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LETTER DATED 17 SEPTEMBER 1965 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF
INDIA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

During the last few days, there has been an exchange of notes in regard to the border situation between India and the People's Republic of China. The Prime Minister of India has also made a statement on this question in Parliament today. I have the honour to request that the enclosed copies of notes exchanged between the Government of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China as also copy of the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament today be circulated as Security Council documents.

Please accept, etc.

(Signed) G. PARTHASARATHI
Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary

Text of Indian Note of 12 September 1965

Following is the text of the Note delivered to the Chinese Charge d'Affaires in New Delhi on 12 September 1965:

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and with reference to the Chinese Government's Note of 8 September 1965 has the honour to state as follows:

It was only two weeks ago on 27 August that the Chinese Government had lodged a protest with India on alleged violations of the Tibet-Sikkim border by Indian troops. These allegations were repudiated by the Government of India in its Note of 2 September. It is interesting that the Chinese Government has rushed another Note on the same subject a few days later, adding some more baseless allegations to the old charges and issuing unwarranted warnings and threats to the Government of India. This has only confirmed what the Indian Government had stated in its Note of 2 September, namely, that "the Chinese protest is intended to malign India and to cause confusion in the international world and also to prepare a pretext for any illegal actions directed against India which the Chinese Government might be contemplating".

On several occasions in the past the Government of India have informed the Government of China that the Indian troops have never crossed the Sikkim-Tibet boundary which has been formally delimited and is clearly distinguishable by well-marked natural features. Nor have Indian troops built any structures either on the Tibetan side of the border or on the border itself - there is indeed no need for India to do so. Therefore the demand of the Chinese Government to dismantle structures and to withdraw troops is meaningless. But since the Chinese Government has been making these allegations and demands over and over again the Government of India are willing to allow an independent and neutral observer to go to the border in this sector in order to see for himself the actual state of affairs. Nothing could be fairer than this. In extending the area of false allegations to the Western sector, the Chinese Note alleges that Indian troops intruded into the Kongka Pass and Hot Springs on five occasions. The Chinese Note asserts that these places are in Tibet and Sinkiang respectively. It is necessary to point out that Kongka Pass and Hot Springs are neither in

Tibet nor in Sinkiang but in the Indian territory illegally occupied by China. Even though India does not recognize this illegal occupation and the so-called "Line of Actual Control" in Western sector (a phrase which surprisingly has not been used this time in the Note under reply). The Indian Government, exercising restraint in the interest of peace, has given strict instructions to all its personnel not to cross this line. These instructions have always been scrupulously observed by Indian troops and personnel. The so-called five intrusions across the "Line of Actual Control" in August are therefore fictitious. The Indian Government therefore rejects the protest of the Chinese Government.

The Chinese Note under reply has made a reference to events in Kashmir and accused India of "armed suppression against the people of Kashmir" and "armed aggression against Pakistan". This is a complete distortion of facts. The world knows that it is Pakistan which committed aggression against India by sending out armed infiltrators into Kashmir across the Cease-Fire Line and following it up by a massive attack across the international boundary in the Chhamb area of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Pakistan attack was supported by heavy artillery, heavy aircraft and other weapons acquired by Pakistan under military pacts of which it is a member. Pakistan has further extended the conflict by air raids on Indian cities and civilian population. These are facts which are well known to the world. The Chief Military Observer of the United Nations Military Observers Group in India and Pakistan in his report to the United Nations Secretary-General has unequivocally stated that it was Pakistan which violated the Cease-Fire Line in Kashmir by sending thousands of armed infiltrators in Kashmir. In the face of these facts it is extraordinary that China should accuse India of "suppressing the people of Kashmir" and of "unleashing aggression" on Pakistan when India is actually defending the people of Kashmir and the integrity of India against unprovoked Pakistani aggression.

The Chinese Government's attempt to connect the events in Kashmir with fictitious intrusions by Indian troops across the "Line of Actual Control" in the Western sector is mischievous. The Kashmir question and India's unfortunate relations with Pakistan are a separate problem and has nothing to do with the Sino-Indian border question. In trying to connect the two the Chinese Government is doing the opposite of what it had stated in its Note to India of 31 May 1962,

namely, that the attitude of the Chinese Government is one of "never getting involved in the dispute over Kashmir" and also in contradiction to the declaration in the joint statement issued in Peking by the Prime Minister of China and Poland on 11 April 1957 that Kashmir issue "should not be allowed to be made use of by external forces to create new tensions". Involvement of external forces in the current unfortunate conflict imposed on India by Pakistan will only impede a peaceful solution at a time when India, the United Nations and the peace-loving countries of the world are urgently striving for restoration of peace between the two countries.

On the Sino-Indian border question to which the Chinese Note makes a reference, any impartial observer would admit that India has striven her utmost to find a peaceful solution. In its ceaseless search for a settlement India has made a number of constructive proposals and also accepted mediatory proposals made by disinterested third parties friendly to both India and China. Notwithstanding China's mounting hostility, India still preserves the hope that a peaceful settlement of the border question can and will be arrived at between the two countries.

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.

Text of note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
in Peking to the Indian Embassy in China dated
16 September 1965

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to reply as follows in refutation of the notes of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated 2 and 12 September 1965:

(1) In its notes the Indian Government continues to resort to its usual subterfuges in an attempt to deny the intruding activities of Indian troops along the Sino-Indian boundary and the China-Sikkim boundary. This attempt cannot possibly succeed. Since cease-fire and troop withdrawal were effected along the Sino-Indian border by China on her own initiative in 1962, Indian troops have never stopped their provocations and there have been more than 300 intrusions into China either by ground or by air. The Chinese Government has repeatedly lodged protests with the Indian Government and served warnings to it and has successively notified some friendly countries. The facts are there and they cannot be denied by the Indian Government by mere quibbling. Moreover, the Chinese Government has four times proposed (the latest occasion in June 1965) Sino-Indian joint investigation into India's illegal construction of military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary but has each time been refused by the Indian Government. Now the Indian Government pretentiously says that the matter can be settled if only an independent and neutral observer should go to the border to see for himself. It further shamelessly asserts that Indian troops have never crossed the Sikkim-China boundary which has been formally delimited and that India has not built any military works either on the Chinese side of the border or on the border itself. This is a bare-faced lie. How can it hope to deceive anyone?

(2) It must be pointed out that in each of its notes the Indian Government has blatantly claimed parts of Sinkiang and Tibet on the Chinese side of the Western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary to be Indian territory illegally occupied by China, but in fact these areas have never belonged to India and even had never been marked as within Indian territory before India tampered with the maps. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that 90,000 square kilometres

of Chinese territory south of the illegal McMahon Line in the Eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border have all along been illegally occupied by India. The eight areas in the Middle sector and perigas in the Western sector of the Sino-Indian border are also illegally occupied by India and that such illegal occupation has never been recognized by the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government forever retains the right to settle these questions.

(3) Supported by the United States imperialists and their partners, the Indian Government has always pursued a policy of chauvinism and expansionism towards its neighbouring countries. Its logic for aggression is that all places it has seized belong to it and that whatever place it wants to grab but has not yet done so belong to it too. It was this logic that motivated the large-scale armed attack the Indian Government launched against China in 1962 and it is the same logic that motivates the massive armed attack it is now launching against Pakistan. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the Kashmir question should be settled on the basis of respect for the Kashmiri people's right of self-determination as pledged to them by India and Pakistan. This is what is meant by China's non-involvement in the dispute between India and Pakistan, but non-involvement absolutely does not mean failure to distinguish between right and wrong. It absolutely does not mean that China can approve of depriving the Kashmiri people of their right of self-determination or that she can approve of Indian aggression against Pakistan on the pretext of the Kashmir issue. Such was China's stand in the past and it remains so at present. Yet some countries have acknowledged Kashmir as belonging to India. In that case, how can one speak of their non-involvement in the dispute? The question now is that India has not only refused to recognize the right of the Kashmiri people to self-determination, but openly launched an all-out armed attack against Pakistan. This cannot but arouse the grave concern of the Chinese Government. Reason and justice must prevail in the world. So long as the Indian Government oppresses the Kashmiri people, China will not cease supporting the Kashmiri people in their struggle for self-determination; so long as the Indian Government persists in its unbridled aggression against Pakistan, China will not cease supporting Pakistan in her just struggle against the aggression. This stand of ours will never change, however many helpers you may have such as the United States, the modern revisionists and the United States controlled United Nations.

(4) As is known to everybody, the Indian Government has long been using the territory of Sikkim to carry out aggressive activities against China since September 1962, not to mention earlier times. Indian troops have crossed the China-Sikkim boundary which was delimited long ago and have built a large number of military works for aggression either on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself. There are now fifty-six such military works, large and small, which they have built in the past few years all over the important passes along the China-Sikkim boundary; thus wantonly encroaching upon China's territory and violating her sovereignty. In these years, the Chinese Government made thirteen representations to the Indian Government, but the Indian Government has all along turned a deaf ear to them and does not have the slightest respect for China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Far from stopping its acts of aggression, the Indian Government has intensified them by ordering its troops to intrude into Chinese territory for reconnaissance and provocations. The intruding Indian troops even penetrated deep into Chinese territory, made unbridled harassing raids, kidnapped Chinese border inhabitants and seized their livestock. Is there any international boundary or any principle guiding international relations in the eyes of the Indian Government? This is indeed preposterous and going too far in bullying others.

The Chinese Government now demands that the Indian Government dismantle all its military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself within three days of the delivery of the present note and immediately stop all its intrusions along the Sino-Indian boundary and the China-Sikkim boundary, return the kidnapped Chinese border inhabitants and the seized livestock and pledge to refrain from any more harassing raids across the boundary; otherwise the Indian Government must bear full responsibility for all the grave 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.

Text of note given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi,
to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India on
17 September 1965

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and with reference to the Chinese Government's Note No. 65 FU YI YA TZU of 16 September 1965 has the honour to say as follows:

Ever since the Sino-Indian border problem was raised by the Chinese Government, the Government of India had made strenuous attempts to settle the question peacefully and with honour. Even after the unprovoked Chinese attack across the border in October-November 1962, the Government of India consistently followed the policy of seeking a peaceful settlement honourable to both the parties concerned. It was in this spirit that India accepted the Colombo proposals, which China has not accepted hitherto.

As has been pointed out in various notes to the Chinese Government in the past, the Government of India has given strict instructions to its armed forces and personnel not to cross the international boundary in the Eastern and Middle sectors and the so-called "Line of Actual Control" in the Western sector. The Government of India are satisfied, after careful and detailed investigations, that Indian personnel as well as aircraft have fully carried out these instructions and have not transgressed the international boundary and the "Line of Actual Control" in the Western sector at any time at any place. The Government of India are, therefore, absolutely convinced that the allegations contained in the Chinese note under reply are completely groundless. The Government of India are constrained to reject these allegations and to reassert emphatically that they do not accept the claims to vast areas of Indian territory in the Western, Middle and Eastern sectors of the border put forward in the Chinese note under reply. As regards China's stand on Kashmir and on the present unfortunate conflict between India and Pakistan, it is nothing but interference on the part of China calculated to prolong and to enlarge the conflict.

The Chinese note has once again repeated the allegations of so-called violations of the Sikkim-Tibet border by Indian personnel. These charges have been already answered and refuted by the Government of India. Indian personnel have never

crossed the Sikkim border and committed any harassments or raids into Chinese territory. Nor have they seized livestock belonging to Tibetan herdsmen or kidnapped any Chinese inhabitants from Tibetan territory. In the Government of India's note of 15 July 1965 it was clearly stated that the two Tibetan inhabitants alleged by the Chinese Government to have been kidnapped by Indian troops were actually refugees from Tibet who sought asylum in Sikkim. As the Chinese Government is aware a number of Tibetans have come over into India from time to time on their own volition and without our permission. Such persons are detained and questioned, and any of them desiring to go back to Tibet are always permitted to do so. The two Tibetans in question can also go back to Tibet if they wish to do so.

The Chinese Government's note has reasserted the old allegations that India has built military structures on the Tibetan side of the border. The Government of India has refuted this allegation on several occasions in the past. In September 1962 some defence structures were constructed on the Sikkim side of the Sino-Indian frontier. These structures have not been in occupation since the cessation of hostilities in November 1962. Since the Chinese Government alleged that some of the structures were on their side of the border India had, in its note of 12 September, gone to the extent of suggesting that an independent observer be allowed to go to this border to see for himself the state of affairs. The Chinese Government has not, unfortunately, accepted this reasonable proposal of the Government of India, and has reiterated its proposal for joint inspection. Even though the Government of India are convinced that their troops have not built military structures in Tibetan territory, they have no objection to a joint inspection of those points of the Sikkim-Tibet border where Indian personnel are alleged to have set up military structures in Tibetan territory. The Government of India on their part are prepared to arrange such an inspection as early as possible, at an appropriate official level, on a mutually convenient date. If any structures are found on the Tibet side of the border, there can be no objection to their being demolished.

The Government of India would like to point out, in conclusion, that the charges made by the Chinese Government in its note are really minor ones and could well be settled through peaceful procedures such as those proposed in this note. These allegations do not, on any reckoning, justify the kind of threatening language

and ultimatum held out by the Chinese Government. It is clear that China is fabricating these charges only to find a pretext for further aggression against India. India is a peaceful nation and has no desire for war-like conflicts. If, however, such a conflict is thrust on India by aggression from China, the responsibility for the grave consequences that might follow from such action will lie squarely on the shoulders of the Chinese Government.

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

Chinese Note Rejected

Prime Minister Shastri's Statement in Parliament

New Delhi,
17 September 1965

Following is the text of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's statement in both Houses of Parliament on 17 September 1965:

I want to inform the House that this morning we received a communication from the Chinese Government demanding that within three days we should dismantle our defence installations which they allege are located on their side of the border in Tibet across the Sikkim border. I might, for the benefit of the House, read out the relevant portions of the communication, although I would be placing the communication and our reply on the Table of the House.

"In its Notes the Indian Government continues to resort to its usual subterfuges in an attempt to deny the intruding activities of Indian troops along the Sino-Indian boundary and the China-Sikkim boundary. This attempt cannot possibly succeed. Since ceasefire and troop withdrawal were effected along the Sino-Indian border by China on her own initiative in 1962, Indian troops have never stopped their provocations, and there have been more than 300 intrusions into China either by ground or by air. The Chinese Government has repeatedly lodged protests with the Indian Government and served warnings to it, and has successively notified some friendly countries. The facts are there, and they cannot be denied by the Indian Government by mere quibbling. Moreover, the Chinese Government has four times proposed the Sino-Indian joint investigation into India's illegal construction of military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary, but has each time been refused by the Indian Government. Now the Indian Government pretentiously says that the matter can be settled if only an independent and neutral observer should go to the border to see for himself. It further shamelessly asserts that Indian troops have never crossed the Sikkim-China boundary which has been formally delimited, and that India has not built any military works either on the Chinese side of the border or on the border itself. This is a bare-faced lie. How can it hope to deceive anyone?

"As is known to everybody, the Indian Government has long been using the territory of Sikkim against China. Since September 1962, not to mention earlier times, Indian troops have crossed the China-Sikkim boundary, which was delimited long ago, and have built a large number of military works for aggression either on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself. There are now fifty-six such military works, large and small, which they have built in the past few years all over the important passes along

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the China-Sikkim boundary, thus wantonly encroaching upon China's territory and violating her sovereignty. In these years the Chinese Government has made thirteen representations to the Indian Government. But the Indian Government has all along turned a deaf ear to them and does not have the slightest respect for China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Far from stopping its acts of aggression, the Indian Government has intensified them by ordering its troops to intrude into Chinese territory for reconnaissance and provocations."

We are sending a reply to all those points and as I said I shall place the reply on the Table of the House. I will read out the relevant portions of our reply.

"Ever since the Sino-Indian border problem was raised by the Chinese Government, the Government of India has made strenuous attempts to settle the question peacefully and with honour. Even after the unprovoked Chinese attack across the border in October-November, 1962, the Government of India consistently followed the policy of seeking a peaceful settlement honourable to both the parties concerned.

"As has been pointed out in various Notes to the Chinese Government in the past, the Government of India has given strict instructions to its armed Forces and personnel not to cross the international boundary in the Eastern and the Middle Sectors and the so-called "line of actual control" in the Western Sector. The Government of India are satisfied after careful and detailed investigations that Indian personnel as well as aircraft have fully carried out their instructions and have not transgressed the international boundary and the "line of actual control" in the Western Sector at any time at any place. The Government of India are, therefore, absolutely convinced that the allegations contained in the Chinese Note under reply are completely groundless. The Government of India are constrained to reject these allegations and to reassert emphatically that they do not accept the claims to vast areas of Indian territory in the Western, Middle and Eastern Sectors of the border put forward in the Chinese Note under reply. As regards China's stand on Kashmir and on the present unfortunate conflict between India and Pakistan, it is nothing but interference on the part of China calculated to prolong and to enlarge the conflict."

The background of the matter is that in September 1962 some defence structures were constructed on the Sikkim side of the Sino-Indian frontier. These structures have not been in occupation since the cessation of hostilities in November 1962. Since the Chinese Government alleged that some of these structures were on their side of the border, India has in its Note of 12 September 1965 gone to the extent of suggesting that an independent observer be allowed to go to this border to see for himself the actual state of affairs. The Chinese Government has not, unfortunately, accepted this reasonable proposal and has reiterated its proposal.

for joint inspection. In our reply which is being sent today, we are informing the Chinese Government that their contention is entirely incorrect. Nevertheless, as an earnest of our desire to give no ground to the Chinese for making this a pretext for aggressive action, we are informing them that we have no objection to a joint inspection of those points of the Sikkim-Tibet border where Indian personnel are alleged to have set up military structures in Tibetan territory. The Government of India on their part are prepared to arrange such an inspection as early as possible, at an appropriate official level, on a mutually convenient date.

We have sent a reply to the Chinese Note accordingly and hope that Chinese Government would agree to action being taken as proposed. Copies of the Chinese Note and of our reply have been placed on the Table of the House.

I know the House would feel concerned about the intentions of the Chinese Government. We do hope that China would not take advantage of the present situation and attack India. The House may rest assured that we are fully vigilant and that if we are attacked, we shall fight for our freedom with grim determination. The might of China will not deter us from defending our territorial integrity. I shall keep the House informed of further developments.
