

October 20, 1962

**Cable from the Chinese Embassy in Pakistan,
'Minutes of the Conversation Between the Chinese
Ambassador Ding Guoyu and Pakistan's Foreign
Affairs Secretary on the Sino-Indian Border Clash'**

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Summary:

The two discussed Pakistan's view toward the Sino-Indian conflict. Pakistan sympathized with China and thought that India "deserved to be taught a lesson". Islamabad regarded Nehru as a liar who was ostensibly neutral, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist but in fact signed secret treaties with the US. Both Chinese and Pakistani representatives agreed to strive to resolve peacefully the border issue between Beijing and Islamabad.

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Ambassador Ding [Guoyu] and Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Secretary Discuss the Sino-Indian Border Clash

(Pakistan revealed that India and America had a secret agreement)

[To] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

On 21 [October], the Parliament of Pakistan will hold an emergency meeting to discuss the Sino-Indian border clash and the weapons given to India by the United States and Britain. The President of Pakistan [Ayub Khan] will announce Pakistan's position toward the Sino-Indian border clash during a secret meeting and the Foreign Minister will address this during a public conference. The Secretary of Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs flew to Pindi [Rawalpindi] on the afternoon of 19 [October] to influence the decision of the President and Pakistan's Foreign Minister and prevent them from doing something unfavorable to China. Ambassador Ding [Guoyu] made an appointment with Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Secretary on the morning of 19 [October] and asked him to arrange a meeting with Pakistan's President and Foreign Minister. The Secretary promised to reply after checking with them in Pindi. So Ambassador Ding may go to Pindi today. Even if he does not meet with Pakistan's President and Foreign Minister, he can exert his influence upon Pakistan's President and Foreign Minister through the Foreign Affairs Secretary, as foreign policy speeches are actually drafted by him.

Ambassador Ding and Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Secretary talked about the Sino-Indian border clash and Sino-Pakistani relations.

Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Secretary said that Pakistan was facing difficult circumstances in terms of the Sino-Indian border clash. If Pakistan had a good relationship with India, Pakistan could strive to contribute to the peaceful resolution of the Sino-Indian border issue through negotiations. Unfortunately, although Pakistan has always made efforts to solve issues with India, this has failed, Pakistan sympathizes with China, Pakistan's official position is that it hopes the issue can be resolved peacefully, that the clash will not escalate and that this does not turn into a kind of situation in which the Chinese government has to take further and stronger actions. On the other hand, Pakistan feels that India deserves [to be taught] a lesson and hopes that China will severely punish India and drag India down through a long-term struggle without making the issue too serious. Otherwise, the United States and Britain will do anything, even a world war, Pakistan could not say it in this way officially because if this had been spoken publicly, Pakistan would be seen as having a bias. In addition, Pakistan and China are negotiating border issues, thus, Pakistan has to be cautious when commenting on the Sino-Indian border issue. Otherwise, there will be misunderstandings.

The President of Pakistan has seen the letter from Premier Zhou [Enlai] and returned it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be studied, Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Secretary said Pakistan paid close attention to the letter. The tone of the letter, which reveals India's attitude and method, was the same as Pakistan's, so Pakistan was familiar [with the letter]. The President of Pakistan will make an announcement during a secret meeting with the Parliament. He proposed clear written suggestions to the President not knowing to what degree he will take them or how [the President] will make use of them. However, the speech by Pakistan's Foreign Ministry at the public conference of the Parliament may be more frank or cite Premier Zhou's letter.

In regards of Sino-Pakistani relations, he said that the President of Pakistan completely knows the great significance of developing close relations with China and is paying close attention to [maintaining] friendly Sino-Pakistani relations.

The President of Pakistan is quite determined on this point. Although there are intense pressures from various areas, Pakistan will not allow anything to influence the Sino-Pakistan relationship, Pakistan will not do anything to hurt China and Pakistan will never offend China. Considering Pakistan's alignments and obligations, the way Pakistan talked is not a small matter. [Pakistan] thus hopes that the Chinese government will appreciate this, Pakistan hopes Sino-Pakistan relations can produce more achievements. At the same time, he said that we could not underestimate the political and economic difficulties caused by past policies, Pakistan had to be good at using strategy to handle state affairs, and therefore hoped that Pakistan could gain China's support, sympathy and understanding. Even the strongest person also needs support, sympathy and assistance. He expressed that he sincerely hopes that China and Pakistan will soon conclude a border agreement. Border negotiations were suspended because the Pakistani ambassador needed to ask for instructions from his government and now that a reply has been written, we hope the negotiations can be conducted as soon as possible.

Concerning Pakistan's involvement in treaties, he said that Pakistan was still involved in treaties but he would not defend them. All of the notes and negotiations Pakistan has with other treaty nations have always put forth clauses for protest requirements against all forms of aggression, Pakistan has emphasized that this has always been [directed toward] India, and the reason Pakistan takes part in treaties is to defend itself against India, Pakistan never seriously considered a Russian attack and whether Pakistan could survive. As for China, the things which happened now show that China suffered an invasion, Pakistan has always appreciated China's understanding of Pakistan's difficulties and appreciates this very much.

On the issue of exposing the Nehru Government, he said that Nehru had always been telling big lies. Ostensibly, he was against imperialism and colonialism, executing "neutral" policies and actively opposing military treaties and agreements. But Pakistan has just received the "Agreement of Mutual Security" of 16 March 1951, signed by India and America based on Clause 408 in the American Mutual Security Act of 1949. He very mysteriously told Ambassador Ding about the agreement and the stipulation that the weapons supplied to India by the United States would be used for the following purposes: (1) Maintaining internal security; (2) Carrying out legal self-defense; (3) Taking part in the defense of territory belonging to India. This indicated that India was actually aligned with the United States and that Nehru was cheating the whole world, Pakistani newspapers have exposed this and hoped China would expose it to neutral nations in Asia and Africa without mentioning the point of "taking part in the defense of territory belonging to India"; otherwise, India would know that it was Pakistan who told China. Moreover, America sent a note to Pakistan which guaranteed that the weapons given to India would not be used to attack Pakistan on 17 [October 1962]. (He "secretly" showed me the note. But in fact, Pakistani newspaper already disclosed it on 19 [October]).

Ambassador Ding expressed our appreciation to Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Secretary for his support in the Sino-Indian border clash and for the President of Pakistan's hope that the Sino-Indian border issue is resolved peacefully. [Ding] also hoped that he could exert influence on the President of Pakistan and introduce him to the truth: Who on earth invaded who? Who initiated peace negotiations? Who protested peace negotiations? Who refused peace negotiations? We believe that President of Pakistan will adopt a fair and impartial stance on the Sino-Indian border issue and that Pakistan will not succumb to pressures or adopt policies in line with national interests.

Ambassador Ding expressed the significance of the Sino-Pakistan border agreement and the visit to China by Pakistan's Foreign Minister. We hope that the border negotiations will continue to progress smoothly. As for the other issues mentioned, the Chinese government is considering [these issues] and believes that they will not be very difficult to resolve during the visit to China by Pakistan's Foreign Minister.

Concerning Pakistan's participation in treaties, Ambassador Ding said that there is an understanding between Pakistan and China. Foreign Minister Chen and La-di [sic], the former Ambassador of Pakistan in China, have discussed this issue. But we will never change our stance on the American imperialists' plots for these treaties, because military treaties obviously are in opposition to our nation.

Concerning the issue of exposing the Nehru Government, Ambassador Ding expressed that People's Daily had published two articles titled, "Re-discussing Nehru's Philosophies" and "The Appearance of Non-Alignment is being Taken Off."

Chinese Embassy in Pakistan
20 October 1962