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

JULY 1962—OCTOBER 1962

WHITE PAPER No. VII

**MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

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 appear 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 have 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 have 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 have, 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 reciprocate 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 are 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, 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.

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 have carefully investigated all the three allegations and have 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 stronghold 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 20.00 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 action 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 militarymen 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 1½ 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

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 tranquility 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 Spanggong Lakes in Tibet. They have successively set up 27 military strong points 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 1960 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 an 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

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, 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 China and has 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 Natu 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 tranquility 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, 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 intruders 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 pre-emptively 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° 38' E 34° 39' 45" N and had begun to consolidate themselves in the area. In this process Chinese forces had established a post at 78° 33' 5" E 34° 40' N. They had also set up another post at 78° 38' 5" E 34° 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° 38' E, 34° 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° 45' E 33° 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 post in the area. The Chinese post at 78° 45' E 33° 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

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 15 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 10 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°46' 5"E 33°57'N whereas the Chinese note dated 1st August, 1962, referred to an area at 78°44' 5"E 33°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°46' 5"E 33°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 claimed 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 Govern-

ment'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

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 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 rejects 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.

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 strong point 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 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 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 second N 78° 36' E.

At about 1610 hours on October 3rd, 1962 two intruding Indian soldiers pressed forward to the front position of the Chinese post located approximately at 34° 35' 40 second N 78° 35' 30 second 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 second N 78° 35' 30 second 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 air space over this area, incessantly circled over Chinese posts for reconnaissance purposes and made threats and provocations. Furthermore 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.