunity to renew 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, 26 September 1962

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

On the morning of September 19, 1962, a patrol team consisting of six Chinese frontier guards was on routine duty near a Chinese post on the northern bank of the Chinese part of the Pangong Lake in Tibet. At about 11:30 when the patrol team came to a place at about 33° 44.5' N, 78° 51' E, it suddenly met with serious provocation from two batches of intruding Indian troops, totalling over 30 in number. The Indian troops, relying on their superior strength, closed in on the Chinese patrol team. One batch of these Indian troops even pressed to within thirty metres or so from the Chinese patrol team. The Chinese patrols repeatedly gesticulated and shouted out warnings. The intruding Indian troops, however not only did not stop their provocations, but continued to press forward, and then crouched down and made preparations for firing. It was only owing to the utmost self-restraint on the part of the Chinese side that a serious incident was avoided.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest against the

above armed provocations by Indian troops. It must be pointed out that intruding Indian troops have more than once made similar provocations in the Pangong Lake area (reference the Chinese Government's notes of July 28 and August 27, 1962); and what is more, this incident took place immediately after the Chinese Government lodged on September 18, 1962 a protest against the Indian side's intrusions and provocations on the waters of the Pangong Lake in Tibet. These facts show that the Indian side is stepping up and expanding its aggressive activities in the Pangong Lake area. Under such circumstances, the Chinese side will have to adopt necessary defensive measures to protect its own 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, 28 September 1962

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 of 25th September 1962.

A detailed account of the recent intrusions by Chinese forces in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary has already been communicated in the Indian Government's notes dated 17th September, 21st September and 25th September 1962. The Government of India's note of 21st September 1962 gives the correct account of the attack by Chinese troops at 21:30 hours on the 20th September 1962 against an Indian patrol party approximately 1 mile east of the Dhola Indian post (91° 42' E 27° 46.5' N).

It is significant that in the Chinese note dated 16th September 1962 the coordinates for "Che Dong of the Le village", where the incident is alleged to have occurred, are given as 91° 48' E 27° 49' N. As has been

pointed out in the Indian Government's note of 25th September 1962, this area is in Tibetan territory and there are no Indian troops present in that location. The actual scene of the clash is south of the Thagla ridge which is the India-China border and is one mile east of the location $91^{\circ} 42' E$ $27^{\circ} 46.5' N$. This area is indisputably Indian territory into which Chinese forces have intruded.

In the light of the above facts the Government of India reject the Chinese note under reference and call upon the Chinese Government to withdraw their forces immediately from Indian territory.

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, 29 September 1962

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:

From 16:40 to 17:05 hours on September 25, 1962, the Indian troops which had intruded into China's Che Dong area again opened fire fireceily at the Chinese sentry post west of the Che-jao bridge, firing more than 700 gun shots and throwing four hand grenades. A Chinese frontier guard was killed and another wounded. The Chinese frontier guards were compelled to return fire in self-defence. Concerning the armed attack launched by Indian troops from 13.00 to 13.50 hours on September 24 on the same Chinese sentry post, the Chinese Government has received a further report from the Chinese frontier guards, which gives the verified casualties of the Chinese side in that incident as three soldiers killed and

two officers wounded.

The Chinese Government hereby again lodges the strongest protest with the Indian Government against the Indian side's grave crime of continuing to provoke armed clashes and create incidents of bloodshed. The Chinese Government once again warns the Indian side that it must immediately stop its attack on the Chinese frontier guards and withdraw its intruding troops at once from the area of Che Dong, otherwise, the Indian side must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

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

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 29 September 1962

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

At 00.45 hours on September 29, 1962, the Indian troops who had intruded into China's Che Dong area again attacked the Chinese sentry post west of the Che-jao bridge firing fiercely with machine-guns, submachine-guns and rifles. At the same time, they shelled more than ten rounds at the Chinese frontier guards east of the bridge. A total of four Chinese soldiers were wounded. The Chinese frontier guards were compelled to act in self-defence. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indian Government against the serious crime of the aggressive Indian troops in making provocative attack on and wounding Chinese soldiers. The Indian Government must bear full

responsibility for the crime and all the consequences arising therefrom.

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

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 29 September 1962

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 of 4th September 1962.

The facts in regard to the villages of Longju and Roi have been fully stated in the Government of India's notes dated 28th May, 6th June and 8th August 1962. It is most regrettable that the Chinese Government should choose to ignore these unassailable facts and persist in repeating baseless allegations.

There is not the least doubt that the village of Longju, like the village of Roi, is south of the McMahon line and forms an integral part of Indian territory. No amount of prevarication by the Chinese side can alter this position.

No Indian troops visited Longju or Roi on the 18th July 1962, as has been alleged in the Chinese note under reference. Although after their forcible occupation of Longju in August 1959, Chinese forces had withdrawn from Longju sometime in 1961, the Indian side has made no attempt to re-enter it, in the interests of a peaceful Settlement.

Chinese forces on the other hand have shown no such restraint. As recently as the 15th September 1962, 11 armed Chinese and 6 civilians intruded into Longju and then returned the same day to the Tibet region from where they had come. The Government of India strongly protest

against this latest instance of intrusion into Longju by Chinese forces.

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, 1 October 1962

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 18th September 1962.

Detailed facts in regard to the incident have already been communicated in the Indian Government's note dated 20th September 1962. The Government of India categorically reject the untenable claim made in the Chinese note under reference that Indian troops had intruded into Chinese territory and "pressed close to the defence positions" of a Chinese post. On the contrary, the incident had occurred as a result of Chinese troops advancing menacingly on an Indian post in the area and unscrupulously opening fire on it.

The location at which the incident took place is 78° 08' 15" E 35° 07' 45" N. This area is over one hundred miles west of the International Boundary in this region where Chinese troops could have no justification to be present.

In the light of the above facts, the Government of India, while rejecting the Chinese note under reference, stress once more the urgent need for putting a stop to the aggressive forward patrolling by Chinese forces in Indian territory and for their immediate withdrawal.

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, 3 October 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the Indian Government's note of September 19, 1962, has the honour to state as follows:

1. The Chinese Government regrets that the Indian Government has once again refused its proposal for speedily and unconditionally holding discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials of the two countries.

2. The Indian Government has also refused the Chinese Government's reiterated proposal that the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres along the entire border. The aim of the Indian Government in doing so is quite clear. Taking advantage of the cessation of border patrols by the Chinese frontier guards, the Indian side again crossed the so-called McMahon Line last June and intruded into the Che Dong area to its north in China's Tibet region and has since then set up four aggressive strongpoints at Che Dong, Jung-putiu, Chekuopu and Kalung. The proposal for each side to withdraw 20 kilometres would obviously hinder the Indian side from carrying out its aggressive activities in the eastern as well as the western and middle sectors. While sending China a note on September 19 refusing the Chinese proposal for a peaceful settlement of has since September 20 launched continuous attacks on the Chinese frontier guards in the Che Dong area and, as of September 30, killed 5 and wounded 9 Chinese frontier guards. Such unbridled provocation and attacks have not stopped up to now. It is clear

that the Indian Government is determined to answer the Chinese Government's peace proposal with rifles and guns. The Chinese Government cannot but express deep indignation at this.

3. The Indian Government pretentiously repeated in its note that discussions on the boundary question can only be held after the border tension has been eased. This is downright hypocrisy. Can it be that the Indian troops' crossing the so-called McMahon Line and firing at Chinese frontier guards are an Indian effort to ease the border tension? Whenever India attacks, China is sure to strike back. The Indian Government must bear responsibility for all the serious consequences arising from this. The Indian side on the one hand says that discussions on the boundary question can be held only after the border tension has been eased, on the other hand ceaselessly creates tension on the border, thus increasingly complicating the boundary question. Hollow words can deceive no one and calculated deeds of continuously altering the status quo of the boundary unilaterally and by force will certainly bring India no good.

4. It was out of the sincere desire to ease the border tension that the Chinese Government reiterated the proposal for each side to withdraw 20 kilometres. Yet the Indian Government asserted in its note that this proposal "suffers from the serious defect that it leaves the aggressor, who altered the status quo by unilateral action over the last few years, in possession of the fruits of his aggression." As a matter of fact, it is India itself that altered the status quo of the boundary unilaterally and by force, not only over the last few years, but for more than ten years. Regarding the western and middle sectors the Chinese Government has already given detailed accounts in its previous notes. Now, for the eastern sector China once again points out emphatically that the so-called McMahon Line is utterly illegal and is what the Chinese Government absolutely does not recognize. Actually, before the peaceful liberation of Tibet by China in 1950, it was merely a line which a Briton drew on a map at will and without any basis; a line without any legal or practical value. It was only

after China had liberated Tibet that the Indian side unilaterally altered by force the traditional customary line in the eastern sector and pushed its frontier forces up to the so-called McMahon Line. Not satisfied with this, the Indian Government in 1959 occupied Khinzemane, which is north of the so-called McMahon Line, and has now further occupied the Che Dong area. All these are iron-clad facts of unilateral and forcible alteration of the status quo of the boundary by the Indian side.

5. While repeatedly protesting against the Indian actions of altering unilaterally and by force the status quo of the boundary in the western, middle and eastern sectors, the Chinese Government, proceeding from the fundamental interests of the peoples of China and India, has never made restoration of the original state of the boundary a pre-condition for the holding of boundary negotiations between China and India. The Chinese Government holds that no pre-condition should be set for the negotiations on the boundary question. This has been, and still remains, the attitude of the Chinese Government. It is not difficult for the Asian countries and all peace-loving countries to see from this that the Chinese Government is sincerely working for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Indian Government, however, insists in its note on a pre-condition for the discussions on the boundary question, namely, the so-called status quo of the Sino-Indian boundary in the western sector as conceived by India must first be restored, which means that China must withdraw from vast tracts of its own territory before discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question can start. This is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese Government. It is clear that the Indian Government has raised the question in such a way because it wants to make the two sides bog down in endless procedural debates in a continuous exchange of notes, thus making it utterly impossible to start discussions on the boundary question.

6. The Chinese Government is against setting any pre-conditions for the discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question. But it does not

object to discussing any question the Indian side may raise during the discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Indian note says that only certain questions concerning the western sector of the boundary will be discussed. Why only discuss the western sector? The eastern sector being the most pressing question at present, what reason is there for not discussing it? The Chinese Government now once again proposes that discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question be started at once between the two Governments on the basis of the report of the officials of the two sides; that during the discussions questions concerning the middle and eastern sectors of the boundary must be discussed as well as those concerning the western sector, in a word, that neither side should refuse to discuss any question concerning the Sino-Indian boundary that may be raised by the other side.

7. As regards the concrete arrangement, the Chinese Government has noted that the Indian Government has agreed to the proposal for holding discussions from October 15 first in Peking and then in Delhi, alternately. The Chinese Government is prepared to receive on October 15 the representative to be sent by the Indian side. It suggests that other relevant details be promptly discussed and decided upon through diplomatic channels.

The Chinese Government awaits the reply of the Indian Government.

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, 4 October 1962

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

presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and has the honour to state the following:

The intruding Indian troops have recently set up two more strong-points on Chinese territory for aggressive purposes. One is located at approximately 35° 08.5' N, 78° 14' E, at a place south of the Chip Chap valley inside Sinkiang. The other is located at approximately 33° 39.5' N, 78° 45' E, on the southern bank of the Pangong Lake inside Tibet. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest against these aggressive Indian acts of setting up more and more strongpoints and nibbling more and more Chinese territory. The Chinese Government once again demands that the Indian Government withdraw all its aggressive strongpoints illegally set up in 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 External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 6 October 1962

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 note presented to the Charge d'Affaires of India at Peking on 3rd October, 1962.

The Government of India regret that the Chinese Government have not only turned down the proposal to hold further discussions regarding measures to remove the current tensions in the Western sector, the implementation of which is a necessary preliminary to the creation of a climate of confidence between the two Governments for constructive discussions to resolve the differences over the border question, but categorically have stated that any consideration of measures for

restoration of the status quo of the boundary unilaterally altered by force is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese Government. How can any talks take place in the context of this pre-condition?

The Government of India have repeatedly stated their desire to enter into talks and discussions, first to devise measures to reduce tensions and to create a climate of confidence, and then to undertake purposeful and constructive discussions in the improved climate to resolve the differences between the two Governments over the border question. The Government of India's approach in this matter of talks and discussions has been clear and straightforward-preliminary talks to ease tensions and to create the appropriate climate of confidence to be followed by further purposeful talks, after implementation of measures to ease tensions and restore confidence have been taken, to resolve differences between the two Governments on the boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials. If there has been any double-dealing or hypocrisy, it is entirely on the Chinese side as can be seen in the succeeding four paragraphs below.

The Government of China have repeatedly stated in their communications sent to the Government of India that they have all along refrained from disturbing the status quo of the eastern sector of the boundary along the McMahon line, though they did not recognise it, as they were respecting the actualities of the situation. This boundary, running along the highest Himalayan watershed ridges, has been the traditional and customary boundary between India and Tibet for centuries and Indian administration had been established right up to it. This was conclusively proved by the Indian officials at the talks of 1960. The Agreement of 1914-The McMahon Line Agreement-merely formalised the traditional boundary and gave it the added sanction of confirmation by treaty. The Government of China has recently accepted the eastern section of the McMahon line as the traditional watershed boundary between China and Burma. They have also in their recent publication,

"Selected Documents on Sino-Indian Relations", issued in 1962, and attached a map showing the McMahon line as the alignment along "the Himalayan Mountains". This makes clear that even according to the Chinese, it was not just "a line which a Briton drew on a map at will without any basis" but the highest watershed ridge in this area.

Despite this clear knowledge of the boundary, the Chinese forces have, during the last month, while notes were being exchanged for holding talks and discussions, intruded into Indian territory in the eastern sector and have been attacking Indian forces since 20th September. The Government of India have in their notes of 17th, 21st, 25th and 28th September given full details of this unwarranted and deliberate Chinese violation of the status quo of the border. The Government of India in their note of 25th September requested the Government of China, in the light of the full details given by them regarding this latest intrusion of Chinese forces into Indian territory, to issue immediate instructions to their forces to cease their aggressive activities on Indian territory and to return to Chinese territory across the frontier to the north of the Thagla Ridge, i.e., to the region indicated by the co-ordinates given by the Chinese authorities themselves in their note of 16th September, viz., 27° 49' N and 91° 48' E. The Government of China have not only not taken any action in this regard, continued their aggressive activities in Indian territory and created further tensions in the Eastern sector, which has so far been quiet and peaceful, but are now arguing, on the basis of tensions created by their deliberate aggression, that the eastern sector being the most pressing question at present, should also be discussed. The Government of India will not enter into any talks and discussions under duress or continuing threat of force. The latest Chinese intrusion must be terminated first.

The Government of India in their note of 19th September commented on the suggestion of the Chinese Government regarding withdrawal of forces on both sides by 20 kilometres that this suggestion

"suffers from the serious defect that it leaves the aggressor who altered the status quo by unilateral action over the last few years, in possession of the fruits of his aggression". This comment of the Government of India is fully justified. While India has never altered the traditional status quo of the boundary, it is obviously the Chinese practice to alter the status quo unilaterally whenever they can. This has been further confirmed by the latest action of the Chinese forces during the last month in the eastern sector. Quite apart from the claims of either side, it is clearly established that Chinese forces have, during the last month, crossed the Thagla Ridge and entered into the area on the Indian side. This cannot be denied. And further, they are continually strengthening their position on the Indian side of the Ridge. The Chinese forces have thus advanced into and occupied Indian Territory. These facts are clear and no one can be deceived by suggestions for talks and discussions and professions of peaceful settlement when force is actually being employed to grab Indian Territory even while these notes for talks and discussions are being exchanged.

Nor can anyone be deceived by the false allegation that the Government of India have raised the question in such a way as to bog down the two sides in endless procedural debate and make it utterly impossible to start discussions on the boundary question. The position of the Government of India in this matter is clear as stated in the third paragraph above. It is the Government of China, on the other hand, that want to bog down the talks in endless debates and wrangles by proposing that neither side should refuse to discuss any questions concerning the Sino-Indian boundary that may be raised by the other side. No useful talks and discussions can take place in the absence of a precise agenda and it appears that the Chinese are specifically aiming at creating confusion regarding the proposal for starting talks and discussions merely as a cover for their aggressive and expansionist activities along the India-China border.

The Government of India are prepared to make necessary arrangements for starting discussions in Peking or in Delhi from a mutually convenient date as soon as the latest intrusion by Chinese forces in Indian territory south of the McMahon line has been terminated as requested in Government of India's note of 25th September 1962, and the Chinese Government indicate their acceptance of the proposal made in that note, which is reproduced below for ready reference:-

"The Government of India are prepared to hold further discussions at the appropriate level to define measures to restore the status quo in the Western sector which has been altered by force in the last few years and to remove the current tensions in that area. The implementation of such measures will create a climate of confidence between the two Governments which alone can make possible constructive discussions to resolve the differences between the two Governments on the boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials."

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, 6 October 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the notes of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government, dated September 17, 21 and 25, 1962 and has the honour to state the following:

In its notes to the Indian Government dated September 16, 20, 21 and 25, 1962, the Chinese Government has given clear and detailed

accounts of how Indian troops intruded into Che Dong, north of the so-called McMahon Line, established an aggressive strongpoint, attacked Chinese frontier guards and created incidents of bloodshed there. In the past few days, the Indian troops have again expanded the scope of their encroachment and set up three more aggressive strongpoints in the Che Dong area, one at Chekuopu, east of Che Dong and west of the Che-jao bddge, another at Jungputiu, south-west of Che Dong, and the third at Kalung, west by north of Che Dong. What is even more serious, the Indian troops have become increasingly unbridled in their armed provocations. Against this, the Chinese Government has repeatedly lodged the most serious protests with the Indian Government. The Chinese Government now demands once again that the Indian side immediately stop its armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards and withdraw from China's Che Dong area.

The Indian Government in its notes not only tried hard to deny having engaged in aggressive activities, but went so far as to misrepresent the armed attack launched by the Indian troops at mid-night on September 20, in which they killed an officer of the Chinese Frontier Guards and wounded a Chinese soldier, as an incident in which two Chinese soldiers came "up to an Indian patrol post" and "threw two hand-grenades injuring three Indian soldiers," so that the Indian side was "compelled to return the fire in self-defence". In concocting this lie in its notes, the Indian Government had probably forgotten another version of this incident given by a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on September 21. He then pretentiously said that the Chinese opened fire at an Indian post from some hundreds of yards away, injuring three Indian soldiers. This evident inconsistency in itself suffices to explode the Indian side's clumsy lies. It must also be pointed out that in reply to correspondents on September 22, 1962; Prime Minister Nehru described the bloody clash created by Indian troops as "minor incidents". This irresponsible statement shows that the Indian side is going to

continue to "play with fire" on the border. But he who plays with fire will burn himself and the Indian side is advised to consider carefully the consequences.

The Indian Government asserts that Che Dong is to the south of the Illegal McMahon Line and is Indian Territory. This is wholly incompatible with the actual situation. The so-called McMahon Line was treacherously concocted in 1914 by Britain for the purpose of aggression against China's Tibet. It is illegal and null and void and has never been recognized by any Chinese Government. But according to the original 1914 map of the "McMahon Line", this line extends eastward from approximately 27° 44.6' N, 91° 39.7' E, while Che Dong is situated at 27° 46.5' N, 91° 42' E, and so obviously north of the Line. In the map "India and Adjacent Countries" published by the Survey of India in 1959, the so-called McMahon Line has already been shifted further north, yet the Che Dong area is still north of the Line as delineated in this map. During the meeting of the officials of the two countries, the Indian side said in describing its claim line on June 27, 1960 that the western extremity of the so-called McMahon Line was about 13 miles south of the Mela Pass (27° 57' N, 91° 40' E). Calculated by this distance, the Che Dong area is still north of the Line. All this shows that whether according to the 1914 original map, the 1959 Indian official map or the Indian officials' own account, the Che Dong area is undoubtedly to the north of the so-called McMahon Line. The Indian Government states in its September 17 note that the Indian side said in the officials' meeting that the so-called McMahon Line starts eastward from 27° 48' N, 91° 40' E. It is true that the Indian official said to that effect on July 13, 1960 in reply to a question put by the Chinese side. But his statement was not only at variance with the fact, but also inconsistent with the Indian official's own statement of June 27, 1960. It is utterly untenable for the Indian side now to use that statement as a ground for encroaching on the Che Dong area. The Indian side, after occupying large tracts of Chinese territory south of the so-called McMahon Line has again

and again changed its delineation of this illegal Line and encroached on Chinese territory north of the Line. According to such practice of the Indian side, what boundary could there be between China and India?

The fact is very clear. It is precisely the Indian side that has intruded to the north of the illegal McMahon Line and created incidents of bloodshed in the Che Dong area. The Chinese Government expresses its extreme regret and indignation over the Indian Government's practice of wilfully distorting facts and calling black white in its notes. It is absolutely futile for the Indian Government to try in this way to absolve itself of the guilt of expanding its aggression and killing and wounding Chinese frontier guards.

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, 10 October 1962

On 9th October 1962 a batch of the Indian troops which had intruded into the Che Dong area north of the "McMahon Line" crossed the upper reach of the Kechilang river to establish an aggressive strongpoint at Chihtung (more than 4 kilometres north west of Che Dong). At 09.20 hours on 10th October the aggressive Indian troops launched from Chihtung a fierce attack on the Chinese frontier guards stationed near Chihtung, killing and wounding 11 Chinese frontier guards. The Chinese frontier guards were compelled to act in self-defence; by the afternoon of the 10th, the fighting was still on. At 09.40 hours on the same day, the Indian troops which had intruded into and stationed in Che Dong fired provocative shots at the Chinese frontier guards stationed at Paitsai, which is opposite to Che Dong across the river. The Chinese Government

hereby lodges the strongest and most serious protest with the Indian Government against the aggressive Indian troops above mentioned grave crimes of setting up an additional aggressive strong point, launching armed attacks and once again killing and wounding Chinese soldiers, it reserves the right to ask for admission of guilt by, and compensation from, the Indian side.

It must be pointed out that the fact that the Indian Government sent its aggressive troops across the upper reach of the Kechilang river to launch new attacks on the Chinese frontier guards and spread the war flame over the Che Dong area immediately after it again it refused to negotiate the boundary question with the Chinese Government shows that it is determined to realise by armed attack its ambition of continuously biting off Chinese territory and fully reveals the real policy of the Indian Government invasion under the cover of a false willingness to negotiate and provocation under the false desire to ease tension. The Chinese Government warns the Indian Government; if the Indian side does not immediately stop its armed attacks and withdraw from the Che Dong area but keeps on creating new incidents of bloodshed the Chinese side will surely act resolutely in self defence and the Indian Government must bear full responsibility for all the consequences.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 10 October 1962

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 6th October 1962.

The Chinese note of 6th October once again bears out the Indian Government's assertion that the Government of China are either

completely misinformed about the location of the area, or are deliberately confusing the precise location where the Chinese troops are carrying on aggressive activities on Indian territory.

The Chinese note of 16th September had originally stated that Indian forces had stationed themselves in Che Dong of the Le village (approximately 91° 48' E, 27° 49' N). The Government of India in their note of 25th September had very clearly indicated that there is a village called Le at the location given by the Chinese Government but that is in Chinese territory and no Indian forces were present there much less Indian military installations. The earlier Indian note of 21st September had also mentioned that the location at which Chinese intruding forces had entered Indian territory was in the vicinity of an Indian post at 91° 42' E, 27° 46 5' N. It is indeed surprising to see that the Chinese Government have now abandoned the co-ordinates that they had originally given as the location of "Che Dong" and, without any compunction or embarrassment, have switched over to the co-ordinates given by the Government of India.

The Chinese Government's allegation that there is a discrepancy between the account of the incident of the 20th September in the Indian note of the 21st September and the Indian spokesman's statement of the same date is wholly baseless. The statement of the official Indian spokesman was identical with Para 2 of the Indian note of September 21st.

The Chinese Government have also seen fit to refer disparagingly to the Prime Minister's description on 22nd September of the incidents in the north-western sector of the eastern boundary of India as of a minor nature. The Government of India hoped that the Chinese Government would see the dangers inherent in their fresh intrusion into Indian Territory and would, after verification of the location of their forces, get them to withdraw before the situation deteriorated further. That hope has

so far been belied. It is not the Government of India but the Chinese Government who are playing with fire by their continuous armed attacks on Indian personnel in Indian Territory. The Government of India hope that the Chinese authorities will even now see the error of their ways and correct the situation by withdrawing their forces on their side, i.e., the northern side of the Thagla Ridge.

The boundary between India and Tibet in this sector is the traditional alignment along the highest watershed ridge which is the Thagla Ridge. Commencing from a point approximately $91^{\circ} 40' E$, $27^{\circ} 48' N$, this boundary runs in an east-south-east direction along the crest of this ridge. There can be no room for doubt in regard to this traditional alignment which was described in great detail by the Indian side at the talks of the officials in 1960. The Agreement of 1914 -the McMahon Line Agreement-merely formalised this boundary and gave it the added sanction of confirmation by treaty. The McMahon line was delineated on maps which were signed by the Chinese and Tibetan representatives. The maps were of the small scale of $1"=8$ miles; but even so it was clear that the boundary in this sector lay along the watershed. The map "India and Adjacent Countries" published by the Survey of India 1959 and cited in the Chinese note also shows the boundary running along the watershed ridge; this alignment is identical with that on the map of 1914.

The Chinese note has falsely claimed a contradiction in the description of the boundary given by the Indian officials on 27th June, 1960 and that provided by them on 13th July, 1960 and sought to draw from this the unwarranted conclusion that Tse Dong ($21^{\circ} 42' E$, $27^{\circ} 46.5' N$) lies north of the international boundary in this area. There is no basis whatsoever for this presumption. The western extremity of the McMahon line does lie about 13 miles from Mela Pass as measured along the international boundary. This is also the point approximately $91^{\circ} 40' E$, $27^{\circ} 48' N$.

At the talks of the officials on 27th June, 1960, to which reference has been made in the Chinese note, the Indian officials had repeatedly urged the exchange of maps on very large scale so that the fullest and most precise information about the alignments would be available. It was the Chinese side which rejected this suggestion and provided a map on the diminutive scale of about 1" =80 miles. The reluctance to provide a map on a larger scale, and the statement of the Chinese official on 27th June, 1960 that "there is no need for such an exchange" indicate that the Chinese were satisfied that the boundary ran along the high ridges and no further details were necessary or they were not only ignorant of the topography of the area but also harboured aggressive designs on the Indian border and sought to conceal this beneath the cloak of imprecision.

The Government of India once again draw the attention of the Chinese Government to the fact that the presence of Chinese troops on Indian soil either as a result of misconception of the correct alignment of the boundary or as an act of wilful aggression constitutes a grave danger and the Chinese Government will be entirely responsible for whatever consequences may follow from their failure to withdraw to their side of the boundary north of the Thagla Ridge.

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, 11 October 1962

The Indian troops which had intruded into Che Dong area after crossing the Kechilang river occupying Chihtung and launching an attack in the morning of 10th October killing and wounding 11 Chinese frontier

guards (reference Chinese Government Note of protest dated 10th October 1962), continued their frenzied attack and killed and wounded 22 more Chinese frontier guards. The Chinese frontier guards having suffered heavy casualties were compelled to strike back in self-defence. The aggressive Indian troops fled to the southern bank of the Kechilang River when their attack was thwarted and left behind them 6 corpses and some arms and ammunition. The corpses of the Indian military men have been properly buried on the spot by the Chinese frontier guards. The Chinese Government hereby again lodges the strongest and most serious protest with the Indian Government against the aggressive Indian troops' above-mentioned crime of launching continued frenzied attacks and killing and wounding Chinese frontier guards. It reserves the right to ask for admission of guilt and compensation by the Indian side.

According to reports from the Chinese frontier guards, the aggressive Indian troops entrenched in the Che Dong area are continuing to get reinforcements and preparing for new attacks. The Chinese Government hereby issues another stern warning: should the Indian side still not rein in before the precipice but continue to spread the flames of war, the Indian Government must bear full responsibility for the resulting casualties on both sides and all other consequences that may ensue.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 11 October 1962

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 26th September 1962.

In their note, dated 25th September, 1962, the Government of India have drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to the

increase in the aggressive and provocative activities of Chinese forces on Indian territory in the Pangong Lake region and also to the setting up of additional military posts. The Chinese note of 26th September, 1962 makes the untenable claim that these posts are all within Chinese territory. Such an assertion is completely inconsistent with facts.

On 19th September 1962, Chinese forces, with a view to cutting off the normal supply lines of Indian posts in the vicinity of the location $78^{\circ} 51' 15''$ E, $33^{\circ} 44' 50''$ N, encircled two Indian patrols proceeding on normal routine duties and obstructed their line of access to their posts. Chinese forces subsequently set up a post at the same location ($78^{\circ} 51' 15''$ E, $33^{\circ} 44' 50''$ N) with the deliberate aim of obstructing the lines of supply of the Indian posts and harassing them. The new Chinese post is ten miles west of the Indian border and well within Indian Territory. There can be no justification whatsoever for the presence of Chinese troops in this area.

It is a matter of deep regret to the Government of India that Chinese troops continue to persist in their systematic and deliberate encroachments of Indian Territory without any regard to the grave consequences that they may entail. While, therefore, categorically rejecting the Chinese note, dated 26th September 1962, the Government of India lodge a strong protest with the Chinese Government against the setting up of this latest Chinese post on Indian territory at $78^{\circ} 51' 15''$ E, and $33^{\circ} 44' 50''$ N and demand its immediate withdrawal.

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, 12 October 1962

The ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and with regard to the new provocative activities of the Indian side in the Galwan Valley area in Sinkiang China has the honour to state the following:

At about 2250 hours on September 28th, 1962 intruding Indian troops fired a shot at the Chinese post located approximately at 34° 37' 20" N, 78° 36' E.

At about 16.10 hour on October 3rd, 1962 two intruding Indian soldiers pressed forward to the front position of the Chinese post located approximately at 34° 35' 40" N, 78° 35' 30" E and fired five shots at the Chinese frontier guards.

At about 14.00 hours on October 4th, 1962 an Indian helicopter carrying more than 20 Indian soldiers illegally landed at a place at approximately 34° 36' 30" N, 78° 35' 30" E in the vicinity of a Chinese post in the Galwan Valley area. Only after the Chinese frontier guards issued repeated warnings did the helicopter fly away at about 1700 hours of the same day. But it did not leave China at once, and merely flew to an aggressive Indian firing point on the southern bank of the Galwan River.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a serious protest against the Indian side's above-mentioned aggressive activities of wanton intrusion into Chinese territory and airspace and firing of more provocative shots.

The Chinese Government deem it necessary to point out that since the intrusion into the Galwan Valley area by Indian troops in July this year Indian air planes have frequently intruded into the airspace over this area, incessantly circled over Chinese posts for re-connaissance purposes and made threats and provocations. Further-more the landing of the Indian helicopter carrying intruding Indian troops in the vicinity of the

Chinese post constitutes a most grave provocation. In order to prevent the situation from aggravating the Chinese side maintained utmost self restraint and allowed the Indian helicopter to fly away. Should the Indian side stubbornly continue its intrusions and provocations from the air the Chinese side will have to take military measures to stop these repeated intrusions into China's air strips by Indian aircraft and the Indian side must bear the full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

In its notes dated 13th July, 3rd August and 27th August 1962 the Chinese Government lodged protests and served warnings against the intrusions by more and more Indian troops and aircraft into Galwan Valley area and their increasingly rampant provocations since July this year. The Indian Government has however refused to stop its aggressive activities and engaged in prevarications and, denial in its notes of 24th July, 8th August and 6th September 1962. The new provocations by Indian troops in the Galwan Valley area as cited in the present note have thoroughly belied all prevaricating arguments of Indian side. Furthermore the above-mentioned incidents took place precisely after the aggressive Indian troops made armed attacks in the Che Dong area in Tibet and killed and wounded Chinese officers and men there. These facts once again show that the Indian side is aiming at extending its aggressive activities and creating armed clashes along the entire Sino-Indian boundary. They also show that the Indian side is persisting in its "dual policy" towards China of paying lip-service to holding talks while actually preparing to fight. But this will certainly bring no good to India.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 13 October 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the note of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government dated September 28, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

In its note of September 25, 1962, the Chinese Government lodged the most serious and strongest protest with the Indian Government against the grave crimes of repeatedly attacking Chinese frontier guards and killing and wounding them on September 21, 22 and 24, committed by intruding Indian troops in China's Che Dong area. In its reply dated September 28, the Indian Government not only refused to give an account of the Indian crimes of aggression, but also deliberately distorted the Chinese Government's note of September 16, 1962, asserting that it gave the co-ordinates of Che Dong as 27° 49' N. 91° 48' E. Such wilful trouble-making can only show how devoid of reason India is. It was explicitly pointed out in the very beginning of the Chinese note of September 16 that "Indian troops recently again crossed the so-called McMahon Line, and intruded into Che Dong of China's Leh Village (approximately 27° 49' N, 91° 48' E)." The co-ordinates given in the note come right after Leh Village and not after Che Dong. Everybody can see that the coordinates given there are clearly for Leh Village, not for Che Dong. As the Indian side itself knows, Che Dong which it has occupied is located at approximately 27° 46.5' N, 91° 42' E. Nevertheless, it deliberately tries to mislead the public in an attempt to divert attention.

As is well known, Che Dong is one of the pastures in the Kechilang grassland and has always been under the administration of Leh Village. The inhabitants of Leh Village have for generations grazed cattle at Che Dong and handed in their payment for the pasturage to Leh Village authorities. Even the Indian Government has had to acknowledge the fact explicitly that Leh Village has always belonged to China. None of India's pretexts for its aggression are tenable.

Following its occupation of Che Dong and its vicinity, India has now made further advances and expanded the flames of war it started in the Che Dong area. The Chinese Government hereby serves another warning: The Indian Government must bear the full responsibility for all the consequences that may arise from India's playing with fire.

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, 13 October 1962

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:

The Indian troops that had crossed the illegal McMahon Line to intrude into the Che Dong area in Tibet, after launching a frantic attack on October 10 against the Chinese frontier guards in the vicinity of Chihtung along the upper reaches of the Kechilang River, on October 11 intruded into the area of Niangpa, Tang, Jihtingpu and Keningnai, which are to the east and north of the lower reaches of the river. The aggressive Indian troops concerned advanced on the local Chinese frontier posts, with some of them coming as close as 30 metres of the positions of the Chinese frontier guards, and attempted to make an attack. Meanwhile, aggressive Indian troops have been continually airdropped in the Changto area north of the illegal McMahon Line in preparation for war. Against these actions the Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government.

These new aggressive actions of the Indian troops show conclusively that, after their frantic attack at Chihtung was defeated, the

Indian aggressors are attempting to make a renewed trial in the lower reaches of the Kechilang River. Should the Indian side disregard the repeated protests and warnings by the Chinese Government and persist stubbornly in expanding its scope of aggression and continuing its attacks on the Chinese frontier guards the latter will surely continue to strike back resolutely. The Indian aggressors must bear full responsibility for the consequences of their crimes.

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, 14 October 1962

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 notes dated 28th and 29th September 1962.

The detailed facts regarding the Chinese intrusion in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary south of the Thagla Ridge have already been given in the Government of India's notes dated 17th, 21st, 25th and 28th September 1962. It is clear that the Chinese Government alone are responsible for the serious situation that has been created by the Chinese forces crossing the international boundary and launching an attack on Indian defence forces at a point approximately one mile east of $91^{\circ} 42' E$ $27^{\circ} 46.5' N$. No amount of prevarication by the Chinese side can conceal this latest instance of Chinese aggression across the Indian border.

The Government of India accordingly reject the Chinese note under reference, and once again call upon the Chinese Government to withdraw their intruding forces back into Chinese territory. At the same time, the

Government of India reserve the right to demand from the Chinese Government full compensation for the wanton damage to Indian life and property caused by the above aggressive activities of Chinese forces on Indian territory.

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

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 15 October 1962

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 notes dated 9th September, 13th September, 24th September and 4th October 1962.

Although the co-ordinates given in the Chinese notes are not correct, it is a fact that the Government of India have some posts in these general locations. All the locations mentioned are, without exception, well inside Indian territory, some of them as much as a hundred miles west of the international boundary in this region. These posts have been necessitated by the threat posed in recent years to the security and territorial integrity of India by Chinese forces advancing and illegally occupying Indian territory. It is needless to reiterate that the deployment of Indian defence forces in these areas is a matter solely within the competence of the Government of India and no outside party has any right to interfere in it.

Chinese forces have not only intruded deep inside Indian territory in this region but there has been no halt to their aggressive forward patrolling and setting up of new posts in Indian territory. Detailed facts in

regard to such Chinese activity in Ladakh in recent months have been given in the Indian Government's notes dated 22nd August, 24th August, 28th August, 7th September and 21st September 1962.

As regards the allegations made in the Chinese note dated 13th September, 1962 of an incident that took place on 2nd September, 1962, the facts have already been communicated in detail to the Chinese Government in the Government of India's notes dated 2nd and 3rd September 1962. This incident was sparked off by a large Chinese military force intruding into Indian territory and attacking an Indian patrol proceeding on a routine task in the area south of the Chip Chap river region ($78^{\circ} 17' 15''$ E $35^{\circ} 08' 15''$ N). The incident that took place on the 5th September 1962 was also similarly due to Chinese soldiers provocatively advancing on Indian defence forces at a point approximately $78^{\circ} 17' 30''$ E $35^{\circ} 08' 30''$ N as has been conveyed in the Indian Government's note dated 10th September 1962. There is absolutely no basis for the allegation of a shooting incident on 29th August.

It will be clear that it is the Chinese forces who have been constantly pushing forward and encroaching on Indian territory. They have, by their aggressive and provocative activities over the past few years, been solely responsible for mounting tension in this area.

In the light of the above facts, the Government of India reject the four Chinese notes under reference.

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, 16 October 1967

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and with reference to the notes presented to the Indian Charge d'Affaires in Peking by the Chinese Government on the 10th, 11th and 13th October regarding the clashes between Indian defence posts and the intruding Chinese forces in Indian territory to the south of the Thagla Ridge on 20th September and 10th October, has the honour to state that the Chinese authorities still continue to confuse the location where these clashes occurred and to misrepresent the factual details of these clashes.

This Ministry had, in its note of the 21st September, given full and accurate details of the clash that occurred on the 20th September. It was the Chinese intruding forces who mounted an attack on an Indian defence post and the latter had to return the fire in self- defence. This clash occurred approximately a mile to the east of the Dhola Indian post in the area. The clash on the 10th of October occurred in an area approximately 2 miles to the north-west of the Dhola Indian post. The Chinese threw a grenade at the Indian defence post at 20.30 hours on the 9th October. Next morning they followed this up with a severe attack using 2-inch mortar guns, automatic weapons and grenades. The Indian defence forces had to return the Chinese fire in self-defence. In the fighting that ensued, the Indian forces suffered 17 casualties.

These are the incontrovertible facts regarding the two clashes.

The sites of these clashes are also conclusively established by the details given in the Chinese and Indian notes exchanged since 16th September. The area in which these clashes occurred is south of the Thagla Ridge, which is the boundary between India and the Tibet region of China in this sector.

Despite the attempts at confusion made by the Chinese authorities,

certain facts stand out clearly. The Himalayan water-shed range in the region has all along been the traditional and customary boundary. This boundary was further confirmed by the Agreement of 1914.

There has never been any doubt in the minds of the local authorities and inhabitants of the areas on both sides of the frontier as to where the international boundary in this sector lies. The Chinese authorities must be aware that it is the common practice of the villagers on both sides of the frontier to take their cattle for grazing on either side of the frontier, but in each case they pay grazing fees to the local authorities of the area concerned. This was so even after the People's Government of China had established their control in Tibet. The villagers of Le in Tibet were permitted to use the pastures in the Namkha Chu river valley, which lies immediately to the south of the Thagla Ridge and where the intruding Chinese forces have been mounting attacks on the Indian defence forces, on payment of grazing fees in accordance with the request in writing- "Tsarin should be collected and deposited with the Government of India"- made by the Chinese official at Tsona in August 1953. There had been similar cases of villagers on the Indian side of the frontier grazing their animals on the northern slopes of the Thagla Ridge on paying grazing fees to Le village. This mutual accommodation so far as the graziers on the two sides are concerned does not alter but in fact confirms the international frontier, which lies along the crest of the Thagla Ridge.

In August 1959 a Chinese party led by a Chinese Army Officer and a civilian official met the Indian Assistant Political Officer of the area, at Khinzemane. The latter told the Chinese officials that the correct frontier lay along the Thagla Ridge upto Khinzemane and the Chinese party went back.

In the talks between the officials of the two Governments in 1960 the same position was reiterated by the Indian side, viz., that the international frontier in this area lay along the Thagla Ridge, Which is the

highest water-shed ridge in that area.

Le village, of which the co-ordinates were given in the Chinese note of the 16th September, lies to the north of the Thagla Ridge and is in the Tibet Region of China. The intruding Chinese forces have crossed the Thagla Ridge and are now to the south of it. During the last few weeks these intruding Chinese forces have been re-inforced, have been aggressive and provocative and have attacked Indian defence forces in Indian Territory, major attacks having been launched on the 20th of September and the 10th of October. In each case it was the Chinese intruding forces which attacked the Indian forces and the latter had to return the fire in self-defence.

These facts speak for themselves. It is beyond doubt, as shown in the preceding paragraphs, that the international boundary in this sector lies along the crest of the Thagla Ridge and that the Chinese authorities are fully aware of this position. The intrusion of the Chinese forces and their attacks on Indian defence forces in the area to the south of the Thagla Ridge during the last few weeks are deliberate acts of aggression in pursuance of the threat that the Chinese authorities held out as early as 30th November 1961 when they stated in a note: "the Chinese Government would have every reason to send troops to cross the so-called 'McMahon Line' and enter the vast area between the crest of the Himalayas and their southern foot".

It is clear that the tension and conflict in this sector of the Eastern boundary is the result of deliberate aggression by Chinese forces; and the responsibility for the consequences of these aggressive acts must therefore rest solely on the Government of China. It is the Chinese forces who have to accept the guilt for intruding into Indian Territory, continuing to secure reinforcements and mounting concerted attacks on Indian defence posts on Indian soil. It is the Government of China who are not only refusing to undertake talks and discussions for easing of tension and

for creating the appropriate climate for purposeful talks and discussions to resolve the differences between the Governments of India and China on the boundary question, but are creating further tension and conflict in another section of the boundary viz., in the Eastern sector, by pushing their forces across the frontier into Indian territory and mounting concerted attacks on Indian defence forces. The responsibility for these new incidents and the loss of Indian lives rests squarely on the shoulders of the Chinese authorities, who must bear full responsibility for the consequences. If the repeated Chinese professions of resolving the differences peacefully by discussions have any meaning, it is still open to the Government of China to direct their forces south of the Thagla Ridge to return to their side of the boundary, i.e. on the northern side of the ridge. The Government of India cannot and will not permit intrusions into, and aggressive activities against Indian defence forces in, Indian Territory to go unchallenged.

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, 19 October 1962

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 12th October, 1962.

The allegations in the Chinese note of firing by Indian defence forces on 28th September and 3rd October, 1962, are absolutely baseless. There has been no firing on the specified dates, in the areas mentioned. On the other hand, the Government of India must once again

draw the attention of the Chinese Government to the fact that both the areas referred to namely, $78^{\circ} 36' E 34^{\circ} 37' 20'' N$ and $78^{\circ} 35' 30'' E 34^{\circ} 35' 40'' N$ are located well inside Indian territory. The Chinese forces have no business to be in these areas in Indian Territory. Their presence there is continuing act of aggression by China on the territory of India.

The Chinese note has further referred to the landing by an Indian helicopter at a place approximately $78^{\circ} 35' 30'' E 34^{\circ} 36' 30'' N$. As stated in the preceding paragraph, this location is also well inside Indian Territory being over 70 miles to the west of the international boundary in this region.

The Government of India have already indicated that intruding Chinese forces have established four camps and five strongpoints around the Indian defence post on the Galwan river. The present Chinese allegation of aggressive Indian activity in the Galwan area is not likely to mislead anybody. The Chinese Government should be aware that these baseless allegations are being made merely as a cloak for their aggressive and hostile activities in this region.

It is not the Indian but the Chinese side that is adopting the "dual policy" of professing a desire for peaceful settlement of the border question while pursuing at the same time the path of flagrant aggression. This is clearly established by the fact that it is China which not only committed aggression on Indian territory in the Western sector of the frontier but also started last month another aggression in the north-western area of the Eastern sector of the boundary. No threats of force or use of force by the Chinese will deter the Government of India from their firm determination to defend the territorial integrity of India.

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

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, 20 October 1962

The Chinese Government received successive urgent reports from the Chinese frontier guards on October 20th to the effect that Indian troops had launched massive general attacks against Chinese frontier guards in both Eastern and Western sectors of the Sino-Indian border simultaneously. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the most urgent the most serious and the strongest protest With the Indian Government.

In the Eastern sector, the Indian forces of aggression had in the three days since 17th October repeatedly directed vehement artillery bombardments against the Chinese frontier guards in the area between Kalung and the Sechang lake in the upper reaches of the Kechilang river, and in the Che-jao bridge area in the middle reaches of the river in the Chedong area in China's Tibet region. At the same time great number of Indian troops had moved continuously to concentrate at Pangkangting south of the Chedong Bridge. At 7 O'clock (Peking time) in the morning of 20th October the aggressive Indian forces, under the cover of fierce artillery fire launched massive attacks against the Chinese frontier guards all along the Kechilang river and in the Khinzemane area.

In the Western sector the Indian forces of aggression entrenched in the Chip Chap Valley and the Galwan Valley in Sinkiang also launched general attack early in the morning of the 20th against Chinese frontier guards under the cover of fierce gun fire. Two days before that is on 18th October the Indian forces occupying the Chip Chap Valley had already

begun closing in on the Chinese frontier posts in preparation for these attacks.

The above mentioned frenzied attacks by the aggressive Indian forces on Chinese territory in both Eastern and Western sectors of the Sinkiang Indian boundary have caused heavy casualties to the Chinese frontier guards. Pressed beyond the limits of forbearance and forced to where no further retreat was possible the Chinese frontier guards were compelled to strike back in self-defence.

It must be seriously pointed out that the present massive general attacks by the Indian forces were prepared over a long time by India. On 6th October the Indian Government for the third time flatly rejected China's proposal for holding discussions on the basis of 22nd March report of the Officials of the two countries. On 12th October Indian Prime Minister NEHRU declared that he has issued instructions to "free" China's territory of Chinese troops. On 14th October Indian Defence Minister MENON stated that they would fight China to the last man and the last gun. On 16th October immediately after his return to New Delhi from abroad Prime Minister NEHRU summoned a meeting of high ranking military officers to step up war dispositions. And on October 20th the Indian forces brazenly unleashed their massive general attacks on Chinese territory in the Sino-Indian border.

The Chinese Government has always stood for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Indian Government after flatly refusing to negotiate has launched massive general attacks against the Chinese frontier guards on Chinese territory. China has no choice but to rebuff these frenzied attacks resolutely. The fight is still going on. The Indian Government must bear full responsibility for all the serious consequences arising therefrom.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 26 October 1962

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 20th October, 1962, on the recent grave developments in the Eastern and Western sectors of India's northern border.

The Government of India take the strongest objection to the deliberate distortion of facts that is contained in the Chinese Government's note. The falsity of Chinese claims is only matched by the reckless cynicism with which they have begun large scale hostilities in which Indian posts in Indian territory have been attacked and aircraft evacuating casualties have been shot down.

At 05.00 hours on 20th October Chinese intruding forces mounted a fierce offensive with machine gun and heavy mortar fire against Indian defence positions along the Namkha Chu river and also at Khinzemane. The Indian post at Khinzemane was surrounded and wireless contact was lost with the post at 07.00 hours the same day. Subsequently the Indian posts at Dhola and Tsangdhar were over-run by Chinese troops in major battle offensives. Not only were Indian defence positions on the ground subjected to Chinese attack but Chinese forces also unscrupulously shot down two Indian helicopters which were engaged in evacuating casualties from the area.

It will be seen from the above facts that it is Chinese forces and not Indian forces that have "brazenly unleashed their massive general attacks". Even as recently as in their note dated 13th October the Chinese Government had been protesting against the existence of Indian defence positions at Tse Dong (91° 42' E 27° 46.5' N). The fact that the fighting

today is taking place far south of Tse Dong is clear evidence that Chinese forces are aggressively pressing forward into Indian territory. No prevarication by the Chinese Government can conceal this basic truth.

In the Western sector also, Chinese intruding forces similarly launched a series of planned attacks from the evening of 19th October. Fighting in this area has continued unabated from the 19th October and Chinese forces have to date over-run several legitimate Indian defence posts in the area. That Chinese attacking forces have been supported by heavy mortar and mountain artillery fire and by tanks indicates beyond doubt that these attacks too form part of a premeditated and large scale Chinese offensive into Indian territory.

The Chinese Government are aware that in spite of the initiative taken by the Government of India since July this year for talks and discussions on measures to reduce tensions prior to substantive discussions on the India-China boundary in the Western sector, the Chinese Government, both in their notes and by their aggressive military policies, had indicated their lack of interest in any civilised solution to differences between the two countries. On 3rd August 1962 the Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi, unequivocally stated that no force in the world could oblige Chinese troops to withdraw from their own territory either in the past or in the future. On the next day, in their note of August 4th, the Chinese Government had the effrontery to write that "it approves of the suggestion put forth by the Indian Government in its note for further discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials of the two countries." In plain words, they were ready to discuss on the clear understanding that they hold what they have taken by force over a period of years.

The hollowness of Chinese professions was soon patent once again when on 8th September, Chinese military forces committed fresh aggression in an area which had been comparatively quiet for some

years. They marched across the Indian frontier-the Thagla Ridge in the north-western sector of the Eastern boundary-into undisputable Indian territory. This was followed by unscrupulous attacks on Indian posts in the NEFA on 20th September and 10th October. While notes were being exchanged to correct the situation created by this further Chinese aggression, the Chinese satisfied with their assessment of the military situation from the result of their probing attacks on 20th September and 10th October, launched an all-out military offensive on the 20th October along the entire India-China boundary. This offensive still continues and Chinese forces are continuing to mount heavy attacks on Indian defence positions and are advancing into Indian territory.

The hypocrisy of the Chinese allegations in their note that the Indian Government for the third time flatly rejected the Chinese proposal for holding discussions, is clearly established from the facts in the preceding paragraphs. The repeated professions of the Chinese Government reiterated even in the present note, that "the Chinese Government have always stood for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question" are sheer hypocrisy and were only intended to deceive while massive preparations for invasion of India were being made by the Chinese. Obviously this hurling of Chinese military might against India's limited border defence forces had only one objective viz. to force India to accept a settlement on Chinese terms. The Government of India can never agree to talk or discuss under threat of force. They stand by their earlier position that before any talks can be considered there must be a restoration of the position that existed in early September 1962.

While rejecting the Chinese note under reference, the Government of India protest most categorically against this blatant aggression by China which will be resisted at all cost.

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, 7 August 1962

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

In disregard of the recent repeated protests of the Chinese Government, the Indian Government is still with great frequency sending out its aircraft and helicopters to intrude into China's air space. It has been established through repeated verifications that in the month of June 1962, intrusions by Indian aircraft into Chinese air space totalled as many as 54 sorties (for details see annex), 6 of which were even conducted beyond the boundary alignment unilaterally claimed by the Indian side itself, and one helicopter even openly landed on Chinese soil. Against this, the Chinese Government once again lodges a serious protest with the Indian Government.

As was pointed out by the Chinese Government, the frequent intrusions of Indian aircraft are designed to coordinate with the activities of the Indian ground forces in intruding into and carrying out provocations in Chinese territory. Such aircraft circled for reconnaissance again and again over Chinese frontier areas, especially over Chinese border posts, and at the same time transported personnel and large quantities of supplies to the military strongpoints which recently Indian troops set up illegally inside Chinese territory. The afore-said activities of Indian aircraft have further aggravated the tense situation on the Sino-Indian border. The Chinese Government solemnly demands that the Indian Government immediately stop such intrusions.

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

Enclosure to the note dated 7 August 1962 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking

List of Indian Aircraft's intrusions into Chinese Territorial Air in June 1962

Area Intruded into	Sorties	Time	Remarks
Area in the vicinity of the Karakoram Pass, Sinkiang, China.	4	0900 hours, June 21 0800 hours, June 23 0800 hours, June 24 1025 hours, June 29	Flying over the boundary alignment claimed by the Indian side itself; circled and reconnoitered at a low altitude of 200-300m, above ground.

<p>The Chip Chap valley area, Sinkiang, China.</p>	<p>24</p>	<p>0850 hours, June 2 0920 hours, June 2 0838 hours, June 3 0953 hours, June 3 1255 hours, June 3 0905 hours, June 7 1021 hours, June 7 1217 hours, June 8 0957 hours, June 12 (2 craft) 0820 hours, June 13 0855 hours, June 16 0923 hours, June 17 1050 hours, June 17 1113 hours, June 18 1041 hours, June 21 1045 hours, June 21 1120 hours, June 21 1120 hours, June 23 0945 hours, June 24 1020 hours, June 25 0840 hours, June 27 0840 hours, June 28 1226 hours, June 29</p>	
<p>Hongshantou, Sinkiang, China (ap- proximately 35°18'N 78°05'30" E)</p>	<p>7</p>	<p>0905 hours, June 16 1255 hours, June 16 0912 hours, June 19 0905 hours, June 22 1105 hours, June 23 1325 hours, June 23</p>	<p>300 odd packs of supplies airdropped to the Military strong point set up there illegally by</p>

		1007 hours, June 24	Indian troops.
Area Intruded into	Sorties	Time	Remarks
Area of the source of the Karakash River, Sinkiang, China.	9	0918 hours, June 16 1130 hours, June 21 1350 hours, June 21 0845 hours, June 22 1040 hours, June 24 0945 hours, June 26 (2 craft) 0850 hours, June 28 0850 hours, June 29	The one which intruded at 1130 hours June 21, circled for as long as 2 hours; one of the two intruding helicopters on June 26 even landed at the military strong point illegally set up by Indian troops in the vicinity of the River source.
Area in the vicinity of the source of the Karakash River, Sinkiang, China, at approximately 34° 58' 30"N, 78°22'30"E.	6	1200 hours, June 5 1000 hours, June 7 0980 hours, June 12 0950 hours, June 16 1312 hours, June 16 0840 hours, June 22	6 horses, 200 odd packs of supplies and 20 and more Indian soldiers airdropped to the military strong-point illegally set up

			there by Indian troops.
Nyagzu area in Tibet, China.	2	0830 hours, June 21 0900 hours, June 27	
Sama and the area in its vicinity in Tibet, China.	2	1203 hours, June 15 0945 hours, June 18	Flying over the so- called McMahon Line.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 16 August 1962

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 7th August 1962.

In their notes dated the 30th June 1962 and the 25th July 1962, in reply to the Chinese Government's notes dated 31st May 1962 and 28th June 1962 respectively, the Government of India had clearly established the total lack of substance in complaints of violations of Chinese air space by Indian aircraft alleged in the Chinese notes. The Chinese Government's note of 7th August is of the same type and makes baseless allegations. No map references have been given for as many as 41 out of 54 alleged air violations. The alleged violations where references are given relate to areas which form an integral part of Indian Territory.

Enquiries conducted by the Indian Government have confirmed beyond any doubt that no Indian aircraft ever crossed the traditional and well-recognised boundary of India.

While rejecting the Chinese note under reference, the Government of India express their regret at the repetition of these baseless allegations which seem to be intended only for anti-Indian propaganda.

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, 22 August 1962

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 handed over by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs to the Chinese Embassy in India on July 25, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

With regard to the allegation made in the Indian note that on July 7, 1962, a Chinese aircraft flew over Chushul, India, the Chinese Government has conducted a careful investigation, the result of which shows that such an allegation is a sheer fabrication. The Chinese Government has never permitted its aircraft to fly beyond China's boundary. Chushul is located on the Indian side of the Sino-Indian boundary, and no Chinese aircraft has ever been over there. The Chinese Government hereby sternly rejects the unreasonable protest of the Indian Government.

It must be pointed out that over the past few months it is Indian

aircraft that have stepped up their violation of Chinese territorial air in coordination with the encroachment on Chinese territory by Indian ground forces. The above-mentioned utterly groundless charge made in the note of the Indian Government can only be regarded as an attempt to cover up the illegal activities of the Indian side itself.

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

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 28 August 1962

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

1. In continued disregard of the Chinese Government's protests, the Indian Government has increased the dispatch of its aircraft to intrude into China's air space. In July 1962, the number of verified cases of intruding sorties ran as high as 124 (See appendix for details), which is twice as many as in May or June, reaching the serious extent of 4 sorties a day on the average. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this, and once again urges the latter to stop at once sending aircraft to intrude into China's space.

2. From the facts listed in the appendix it can be seen that Indian air intrusions into China were particularly frequent over those areas where ground intrusions and provocations by Indian troops were most rampant. For instance, Indian air intrusions over the Chip Chap and the Galwan valley areas in Sinkiang, China, totalled 81 sorties in July. The intruding Indian aircraft circled again and again over Chinese frontier posts for

reconnaissance purposes, sometimes over an hour. They airdropped to military strong points illegally set up by Indian troops on Chinese territory more than 40 Indian soldiers and more than 850 packs of arms, petroleum and other supplies.

3. It is entirely futile for the Indian Government, in its notes of June 30 and July 25, 1962 respectively, to deny the facts of Indian air intrusions into China in March-April and May this year listed by the Chinese Government. Even Prime Minister Nehru himself in his speeches made in India's Lok Sabha on August 13 and 14 this year, when dealing with China's protests, openly admitted: "Our aircraft have been visiting our posts and giving them supplies." He also stated boastfully: "They have mentioned the figure, over 300 sorties by us," and "We go as we like." These statements by the Indian Prime Minister further corroborate the fact of Indian air intrusions into China. The Indian notes as usual repeated the allegation that the areas the air space over which was intruded into by Indian aircraft are inside Indian territory, and falsely counter-charged China with "aggression". But these hackneyed words can in no way help the Indian side escape the responsibility for intrusion into China's air space. The large amounts of evidence produced by the Chinese Government during the meeting of the officials in 1960 have indisputably proved that the areas the air space over which was intruded into by Indian aircraft have always been China's territory. In order to defend its position, the Indian Government even asserted in its note of June 30 that the Chinese Government had in its own note admitted that "as many as 55 out of 67 sorties about which they have protested relate to the air space over areas which are inside India".

This is indeed absurd to the extreme. The Chinese Government's note did not, and could not possibly, make such a statement. That the Indian side should have gone to such length in distorting the fact only shows how devoid of reason it is.

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

Enclosure to the note dated 28 August 1962 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking

List of Indian Air Intrusions into China in July 1962

Intruded Areas	Sorties	Date and Time	Remarks
Area near the Kara- koram Pass, Sinkiang, China.	1	10:00 hours, July 25	
The Chip Chap valley area in Sinkiang, China.	16	9:38 hours, July 6 9:22 hours, July 11 9:29 hours, July 11 9:49 hours, July 11 12:10 hours, July 12 7:00 hours, July 13 7:10 hours, July 13 9:08 hours, July 13 9:06 hours, July 14 13:20 hours, July 15 15:10 hours, July 22 10:00 hours, July	The Indian aircraft which intruded at 10:00 hours on July 23 and 14:30 hours July 27 circled as many as five or six rounds over the area!(around the Chinese posts.

		<p>23</p> <p>9:25 hours, July 24</p> <p>9:45 hours, July 27</p> <p>14:30 hours, July 27</p> <p>10:15 hours, July 31</p>	
<p>Around Hongshantu (Approximately 35°18'N, 78°05.5'E) in the Chip Chap valley area in Sinkiang, China.</p>	20	<p>9:31 hours, July 6</p> <p>9:44 hours, July 6</p> <p>9:10 hours, July 11</p> <p>9:37 hours, July 11</p> <p>9:24 hours, July 12</p> <p>12:23 hours, July 12</p> <p>9:07 hours, July 13</p> <p>13:43 hours, July 15</p> <p>11:31 hours, July 17</p> <p>9:20 hours, July 22</p> <p>14:10 hours, July 22</p> <p>9:21 hours, July 23</p> <p>9:44 hours, July 23</p> <p>10:53 hours, July 24</p> <p>11:00 hours, July 26</p> <p>9:50 hours, July 27</p> <p>11:45 hours, July</p>	<p>650 odd packs of supplies were airdropped to the military strongpoint illegally set up there by Indian troops.</p>

		27 9:12 hours, July 28 9:39 hours, July 28 10:40 hours, July 30	
Area of the Source of the Karakash River, Sinkiang, China.	2	12:35 hours, July 27 13:51 hours, July 27	The Indian aircraft which intruded at 13:51 hours on July 27 circled as many as 18 rounds over the area around the Chinese post.
Area near the source of the Karakash River Sinkiang, China, around the point at approximately 34°58.5'N, 78°22.5'E.	4	10:05 hours, July 6 14:00 hours, July 7 9:00 hours, July 14 14:20 hours, July 22	More than 40 Indian soldiers and 70 odd packs of supplies were airdropped to the military strongpoint illegally set up there by Indian troops.
The Galwan valley area in Sinkiang, China.	35	9:37 hours, July 11 15:00 hours, July 11 (2 aircraft) 8:40 hours, July 13 9:25 hours, July 13 13:25 hours, July 13	The Indian aircraft which intruded respectively at 9:37 hours, July 11; 14:10 hours, July 22; 14:35 hours, July 24; and 15:00 hours, July 24, repeatedly

		<p>8:52 hours, July 14</p> <p>9:00 hours, July 14</p> <p>9:05 hours, July 14</p> <p>9:40 hours, July 14</p> <p>12:41 hours, July 15</p> <p>9:45 hours, July 21</p> <p>10:55 hours, July 21</p> <p>13:55 hours, July 21</p> <p>(2 aircraft)</p> <p>14:20 hours, July 21</p> <p>11:02 hours, July 22</p> <p>11:30 hours, July 22</p> <p>14:10 hours, July 22</p> <p>14:25 hours, July 22</p> <p>14:30 hours, July 22</p> <p>9:10 hours, July 23</p> <p>10:35 hours, July 24</p> <p>10:50 hours, July 24</p> <p>11:50 hours, July 24</p>	<p>circled over the area around the Chinese posts for over one hour.</p>
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		<p>14:35 hours, July 24</p> <p>15:00 hours, July 24</p> <p>9:50 hours, July 25</p> <p>9:50 hours, July 26</p> <p>10:53 hours, July 26</p> <p>11:30 hours, July 26</p> <p>14:16 hours, July 26</p> <p>10:20 hours, July 27</p> <p>12:55 hours, July 27</p> <p>13:27 hours, July 27</p>	
<p>Area around a place (Approximately 34°37.5N, 78°35.5'E) in the Galwan valley, Sinkiang, China.</p>	10	<p>14:10 hours, July 17 (2 aircraft)</p> <p>12:40 hours, July 20</p> <p>9:45 hours, July 21</p> <p>11:45 hours, July 21</p> <p>12:55 hours, July 21</p> <p>13:00 hours, July</p>	<p>130 odd packs of supplies were airdropped to the military strongpoint illegally set up there by Indian troops.</p>

		21 13:30 hours, July 22 9:15 hours, July 26 (2 aircraft)	
The Changlung River area in Sinkiang, China.	6	9:43 hours, July 11 9:55 hours, July 13 8:55 hours, July 14 12:25 hours, July 20 14:20 hours, July 24 11:02 hours, July 26	The Indian aircraft which intruded at 8:55 hours on July 14 circled six rounds Over Chinese territory.
Area near the Kongka Pass, Tibet, China.	6	9:55 hours, July 14 12:20 hours, July 20 10:55 hours, July 22 11:11 hours, July 22 9:35 hours, July 9:45 hours, July 25	
The Nyagzu area in Tibet, China.	8	9:00 hours, July 15 9 55 hours, July 15 15:15 hours, July 17	The Indian aircraft which intruded at 13:05 hours on July 31 penetrated into

		<p>(2 aircraft)</p> <p>12:20 hours, July 20</p> <p>12:50 hours, July 20</p> <p>13:07 hours, July 27</p> <p>13:05 hours, July 31</p>	<p>the air space over the area as deep as about 30 kilometres inside Chinese territory.</p>
<p>The Pangong Lake and Spanggur Lake areas in Tibet, China.</p>	14	<p>8:40 hours, July 6</p> <p>14:00 hours, July 11</p> <p>10:21 hours, July 14</p> <p>10:10 hours, July 16</p> <p>(5 aircraft)</p> <p>10:50 hours, July 16</p> <p>10:10 hours, July 21</p> <p>15:12 hours, July 23</p> <p>9:30 hours, July 25</p> <p>9:40 hours, July 25</p> <p>10:00 hours, July 25</p>	
<p>The Sama area in Tibet, China.</p>	2	<p>10:40 hours, July 10</p> <p>10:10 hours, July</p>	<p>Flying beyond the so-called McMahon Line.</p>

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Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 18 September 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with regard to the serious incident of Indian troops again firing at and shelling Chinese frontier guards, has the honour to state as follows:

At about 10:00 hours on September 15, 1962, an Indian airplane intruded into the air space over the area west of the source of the Karakash River in Sinkiang, China, and made illegal air-drops. Some of the things air-dropped fell near the defence positions of the Chinese post located approximately at 35°06.5'N, 78°20'E. Following that, a batch of intruding Indian troops pressed close to the defence positions of the Chinese post, firing more than fifty rounds and two mortar shells at the Chinese frontier guards. With their lives under serious threat, the Chinese frontier guards were compelled to defend themselves and fired 8 shots back. But they still exercised the greatest restraint and remained throughout in their own defence positions without sallying out. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest against the Indian side's firing at and shelling Chinese frontier guards and serious violation of China's air space as mentioned above.

Since last spring, intruding Indian troops have been steadily pushing forward in Chinese territory on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border and repeatedly closed in on Chinese posts and fired

provocatively at them. The Chinese side has all along maintained the greatest forbearance and self-restraint, trying its best to avoid armed clashes. But the Indian side, taking this attitude of China to be a sign that China is weak and could be bullied, has become ever more unbridled in stepping up its aggressive activities and did not scruple to provoke another incident of exchange of fire. The facts have proved that the situation on the Sino-Indian border cannot be relaxed so long as India does not cease its intrusions and provocations. The Chinese Government once again urges the Indian side to stop immediately its dangerous playing with fire and withdraw its aggressive troops from Chinese territory.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy 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, 22 September 1962

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 22nd August 1962.

The facts in regard to the violation of Indian air-space over Chushul (33° 35' N 78° 40' E) were communicated to the Chinese Government only after careful verification. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Chinese aircraft after committing the violation, flew back to the Tibet region of China from whence it had come. The Chinese Government's denials cannot alter these established facts.

The Government of India, however, welcome the assurance contained in the Chinese note that "the Chinese Government has never

permitted its aircraft to fly beyond China's boundary" and hope that violations of Indian air space by Chinese aircraft will not recur in future.

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 October 1962

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 of 28th August 1962.

In their notes dated the 30th June, 25th July and 16th August 1962 the Government of India have clearly established the total lack of substance in Chinese allegations of violations of Chinese air space by Indian aircraft. It is regretted that the present Chinese note has again made similar baseless allegations.

The details given in the appendix to the Chinese note clearly show that all the places over which the alleged violations of air space are stated to have occurred are well inside Indian Territory. Indian aircraft have never on any occasion crossed the traditional international boundary.

The Chinese Government have mischievously alleged that the Indian Prime Minister in speeches in the Lok Sabha on 13th and 14th August 1962 had by indicating "Our aircraft have been visiting our posts and giving them supplies," "openly admitted" violations of Chinese air space. This allegation is not only completely unwarranted but definitely false. The Prime Minister's statement referred to posts on Indian territory which had to be set up to stem the tide of Chinese aggressive intrusions in the area which have in recent years resulted in the forcible and unlawful occupation of a large area of Indian territory by Chinese forces.

It is futile for the Chinese authorities to go on repeating such baseless allegations which can only create further tensions in the area.

The Government of India reject the allegations made in the Chinese note.

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, 11 October 1962

In the night of 10th October 1962 an Indian aircraft intruded into China's air space over the suburbs of Lhasa at 20:15 hours for reconnaissance and then flew northward along the Chinghai-Tibet highway to Damshune where it made reconnaissance circlings over a Chinese airfield and then flew away in the direction of India.

The deep intrusion of Indian aircraft into China for flagrant reconnaissance over the capital city of, and an airfield in, Tibet was obviously an action coordinated with the current military attacks by the aggressive Indian troops in the eastern sector of the Sino Indian border. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a serious protest with the Indian Government against this action and warns the Indian side that it must give serious thought to the grave consequences of such increasingly frantic activities of aggression.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the

Embassy of China in India, 13 October 1962

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 note dated 11th October 1962, sent by the Chinese Foreign Office to the Indian Charge d'Affaires in Peking on the morning of 12th October, alleging that an Indian aircraft intruded into Chinese air space over the suburbs of Lhasa at 20:15 hours on 10th October 1962.

This allegation is not only completely groundless but definitely mischievous and deliberately designed to confuse the people of China, more particularly of the Tibet Region of China, with a view to seeking their support for the irresponsible and wanton aggression into Indian territory by Chinese forces across the Thagla ridge and their unprovoked cold-blooded attack on an Indian post in Indian territory on the morning of the 10th October 1962.

All Indian aircraft have strict instructions to keep within the international frontiers of India and these are fully observed. The fantastic and absurd allegation of an Indian aircraft having intruded into the air space over the suburbs of Lhasa is a deliberate and mischievous invention of the Chinese authorities who seem determined to resort to all sorts of unscrupulous devices to mislead the Chinese public and to whip up anti-Indian feelings amongst the people of China.

The Government of India categorically reject the Chinese note containing this baseless and mischievous allegation.

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, 17 October 1962

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

The Indian Government, disregarding the repeated protests lodged by the Chinese Government, continues to dispatch its airplanes to intrude into China's air space. In the two months of August and September, 1962, there were another 140 verified cases of air intrusions, totalling 161 sorties (59 cases totalling 64 sorties in August, and 81 cases totalling 97 sorties in September, for details see Appendix). The intruding Indian planes wilfully circled low over Chinese territory for reconnaissance purposes, some even repeatedly circled 13 times and for as long as an hour and 40 minutes. Furthermore, they airdropped to the aggressive strongpoints illegally set up by India on Chinese territory military personnel and more than 1,400 packs of various military materials. Indian helicopters even openly landed on Chinese territory for a number of times and transported military personnel for the aggressive Indian strongpoints. In September, Indian planes further made large-scale intrusions into the area of Le Village in Tibet, China, this was obviously for the purpose of coordinating with the military action taken by the aggressive Indian troops in the Che Dong area of Le Village.

The Chinese Government hereby again lodges a serious protest with the Indian Government against its above-mentioned activities of frequently dispatching Indian planes to intrude into China's air space and deliberately aggravating tension on the Sino-Indian border. It is absolutely impermissible for Indian planes to intrude endlessly into China's sacred air space. The Chinese Government demands that the Indian side stop such intrusions into China's air space at once, and reserves the right to raise further demands in the future.

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

Enclosure to note dated 17 October 1962 from the Chinese Government

List of Indian Air Intrusions Into Chinese Air Space In August And September, 1962

Intruded Areas	Sorties	Date and Time	Remarks
The Chip Chap valley area in Sinkiang, China.	41	9-07 hours, August 1 (2 planes) 9:35 hours, August 1 9:25 hours, August 3 13:56 hours, August 6 13:05 hours, August 22 9:10 hours, August 26 9:20 hours, August 29 9:12 hours, August 30 12:58 hours, August 30 9:25 hours, September 6	As deep as about 24 kilometres within China. As deep as about 24 kilometres within China. As deep as about 21 kilometres within China. 26 packs of supplies were dropped in the vicinity of a

	<p>9:30 hours, September 7</p> <p>9:50 hours, September 7</p> <p>12:30 hours, September 7 (3 planes)</p> <p>10:50 hours, September 10 (2 helicopters)</p> <p>9:57 hours, September 15 (2 planes)</p> <p>10:20 hours, September 15</p> <p>12:25 hours, September 15</p> <p>14:15 hours, September 15</p> <p>14:50 hours, September 15</p> <p>10:15 flours, September 16</p> <p>13.:15 hours, September 16</p> <p>14:00 hours, September 16</p>	<p>place at 35° 06' N, 78° 14.5'E.</p> <p>One landed at a place 35° 08' N, 78° 20'E.</p> <p>20 odd packs of supplies and 17 parachutes were dropped.</p> <p>24 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>24 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>20 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>18 packs of supplies were dropped.</p>
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		<p>14:08 hours, September 16</p> <p>14:25 hours, September 16</p> <p>9:50 hours, September 18 10:10 hours, September 18</p> <p>14:20 hours, September 18</p> <p>15:00 hours, September 18</p> <p>9:30 hours, September 19</p> <p>9:40 hours, September 19</p> <p>19:45 hours, September 19</p> <p>9:40 hours, September 24</p> <p>11:40 hours, September 26</p> <p>13:50 hours, September 28</p> <p>12:55 hours, September 29</p> <p>13:35 hours,</p>	<p>35 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>Made airdrops. 15 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>23 packs of supplies were dropped. Made airdrops.</p> <p>As deep as about 24 kilometres within China. As deep as about 24 kilometres within China.</p>

		September 29	
<p>Around Hongshantu (approximately 35° 18'N, 78° 05.5'E) in the Chip Chap valley area in Sinkiang, China.</p>	17	<p>7:45 hours, August 6 12:00 hours, August 6 9:00 hours, August 7 10:05 hours, August 11 14:10 hours, August 11 9:00 hours, August 23 9:37 hours, August 24 13:25 hours, August 24 9:30 hours, August 25 11:00 hours, August 29 9:30 hours, September 1 11:30 hours, September 1 9:50 hours, September 5 12:30 hours, September 7 10:31 hours, September 23 11:31 hours, September 23 9:30 hours, September 28</p>	<p>37 packs of supplies were dropped. 34 packs of supplies were dropped. 52 packs of supplies were dropped. 29 packs of supplies were dropped. 21 packs of supplies were dropped. 23 packs of supplies were dropped. 36 packs of supplies were dropped. 22 packs of supplies were dropped. 22 packs of supplies were dropped. 23 packs of supplies were dropped. 15 packs of supplies were dropped. 44 packs of supplies were dropped. 22 packs of supplies were dropped. 25 packs of supplies were dropped. 17 packs of supplies were dropped.</p>

			25 packs of supplies were dropped.
Area of the source of the Karakash River, Sinkiang, China.	10	<p>11:25 hours, August 23</p> <p>9:10 hours, August 26</p> <p>10:30 hours, August 26 (1 helicopter)</p> <p>12:50 hours, August 30</p> <p>12:30 hours, September 14</p> <p>13:40 hours, September 15</p> <p>14:33 hours, September 15</p> <p>9:45 hours, September 16</p> <p>13:55 hours, September 16</p> <p>9:00 hours, September 29</p>	<p>18 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>As deep as about 22 kilometres within China. It landed on Chinese soil. Five Indian soldiers got down from it and four packs of supplies were unloaded. 10 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>Personnel and supplies were dropped.</p> <p>38 packs of supplies were dropped.</p>
The Galwan valley area in Sinkiang, China.	38	<p>9:05 hours, August 5</p> <p>9:15 hours, August 5</p> <p>10:15 hours, August 6</p>	2 parachutes and 41 packs of supplies were dropped.

		<p>11:35 hours, August 6 (2 Helicopters)</p> <p>9:40 hours, August 7 (1 helicopter)</p> <p>13:30 hours, August 7</p> <p>9:30 hours, August 11</p> <p>14:10 hours, August 14</p> <p>12:00 hours, August 16</p>	<p>One of them landed on Chinese soil. 15 packs of supplies were unloaded.</p> <p>It landed on Chinese soil. Two Indian soldiers got down from it and 6 packs of supplies were unloaded.</p> <p>30 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>30 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>It circled 13 times and remained there for one hour and 40 minutes and dropped 12 packs of supplies.</p>
		<p>11:15 hours, August 22</p> <p>11:10 hours, August 23 (2 helicopters)</p> <p>9:15 hours, August 24</p> <p>9:10 hours, August 25</p>	<p>It circled 8 times and remained there for one hour and dropped 42 packs of supplies.</p> <p>One of them landed and 18 packs of supplies were unloaded. The other one dropped 7 packs of supplies. More than 50 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>It circled for almost one hour and dropped 21 packs of supplies.</p>

	<p>10:55 hours, August 25 (2 helicopters)</p> <p>11:00 hours, August 25</p> <p>9:10 hours, August 26</p> <p>9:05 hours, August 29</p> <p>9:45 hours, August 29</p> <p>10:05 hours, August 29</p> <p>13:00 hours, August 30</p> <p>10:05 hours, September 3</p> <p>9:43 hours, September 7</p> <p>11:27 hours, September 8 (2 helicopters)</p> <p>9:35 hours, September 15</p> <p>9:50 hours, September 16</p> <p>9:30 hours, September 18 (2 planes)</p>	<p>One of them landed and 5 packs of supplies were unloaded.</p> <p>18 packs of supplies were dropped. It circled for over one hour.</p> <p>One of them landed on Chinese soil and 3 packs of supplies were unloaded. 18 packs of supplies were dropped (among which there were 5 wooden boxes and in each of them there was one Indian soldier).</p> <p>32 packs of supplies were dropped.</p> <p>The Indian planes circled for about one hour and dropped 17 packs of supplies.</p>
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		<p>10:30 hours, September 23</p> <p>9:30 hours, September 24 (3 planes)</p> <p>11:00 hours, September 28</p> <p>9:30 hours, September 29</p> <p>10:30 hours, September 30</p>	<p>36 packs of supplies were dropped.</p>
<p>Area south of the Kongka Pass in Tibet, China.</p>	2	<p>9:40 hours, August 2</p> <p>14:35 hours, August 7</p>	
<p>The vicinity of Nyagzu in Tibet, China.</p>	12	<p>10:16 hours, August 7</p> <p>14:25 hours, August 7</p> <p>12:22 hours, August 22 (2 sorties by one plane)</p>	<p>A plane with PT 533 markings intruded into the air space over Nyagzu from the north, then flew westwards across the boundary and at 12:27 hours again intruded into</p>

		<p>9 :00 hours, August 24</p> <p>11:50 hours, September 8</p> <p>9:41 hours, September 15</p> <p>11:30 hours, September 15</p> <p>13:00 hours, September 15</p> <p>16:30 hours, September 15</p> <p>10:40 hours, September 24</p> <p>9:42 hours, September 25</p>	<p>Chinese air space from the direction where it had flown away.</p> <p>21 packs of supplies were dropped. About 20 packs of supplies were dropped.</p>
The Pangoni Lake and Spanggur Lake areas in Tibet, China.	10	<p>12:00 hours, August 6</p> <p>14:30 hours, August 6</p> <p>14:37 hours, August 6</p> <p>9:00 hours, August 11</p> <p>10:20 hours, August 11</p> <p>10:40 hours, August 11</p>	

		<p>13:45 hours, August 14</p> <p>9:50 hours, August 17</p> <p>9:28 hours, August 20</p> <p>12:30 hours, September 8</p>	
<p>The Le Village area in Tibet, China.</p>	<p>28</p>	<p>14:00 hours, August 29</p> <p>15:10 hours, September 9</p> <p>15:25 hours, September 9</p> <p>9:10 hours, September 10</p> <p>9:47 hours, September 17</p> <p>11:03 hours, September 21</p> <p>11:13 hours, September 21 (2 planes)</p> <p>11:15 hours, September 21 (2 planes)</p> <p>11:30 hours, September 21</p>	<p>It circled six times and a half over Che Dong, Le Village and other places. It circled three times over Paitsai, Checkuopu and other places.</p> <p>The planes circled ten times over Che-jao. The planes circled for about 50 minutes. It circled as many as 17</p>

		<p>(2 planes) 13:50 hours, September 21 14:13 hours, September 21 7:20 hours, September 23 (2 planes) 9:27 hours, September 23 (2 planes) 8:24 hours, September 24</p> <p>11:20 hours, September 24 8:30 hours, September 25</p> <p>8:31 hours, September 28</p> <p>14:20 hours, September 28 8:50 hours, September 30 (3 planes)</p>	<p>times over Che-jao and dropped more than 40 packs of supplies while flying over Changto. It circled 12 time over Che- jao. It dropped more than 40 packs of supplies while flying over Changto. It dropped 36 packs of supplies while flying over Changto.</p> <p>The planes circled for over two hours and dropped 127 packs of supplies while flying over Changto.</p>
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		8:58 hours, September 30 12:30 hours, September 30	
The Sama area in Tibet, China.	3	9:40 hours, September 6 10:50 hours, September 19 (2 planes)	

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 17 October 1962

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 Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government dated October 13, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

The Indian Government flatly denied in its note the iron-clad fact that on October 10, 1962, an Indian airplane penetrated deep into the air space over the suburbs of Lhasa, capital city of China's Tibet, Damshune and other places and circled for reconnaissance purposes. In its note, India wilfully slandered the Chinese Government, absurdly alleging that the Chinese protests were mischievous invention and designed to mislead the public. The Chinese Government is indignant at this. It must be pointed out that, at the time when the Indian Government was sending out its note to deny the facts, Indian aircraft again, successively on October 11 and 13, intruded into China's air space over the area west of Rudok, over the Damshune, Migyitun and Meto areas, in Tibet. These aggressive activities of Indian aircraft can in no way be covered up.

The Indian Government has not only always prevaricated and denied the Indian air intrusion into China, but in its note of September 22 again employed the old practice of "thief calling 'Stop thief!'" and falsely charged China with air intrusions into India. But what is the truth?

Firstly, Indian air intrusions into China have become increasingly rampant. In the six months from last April to September alone, such intrusions numbered as many as 431 sorties. The intruding Indian aircraft often airdropped military supplies and military personnel on Chinese

territory, sometimes even airdropped military supplies on the positions of Chinese posts, and on many occasions of late, flagrantly landed on Chinese territory.

Secondly, Chinese aircraft has never entered Indian air space. In an endeavour to ease the border tension, the Chinese side has never sent aircraft even over its own territory along the Sino-Indian border which has always been under China's control.

Thirdly, during the talks between the Prime Ministers of China and India held in Delhi in April 1960, Premier Chou En-lai pointed out to Prime Minister Nehru that, regarding the Indian Government's notification to the Chinese Government about unidentified aircraft detected over the Sino-Indian border area, it had been found through investigations by the Chinese Government that these were U.S. aircraft. Premier Chou En-lai further said that the Chinese Government in a note to the Burmese Government had stated that should Burma discover any unidentified aircraft in its air space, it was fully entitled to deal with them on its own, either forcing them to land or shooting them down. Premier Chou En-lai expressed his belief that India would do likewise. Thereafter, the same point has been reiterated many times by the Chinese Government in its notes to India. The Burmese side believed in the Chinese Premier, and did shoot down a U.S.-made aircraft of the Chiang Kai-shek clique with- in the Burmese border. This fact was referred to by Prime Minister Nehru in the Indian Parliament on December 11, 1961. However, the Indian Government disregarded the Chinese Premier's statement and spoke for the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique (See- the Indian note of April 23, 1962).

The above facts conclusively show that, while Chinese aircraft has never entered India's air space, India has continuously been sending out its aircraft to intrude into China's air space and at the same time kept prevaricating and making false charges against China. In order to

make the truth known to the whole world, the Chinese Government hereby formally declares that, henceforth the Indian side, upon discovering any intruding alien aircraft in India's air space, may immediately force them to land or shoot them down likewise, the Chinese side, upon discovering any intruding alien aircraft in China's air space, will immediately force them to land or shoot them down. Let's down them and find out whose aircraft after all are making frequent illegal flights above the Sino-Indian border, who after all is engaged in mischievous invention while sending out aircraft to violate the air space of the other party and who is trying to mislead the public. The Chinese Government presumes that the Indian Government will surely support this declaration of the Chinese Government and take self-defence measures similar to those of the Chinese Government if the statement made in the Indian note that "All Indian aircraft have strict instructions to keep within the international frontiers of India" is true to the fact.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy 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, 28 October 1962

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 two notes dated the 17th October, 1962 of the Chinese Government.

The Government of India have repeatedly stated in their notes sent to the Chinese Government that all Indian aircraft have very strict instructions to keep within Indian air space. Nevertheless, on each occasion when the Chinese Government has made a complaint, very

carefully enquiries are made. At no time has any Indian air craft entered Chinese territory. Indian aircraft are, however, at liberty to fly in Indian air space over those areas where China has intruded illegally and forcibly, into the ground below.

Very careful investigations have been made and it is categorically confirmed that no Indian aircraft flew over Chinese air space in the vicinity of Rudok or Damshune which the Chinese note of the 10th October states is to the north of Lhasa. No verification has been possible in regard to the Tiryitun and Meto areas in the absence of more precise information on the location of these areas.

The Chinese Government is aware that they are forcibly occupying, by unilateral action, substantial areas of Indian Territory. They have wilfully shot down two Indian aircraft engaged in the evacuation of wounded soldiers.

While, therefore, rejecting the Chinese notes the Government of India would like to state that if the sphere of the present conflict is further extended to the air, the Government of China alone will be responsible for any such extension.

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, 4 August 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China, and has the honour to state the following with reference to the notes of June 15 and

July 10, 1962 of the Ministry of External Affairs of India.

Some Indians who are hostile towards China repeatedly go to the front of the Chinese Embassy and Consulates to carry on provocations and disturbances and openly insult Chinese leaders of the State; this can only be considered as sabotaging Sino-Indian friendship and worsening the relations between the two countries. However, the Indian Government not only defends them with "the fundamental rights of Indian citizens", "demonstrations are peaceful", etc., but in its note condemns the Chinese Government's protest against this as "ignoring the law and constitution of India." The Chinese Government resolutely opposes such unreasonable and counter-attack sayings of the Indian Government. The above mentioned acts of sabotaging Sino-Indian friendship definitely cannot be defended with the pretext of the existence of border dispute between China and India nor so-called "normal exercise of the fundamental rights of a citizen." The attitude adopted by the Indian Government proves that it openly connives at and deliberately shelters these incidents, and disregards Sino-Indian friendship.

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

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 7 August 1962

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 delivered to the Chinese Embassy in India by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on June 26, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

In its memorandum of December 12, 1961 and its note of June 2, 1962, the Chinese side cited undeniable facts to show that the Chung Hwa School in Kalimpong was compelled to close down as a result of the Indian local authorities' premeditated persecution and their connivance at the disruptive activities conducted by Chiang Kaishek elements. As the Head and Deputy Heads of the Board of Directors of the Chung Hwa School were compelled to leave India by the Indian authorities and were unable to take personal charge of the school property, they requested the Chinese Consulate-General in Calcutta to take charge of the school property on their behalf. In order to protect the legitimate rights and interests of its nationals the Chinese Consulate-General complied with the request. This was an exercise of the normal functions and powers of the Chinese Consulate-General, and was fully in accord with international practice. Moreover, the Chinese Consulate-General was fully entitled to entrust the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong, which was in the locality, to assist it in looking after purely technical matters. In its note, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, again disregarding the facts and reversing right and wrong, perversely described the aforesaid proper and reasonable action as "arbitrary" and "highly improper" etc. It further slandered the former Chinese Trade Agency by alleging that the latter "arbitrarily seized" the school property, and even accused the former Chinese Trade Agent of committing an "offence". This is not only an expression of contempt for the well-recognised and customary principles of international law, but also a trumping up of charges to heap malicious calumnies on the Chinese Consulate-General and the former Chinese Trade Agency. The Chinese Government categorically rejects these fabricated charges and expresses its deepest regret.

The Indian side unreasonably expelled the responsible personages of the Chung Hwa School, and then connived at the Chiang Kai-shek elements' scheme to seize the school property and unreasonably demanded that the Chinese side hand over the school property. It has

now gone a step further and is making it difficult for the Chinese Consulate-General to exercise the latter's legitimate right of taking charge of the property at the request of the Head and Deputy Heads of the School Board of Directors. All these actions precisely demonstrate that it is the Indian Government which is unscrupulously attempting to deprive the Chinese nationals of their legal property and pave the way for the seizure of the property of the Chung Hwa School by Chiang Kai-shek elements. The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declared that any attempt of the Indian side, under whatever pretext, to use the Indian court to deprive the Chinese Consulate-General of its proper right to protect the legal properties of its nationals is impermissible under international law and is therefore null and void. The Chinese Government expresses its strong opposition to this action of the Indian side and once again demands that the Indian Government respect the legitimate rights of the Chinese Consulate-General.

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

Memorandum given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 9 August 1962

Reference Memorandum dated 10th July, 1962 from the Ministry of External Affairs of India.

Regarding the incident of an attempt to set fire to the Chinese Consulate-General at Bombay, the Chinese Embassy has already given a detailed account of the facts of what happened at that time. The Government of India, however, not only failed to account for the cause of fire, but even termed such a serious incident of attempting to set fire to a

Chinese official organ in India as a small fire and made groundless charges against the Chinese Consulate-General at Bombay whose security had been endangered. The Chinese Embassy expresses surprise and regret at this.

Following the above-said incident cases, in which window-panes of the Chinese Consulate-General at Bombay were broken through, have repeatedly taken place. The Indian Government's allegation that these were caused by little boys throwing stones at the fruit of a mango tree is inconsistent with the facts. It must be pointed out that the first time the window-pane of the Consulate-General was broken through was on January 16, 1962, when there were no mangoes on the tree. The time of the breaking through of the window-panes of the Consulate-General in all the cases was at about 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening when mangoes on the tree were not visible at all. Moreover, the window-panes are at quite a distance from the mango tree and do not face it. Even if little boys were throwing stones at the mangoes, it would not have been possible for them to break through the window-panes by mistakes. It is obviously an attempt on the part of the Indian Government to evade its responsibility for these serious incidents that it should have described this series of sabotages and disturbances, which the Chinese Consulate-General has for a long time been subjected to, as little boys' fun. In this connection, the Chinese Consulate-General at Bombay has made a verbal reply to the Maharashtra State Government.

Memorandum given by the Embassy of China in India, to the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 16 August 1962

At the beginning of July, 1962 the Chinese Embassy received from Peking about a dozen mails of Chinese and English newspapers and journals addressed to the Embassy. It is found that the above-said mails had all been opened and examined by the Indian Customs-office. The covers of these examined mails are still in the keeping of the Embassy. Besides, it has also been found that the delivery of these mails was delayed for almost one month.

It must be pointed out that it is an extremely unfriendly act against the Chinese Embassy for the Indian Customs-office to have unwarrantedly examined the Embassy's official mails and delayed without any justification their delivery for almost one month, thus causing difficulties in the Embassy's work. The Embassy hereby draws the attention of the Indian Government to the above-mentioned occurrence and hopes that it will ensure against recurrence of similar incident in the future.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 22 August 1962

The Ministry of External Affairs present their compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and have the honour to refer to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs note dated 6th August 1962.

The facts in regard to the arbitrary seizure of the Chung Hwa School premises by the Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong have already been conveyed in the Ministry of External Affairs notes dated 23rd May 1962 and 26th June 1962. This unwarranted action of the Chinese Trade

Agency can in no way be described as "an exercise of the normal functions and powers of the Chinese Consulate-General". It is certainly not permissible for a Consulate to take over property arbitrarily without obtaining authorisation from the competent authorities, particularly as the local laws specifically require it. The Government of India maintain that the jurisdiction of an Indian court cannot be called into question and any attempt to do so is a contravention of all accepted norms of international laws and practice.

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

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 23 August 1962

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 4, 1962, to the Chinese Embassy in India, has the honour to state the following:

As is well-known, the "China Review" is a newspaper which is founded and run by Chinese nationals in India and which has always been devoted to the promotion of friendly relations between the Chinese and Indian peoples. The Indian Government was obviously deliberate in trying to shield the offending ruffians, otherwise it would not have repeated in its note time and again the absurd slander, which had already been refuted, that Chinese missions in India allegedly used the "China Review" as a mouthpiece of their official propaganda and fomented "internecine feud" among Chinese nationals. The unfair attitude taken by

the Indian Government on this case and its continuous crude persecution against the editors and publishers of the "China Review" precisely reveal where the crux of the question lies. It is impossible for the Indian Government to evade the responsibility.

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

Memorandum given by the Embassy of China in India, to the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 28 August 1962

At about 10 o'clock in the morning of August 15, 1962, the Chinese Embassy discovered that a portion of the southern wall of the compound of its chancery, Jind House, Lytton Road, New Delhi, had been broken through, resulting in a breach 8.5 feet in length and 4.5 in height. The Embassy informed the Delhi police authorities of the incident on the same morning. The wall is built of brick and has always been very solid. Obviously this is a violation and sabotage against the Embassy. This incident of sabotage is serious. The Chinese Embassy hereby brings this to the attention of the Government of India and requests it to ensure against recurrence of similar incident in the future.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 10 September 1962

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 note No. 811 dated the 4th August 1962 from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As the Chinese Embassy is aware, the Government of India have persistently endeavoured to strengthen friendly relations between India and China and any suggestion that they are responsible for the worsening of relations between the two countries is completely unrelated to the facts. On the contrary, the wanton aggression of Chinese forces on Indian territory has been the principal cause of serious deterioration in the relations of the two countries.

The Indian people on occasions have reacted spontaneously but with dignity and restraint and undertake protest demonstrations against the aggressive activities of Chinese forces. The fundamental rights are guaranteed by the Constitution of India and the Government of India cannot interfere with such demonstrations conducted in a peaceful and non-violent manner.

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, 28 September 1962

An investigation was conducted on the complaint made in the Memorandum of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, dated 16th August 1962.

The newspaper packets in question were received in Delhi on the 8th June 1962 and, according to the prescribed procedure, demand calls for exemption certificates were issued to the Embassy by the postal authorities on 11th June 1962. These certificates were received back from the Embassy only on the 4th July 1962, and the packets were released on the 5th July 1962. It will be seen from this that the delay in the release of

the packets by 22 days was purely due to the Embassy's negligence in not completing the formalities in time.

The Government of India have also carefully investigated the allegation made in the Chinese note that these mail packets had been opened by the Indian customs and they have found this allegation too to be absolutely without any basis.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 30 September 1962

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:

The following has been reported by the local authorities of the Ari district of Tibet, China:

1. On July 20, 1962, when Chinese border inhabitants Cago holding exit permit No. 003407, and Tsaipei holding exit permit No.003408, both from the Certse County in the Ari district, went to India for petty trade as usual, they were illegally detained by the Indian check-post at Mordo for one day before they were released, but their exit permits were confiscated. On August 2, on their way home after the business was done, they took back their exit permits from the Mordo check-post and started on their way back. But after having gone a stretch, they were caught up by an Indian soldier with gun in hand who wrested from them their exit permits.

2. On July 26, 1962, when Chinese border inhabitant Kunggachienchan of Bragdhung hsiang of the Ari district went to India for petty trade as usual, he was also illegally detained by the Indian check-post at Mordo and

questioned about military matters in Rudok Dzong in the Ari district of Tibet, China. The Indian soldiers subjected him to maltreatment and personal insults, slapping him several times and stripping him naked to make a thorough search of his person. The Indian soldiers even forcibly took away a fat sheep from Kunggachienchan without giving him any compensation. Kunggachienchan was illegally detained from 11.30 in the morning to 8 o'clock in the evening on that day.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a protest against such unwarranted acts of violence committed by the Indian soldiers and demands that the Indian Government speedily return the Chinese citizen exit permits which were forcibly taken away by the Indian check-post and compensate the Chinese citizens for the losses they suffered in the above-mentioned incidents, and that the Indian Government adopt measures to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents.

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, 1 October 1962

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 note dated the 23rd August 1962 from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The allegations made in the Chinese notes of January 23rd and May 28th have been fully and exhaustively dealt with in the Ministry's notes of March 2nd and July 4th. The Government of India are surprised that the

Chinese note under reference should claim that "China Review" has "always been devoted to the promotion of friendly relations between the Chinese and Indian people". The facts are that it has persistently indulged in anti-Indian propaganda and several members of its staff have been found to be guilty of flagrant anti-social activities. Nevertheless, those found guilty of infringement of the law in the incident of 17th January 1962 were tried by a court of law and were sentenced. In the circumstances, the Government of India emphatically reject the allegation that they have adopted an "unfair attitude in this case".

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 External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 17 October 1962

Reference Memorandum dated 9th August 1962 from the Embassy of the People's Republic of China.

The full facts about the fire in the Consulate premises on the 5th December 1961 have been given in the Ministry of External Affairs Memoranda dated 18th January and 10th July 1962. In these Memoranda the attention of the Embassy had been already drawn to the fact that the members of the Chinese Consulate-General had not only refused to co-operate but also obstructed the full investigation of the cause of the fire.

Regarding the broken window panes mentioned in Para 2 of the Memorandum, full details of the investigation conducted by the local police have already been communicated in this Ministry's note of 10th July. It was also stated that the local police were taking further measures in the form of additional patrolling of the vicinity of the Consulate-General

to prevent a repetition of such incidents.

Note given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 22 October 1962

In its Notes of 2nd June and 5th August, 62 the Chinese Government has refuted the Indian Government's slander that the former Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong allegedly "arbitrarily seized" the property of the Chung Hwa School. It was entirely legitimate and proper for the former Chinese Trade Agency under the authorisation of the Chinese Consulate-General in Calcutta to look after the property of that school which is in the same locality. Yet the Indian Government in its Note arbitrarily mixed up the former Chinese Trade Agency's purely technical job of looking after the property of the school with the Chinese Consulate-General's exercising of its normal functions and powers and so distorted the case; this is completely unjustifiable. This practice of the Indian Government is obviously designed to pave the way for the underhand seizure of the property of the school by elements of the CHANG KAI SHEK gang. The Chinese Government cannot but pay serious attention to this.

In accepting the trust of the Board of Directors of school of Chinese nationals to take charge of the school property, the Chinese Consulate-General was performing its normal functions of protecting the proper rights and interests of its nationals. Moreover the thing was notified to the Indian authorities concerned when trusteeship was accepted and the Indian side did not raise any objection. Now the Indian Government states in its Note, "It is certainly not permissible for a Consulate to take over property arbitrarily without obtaining authorisation from the competent authorities". This is an attitude of creating side-issues and making trouble which is wholly unreasonable. According to this argument

it seems as if the Consulate of a sovereign State had to obtain authorisation from the authorities of a foreign country before it could exercise normal Consular functions within its competence. This is indeed unheard of an international practice. The Chinese Government firmly rejects the mischievous suggestion.

Memorandum given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 23 October 1962

Reference Chinese Embassy Memorandum dated the 28th August, 1962 regarding the southern wall of the compound of its chancery.

The matter has been investigated and it has been found that the wall was in a bad state of repairs and so collapsed during the rains. The allegation that the wall had been broken through as an act of "sabotage" is utterly baseless. The Government of India regret that such an unwarranted insinuation should have been made by the Embassy.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 31 October 1962

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 22nd October, 1962.

The full facts in regard to the arbitrary seizure of the Chung Hwa School at Kalimpong by the Chinese Trade Agent have already been given in the Ministry's earlier notes. The illegal measures adopted by the Chinese Trade Agent at Kalimpong, even if under instructions from the

Chinese Consul General at Calcutta, cannot be explained away by the specious plea that the Trade Agent acted under the privileges and immunities shown under Article I of the 1954 Agreement. The Chinese Trade Agent clearly exceeded his functions as he did not follow the prescribed legal procedures for taking custody of the property.

In the performance of their normal functions Consular Officers, too, are bound to respect the sovereign jurisdiction of the Government of the host country. The arbitrary actions of the Chinese Consul General and Trade Agent were obviously a violation of the accepted norms of diplomatic behaviour and amounted to defiance of the law of the land.

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 September 1962

The Ministry of External Affairs presents their compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the Ministry's note dated the 17th July 1962. It was pointed out in that note that, due to various arbitrary regulations introduced by the Chinese authorities in Tibet, the terms of Indo-Tibetan trade had been radically altered so as to make it difficult for Indian traders to dispose of large quantities of goods already imported into Tibet. Indian nationals also own some immoveable property in Tibet and large sums of money are owed to them by Tibetans. The Government of India desire that equitable compensation should be paid by the Chinese authorities for all property, moveable and immoveable left behind by Indian nationals in Tibet due to causes beyond their control and propose that talks to determine the

quantum of compensation to be paid to the affected Indian nationals should be started urgently.

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

Aide Memoire given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 25 September 1962

In the course of discussions on the withdrawal of Indian Trade Agencies in Tibet, the Chinese Embassy was informed of the Government of India's intention to retain their property and buildings in Yatung under the charge of the Indian Consul-General at Lhasa. In this Ministry's Aide Memoire dated the 1st June 1962 it was further stated that the Indian Consul-General would maintain a small staff for the upkeep of the property and buildings which would be used as a resting place for Indian officials and diplomatic couriers proceeding to and returning from Lhasa.

2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese People's Republic informed the Indian Embassy in Peking on the 2nd June 1962 that they were agreeable to the retention of the buildings of the Indian Trade Agency at Yatung by the Government of India under the charge of their Consul-General in Lhasa. The request that Indian staff might remain in Yatung to look after the property was, however, not acceded to. The Indian Trade Agent at Yatung accordingly appointed Tibetan staff consisting of 5 persons to maintain the buildings left behind by him.

3. The Government of India is extremely surprised that, despite the understanding reached earlier, the Chinese authorities have persistently refused to permit Indian officials and couriers to make use of the former Agency building in Yatung as a resting place on their way to or from

Lhasa. It has been further reported that some members of the staff deputed to look after the buildings have since been asked to leave the Agency premises by the local authorities.

4. The buildings of the Indian Trade Agency in Yatung have belonged to the Government of India for several years and continue to be their property, to be used by them in accordance with their local requirements. The Government of India regret the arbitrary action taken by the Chinese local authorities and wish to emphasise that the fact of legal ownership which is undisputed carries with it the legal right to utilise the building as and when required.

5. The Government of India emphatically protest against the action of the local Chinese authorities in removing forcibly the staff employed to maintain the buildings. The Government of India would request the Chinese Embassy to move the Government of China to take immediate steps to ensure that the legitimate rights of Indian officials to maintain and use their property in Yatung are restored with immediate effect.

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 Foreign Affairs, Peking to the Embassy of India in China, 8 October 1962

Reference the memorandum of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, dated July 25, 1962 to the Chinese Embassy in India.

As Deputy Director Chang Tung of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs clearly pointed out on June 2, 1962, to Mr. P. K. Banerjee, Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Indian

Embassy in China, the Chinese side agrees that the buildings of the former Indian Trade Agency at Yatung may be put under the charge of the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa. But the Chinese Government cannot accede to the Indian request that a small staff be allowed to remain to look after the buildings and that Indian officials and couriers be permitted to use these buildings as a resting place on their way to or from Lhasa, as this would be tantamount to the setting up of another official establishment on Chinese soil, which is both inconceivable and unacceptable.

It turned out, however, that the Indian side, in withdrawing its trade agency from Yatung, unilaterally kept in the buildings quite a number of the personnel of its former Trade Agency at Yatung. The Chinese Government greatly regrets this.

It must be pointed out that the buildings of the former Indian Trade Agency at Yatung were maintained by the Indian Government under the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India and the Notes exchanged by the two countries in its regard, and that the land on which the buildings stand was leased by the Indian Government under the same Agreement and Notes. It can thus be seen that these buildings can only be used for specific purposes. Now the Agreement is no longer in force and the Indian Trade Agency has been abolished, yet the Indian side is trying to take advantage of its ownership of the buildings to set up another official establishment in actuality in Chinese territory. The Chinese Government naturally cannot agree to it. Therefore, it is entirely unjustifiable for the Indian Government to lodge the protest with the Chinese side. The Chinese Government categorically rejects this protest.

**Memorandum given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi,
to the Embassy of China in India, 31 October 1962**

Reference Memorandum, dated 8th October, 1962 from the Government of the People's Republic of China.

The building of the Indian Trade Agency at Yatung has been the property of the Government of India for several decades. When the Trade Agency was withdrawn in 1962, the Chinese Embassy had been clearly informed of the Government of India's intention to retain their property and buildings at Yatung under the charge of the Indian Consul General at Lhasa. It was also stated by the Government of India that the building would be used as a resting place for Indian officials proceeding to and returning from Lhasa in the course of the performance of their official duties. The Indian Government's request was fully in keeping with international custom and practice.

The Chinese Government had informed the Indian Embassy in Peking on the 2nd June 1962 that they were agreeable to the retention of the buildings by the Government of India under the charge of the Consulate General in Lhasa. However, by later on denying permission to use the building, the Chinese Government has effectively gone back on its earlier assurance as the right to the use of property is an essential and fundamental right that arises from ownership.

In accordance with the stipulation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Government of India even did not keep any Indian nationals as maintenance staff but instead retained 5 Tibetan ex-employees of the Indian Trade Agency at Yatung. The Government of India were, therefore, naturally surprised when these employees, too, were turned out of the building later on by the local authorities. The Agency premises and the buildings are now not being looked after by anyone. It is understood that the locks of some of the quarters have been removed and some window panes have also been broken.

The Agency building has belonged to the Government of India for several decades and in paragraph (4) of the notes exchanged between the two Governments on 29th April, 1954, it has been clearly stated that all buildings within the compound wall of the Indian Trade Agency at Yatung may be retained by the Government of India. It has also been stated that the Government of India may continue to lease the land within the agency building from the Chinese side. This clearly shows that the land within the compound wall on which the building stands was already on lease with the Government of India several years prior to the conclusion of the 1954 Agreement.

It was only at the unreasonable and arbitrary insistence of the Chinese Government that a fresh lease deed for the land was signed between the two Governments on the 18th of January 1958, for a period of 10 years, although such a procedure was uncalled for in terms of the Agreement.

The Chinese Government's unwarranted denial of facilities to the Government of India for taking care of their property and building at Yatung and their plea that if Indian officials and couriers are permitted to use these buildings as a resting place it would be tantamount to the setting up of another official establishment on the Chinese soil constitute further testimony of the unco-operative and obstructive attitude that has all along characterised the actions of the Chinese Government in Tibet.

The Government of India hold the Government of the People's Republic of China responsible for any loss or damage that has already been caused, or may be caused in future, to the Agency building as a result of these unwarranted actions of the Chinese Government.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the

Embassy of China in India, 14 August 1962

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 in its Aide Memoire of 20th June 1962 and Note of 26th July 1962 the Ministry of External Affairs drew the attention of the Chinese Embassy to the harassment that the Indian Trade Agents at Yatung and Gyantse were subjected to by local authorities resulting in vexatious delay in the withdrawal of the Trade Agencies. The Foreign Bureau raised a number of issues with the Indian Trade Agent at Gyantse and made the unreasonable demand that they should be settled to their satisfaction before his departure. The specific questions raised by the local authorities are as follows :-

1. Payment of arrears of rent at Gyantse

Reference has already been made in the Aide Memoire of 20th June to the unreasonable claims made by local authorities for arrears of rent unsupported by any lease deed, written understanding or agreement.

The rental claimed for the period between the departure of the former landlord and the signing of the new lease-deed on the 28th November 1961 was arbitrarily fixed by the Chinese authorities on the basis of the rental agreed to in the new lease deed. Even though the monthly rental paid to the former landlord was lower than that claimed by the Chinese authorities, there is no legal basis for this enhanced claim.

The claim for rental of Changlo Linka is also completely arbitrary as no lease deed has been signed by the Government of India and China for this land. The responsibility for failure to sign the lease deed lay entirely with the Chinese local authorities as the Indian Consul-General at Lhasa and the Indian Trade Agent in Gyantse had carried out protracted negotiations with the Chinese authorities for the settlement of outstanding questions. The claim made for rental of Changlo Linka was

vaguely fixed on the basis that the land belonged to the former landlord till January 1961 and that for the "convenience of accounting" it had been decided that rent would be charged from the 16th January 1961. The arbitrary character of this claim and the absence of any legal basis to support it render it untenable.

The Government of India, however, did not like to prolong this correspondence as it is clear that the local Chinese authorities with their past attitude could not but consistently continue to be petty minded and difficult in this matter. The Indian Trade Agent was, therefore, authorised to make payment in full in respect of the Agency buildings before his departure from Gyantse. Arrangements to settle the claim regarding the land of the Agency site are being made through the Indian Consulate-General at Lhasa.

2. Demolition of Spurs

The Indian Trade Agent was also called upon to take action before his departure to demolish spurs which had been constructed earlier to save Agency property from erosion. The Chinese authorities had been clearly informed by the Indian Trade Agent in September 1961 that they may demolish the spurs if they were endangering public works but that they would have to accept responsibility for protection of the Agency land from the river. The Chinese authorities were also informed that the stones salvaged as a result of demolition of spurs would continue to be the property of the Trade Agency. It is surprising that this action which had been suggested to the local authorities in September 1961 was postponed indefinitely and was made the subject of unnecessary harassment to the Indian Trade Agent.

3. Removal of Building Material etc.

The Chinese authorities in Gyantse also called upon the Indian

Trade Agent to remove all building material and partly constructed structures belonging to the Government of India from Gyantse before his departure. The Trade Agent made arrangements to dispose of such building material as could be conveniently and economically transported out of Gyantse. Following the withdrawal of the Indian Trade Agency from Gyantse, building material acquired and partly constructed structures put up in good faith by the Agency during the operation of the 1954 Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibetan region of China and in anticipation of its renewal have had to be left behind. Its disposal will have to be determined in accordance with established principles of international law and compensation on an equitable basis will have to be paid by the Chinese Government to the Indian Government for all property acquired by the Agency in connection with the performance of its official functions at Gyantse which has now been left behind and is under the care and control of the local Chinese authorities. Government of India desire that negotiations with Indian Consulate-General, Lhasa should be started by the local Chinese authorities at an early date to settle this outstanding matter. It is a matter of regret that the local authorities in Gyantse did not agree to watchmen being deputed by the Indian Trade Agent to look after property belonging to the Government of India. In the circumstances the Chinese authorities must accept complete responsibility for any loss of or damage that may be caused to this property pending its final disposal.

4. Other difficulties experienced by the Indian Trade Agents

Apart from the major problems listed above the Indian Trade Agent at Gyantse was faced with a number of additional administrative difficulties all of which further delayed his departure from Gyantse. He was denied the assistance of members of the local staff for purposes of packing, etc. after June 3, 1962 on the specious ground that there was no obligation on the part of the local authorities to provide staff to the Indian Trade Agency after it had ceased to operate on the 2nd June 1962.

Similarly, questions of transport and loading arrangements, storage facilities for baggage, travel permits for Tibetan wives of Indian and Nepalese employees of the Trade Agency were not settled until detailed and laborious discussions had been held with the local Foreign Bureau.

The Government of India regret that the Chinese authorities in Tibet should have, despite the specific request made for the cooperation of the Chinese authorities in facilitating smooth withdrawal, denied normal facilities to the Indian Trade Agents at Yatung and Gyantse as a result of which their departure was considerably delayed. They would also call upon the Chinese Government to give urgent consideration to the specific proposals made regarding the disposal of the Government of India's property in Gyantse and elsewhere in 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.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 5 September 1962

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 Para. 3 of the Ministry's note dated the 14th August 1962, relating to building material and partially constructed structures of the former Indian Trade Agency at Gyantse for which an equitable compensation will have to be paid by the Chinese Government. It was suggested that the matter should be settled by the Consul-General of India at Lhasa and local Chinese authorities. The Government of India have also left behind building material in Gartok which was acquired in good faith with the intention of constructing buildings for the Indian Trade Agency there. The

Government of India desire that disposal of this property should also be considered between the Indian Consul-General at Lhasa and local Chinese authorities who may be informed accordingly.

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, 22 September 1962

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the memorandum and the note delivered by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs to the Chinese Embassy in India on June 20 and July 26, 1962 respectively, has the honour to state as follows:

1. In view of the fact that the Indian Government again and again rejected the Chinese Government's proposal for the two sides to conduct negotiations to conclude a new agreement on trade and intercourse, the trade agencies established by each side in accordance with the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India should naturally be withdrawn upon expiration of the Agreement on June 3, 1962. The Chinese Government withdrew its Trade Agencies at Calcutta and Kalimpong even before the expiration of the Agreement. The Indian Government did not inform the Chinese Government till May 30, 1962 that it proposed to withdraw its trade Agencies at Yatung and Gyantse, China, on June 10 and 11 respectively, and the actual withdrawals were then delayed till June 18 and 23, respectively. The Chinese Government, showing an attitude of goodwill and considerateness throughout, not only gave them plenty of time for

the above-mentioned withdrawal of the Indian Trade Agencies, but also gave special permission to the former Indian Trade Agent Mr. A. K. Bakshi to visit Gartok more than one month after the expiration of the Agreement.

2. The local authorities in China's Tibet gave every possible assistance and facility to the Indian Trade Agencies in the course of their withdrawal. The Bureau of Foreign Affairs in Tibet, China, conceded to the request of the Indian Consul-General and Vice-Consul at Lhasa for a special visit to Gyantse and Yatung to assist the Indian Trade Agencies in their withdrawal. In order to meet the transportation requirements of the Indian side, the Chinese local authorities provided trucks on 23 runs, 291 beasts of burden, and civilian labour totalling 81 persons/times. The large amount of articles of the former Indian Trade Agencies and the luggage of the former Indian Trade Agents were all granted exemption from customs examination on exit. Special allowance was also made so that employees of the former Indian Trade Agencies were able to take out with them articles the exportation of which was prohibited by China's customs regulations. Upon departure, both Mr. L. S. Jangapangi, the former Indian Trade Agent at Yatung and Mr. K. L. S. Pandit the former Indian Trade Agent at Gyantse, expressed their thanks for the assistance and facilities given by the Chinese local authorities in the withdrawal.

3. In its memorandum, however, the Indian Government unwarrantedly charged the Chinese local authorities with not giving the former Indian Trade Agencies, due co-operation and alleged that the local authorities "used unfair means to harass and delay the departure of the Indian trade agencies". This does not at all conform to the facts, and the Chinese Government categorically rejects this charge and allegation. The Indian Government requested that the privileges of using couriers and code communication be accorded as before to the former Indian Trade Agencies after the expiration of the Sino-Indian Agreement. This is obviously an improper request and the Chinese Government naturally

cannot agree to it. But as a special allowance, the Chinese side agreed that couriers sent by the Indian Government to its Consulate-General at Lhasa might stop over at the former Indian Trade Agencies on their way back to India. As to the premises and the site occupied by the former Indian Trade Agency at Gyantse, they belong to the Chinese Government; and since the Trade Agency did not pay the rent over a long period of time, it goes without saying that it should clear and settle its accounts before its withdrawal. Before his departure from Gyantse, the former Indian Trade Agent himself wrote to the Gyantse Office of the Tibet Foreign Bureau, pledging that the Indian Consulate-General at Lhasa would pay the overdue rent to the Bureau of Foreign Affairs in Tibet, China. It is crystal clear that the handling of this question by the Chinese local authorities was entirely correct and unimpeachable. It was equally proper for the Chinese local authorities to state that the former Indian Trade Agency at Gyantse should handle on its own the Indian property left over. It is regrettable that the Indian Government repeatedly slandered the Chinese local authorities as "most unreasonable" and "arbitrary". What is particularly surprising is that the Indian Government should have raised objection to a matter which is entirely within China's internal jurisdiction, that is, the Chinese wives of employees of the former Indian Trade Agencies, in leaving China together with their husbands, should go through the necessary procedures in accordance with Chinese law. Could it be that by marrying employees of the former Indian Trade Agencies they could be exempted from undergoing the necessary procedures which Chinese citizens must undergo before going abroad? As a matter of fact, the Chinese local authorities adopted special procedures so that they could leave the country as quickly as possible. The unwarranted charge of the Indian Government can only expose its unjustified position in interfering in China's internal affairs.

4. It must be particularly mentioned that about the time when the Indian Government announced the withdrawal of the Indian Trade Agency, one

incident occurred after another in which Chinese employees of the Indian Trade Agency at Yatung their families fled the country in groups under the threats and instigation of the Trade Agency and a Chinese employee, named Mingmapingtso, met a sudden and unaccounted-for death at the premises of that Agency. Regarding this the Chinese Government already lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government in its note of June 11, 1962, in which the Indian side was urged to give an account of those incidents. In its memorandum and note the Indian Government not only tried to help the former Indian Trade Agency at Yatung shirk its responsibility, but made false counter-charges against China, alleging that the local employees had run away "only due to fear of the local authorities", and that Mingmapingtso had committed "suicide" because of "the entry of Chinese troops into the Agency premises". It even described the proper investigation conducted by the Chinese local authorities into these incidents as "undue harassment" against the Indian Trade Agent and therefore lodged a counter-protest. The Chinese Government firmly refutes such nonsense and categorically rejects this unreasonable protest.

5. In its note the Indian Government admitted that the large numbers of Chinese employees who had run away had been aware of the decision of the Indian Government to withdraw its Trade Agencies long before it intimated this decision to the Chinese Government on May 30. In both cases, however, the Indian Trade Agency at Yatung did not inform the Chinese local authorities until long after the incidents took place (this was obviously intended to make it easy for these escapees to sneak out of Chinese territory). The Indian frontier guards, disregarding entry procedures, allowed these persons to enter Sikkim, and now the Indian Government has given them permission to stay in India. These iron-clad facts indisputably show that the escape of the above-mentioned persons was purposely instigated and arranged by the Indian Trade Agency and the Indian Government in a planned way. The Indian side can only expose itself further by its quibblings and making false counter-charges.

6. Mingmapingtso's sudden death at the Indian Trade Agency's premises was all the more mysterious. The spot where Mingmapingtso lay seriously wounded had been disturbed before examination was undertaken by Chinese officials so that it was hard to make out the real cause of the death. It has been established that when Mingmapingtso was carried to the hospital of the Indian Trade Agency at about 16:00 hours, he was still conscious and asked for a talk with local Chinese officials. But the Chinese local authorities had never been informed of this request of his, and were informed by the Indian Trade Agency only at 20:00 hours of the death of Mingmapingtso. From the time of entry of the wounded into the hospital to his death, Sonam Dorjie, the doctor of the Indian Trade Agency, not only did not make the necessary diagnosis and try to save the man's life, but also did not make any report or record. (These facts are established by Sonam Dorjie's written evidence which bears his personal signature). All this was extraordinary. In disregard of these facts, the Indian Government in its memorandum of June 20 lightly explained the sudden death of Mingmapingtso as "suicide" and fabricated a fictitious "entry of Chinese troops into the Agency premises" so as to explain the cause of the "suicide". That will not do at all.

7. From the above paragraphs it can be seen clearly that, in withdrawing its Trade Agencies, the Indian side conducted a series of premeditated acts of disruption to undermine the relations between the two countries. The Indian Government can in no way shake off its responsibilities under whatever pretext.

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 1962

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 delivered to the Chinese Embassy in India on June 22, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

Regarding the illegal entry of the two Indians, Ram Prakash and Narain Gir, into a non-pilgrimage area in Tibet, China, and the Chinese Government has already given a correct account of the case in its previous notes and there is no need to repeat it here. Even the Indian Government did not venture in all its previous notes to deny directly the fact that the two Indians had illegally entered a non-pilgrimage area in Tibet, China, and did not hold any valid documents issued by the Chinese side. The Chinese local authorities could have dealt with the above-mentioned illegal acts of the two Indians according to law. Nevertheless, the Chinese side, in the spirit of Sino-Indian friendship, instead of pressing the matter with them, gave them friendly help. It is surprising that the Indian note should have slandered the Chinese side as misdirecting and persecuting them. This only shows that the Indian side is engaged in wilful trouble-making.

The Chinese Government deeply regrets that the Indian side should have time and again rudely interfered in China's exercise of sovereign power.

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

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the

Embassy of China in India, 30 October 1982

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 29th September, 1962 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China has the honour to state as follows:-

Detailed facts have already been communicated in the previous notes of the Indian Government on the subject.

Two Indians, Shri Ram Prakash and Shri Narain Gir entered Tibet on pilgrimage. They were deliberately mis-guided by the Chinese and lost their way. They were thereafter taken into custody and moved from place to place for interrogation, while being kept by the Chinese authorities under illegal detention for almost two months. They were not only prevented from contacting Indian officials in Tibet while under illegal detention but local authorities also did not inform Indian officials in Tibet until they had been made to cross the border into Indian territory. Such harassment was unwarranted and unjustifiable.

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 Foreign Affairs, Peking, to Embassy of India in China, 18 May 1962

The Government of the People's Republic of China has received the verbal note given to the Chinese Embassy in India on November 10, 1961, by the Ministry of External Affairs of India. In its comment on Vice-Foreign Minister Keng Piao's talk with the Indian Charge d' Affaires a.i., in Peking on October 24, 1961, the Indian Government went so far as to

make various groundless charges against the Chinese Government and launch personal attacks on Vice-Foreign Minister Keng Piao. Besides, the note contains not a few obvious distortions of Vice-Foreign Minister Keng Piao's statements. The Chinese Government cannot but be greatly surprised at and deeply regret such an attitude of the Indian Government.

As the Indian Government is aware, it was because the Indian Government had made a series of attacks and charges against China that Vice-Foreign Minister Keng Piao gave that talk. In their talks with Mr. R. K. Nehru, Secretary-General of the Ministry of External Affairs of India, during his visit to China in July 1961, Chinese leaders expounded fully China's friendly stand. It is regrettable that the reasonable attitude of the Chinese Government and its desire to improve the relations between the two countries has failed to obtain the correct understanding of the Indian Government. After the Secretary-General returned to India, Indian Government leaders ceaselessly launched open attacks on China. The Indian Government even interfered with China's freedom of the press through diplomatic channels. Under these circumstances, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs could not but make an appropriate reply.

Vice-Foreign Minister Keng Piao's talk was made out of the desire to uphold the friendship between China and India, and the points he covered were based on facts; this may in no way be distorted. In view of the misrepresentation of the talk of Vice-Foreign Minister Keng Piao made in the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs and the wanton charges made on the basis of such misrepresentation, the Chinese Government deems it appropriate to enclose herewith a copy of the statement Vice-Foreign Minister Keng Piao made to the Indian Charge d' Affaires a.i., on October 24, 1961. The statement itself will sufficiently clarify the facts and refute all the groundless charges made by India.

The Indian Government repeated in the note its charges of alleged Chinese aggression on India that do not merit serious treatment. The

Chinese Government has already conclusively proved with ample facts in its successive notes that it is India, not China that has occupied the other's territory and therefore violated the other's territorial integrity. The note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs declared that "the forcible occupation of Indian territory by Chinese forces, so long as it continues, cannot lead to friendly relations." Such an allegation, which disregards the facts, can only be taken to mean that the Indian Government is determined to make use of the boundary question to impair the relations between the two countries. The various recent practices of the Indian Government have further proved that the Indian side is deliberately aggravating the tension on the border so as to further worsen the relations between the two countries.

Enclosure to the Note, dated 18 May 1962 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking

Vice-Foreign Minister Keng Piao's statement, dated 24 October 1961 to the Charge d'Affaires of India in China

We have read the contents of Mr. Charge d'Affaires talk with Mr. Cheng Chih-ping, Deputy Director of the First Asian Department, held on September 14, 1961, and of the talk of Mr. Desai, Foreign Secretary of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, with Ambassador Pan Tzu-li held on the same day.

We are surprised at the charges made by the Indian Government against the Chinese press, charges which are completely groundless and totally unreasonable, and have aroused the indignation of the Chinese press. We categorically reject the unreasonable demand of the Embassy which constitutes interference in the freedom of the press in China.

Concerning the question of mutual criticism in the public opinion

and the press of the two countries, Mr. Charge d'Affaires must have been aware that Premier Chou En-lai clearly explained the stand and views of China in his talk with Mr. R. K. Nehru, Secretary- General of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, during the latter's visit to China last July. It may be pointed out that Indian criticisms against China are much greater in quantity and much more serious in nature. Leaders of the Indian Government have regularly and openly attacked China, while the fabrications and slanders carried in Indian newspapers against China have been all the more profuse. The Chinese side has all along maintained self-restraint; leaders of our Government have always attached importance to the friendship between China and India, and the Chinese newspapers have mainly carried objective reports with little comment. There is a sharp contrast between the attitudes and practices of the Chinese and Indian sides. Of course, we do not deny that there is a difference of views between the two sides on a series of questions. We hold that it is not improper for the newspapers of one country to express their views and criticisms in regard to the attitude of another country, and that it would not do to forbid others to express different views or force them to accept one's own opinions. We do hold different opinions with regard to India's attitude of laying stress on blaming the Soviet Union in connection with the question of nuclear tests, of praising and defending the United States on the Congo question, with regard to India's attitude at the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, etc. It is natural that Chinese newspapers carried related reports and expressed different opinions. But this is completely different in nature from the Indian newspapers' unreasonable attacks and slanderous reports on China.

Chinese press reports on the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries were in accord with the facts. About the role of India at the Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, there have been a large amount of reports and comments in the newspapers of various countries, including those of India. Why can't Chinese newspapers carry objective reports about it? It

is their right to express their views in commentaries and reports. It should be further pointed out that similar views have been expressed in newspapers of India and many other countries. To mention just a few examples: The Times of India reporting from Belgrade on September 4 said there was a whispering campaign that India was playing the Western game; the Indian Statesman reported on September 6 that India was alleged to be the main stumbling-block; the Indian Express reported on September 6 that the African countries were disappointed and even angry at Prime Minister Nehru's speech; the London Times in its September 7 editorial said that Prime Minister Nehru had conspicuously failed to persuade the majority that anti-colonialism was a dead issue. Why don't you blame the Indian newspapers and those of other countries but blame the Chinese press alone? Moreover, Chinese correspondents were present at the Conference and the Chinese newspapers, in reporting the statements of Prime Minister Nehru, have almost entirely quoted his original words in accordance with his original meaning. It can by no means be said that these reports are distorted, malign, and mischievous and do not conform to the facts. In their commentaries, surely they may express their own views. If the Indian Government considers that there is freedom of the press in its land according to its Constitution, why does it not respect the freedom of the press as provided in the Chinese Constitution but arbitrarily hold that the Chinese newspapers must not have the freedom of the press which permits them to make objective reports and express their own views? This is incomprehensible. Does India want to hold China responsible for the comments on India's attitude at the Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries which have appeared in Indian newspapers and the public opinion of various countries? Does India want the Chinese newspapers to act in conformity with the views and instructions of the Indian Government? Does India want the Chinese Government to violate the Chinese Constitution and undermine the freedom of the press in China? This will never do. The Indian Government's unreasonable charges against the demands on the Chinese

newspapers cannot but be regarded as a crude interference in the freedom of the press in China. We express our deep regret at this.

After the Secretary-General of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs returned home, the Indian Government has acted contrary to the statements made in China by the Secretary-General and the Indian Ambassador concerning the desire to improve the relations between the two countries. First of all, the Secretary-General himself told the press upon his return to India that he had indicated to the Chinese leaders that so long as a part of Indian territory was still occupied, there would be no friendly relations between China and India. This was not only a slander against China, but also a sheer fabrication. He described his visit to China as one for lodging a protest with China which China had accepted. This cannot be regarded as a friendly and just attitude. The series of words and deeds of the Indian Government have also shown that the Indian side, far from desiring to improve the relations, wants to create new strains in our relations. After the Secretary-General's visit to China Prime Minister Nehru even asserted that China, like British imperialism was enforcing an expansionist policy and that China must withdraw from what he called "Indian territory". On September 12 Mr. Menon again attacked China, asserting that before China's "withdrawal", no truck could be had with China, no understanding could be reached and no negotiations could be held. In its note of September 19, the Indian Government even unscrupulously slandered China as "showing aggressive designs and imperialist ambitions". Even as late as October 8, Prime Minister Nehru again charged China with "illegally occupying Indian territory", acting in a "very wrong," "very unfair" and "very improper" way, and so on. And this was carried in the news bulletin of the Indian Embassy in China.

At present, activities of interference in China's internal affairs are being carried out openly in India. The Indian Government permitted the anti-Chinese elements of India and some other countries to hold a meeting of what they call the Asian-African Council in Delhi from August

26 to 28 at which slanders were wantonly cast on China in regard to Tibet. The Tibetan rebel clique is still allowed to engage in anti-Chinese political activities on Indian territory. On October 6 and 10, in the name of the Dalai Lama they published one after the other a "report" slandering China and a declaration on the so-called "draft outline of the Constitution" of Tibet, operating in the virtual capacity of an "exile government" of the Tibetan rebels. All this runs counter to the promise previously given by the Indian Government that the Dalai Lama would be allowed only to take refuge, and not to engage in political activities. Indian troops, personnel and aircraft have repeatedly violated Chinese territory and air space on the Chinese-Indian borders. In recent months, such activities have become more frequent, and even reached the extent of firing provocative gun-shots. More Chinese nationals in India have been persecuted and deported in large numbers. The Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong has been put under unreasonable restrictions. Endless slanders and distortion about China have kept appearing in Indian newspapers which have lately defamed the respected and beloved leader of the Chinese people and the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Mao Tse-tung as a "dictator", and accused China of "vicious expansionism and new colonialism", and so on. Some Indian newspapers, for example, the Hindustan Times of September 16, spread the allegations that Indian missions in China had been subjected to "extraordinary restrictions", that China had completely isolated the Indian Embassy and Consulates from the outside world, that every visitor had been subjected to prolonged interrogation and harassment, that invitations sent out by the Embassy had to be routed through the Chinese Foreign Office which decided who among the invitees should accept the invitation, that the circulation of the Embassy bulletin was controlled by the Chinese Foreign Office, that the Chinese side had attempted to open Indian diplomatic bags, that as a result the Indian missions in China could not discharge their routine responsibilities and so on. All these allegations are utterly groundless. Being in China, Mr. Charge d'Affaires, you cannot be unaware that these

are all untrue. It should be pointed out that rumours and groundless charges have often been put forth in your newspapers and the Indian official quarters have failed to deny them; it is not difficult to see that many things have been deliberately disclosed to the newspapers by the Indian official quarters.

Now you have again made unwarranted charges and demands on us in regard to Chinese press reports, and have disclosed to the public that you had lodged a strong protest with us. You have spread circulars, behind the back of the Chinese Government, to attack the Chinese press and deliberately injure its reputation. Can it be that you want once again to provoke disputes, create an anti-Chinese atmosphere and whip up a new anti-Chinese campaign? We cannot but take a serious view about this. With a view to preventing Chinese-Indian relations from deteriorating further, we hereby call your attention and hope that you will put an end to such words and deeds which are detrimental to the relations between the two countries.

We stand for and insist on friendship between China and India. In the interest of the two peoples and for the sake of helping the world situation develop in a direction favourable to peace, we hope that the two sides would value the friendship between China and India, make efforts to break the stalemate and settle the boundary question. In the event that the boundary question cannot be settled for the time being, it is our hope that the friendship between our two countries should none the less be treasured, and not hindered or jeopardized. We have always considered that every effort should be made to safeguard the friendly relations between the two big countries, China and India. We assure you that your Embassy will be treated in the same manner as before, and we will not treat you in the incorrect manner which you have taken. We believe that the unpleasant states of affairs between the two countries are temporary, and that it is mainly the imperialists who need now to take advantage of a dispute between China and India. We do not wish to argue with you, but

since you have brought up these charges and made to the outside world a lot of propaganda which do not conform to the fact, we have been compelled to make the above clarifications. We have confidence in the future of Sino-Indian relations. We stand for friendship between China and India, and this stand has not changed and will not change. However, friendship between two countries can become a reality only when both sides desire it. We hope that the two sides will make joint efforts to this end.

That is all that I have to say in reply to the question you raised last time.

Memorandum given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 28 June 1962

Reference Memorandum dated 18th May 1962 of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The text of the statement made by Vice-Foreign Minister Keng Piao on 24th October 1961 to the Charge d'Affaires of India in Peking, now furnished with the Chinese Memorandum under reference, contains a few minor variations from the original report of the statement. By and large, the original report adheres faithfully to the substance and pattern of the 'text' now furnished to the Government of India.

The various matters raised in the 'statement' were fully dealt with in the Government of India's Note Verbale of 10th November 1961. It is hardly necessary to reiterate them.

The Government of India have never raised any objection to comments and criticisms of their policies which have appeared in Chinese newspapers. Their objection has been solely to some deliberate

misreporting in the Chinese press of statements and speeches made by responsible Ministers of the Indian Government. As pointed out in the Indian Note Verbale of 10th November 1961, "It is inconceivable that they (Chinese) who were not represented at the Conference should put out a version of the Prime Minister's speech at Belgrade holding it to be more authentic than the official version".

The Government of India are earnest in their desire to improve the relations between India and China and it is because of this desire that they do not like to allow any misunderstandings or misinterpretations to go uncorrected.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 2 August 1962

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to inform that the Government of India will be placing on the table of the Lok Sabha and publishing on August 6, 1962 White Paper No. VI containing all correspondence between the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China until 25th July 1962. It is also intended to place the Note presented by the Foreign Secretary to the Chinese Charge d'Affaires on July 26, 1962, on the table of the House on the same day.

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, Peking, to the

Embassy of India in China, 2 August 1962

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 to the Chinese Embassy in India dated June 27, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

As already pointed out in the Ministry's note of May 29, 1962, to the Indian Embassy in China, it is fully conformable to international practice for the Chinese Embassy in India to publish documents and statements of its own Government in its bulletins and the Indian Government's unwarranted confiscation of the May 5 issue of the Bulletin of the Chinese Embassy in India "China Today" this year constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of international conduct. The Indian note under reference, while mentioning nothing about the fact that the news bulletin of the Indian Embassy in China carried the one-sided and distorted so-called "Summary" of the Report of the Chinese and Indian Officials made by the Indian side, repeats the unwarranted allegation made by the Indian Government against the Brief Account of the content of the officials' Report carried in the bulletin of the Chinese Embassy in India, which is of the same official nature as the so-called "Summary" published by India but correctly presents the facts of the Sino-Indian boundary question and the points of differences between the two sides. This is a fresh demonstration that the Indian Government is at the end of its tether in advancing its arguments. The Ministry in its note of May 29, 1962 already thoroughly refuted the Indian Government's pretext for its rude action and no repetition is needed here. The allegation made in the Indian note without any factual basis that the views of the Indian side have been suppressed in China is all the more unworthy of refutation.

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

Memorandum given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 8 August 1962

Reference Memorandum of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, dated June 28, 1962.

The Indian Government, in order to cover up its rude interference in China's internal freedom of the press, continues to allege that the Chinese press misreported speeches made by Indian Government leaders. But it cannot produce any evidence to support such an allegation.

The Indian Government asserts that since the Chinese side was not represented at the conference of non-aligned countries, it could not correctly report Prime Minister Nehru's speech at the conference. This assertion is completely wrong. As is well known, Chinese correspondents were present at the conference, and their reports were based on first-hand information obtained on the spot. Why should the Indian Government disregard the fact with open eyes?

As regards whether the Chinese press correctly reported Prime Minister Nehru's speech or not, a convincing answer was given by the Hsinhua News Agency in its letter of protest to the Indian Embassy in China, dated October 18, 1961, against the Embassy's circular slandering the Chinese press. The Embassy's attention is drawn to the following passage of the letter of protest:

"Mr. Nehru was then delivering an extempore speech without a prepared manuscript, and the full text of this speech touched up and circulated later, on which the circular distributed by the Indian Embassy in China is based, does not tally completely with the wording in the extempore speech. For instance, when quoting his sentence about imperialism, colonialism and racialism being overshadowed by the world

crisis, the Hsinhua report used the phrase "the present world crisis". Summarising the same speech in its report of September 3, the Indian Information Service used the same phrase 'present world crisis' in the same passage. But in the version circulated later, only the phrase 'this crisis,' and not 'the present world crisis' is found. It is unfair as well as unseemly for the Indian Embassy, in its attempt to accuse the Hsinhua News Agency of 'distortion,' to use very minor discrepancies in some non-essential sub-ordinate clauses or phrases between the Hsinhua correspondent's report based on Mr. Nehru's extempore speech and the version circulated later." In the letter of protest, the Hsinhua News Agency made a word-for-word comparison between its report on Prime Minister Nehru's speech and the version circulated by the Indian Embassy, which showed no substantive differences between them.

The malicious attacks on the Chinese press indulged in by the Indian Government in disregard of the facts can only be regarded as a calculated anti-Chinese propaganda campaign.

The Chinese Government, in welcoming the statement made in the Memorandum of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs that the Indian Government is earnest in its desire to improve the relations between China and India, hopes this will be borne out by actions. At the same time, the Chinese Government wishes to point out frankly that the Indian Government's persistence in interfering in news reporting in China runs counter to the desire to improve the relations between the two countries.

Note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 17 August 1962

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 2nd August, 1962.

The full facts in this connection have already been made available in the Indian Government's notes of May 9, 1962 and 27 June 1962, as also in the Memorandum dated January 22nd, 1962 and it is not necessary to detail them again.

The Government of India have always permitted a wide latitude in such matters and have continued to date to allow the publication of any Chinese Government communications addressed to the Indian Government and statements made by members of the Chinese Government even where these have been couched in offensive language. However, the particular issue of "China Today" which has been confiscated, not only transgressed established conventions in this regard but also flagrantly violated the law of the land. In the circumstances, the Government of India had been constrained to issue an order under the relevant provisions of the law for its confiscation.

The Government of India does not agree with the contention of the Chinese Government that this is a "flagrant violation of the principles of international conduct". Under international law diplomatic Missions are not authorised to offend against the laws of the receiving State. It is the Chinese Officials who failed to conform to the principles of international law and practice in this case.

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, 27 August 1962

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 the Government of India intend to place their note of 22nd August, 1962 in reply to the Chinese Government's note of 4th August, on the Table of the House early in September, probably on the 3rd of September.

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, 28 August 1962

Reference Chinese Government's Memorandum, dated 8th August 1962.

The detailed factual position in the matter has been communicated in the Government of India's note, dated the 10th November 1961 and the Memorandum dated the 28th June 1962. It is most regrettable that instead of meeting the legitimate objection taken by the Indian Government to the distorted reporting in the Chinese press of the Indian Prime Minister's statement at the conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade, the Memorandum under reference should merely put forward a baseless charge of "rude interference in China's internal freedom of the press".

As emphasised in the Indian Memorandum dated the 28th June 1962, the Government of India have never raised any objection to comments and criticisms of their policy which have appeared in the Chinese press. The Indian Government's objection has been directed solely to the deliberate and wilful misreporting in the Chinese press of

statements and speeches made by responsible Ministers of the Indian Government.
