

# China South Asian Relations 1947-1980

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*edited by*  
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# Preface

This is a documentary study designed as a complementary volume to a similar study entitled *Soviet-South Asian Relations, 1947-1978* published in 1978. A third study, *US-South Asian Relations, 1947-1981*, is scheduled for publication in 1982. The three together constitute a trilogy on Great Power involvement in South Asia.

As an immediate neighbour of South Asia China has taken considerable interest in the region since 1949 for political, security, and economic reasons. Initially the objective of China was to forestall Western, primarily American, attempts to encircle it by means of a series of military bases on its periphery. In the 1960s China sought through diplomacy to eliminate the influence of both the Soviet Union and the United States. Subsequently, as its differences with the Soviet Union widened beyond all possibility of a *rapprochement*, it concentrated on neutralizing Soviet moves in the region, particularly in India. It focussed its efforts primarily on Pakistan. It developed wide-ranging relations—economic, political, and military—with Pakistan and sought to cultivate close political and economic relations with Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh as well. The idea was not only to offset close Indo-Soviet ties but also to reduce Indian influence and undermine the Indian position in the region.

However, since the late 1970s, in view of the increasing Soviet threat to its security, China has sought to improve relations with India. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (December 1979) has further heightened its interest in cultivating friendly relations with the countries of South Asia.

The study deals with the political, economic, and military facets of China's relations with South Asia—India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh. It contains 973 basic documents from Chinese official sources, available in both

English and Chinese, as well as important statements by Government leaders of the countries of South Asia bearing on their attitudes towards China. A few of the documents are translations from the Chinese language. The study provides the full texts of all important trade, economic, and cultural agreements and joint communiques. In the case of other documents it presents only the essential and significant portions and severely excludes all undue repetitions and digressions. It also includes statements and interviews by Government dignitaries, and significant articles, editorials, and commentaries published in the Chinese Press. Besides, it contains a judicious selection from the authentic source material available in the publications of the countries of South Asia and in those of the United Nations.

As regards the Sino-Indian border question, the study has had to be very selective in view of the enormity of the mass of published material. The Government of India has, for instance, brought out as many as fourteen White Papers, and Government spokesmen have made numerous statements in the Indian Parliament. The Chinese side too has come out with long and repetitive articles and commentaries in support of its stand. The study, therefore, provides only those portions which are important on account of their obvious bearing on the political relations between the two countries, and which help in understanding the basic issues involved. In the case of the bulky report of Indian and Chinese officials, only the summaries of the views of the two Governments are given.

Collection of data for the appendices included in the study has by no means been an easy task. The lists of bilateral visits (political, economic, cultural, and military) and agreements and the data on economic aid, trade, loans and credits, and arms supplies owe their present form to a determined scouring of diverse sources, including Chinese periodicals, magazines, and books and the newspapers and journals of the various South Asian countries, as also the reports of the Governmental Departments, Ministries, and agencies concerned. The correctness of the details has been ensured by carefully cross-checking them with those appearing in official sources, and only those considered wholly reliable have been retained. Every care has been taken to ensure that the picture presented in the

study is as authentic and complete as possible in the circumstances. It is hoped that the appendices would prove to be of immense use to the researcher.

The study seeks to make accessible under one cover information that is otherwise to be had in widely scattered sources and by no means easy to come by. The most comprehensive of its kind so far, it should constitute an extremely useful reference work of permanent value to all scholars and students of political science and international politics, contemporary China, Chinese foreign policy, and South Asian studies.

21 December 1980

R.K. JAIN



# Pinyin equivalents of Chinese names

From the beginning of 1979 the Chinese State Council decided to go over wholly to the pinyin method of 'romanising' Chinese characters. Pinyin equivalents have, therefore, been used in documents after 1979.

Chang Chun-chiao

Chang Tsai-chien

Chao Tzu-yang

Chi Peng-fei

Chiang Ching

Chiang Kai-shek

Chiao Kuan-hua

Chou En-lai

Chungking

Han Nien lung

Hsinhua

Hua Kuo-feng

Kao Kang

Kuomintang

Li Hsien-nien

Lin Piao

Liu Shao-chi

Mao Tse-tung

Peking

Ten Hsiao-ping

Wang Hung-wen

Yeh Chien-ying

Zhang Chunqiao

Zhang Caiqian

Zhao Ziyang

Ji Pengfei

Jiang Qing

Jiang Jieshi

Jiao Guanhua

Zhou Enlai

Chongqing

Han Nianlong

Xinhua

Hua Guofeng

Gao Gang

Guomindang

Li Xiannian

Lin Biao

Liu Shaoqi

Mao Zedong

Bei-jing

Deng Xiaoping

Wang Hongwen

Ye Jianying





# **Pakistan. 1947-1965**



**1 Commentary by *China Digest* New Delhi correspondent Harin Shab, 10 August 1947**

The trends in Pakistan are likely to invite deep interest in China too. So far the leadership of Pakistan had no time to think much of affairs beyond their borders, but it is known that they look upon Sinkiang as a Muslim Nation, perfectly entitled to Sovereign Statehood, as much the Pakistan has come to be. It will not be surprising if close concert develops between Pakistan and Sinkiang and if the pace of events in Sinkiang is hastened. China's diplomats must expect some hard work.

**2 Note from Qureshi, Ambassador of Pakistan in the Soviet Union, to Premier and Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai, 5 January 1950**

His Excellency Foreign Minister Chou En-lai:

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency, I have got the order from our Government—I herewith present the whole document which Pakistan Government announced this morning.

1. Pakistan Government announced the recognition of establishment of Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in Peking as the legal government of China. We believe that friendship between China and Pakistan—our two countries within the scope of mutual benefit will become closer.

2. Your Excellency, I happily expect to meet you soon, in the near future. I can express my own happiness for this decision of my country. Herewith my best respects to Your Excellency.

**3 Note from Qureshi, Ambassador of Pakistan in the Soviet Union, to Chinese Ambassador in USSR, Wang Chia-chiang, 29 January 1950**

1. In continuation to my official note of 5 January 1950, I request you to convey the following cable from Pakistan Government to Peking Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. The cable is as follows:

“After recognising that the Central People’s Government is the legal Government of China, and also because of His Excellency Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the People’s Republic of China’s announcement on 1 October 1949 Pakistan Government wish on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect of territory and sovereignty to establish diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan as early as possible. Before the appointment of Ambassador, Pakistan Government requests you to ask the Sinkiang concerned authorities:

A. Please consider Pakistan Consul General stationed in Kashgar Lt. Col. Mohammad Sadiq as Pakistan’s righteous and trusted representative in Sinkiang.

B. He will manage the office in this capacity.

C. Please give him all the necessary facilities, please also give Special Representative in Nanking Mr. Tajuddin and other personnel all the convenience to shift to Peking (to enable him to arrange the Pakistan embassy accommodation) and allow him to take his followers and official documents. If the Central People’s Government allows Mr. Tajuddin to proceed to Peking and gives all the facilities asked above, then please immediately inform him who is in Nanking, Pakistan Government will be deeply grateful.”

2. Your Excellency, I still want to inform you, our Government has righteously withdrawn the recognition from the Chinese KMT Government stationed in Taiwan. Our Government has already informed all our diplomatic representatives in foreign countries not to regard the KMT representatives in foreign countries as diplomatic representatives. Regarding this point our Government has already issued an Official Communique on 24 January 1950 as follows: “Pakistan Government has withdrawn the recognition from the Chinese KMT Government stationed in Taiwan.”

3. I hope that after you convey the contents of this letter to Peking Central People’s Government, your Excellency kindly inform me the result as early as possible, I can say if you kindly reply early, our Government and myself will be grateful to you,

**4 Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Le Ke-lung's reply to Pakistani note of 29 January 1950 delivered by Chinese Ambassador in the Soviet Union to Pakistan's Ambassador in USSR, 4 February 1950**

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has formally received the letter dated January 29, 1950 from Pakistan Ambassador in USSR Mr. Qureshi through Chinese Ambassador in the USSR informing that the Pakistan Government wishes to establish the diplomatic relations with China as early as possible on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, mutual respect for territory and sovereignty. The Central People's Government of People's Republic of China has agreed to establish the diplomatic relations as early as possible on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty and welcome that Pakistan has sent special representative Mr. Tajuddin proceeding to Peking to carry on talks regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan as the first step in this matter. At the time Mr. Tajuddin and his other followers and documents, shift to Peking, they will get all the facilities by the Government of the People's Republic of China. Before the diplomatic representatives are formally exchanged between the two countries, China and Pakistan, Colonel Mohammad Sadiq in Sinkiang Province will be treated as a foreign national and will receive the protection.

**5 Statement by the Pakistani representative Mohammad Zafrulla Khan in the UN General Assembly, 25 September 1950  
(Extracts)**

The question of China's representation, has already been the subject of debate during this session. . . . In the course of the debate we could discern little inclination to face the question at issue, and even less to reason it out. . . .

The determination of the question has no reference to personalities, and even ideologies. . . .

Equally irrelevant are considerations bearing upon the character and composition of the Peking Government. Much stress has been sought to be laid on whether that government

is peace-loving or not, and whether it is able and willing to discharge the obligations contained in the Charter. This is the language of Article 4 of the Charter itself, but those who have sought to base themselves upon it appear to forget that Article 4 relates to the admission of new Members and not to the validity of representation, with which alone we are here concerned. China is not applying for admission to the United Nations. It is a Member State, a permanent member of the Security Council, one of the Big Five.

I do venture to submit that whether it is peace-loving or not peace-loving, whether it is willing or not willing to discharge the obligations contained in the Charter, it is entitled as of right to be represented in the United Nations like every other Member State, until it is—a contingency that might apply to every other State also—expelled in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

The sole question is: who is entitled to represent China, a Member State, in the Assembly? What are the undisputed, incontrovertible facts bearing upon that question? The government from which the delegation present here purports to draw its authority has for months ceased to exercise jurisdiction over any portion of Chinese mainland. The struggle for supremacy in China between the two contending Chinese governments has come to an end. The status of the island of Formosa, where the Nationalist Government is now based, is itself the subject matter of determination, as witness the question placed upon the agenda at the instance of the United States delegation. In these circumstances, can it be pretended that it is the Nationalist Government that effectively represents China, in other words, the Chinese people? Or can it be denied that the Peking Government does in fact represent them?

I have said that ability and willingness to discharge the obligations contained in the Charter are not a factor relevant to the issue before us. But assuming for a moment that there is an apprehension that the Peking Government would not be willing to discharge those obligations. Even if that were to be conceded—and it is no more than an assumption—can it be denied that that government is certainly able to discharge those obligations were it so willing, and that its willingness is a matter of its own choice, which it is free at any time to

make? As against this, however willing the Nationalist Government may be, it must be admitted that it has lost the ability to assume or discharge those obligations on behalf of and in respect of the people of China and that this lack of ability cannot be remedied at its own choice.

**6 Chairman Mao's speech on the occasion of the presentation of credentials by the first Pakistani Ambassador to China, Raza, 12 November 1951 (Extract)**

There exist long friendship between the people of the two countries. The people of the two countries have the common wishes in promoting the development of economic and cultural relations, and in the struggle for the lasting peace in Asia and the world. The establishment of diplomatic relations not only make for the improvement and strengthening of friendship between the people of the two countries day by day, but also help towards the peace and security in Asia and the world.

**7 Speech by Chu Teh at a reception given by Pakistani Ambassador in Peking, 17 August 1952 (Extract)**

There have always existed amicable relations between the peoples of Pakistan and China. During the past two years these relations have much developed. The delegation of the People's Republic of China which participated in the Pakistan International Industries Fair this year, received friendly assistance from the Government and people of Pakistan and this further promoted mutual understanding between the people of Pakistan and China. I firmly believe that friendship and unity between the peoples of China and Pakistan and among the peoples of Asian countries will and must be further consolidated and developed.

**8 Chou En-lai's speech at the reception given by Pakistani Embassy in Peking on Pakistan's Independence Day, 14 August 1954 (Extract)**

The Government and people of the People's Republic of China fully appreciate that the common desire and interest of

both the Chinese and Pakistani peoples, is directed to enhancing their economic and cultural relations and in making joint efforts in the cause of preserving peace and international justice.

The Chinese Government and people have noted with satisfaction the fact that the appeal and concern for an armistice in Indo-China expressed by Pakistan and other states which participated at the Colombo Conference, have helped the progress of the Geneva Conference. The Chinese Government and people thank the Pakistan Government and people for their concern and goodwill towards the role played by the Chinese People's Republic in the defence of peace and security in Asia.

The Chinese Government and people always desire to live in peaceful co-existence with the Asian countries according to the five principles. . . and also desire to strive together with them for the building up of collective peace in Asia and the further relaxation of international tension.

After the Geneva Conference, this possibility is daily increasing. I believe that our two countries—China and Pakistan—could build and develop relations of peaceful co-operation on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. . . .

### **9 Chou En-lai's statement in the Political Committee of the Bandung Conference, 23 April 1955 (Extract)**

We are against NATO, the Manila Treaty and other similar treaties. However, if such antagonistic military treaties continue in the world, then we would be forced to find some countries to enter into (with) and sign a similar, antagonistic military alliance in order to safeguard and protect ourselves against aggression.

It is for this reason, basically, that we are against antagonistic military alliances, and now that we have assembled here to discuss problems of common concern and the question of peace, we should abandon the idea of such alliances, because they are to nobody's good and also it is to no one's good to publicise these treaties.

Let us first of all have unity among us.



The day before yesterday, after lunch, I paid a visit to the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He told me that although Pakistan was a party to a military treaty, Pakistan was not against China. Pakistan had no fear China would commit aggression against her. As a result of that, we achieved a mutual understanding although we are still against military treaties.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan further assured that if the United States should take aggressive action under the military treaty or if the United States launched a global war, Pakistan would not be involved in it. He said Pakistan would not be involved in it just as it was not involved in the Korean war. I am grateful to him for this explanation, because through these explanations we achieve a mutual understanding. This creates agreement and harmony amongst us in understanding each other on collective peace and co-operation. I am sure the Prime Minister of Pakistan will have no objection to these views of mine.

Further, I would like to avoid any misunderstanding. I would like to give an explanation or clarification on behalf of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He believes that the Manila Treaty is defensive in character, just as General Romulo said, although I do not believe in the explanation he gave.

**10 Chinese assurances to Pakistan following Bandung Conference (as revealed in *The State of Pakistan* by L. F. Rushbrook Williams), April 1955 (Extract)**

Following on the Bandung Conference, when the nations of Asia, under the lead of China, by whom India was momentarily overshadowed, drew up a charter of peaceful co-existence amidst scenes of wild enthusiasm and speeches of brotherly amity, Karachi received—as I have been assured on unimpeachable authority—a private message from Peking. The Chinese People's Government assured the Government of Pakistan that there was no conceivable clash of interests between the two countries which could imperil their friendly relations: but that this position did not apply to Indo-Chinese relations. At that time India and China were closely linked by a treaty of friendship which actually embodied the *panchashila*—the five principles of good neighbourliness.

**11 "Pakistan Makes Dangerous Decision," Article by Observer in *People's Daily*, 10 July 1955 (Extracts)**

Pakistan's decision to join the Turco-Iraqi pact is dangerous. This pact is an important step taken by the United States to establish aggressive military blocs in the Middle East and prepare for another war. . . .

Pakistan's participation in this pact enables the United States to increase its pressure designed to split the Arab States, thus giving rise to increased unrest and misgivings in the Middle East. This is inconsistent with the position taken by Pakistan at the Asian-African Conference. And at the same time, it is absolutely harmful to Pakistan.

What the United States calls the 'northern defense tier' that it is trying to organise through the Turco-Iraqi pact is a step in preparation for war. Its target is the Soviet Union and China. The U.S. aggressors make no secret of this.

Pakistan is China's neighbour. On more than one occasion it has expressed willingness to maintain good-neighbourly and friendly relations with China. The Chinese people have consistently been willing to be friends with Pakistan.

By joining the Turco-Iraqi pact, Pakistan joins the United States 'northern defense tier' thus placing itself in the position of being used as a base for the United States to threaten China militarily. How is this to be reconciled with Pakistan's repeatedly expressed desire to maintain friendship with China?

In the U.S. plan of war preparations, Pakistan has joined the South-East Asian bloc in the south and now the Turco-Iraqi pact in the north. By so doing regardless of its subjective desire, Pakistan cannot avoid having to face the formidable danger of being dragged into another war prepared by the United States. This would plunge the people of Pakistan into an unprecedented war disaster.

The Chinese people do not wish to see the people of Pakistan being involved in a foreign war scheme. As friends of the people of Pakistan, we hope that country will, in its own interests and the interests of world peace, carefully reconsider its dangerous decision.

**12 Message of Madame Soong Ching-ling, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, broadcast over Radio Pakistan, 29 January 1956 (Extracts)**

We have so much in common. Indeed there is no reason why we, the Chinese and Pakistani peoples, should not have a close friendship. Pakistan and China are next-door neighbours. Both possess rich natural resources and both peoples are diligent and hard-working. Your ancient civilization in the lower valley of the River Indus flourished at about the same time as the original Chinese culture in the upper Yellow River basin. We both have had a long cultural heritage. We have always lived as peaceful neighbours.

Unfortunately, in modern times our happy relations were interrupted, against our own will. The caravan trade through the Tarim Basin in Sinkiang and the commerce between the Arabian and China Seas came to a standstill; consequently our cultural exchange could not continue. In the course of several centuries, particularly during the last, both our lands were reduced to an economically backward area, from which status we have yet to redeem ourselves. . . .

In the *Dawn* editorial. . . it was well said, "Both China and Pakistan have positive unanimities of interest, and both are faced with socio-economic problems in the solution of which each can learn a lot from the example of the other." . . . Both the Chinese and Pakistani peoples desire peace, world peace, peace that is inductive to progress. . . .

**13 Chou En-lai's address to the third session of the First National People's Congress, 28 June 1956 (Extracts)**

The Asian-African Conference furnished a very precious opportunity for the leaders of China to make extensive contacts with the leaders of many Asian and African countries. . . . The frank conversations between the Prime Ministers of China and Pakistan during the same conference also played an important part in increasing mutual understanding and improving relations between the two countries.

#### **14 China-Pakistan joint statement, 23 October 1956**

At the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China, Prime Minister Suhrawardy of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan has come on a visit to the People's Republic of China from October 18th to October 29th, 1956.

During his stay in Peking Prime Minister Suhrawardy held several talks with Premier Chou En-lai as well as with Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

During these talks there was a frank and informal exchange of views on subjects of mutual interest. The talks which covered a wide range of subjects were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and have contributed greatly to the strengthening of the friendly relations already existing between the two countries.

The Prime Ministers affirmed their determination to direct their best efforts to the maintenance of peace and to do all in their power to relax international tension. They are convinced that with goodwill and sincerity there are no international disputes that cannot be settled in a peaceful manner.

The Prime Ministers took cognizance of the contribution made at the Bandung Conference to the lessening of world tension and to the promotion of better relations among nations. They reaffirmed their faith in the Bandung resolutions and expressed their readiness to continue their efforts to promote friendly co-operation among the Asian and African countries.

As a result of the talks the two Prime Ministers have reached a further appreciation of their respective problems and are prepared to do their best on the basis of peace and justice to facilitate their settlement.

With a view further to strengthen mutual understanding and friendship between the two countries, the Prime Ministers recognized the need for the development of commercial and cultural relations as well as friendly contacts.

Prime Minister Suhrawardy has invited Premier Chou En-lai. Premier Chou En-lai has accepted the invitation with pleasure and will visit Pakistan in the near future.

#### **15 China-Pakistan joint statement, 24 December 1956**

The Prime Ministers of China and Pakistan have had occasion

to meet previously when the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited China two months ago. At these meetings, talks had taken place covering a wide range of subjects. Matters of mutual interest as well as problems of international concern were discussed. At the conclusion of these talks in Peking, a joint statement was issued which expressed the desire of both the countries to further the friendly relations existing between China and Pakistan and to promote the great cause of world peace.

The Prime Ministers have now had further opportunities, during the visit of the Prime Minister of China to Pakistan to discuss matters of mutual interest to both countries and recent international developments. These talks have been held in an atmosphere of cordiality and frankness. The Prime Ministers have noted with much concern that there has been a considerable change in the international situation since they last met. They are agreed that there has been an increase in tension and the situation requires constant vigilance and constructive action on the part of all peace-loving countries. It is absolutely essential that a climate of peace should be created. The prime ministers would like to reiterate their desire that every effort should be made to reduce international tension and to promote the cause of world peace and understanding.

The two prime ministers are of the view that the difference between the political systems of China and Pakistan and the divergence of views on many problems should not prevent the strengthening of friendship between their two countries. They reaffirm their earlier conviction that with a view to promoting further the cordial and friendly relations existing between China and Pakistan due importance should be given to commercial and cultural relations between the two countries. They are happy to place on record that there is no real conflict of interests between the two countries. They are confident that the present visit has further consolidated the bonds of friendship existing between China and Pakistan.

The two prime ministers reaffirmed their intention to continue to do their best to facilitate the settlement on the basis of peace and justice of their respective problems.

The prime ministers maintain that much good can flow from close contacts between the leaders of different countries and they will try to keep up these contacts and hold consultations

whenever possible.

**16 Premier Suhrawardy's comments on China-Ceylon joint statement, 15 February 1957**

Prime Minister Suhrawardy has informed the Chinese and Ceylonese Premiers that Pakistan did not accept their suggestion for direct talks between Pakistan and Bharat on Kashmir.

He told press correspondents in the National Assembly building yesterday that messages from Mr. Chou En-lai and Mr. Bandaranaike were received by him recently on Kashmir. These messages recommended direct talks for the solution of the Kashmir dispute.

Mr. Suhrawardy said he had sent replies to both the Premiers. A lengthy reply was cabled to the Ceylonese Premier. Mr. Suhrawardy was not sure if the message from the Chinese Premier was personal or sent through diplomatic channels.

He described the suggestion for direct talks on Kashmir as the communist and neutralist line. He, however, agreed with the observation made by a correspondent that, unlike Mr. Nehru, the Prime Ministers of China and Ceylon had accepted the existence of the dispute.

**17 Chou En-lai's report on visits to 11 countries in Asia and Europe given to the third session of the CPPCC, 5 March 1957 (Extract)**

During our stay in Pakistan, we had talks with President Iskander Mirza, Prime Minister Suhrawardy and other Pakistani leaders. Through these frank talks, our two countries have succeeded in gaining a better understanding of each other's points of view on many questions. As everybody knows, we differ on certain questions. Take the Manila treaty and the Baghdad Pact for example. Pakistan is a party to both, whereas we oppose both these treaties. Nevertheless, we expressed a common desire to promote the cause of world peace and further develop existing friendly relations between China and Pakistan.

**18 Press conference of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan,  
20 July 1957 (Extract)**

I was very interested to read in the papers today that Mr. Mao Tse-tung had made a statement that the Chinese Republic was going to be neutral in the matter of Kashmir, and that, in his view, other communist countries should also be neutral.

If that information is correct, I welcome the change at least in Communist China's policy, because upto now the statements issued by Mr. Chou En-lai have always been to the effect that Bharat and Pakistan must decide the issue among themselves, which means no decision, which means Bharat gets away with the territory which she has forcibly occupied through aggression by her Army. Therefore, I considered that attitude hostile towards Pakistan.

If Russia were to adopt a similar attitude in this case, and not help Bharat by vetoing resolutions of the Security Council, which aim at a practical solution of the dispute, then the Kashmir question will be settled immediately. It is the hostility of the Russian attitude in Security Council upto now over the sending of an international force to the cease-fire line which has been preventing demilitarisation of the Kashmir State.

**19 Article by To Sheng in *People's Daily*, 30 June 1958  
(Extracts)**

Pakistan, already chronically beset by financial and economic difficulties, is now being seriously affected by the deepening U.S. economic crises.

Since signing its military pact with the U.S. in 1954 and joining the Manila and Baghdad Pacts, Pakistan's military expenditure has mounted steadily year by year. Official figures show that the percentage of the "treasury budget" going to military expenditure increased from 56 per cent in 1954-55 to 59 per cent in recent years; this year (1958-1959) it is a thousand million rupees in round figures.

This, coupled with other factors, has led to financial deficits, inflation, grain shortages, and sharply rising prices. Now its difficulties are being further accentuated as a result of the U.S. economic crisis. The overseas dumping of surplus U.S.

goods have drastically reduced sales of Pakistan's cotton in its traditional markets. Exports of Pakistan jute, tea, leather, etc., have also dropped steeply. Furthermore, prices commanded by Pakistan exports have declined steadily. This has cut sharply into its foreign exchange earnings.

In these circumstances, various political parties and influential groups in Pakistan are demanding a change in the country's foreign and internal policies.

Industrial and business circles are also urging the government to take steps to alleviate as far as possible the effects of the western economic recession on Pakistan. A growing number of people see the maximum expansion of trade with all countries and relinquishment of the policy of militarization of the state as the only way out.

Pakistan papers are asking, "What good will adherence to military pacts bring, after all?" A number of them which supported the government's foreign policy in the past have now become critical.

Public opinion in Pakistan has concluded that U.S. "aid" does more harm than good. It has caused Pakistan's economy to go from bad to worse. The voices of those in Pakistan who favour self-reliance and oppose dependence on U.S. "aid" have become more numerous than ever.

## **20 Statement by Foreign Minister Malik Firoz Khan Noon, 8 September 1958 (Extract)**

SEATO was born against the background of the deteriorating political situation in South-East Asia and the Far East after World War II when, as a result of inspired insurrections and aggressions, the map of the Free World started shrinking. SEATO was established with the sole aim of creating an atmosphere of stability in the area so that nations could breathe freely and men and women could live and work in peace—a condition so vital for economic, social and cultural progress. Be it said to the credit of SEATO, that ever since its inception, not a single country in the area has fallen a victim to external aggression.

SEATO is not only a protective shield against all forms of aggressions, infiltration and subversion, but also a great



cooperative effort designed to bring the member countries together for raising the standard of living of their peoples. . . .

### **21 Chinese note to Pakistan, 22 September 1958**

On 22 September 1958, at a time of tension between China and the United States over Taiwan, the Chinese Foreign Office addressed a note to the Pakistan Government which, in substance, stated that, on most international issues, Pakistan had sided with America and, while China did not expect a great change in Pakistan's foreign policy, she would like to know the attitude of Pakistan as an Asian nation in the dispute over the status of Taiwan.

### **22 Pakistani reply to Chinese note of 22 September 1958, 1 October 1958 (Extracts)**

She [Pakistan] had given neither *de facto* nor *de jure* recognition to the government in Taiwan. . . . No party should take action that would threaten world as well as regional peace. . . .

'The juridical position of sovereignty over Formosa is not clear. The problem should therefore be settled by peaceful negotiations. The wishes of the local inhabitants should be given due consideration.'

### **23 People's Daily editorial on the signing of bilateral military agreements between USA and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, 7 March 1959 (Extracts)**

Like many other aggressive military agreements the United States had patched up in the past, these new agreements were negotiated under the pretext of "defence against the communist threat." But what is especially worthy of note is that this time the United States and its followers have also put forward a new idea that "resistance to any direct or indirect aggression" includes "non-communist aggression." This clearly shows that these new pacts are directed not only against the socialist countries but are, in the first place, also a threat to such nationally independent neighbouring countries as India, Iraq and Afghanistan. These new military pacts will enable the United States to

intensify its suppression of the national liberation movements, and threaten peace and security in Asia. . . .

Those Asian countries which have adhered to the U.S. policy of aggression will not improve their position by means of these military agreements. In fact these will only serve to tighten the U.S. grip on them and tie them still more closely to the U.S. war chariot. The result will be that even though they themselves have no intention of going to war, their native soil will inevitably be thrown into the holocaust of war by the U.S. war maniacs the moment the U.S. starts an aggressive war and makes use of them as advance bases. The establishment of U.S. military bases on their soil, far from bringing them greater security, is just the thing to drag them to the brink of war.

The Governments of Pakistan, Turkey and Iran, it must be pointed out, were all participants in the Bandung Conference which adopted the principles of peaceful coexistence. In signing these fresh military agreements with the United States which threaten peace and security in Asia and their neighbours in particular, they are clearly in contravention of the resolutions adopted at Bandung.

As an Asian country, and especially as a neighbour of Pakistan, China cannot but be gravely concerned about the conclusion of these military agreements. The Chinese people are resolutely opposed to the new U.S. plans of aggression against the Asian peoples. Together with the peace-loving countries and peoples, they will struggle resolutely to smash these plans for aggression.

#### **24 China's protest note to Pakistan, 21 July 1959**

From June 29 to July 5, 1959 a delegation usurping the name of "Chinese Moslem Haji Mission," led by a "Lieutenant General" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique with the permission and connivance of the Government of Pakistan arrived in Karachi and carried out there a series of activities openly slandering China and damaging Sino-Pakistan relations. The Chinese Embassy in Pakistan on July 1 raised the matter seriously with the Pakistan Foreign Ministry and demanded that the Pakistani authorities concerned stop their activities. The Pakistani Government nevertheless gave no heed and continued to allow the

elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique to carry on disruptive activities. Pakistani newspapers flagrantly carried utterances insulting China, such as the so-called statement of the "Nationalist China Haji Mission." What is more serious, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan personally received this mission of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on July 4. This line of action taken by the Pakistani Government is a serious provocation against the Chinese people and Government. The Government of the People's Republic of China hereby lodges a strong protest with the Pakistani Government against this.

The above-said attitude taken by the Pakistani Government towards the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique can in no way be regarded as fortuitous. In the past few months, the Pakistani Government has been stepping up its following of the U.S. plot to create "two Chinas" and has made repeated utterances flagrantly interfering into China's internal affairs, thus it undisguisedly shows its slight of China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the note from the Pakistani Embassy to the Chinese Government, dated October 7, 1958, the Pakistan Government even put forward an official opinion attempting to deny the People's Republic of China's sovereignty over Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. From April 7 to May 12, 1959, the Pakistani Foreign Minister and other responsible officials went so far as to make repeated utterances on the Chinese Government's putting down of the rebellion of a handful of reactionaries on its own territory of Tibet, a purely China's domestic affair,—utterances wantonly slandering China, flagrantly interfering in China's internal affairs and waging cold war in the footsteps of the United States. For these the Chinese Foreign Ministry had raised solemn protest against the Pakistani Government.

Should the Pakistani side continue to issue statements and commit acts injurious to China's sovereignty and territorial integrity as it has done repeatedly of late, the Pakistani Government must bear full responsibility for all damage thus done to Sino-Pakistani relationship.

**25 “Pakistan should think twice,” commentary by *People’s Daily Observer*, 23 July 1959 (Extracts)**

Pakistani Government’s connivance in the activities in Karachi of the so-called “Chinese Muslim *Hadj* Mission” sent by the Chiang Kai-shek clique was obviously a plot designed to undermine China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, denigrate the prestige of the Chinese people and follow more closely the U.S. scheme of creating “two Chinas.”

This was an extremely unfriendly act and a grave provocation against the Chinese people and government. Since its establishment of diplomatic relations with China in 1951, the Pakistani Government has adopted an unfriendly attitude towards China on many issues. At every session of the United Nations General Assembly, from the ninth to the thirteenth, the Pakistani delegate invariably followed the cue of the United States by voting against discussion of the question of Chinese representation. In recent years particularly, the Pakistani Government has increased its contacts with the Chiang Kai-shek clique. At the same time, responsible personnel of the Pakistani Government have on many occasions openly denied China’s territorial sovereignty over Taiwan by calling Taiwan a “country” or by placing Taiwan and what they call “mainland China” on the same footing. In the autumn of 1958 when the United States created tension in the area of China’s Taiwan Straits, the Pakistani Government in a note to China went so far as to allege that the legal position with regard to the question of sovereignty over Taiwan and Penghu was unclear. This makes clear how closely the Pakistani Government has followed the United States in its conspiracy to create “two Chinas.” Latest events show that since the Ayub Government came to power, the Pakistani Government’s hostile attitude towards China has become even worse than before.

Observer also refers to Pakistan’s very unfriendly attitude towards China on the question of Tibet. In April and May, the Pakistani Foreign Minister and other responsible officials made repeated statements at home and abroad slandering the Chinese people, interfering in China’s internal affairs, sowing discord in the relations between China and India and agitating for the cold war. While the U.S. imperialists were openly

demanding that Pakistan and India join together in opposing China, President Ayub came out personally with a proposal to India that it form a "joint defence alliance" with Pakistan. This move, has failed because of opposition from the Indian and Pakistani peoples and the condemnation it received from just-minded public opinion in the Asian countries. But it is easy to see what a vicious role the Pakistani ruling clique has been playing.

The recent intensified efforts of the Pakistani Government to pursue the U.S. "two Chinas" scheme and its hostility to the Chinese people are inseparable parts of its whole foreign policy. Since the Ayub Government came to power last year, the Pakistani Government has been following a policy of increasing dependence on the U.S. In March this year, Pakistan signed a bilateral military agreement with the U.S. under which the United States is allowed to use armed forces and establish missile bases in Pakistan, thus taking a step further in turning Pakistan into a U.S. military springboard in Southeast Asia. This agreement, seriously threatens the security of the Soviet Union, China, India, Afghanistan and other Asian countries and strengthens U.S. control over Pakistan. This policy of the Pakistani ruling clique is diametrically opposed to the interests of peace in Asia and is also opposed to the national interests of Pakistan.

The Chinese people have always attached importance to Sino-Pakistani friendly relations and waited patiently for a change for attitude by the Pakistani Government. To avoid open criticism and charges, the Chinese Government has on several occasions through diplomatic channels made friendly representations and lodged protests with the Pakistani Government. The Pakistani Government, however, has disregarded these; more than this, it has compounded its arrogance by rendering greater service to the aggressive U.S. policy of "two Chinas" and has gone to the length of conniving in anti-Chinese activities by Chiang Kai-shek agents on Pakistani soil.

Both China and Pakistan are parties to the Bandung Conference. China's Government adheres consistently to the Bandung resolutions and has always cherished the desire to maintain and develop friendly relations with Pakistan in accordance with the Bandung principles. However, it is regrettable

that, in spite of its gestures, the Pakistani Government has not worked in this same direction.

“The extremely unfriendly attitude now taken by the Pakistani Government towards the People’s Republic of China cannot but affect the development of normal relations between the two countries.” “The Pakistani Government should ‘pull up the horse before the precipice,’ reverse its hostile stand towards the Chinese people and return to the road laid down by the Bandung resolutions and the road of Sino-Pakistani friendship.”

### **26 Statement by the representative of Pakistan in the UN General Assembly on the question of Tibet, 20 October 1959**

I should like to indicate very briefly the reasons why the delegation of Pakistan will support the draft resolution jointly put forward by the Federation of Malaya and Ireland (A/L.264).

We voted for inscription of this item on the agenda because we are persuaded that the attempt to change the traditional way of life of the Tibetan people against their wishes constitutes a violation of their fundamental human rights and, as such, is a matter of legitimate concern to the international community. We believe that the smaller nations who make up the vast majority of the membership of the United Nations have a moral obligation to rouse the conscience of the world whenever there is a grave violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

We have always maintained the view that any time a Member State asks for an opportunity to place before this Organization a question within the scope of the purposes and principles of the Charter, that opportunity should not be denied. We are not persuaded by the argument that discussion of the Tibetan question will have an unfavourable effect on what has been called the peace climate. The relationship between cause and effect should not be confused. The Assembly is discussing the Tibetan question today as a result of tensions created by the recent happenings in Tibet. Our discussion has not created the Tibetan problem. This Organization cannot abdicate its moral right, indeed, its duty, to discuss such matters as are clearly cause of great concern to a large majority of

its Members.

The people of Pakistan have been greatly concerned over the unfortunate events in Tibet. The Tibetan people are our close neighbours. For hundreds of years, they have pursued their traditional way of life. They have a right to choose the way in which they wish to live. Equally, it is the duty of the rest of the world to respect their choice.

The Pakistan delegation rejects any cynical opinion that there is very little the United Nations can do about the situation in Tibet. We have an effective means at our disposal, namely, world public opinion. We believe that the pending joint draft resolution clearly expresses the true feelings of the majority of our Members. Such an expression of the public opinion of the world reflected through the United Nations must help to alleviate the plight of the Tibetan people. We consider that the Tibetan question raises above all a profound question of conscience for all Members of the United Nations.

For these reasons, we shall vote for the draft resolution.

**27 Ayub Khan's press interview with the correspondent of  
*Kayhan International* in Karachi, 9 November 1959 (Extract)**

'The subcontinent will be vulnerable to attack within five years. Chinese occupation of Tibet and road construction activities in Afghanistan pose a serious threat from the north. It is a threat that cannot be overlooked by wishful thinking.'

**28 Letter of Z.A. Bhutto, Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural  
Resources, to President Ayub Khan, 11 November 1959  
(Extracts)**

For the past several weeks, I have been anxiously concerned with the India-China situation in Ladakh and the impact it can have on our position regarding Kashmir. I noticed in the press that, during an airport interview, you were asked a question regarding this situation and you replied to the effect that it was India's problem. I do not know what exactly was the wording of your statement and whether it was accurately reported in the press.

However, even taking it as reported, your statement was, of

course, correct, both factually and from a military point of view, and I have no doubt that our friends will read it in that light. At the same time, however, it is possible that, on another occasion, India and its friends will construe, and probably use, a statement of this kind in an altogether different sense.

I would go even further and say that, in fact, it is a question not only of the statement we have made but of the entire attitude we are going to evince in the matter. The dangers that lie in our attitude as so far shown can be spelled out as follows:

- (a) We can be taken to have tacitly recognized India's authority over that part of Kashmir which she controls at present. After all, it is by virtue of the present partition of Kashmir that India controls Ladakh and is in a position to declare that China's encroachment on Ladakh is an encroachment on India itself.
- (b) The present situation can be cited by India as justifying any augmentation of forces that she might effect in Jammu and Kashmir, the contrary provisions of the UNCIP resolution notwithstanding. This augmentation of forces will include any tightening of control over Kashmir, any building of roads and airports and, in fact, any other measures that she might undertake.
- (c) We can be deemed to be stopped from saying in future that the responsibility for the preservation of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir is not that of India but of the Security Council. We have so far always taken the stand that Jammu and Kashmir is not Indian territory and, therefore, the question of its external defence is a matter for the Security Council, and the Council alone, to consider. We can now be taken to have virtually abandoned that stand.

In my humble but emphatic opinion, it seems to me that we must make some kind of an authoritative pronouncement which would effectively safeguard us against these dangers. A draft letter to the Security Council, if that is going to be the means of making this pronouncement, is under preparation in the Mission here and will be soon submitted to you.

I can assure you that, in making this suggestion, I am not



at all unmindful of the complexity of the present situation and the delicacy of our relationship with China. With as much anxious and careful thought as I am able to give to the matter, I feel that a statement, which clearly declares our stake in Kashmir, will not necessarily embroil us with China. On the contrary, it may even be that China will not react adversely to a statement from Pakistan questioning the very basis of the stand taken by India regarding Ladakh. . . .

I am taking the liberty of making this suggestion to you because, in my consultations here, I have found a great anxiety lest the present India-China situation allows the impression to settle that Pakistan no longer feels itself concerned with Jammu and Kashmir. This, of course, is only one aspect of the matter and it is for you to view it in the larger perspective which will take into account the attitude of the United States. At the present moment, however, this aspect seems to be quite important in itself. I do hope that you will not mind my taking an opportunity to make this suggestion to you.

### **29 President Ayub's speech proposing joint defence scheme with India, 19 January 1960 (Extracts)**

'I foresee China moving south through Burma and Russia through Afghanistan and Iran, if there is no clash between the two of them. . . . These moves need not necessarily be military: ideological penetration with communist-backed regimes would do.'

### **30 Pakistani Foreign Secretary's summary to the Cabinet, 24 October 1960 (Extracts)**

(a) 'At the present juncture we have no alternative but to remain friendly with the West. Having fortuitously become the strongest non-European power allied to the West, we should take advantage of the situation by not only showing but giving positive proof of our steadfastness and dependability.'

(b) 'We would have been faced with a very difficult choice: annoyance of China or annoyance of US. . . . We have had to choose between the two and the force of circumstances demanded that we backed the US.'

**31 Decisions reached at a special Pakistani cabinet meeting,  
18 November 1960 (Extracts)**

(a) 'It is true that they [the USA] have not found it possible for their own reasons to give us political support in our dispute with India. We understand their difficulty but then, because of that very reason, we have to fend for ourselves in this field. . . . This, in turn, means that we should not adopt rigid postures towards Russia or China. . . .'

(b) 'We should explain with conviction [to the United States] that in the present situation we have come to the conclusion that we should vote for the admission of the People's Republic of China at the next session. . . .'

**32 Report on border talks with China as published in *Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore*, 11 March 1961 (Extract)**

London, March 10.—Further diplomatic exchanges are taking place between Pakistan and China on the proposed demarcation of the frontier between West Pakistan and the Chinese province of Sinkiang. It is understood that in answer to Peking's enquiries Pakistan has suggested that although in view of the inaccessible nature of the territory it would not be possible physically to demarcate the frontier it would be in the interest of both parties if the boundary could be amicably agreed to and defined on the map.

The Sino-Pakistan frontier lies in the lofty mountainous region of the Hindukush and although the British Indian Government had made a number of attempts to settle the question with Chinese Governments of the day it continued to remain undefined. In the circumstances Pakistan feels that it would be better to have the frontier settled and so avoid the danger of clash between the armed patrols of the two countries.

In view of these exchanges with Peking and the recently concluded oil pact with Russia anxiety has been expressed in Western political circles. But as President Ayub has publicly declared these moves on a limited scale do not represent any fundamental changes in Pakistan's foreign policy. Nevertheless they are indicative of a rationalisation and a loosening up of

the earlier rigidity.

While Pakistan is grateful to the United States and other Western Powers for their generous economic and military aid it is no secret that the West has afforded little political assistance to Pakistan. The Western Governments thus cannot grudge—and there is no reason to believe that they do—Pakistan the freedom to secure her own political interests through exchanges of the kind that are taking place between her and the Soviet Union and China.

**33 Extract from President Ayub Khan's political autobiography, *Friends Not Masters*, concerning his conversations with the Chinese Ambassador in December 1961**

On my return from the United States in December 1961, the Chinese Ambassador came to see me. He asked for our support for the proposition that the Chinese entry into the United Nations should be decided on the basis of a simple majority rather than a two-thirds majority. I asked him about our suggestion of demarcating the undefined border between China and Pakistan. He said that was a very complicated matter. I told him that if border demarcation was a very complicated matter, China's admission to the United Nations was even more complicated. I suggested to him that we should look at the two problems on merit regardless of whether they were simple or complicated. We should be prepared to do what was right and sensible. We were supporting China's case for admission to the United Nations not to please China but because we genuinely felt that China had a right to be in the United Nations. I expressed surprise that the proposal to demarcate the border between China and Pakistan had evoked no response. I think the Chinese Ambassador was impressed by what I told him.

**34 China-Pakistan joint communique, 3 May 1962**

The Government of Pakistan and Government of Peoples' Republic of China after an exchange of views affirm that boundary between China's Sinkiang and contiguous areas defence of which is under actual control of Pakistan has never been for-

mally delimited and demarcated in history. With a view to ensuring tranquillity on border and developing good neighbourly relations between two countries, two sides have agreed to conduct negotiations so as to attain an agreed understanding of location and alignment of this boundary and to sign on this basis an agreement of a provisional nature. The two sides have further agreed that after settlement of dispute over Kashmir between Pakistan and India sovereign authorities concerned shall reopen negotiations with Chinese government regarding boundary of Kashmir so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace this provisional agreement.

### **35 President Ayub's statement on the Sino-Indian conflict, 5 November 1962**

I have held lengthy discussions with appropriate experts and advisers over the situation that has arisen through the recent conflict between our two neighbours, China and India, and its repercussions on our security and relationships.

I have also received communications on the subject from the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the Prime Minister of India. The replies to them are under preparation and will be sent in due course giving our view of the situation.

Broadly speaking, we are seriously disturbed that the differences between India and China have erupted into an armed conflict. However, we believe that the scope of this conflict, because of the terrain over which it is being waged, can perforce be limited. If it were otherwise, then the contestants would have started it with considerable campaigning period ahead of them. It was no time to start it in October when the weather conditions will progressively bring military operations to a halt.

However unfortunate this situation may be, we hope that our two neighbours will be able to settle their problem peacefully and amicably.

Our policy has been based on peace at large, specially peace with our neighbours. Unfortunately, we have so far failed to achieve this with our neighbour India through her unwillingness to reach an equitable and honourable settlement over Kashmir.

Because of this, we are both wasting resources on military preparations. These resources are sorely needed for the amelioration of the conditions of our people. I hope it is still not too late for India to realise the virtues that will follow this settlement, and the resultant benefits that will accrue to both the countries. For one thing, we shall be free from anxiety from each other and that by itself will be a very big gain.

From all accounts, a large amount of military equipment is being rushed to India from the United States of America, United Kingdom and elsewhere. For one thing, it may have the effect of enlarging and prolonging the conflict between China and India, and secondly, add to the serious concern already existing in the minds of our people that these weapons may well be used against them in the absence of an overall settlement with India.

**36 Statement by Mohammed Ali, Foreign Minister of Pakistan  
in the National Assembly, 22 November 1962 (Extracts)**

The President has summoned this Emergency Session of the National Assembly because Pakistan is face to face with a grave and critical situation. This is due to the fact that some of our Allies and friends in their wisdom have decided to rush arms equipment and military aid to India posing a threat to our safety and security.

We are disturbed over the outbreak of hostilities between two of our neighbours, India and China. We feel that this conflict stems from India's unrealistic and fallacious foreign policy. Had India sincerely based its policies on the principles of peace and good neighbourly relations which she has been proclaiming to the whole world from house tops all these years, the present conflict could have been averted. Our sincere desire is that the present border conflict between India and China should be settled peacefully and by the internationally accepted methods of conciliation, mediation or arbitration rather than by resort to brute force. We would naturally be happy if there was no enlargement of this conflict and that it was settled peacefully and as expeditiously as possible.

The rushing of large scale arms to India at an extraordinary speed instead of first exhausting all possible efforts to ensure a

negotiated settlement is a matter of regret to us and we feel that this would aggravate the situation rather than alleviate it. I speak in anguish and not in anger when I have to say that one of our Allies had promised us that we would be consulted before any arms assistance is given to India. I regret to have to observe that this was not done. In so far as other friendly and allied countries are concerned their action in arming India to the teeth is bound to have the effect of encouraging India to engage in a major conflict. This is contrary to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations to which not only Pakistan but all the peace-loving nations adhere or ought to adhere. . . .

Not only there was no declaration of war on the part of India against China or by China against India, but normal diplomatic relations continue to exist. The Embassies of both countries are still functioning. All this led us to the conviction that India was not engaged in any major conflict with China but the conflict was a localized one restricted to the area under dispute.

Mr. Speaker, it has been always our considered opinion that the conflict arose out of a border dispute and did not reflect a clash of political ideology as the Western countries appear to think. I am happy to say that our appreciation in this regard has been completely vindicated by China's declaration of cessation of hostilities. I am also happy to say that this appreciation which the President conveyed to the United States and the United Kingdom has turned out to be correct in every sense. The Chinese have reaffirmed their willingness to withdraw 12 kilometres behind the line of actual control which existed on 7th November 1959. We cannot but applaud this action on the part of China. It is an act of great statesmanship on the part of the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, and his associates and an evidence of their sincere desire to limit this conflict to the settlement of the border dispute. We sincerely and strongly feel that it is the bounden duty of all the peace-loving nations to encourage now the possibilities of a settlement and to ensure that the present boundary conflict is not permitted to enter a new phase as a result of a massive supply of arms now being rushed into India from outside. Without entering into the issue ourselves, it will be pertinent here to point out that in regard

to the Chinese Government's refusal to subscribe to the validity of the McMahon Line even the Kuomintang regime in Formosa is in complete agreement with the stand taken by the People's Republic of China and has, therefore, protested to the Government of the United States when they announced their recognition of the McMahon Line.

While we have been advocating a peaceful and negotiated settlement between India and China and deprecating any extension of hostilities, we must however point out that by keeping the bulk of her Armed Forces poised against us on our borders India has adopted a strange method of resisting the Chinese. It was therefore crystal clear to us that India was making a mountain out of a mole hill and was raising Cain in order to bamboozle the Anglo-American Powers into giving her military supplies.

Mr. Speaker, we have reason to be alarmed, disturbed and seriously perturbed over the rapid build up of India's military strength. In the absence of any concrete action or positive step on India's part to resolve the outstanding disputes and differences between us it is but natural for us to apprehend that at any time Indian leadership might utilise her increased might to grab Azad Kashmir or some other part of our territory.

### **37 Announcement about the Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement, 26 December 1962**

Pakistan and the People's Republic of China have reached complete agreement in principle in regard to the alignments of the common border of China's Sinkiang and of the contiguous areas, the defence of which is the responsibility of Pakistan.

### **38 China-Pakistan joint communique, 28 December 1962**

Talks were started in Peking on October 12, 1962 between the diplomatic representatives of the People's Republic of China and the diplomatic representatives of Pakistan in pursuance of the decision of the two Governments on conducting negotiations through diplomatic channels on the question of the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the control of Pakistan.

Upon reaching agreed views on the procedural matters concerning the talks, the representatives of the two parties exchanged plain topographical maps, which were checked technically by map experts of both parties and on which an agreed understanding was attained. Following that, the two parties exchanged maps showing the boundary line and held formal meetings as well as friendly consultations in a spirit of equality, cooperation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. And now an agreement in principle has been reached on the location and alignment of the boundary actually existing between the two countries.

The two parties are highly satisfied with the speedy attainment of the agreement in principle on the boundary question left over by history, and mutually agree that the proposed boundary agreement between the two countries should be signed on this basis as soon as possible.

The boundary agreement fully safeguards the rights and interests of both the countries and demonstrates efficacy of negotiation as a peaceful method of resolving international disputes on the basis of mutual respect and goodwill.

### **39 *People's Daily* editorial on the growth of Sino-Pakistan friendship, 29 December 1962 (Extracts)**

The joint communique of the Chinese and Pakistan Governments on the agreement in principle on the location of the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the control of Pakistan marks a new starting point in the development of friendship between China and Pakistan as well as a new important victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. . . .

The areas which adjoin China and the defence of which is under the control of Pakistan involve Kashmir whose possession is still being disputed by India and Pakistan. China has always adopted a position of non-intervention in Kashmir question and has always sincerely hoped that the two sister countries, India and Pakistan, would settle the question through consultation without intervention by outsiders. In view of the specific situation of Kashmir, China and Pakistan announced at the very outset of the boundary negotiations



that the boundary agreement would be only a provisional agreement and that after the question of Kashmir's possession was solved, the sovereign authorities concerned would conduct fresh negotiations with the Chinese Government on the question of Kashmir's boundary to sign a formal boundary treaty in place of the provisional agreement. This arrangement is extremely fair and just and should be welcomed by all quarters concerned. . . .

The Chinese Government and people have always stood for settling the boundary questions left over by history between China and its neighbours in Asia through peaceful negotiations. In this spirit, China has successfully settled its boundary questions with Burma and Nepal and has now reached an agreement in principle with Pakistan. This fully testifies to the sincere desire of the Chinese Government and people for peace and amity with their neighbours.

#### **40 Boundary Agreement between China and Pakistan, 2 March 1963**

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Pakistan,

Having agreed, with a view to ensuring the prevailing peace and tranquility on the border to formally delimit and demarcate the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan, in a spirit of fairness, reasonableness, mutual understanding and mutual accomodation, and on the basis of the Ten Principles as enunciated in the Bandung Conference;

Being convinced that this would not only give full expression to the desire of the peoples of China and Pakistan for the development of good neighbourly and friendly relations, but also help safeguard Asian and world peace;

Have resolved for this purpose to conclude the present Agreement and have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries the following;

For the Government of the People's Republic of China: Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

For the Government of Pakistan: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister of External Affairs;

Who, having mutually examined their full powers and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following;

#### ARTICLE I

In view of the fact that the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan has never been formally delimited, the two Parties agree to delimit it on the basis of the traditional customary boundary line including natural features and in a spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly cooperation.

#### ARTICLE II

One. In accordance with the principle expounded in Article I of the present Agreement, the two Parties have fixed, as follows, the alignment of the entire boundary line between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan:

(1) Commencing from its northwestern extremity at Height 5630 metres (a peak, the reference co-ordinates of which are approximately longitude 74 degrees 34 minutes E and latitude 37 degrees 03 minutes N), the boundary line runs generally eastward and then southeastward strictly along the main watershed between the tributaries of the Tashkurgan River of the Tarim River system on the one hand and the tributaries of the Hunza River of the Indus River system on the other hand, passing through the Kilik Daban (Dawan), the Mintaka Daban (Pass), the Kharchanai Daban (named on the Chinese map only), the Mutsjilga Daban (named on the Chinese map only), and the Parpik Pass (named on the Pakistan map only), and reaches the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass).

(2) After passing through the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass) the boundary line runs generally southward along the above-mentioned main watershed upto a mouniain-top south of this daban (pass), where it leaves the main watershed to follow the crest of a spur lying generally in a southeasterly direction, which is the watershed between the Akjilga River (a nameless corresponding river on the Pakistan map) on the one hand, and the Taghdumbash (Oprang) River and the Keliman Su (Oprang Jilga) on the other hand. According to the map of the Chinese

side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, runs along a small section of the middle line of the bed of the Keliman Su to reach its confluence with the Kelechin River. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, reaches the sharp bend of the Shaksgam or Muztagh River.

(3) From the aforesaid point, the boundary line runs up the Kelechin River (Shaksgam or Muztagh River) along the middle line of its bed to its confluence (reference co-ordinates approximately longitude 76 degrees 02 minutes E and latitude 36 degrees 26 minutes N) with the Shorbulak Daria (Shimshal River or Braldu River).

(4) From the confluence of the aforesaid two rivers, the boundary line, according to the map of the Chinese side, ascends the crest of a spur and runs along it to join the Karakoram Range main watershed at a mountain-top (reference co-ordinates approximately longitude 75 degrees 54 minutes E and latitude 36 degrees 15 minutes N), which on this map is shown as belonging to the Shorbulak Mountain. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line from the confluence of the above mentioned two rivers ascends the crest of a corresponding spur and runs along it, passing through Height 6520 metres (21, 390 feet) till it joins the Karakoram Range main watershed at a peak (reference co-ordinates approximately longitude 75 degrees 57 minutes E and latitude 36 degrees 03 minutes N).

(5) Thence, the boundary line, running generally southward and then eastward, strictly follows Karakoram Range main watershed which separates the Tarim River drainage system from the Indus River drainage system, passing through the east Mustagh Pass (Muztagh Pass), the top of the Chogri Peak (K2) the top of the Broad Peak, the top of the Gasherbrum Mountain (8068), the Indirakoli Pass (named on the Chinese map only) and the top of the Teram Kangri Peak, and reaches its southeastern extremity at the Karakoram Pass.

Two. The alignment of the entire boundary line, as described in Section One of this Article, has been drawn on the 1/one million scale map of the Chinese side in Chinese and the 1/one million scale map of the Pakistan side in English, which are signed and attached to the present Agreement.

Three. In view of the fact that the maps of the two sides are

not fully identical in their representation of topographical features, the two parties have agreed that the actual features on the ground shall prevail, so far as the location and alignment of the boundary described in Section One is concerned; and that they will be determined as far as possible by joint survey on the ground.

#### ARTICLE III

The two Parties have agreed that

One. Wherever the boundary follows a river, the middle line of the river bed shall be the boundary line; and that

Two. Wherever the boundary passes through a daban (pass), the water-parting line thereof shall be the boundary line.

#### ARTICLE IV

One. The two Parties have agreed to set up, as soon as possible, a joint boundary demarcation commission. Each side will appoint a chairman, one or more members and a certain number of advisers and technical staff. The joint boundary demarcation commission is charged with the responsibility, in accordance with the provisions of the present Agreement, to hold concrete discussions on and carry out the following tasks jointly:

(1) To conduct necessary surveys of the boundary area on the ground, as stated in Article II of the present Agreement, so as to set up boundary markers at places considered to be appropriate by the two Parties and to delineate the boundary line on the jointly prepared accurate maps.

(2) To draft a protocol setting forth in detail the alignment of the entire boundary line and the location of all the boundary markers and prepare and get printed detailed maps, to be attached to the protocol, with the boundary line and the location of the boundary markers shown on them.

Two. The aforesaid protocol, upon being signed by the representatives of the Governments of the two countries, shall become an annex to the present Agreement, and the detailed maps shall replace the maps attached to the present Agreement.

Three. Upon the conclusion of the above-mentioned proto-

col, the tasks of the joint boundary demarcation commission shall be terminated.

#### ARTICLE V

The two Parties have agreed that any dispute concerning the boundary which may arise after the delimitation of the boundary line actually existing between the two countries shall be settled peacefully by the two Parties through friendly consultations.

#### ARTICLE VI

The two Parties have agreed that after the settlement of the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authority concerned will reopen negotiations with the Government of the People's Republic of China on the boundary, as described in Article II of the present Agreement, so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace the present Agreement, provided that, in the event of that sovereign authority being Pakistan, the provisions of the present Agreement and of the aforesaid protocol shall be maintained in the formal boundary treaty to be signed between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan.

#### ARTICLE VII

The present Agreement shall come into force on the date of its signature.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the second day of March, 1963, in the Chinese and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

#### **41 Speech by Chen Yi at the banquet, 3 March 1963 (Extracts)**

The Governments of China and Pakistan today solemnly signed a boundary agreement and the people of all circles of our Capital have held a grand rally in celebration of this. The signing of this agreement constitutes an important milestone in China-Pakistan friendship. It not only marks new stage in the development of friendly relations between China and Pakistan, but makes an important contribution to the cause of Asian-African solidarity. . . .

China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours. The friendly relations between China and Pakistan have been steadily developed since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, and particularly in the past few years. This is the result of the common efforts of our two Governments and peoples. It is particularly worth mentioning that since Field Marshall Ayub Khan assumed the Presidency, the Pakistan Government in defiance of outside pressure, has voted for the restoration to China of its lawful seat in the United Nations, and now it has resolutely signed with China the boundary agreement.

These wise and bold actions demonstrate that the Pakistan Government has adhered to its policy of safeguarding national independence and China-Pakistan friendship.

#### **42 China-Pakistan joint communique, 4 March 1963 (Extract)**

1. In the talks, the representatives of the two Governments reviewed the development of friendly relations between China and Pakistan since the establishment of diplomatic relations between them. They were particularly satisfied at the fact that the Governments of China and Pakistan, in the spirit of equality, co-operation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, have settled the question of the boundary actually existing between the two countries through friendly consultations and have signed the Boundary Agreement. This demonstrated that friendly consultation, on the basis of mutual respect and goodwill, is the effective way to settle boundary differences and other international issues. They expressed their conviction that the conclusion of the Boundary Agreement has a significant bearing on the consolidation and development of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Pakistan, and has contributed to the consolidation of peace in Asia and in the world.

2. The representatives of the two Governments reaffirmed their belief in the national sovereignty and equality of all countries and in the basic right of all peoples to decide their own destinies in accordance with their free will. They expressed a common desire to promote cooperation between China and Pakistan on the basis of equality, and non-interference in each

other's internal affairs.

3. With regard to the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, the Pakistan Minister of External Affairs reiterated that Pakistan has consistently worked and will continue to strive for an equitable and honourable settlement of this dispute with India through peaceful negotiations. The Chinese Government expressed its appreciation of the attitude of the Pakistan Government in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute and was of the belief that expeditious settlement of this question would be conducive to peace in Asia and in the world.

4. With regard to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, the representatives of the two Governments expressed the hope that a fair and reasonable settlement would be achieved through direct negotiations between China and India. The Chinese Government reiterated that there would be no change in the Chinese Government's determination to strive for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations.

#### **43 President Ayub's telegram to Chairman Liu Shao-chi on the Sino-Pakistan Boundary Agreement, 4 March 1963**

I acknowledge with sincere thanks Your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the signing of the boundary Agreement between your great country and mine.

The conclusion of this Agreement has given deep satisfaction to the people of Pakistan, my Government and myself personally. The event has been made possible by the spirit of moderation, mutual respect for historic rights and national interests and a sincere desire for good neighbourly relations that have characterised the approach of both sides to the boundary negotiations. I entirely share your conviction that the Agreement is a positive contribution to the peace of Asia and the world. The People's Republic of China and Pakistan have promoted the purposes and principles of the Charter of the U.N. and demonstrated the efficacy of peaceful procedure of settlement of international problems, which the Charter enjoins on all nations, great and small.

I fully reciprocate your belief that the consummation of the Boundary Agreement is a significant landmark in the history of

friendly relations between our two peoples. I look forward to the strengthening and further development of these relations in the cause of world peace and the well-being of all peoples.

#### **44 Chou En-lai's interview with the correspondent of Associated Press of Pakistan, 31 March 1963 (Extracts)**

Living together for 14 years, China and Pakistan have established relations of peace and friendship. We both wanted to settle the boundary question and fix the boundary in the form of an agreement. When the question of the ownership of Kashmir is settled by India and Pakistan in future, China will sign a formal boundary treaty with the sovereign authority concerned. . . .

The Pakistan Government did not go by MacDonald's territorial claim. This shows that Pakistan wishes to establish friendly relations with China. It has adopted an attitude of equality and fairness.

The Indian Government is trying to use a British imperialist claim to incite the Pakistan and Indian peoples to support its policy of taking over the legacy of expansionism of the British Empire. A comparison will show clearly who is assuming the unseemly position of an aggressor and expansionist. . . .

*Question:* How do you look at the Sino-Pakistan relations in view of the suggestions made in the Press abroad that the Sino-Pakistan friendship is contradictory to Pakistan's membership of the pacts, specially of the SEATO and because Pakistan receives aid from the United States?

*Premier Chou-En-lai:* We do not deny that there is a certain contradiction. It is precisely for this reason that development of friendly relations between China and Pakistan has been a process of gradual accumulation. Shortly after the founding of new China, China and Pakistan established relations of mutual recognition. Later, through the efforts of Gen. Raza during his tenure of office as the first Pakistan Ambassador to China, a preliminary understanding was established between us. At the Bandung Conference, the Prime Ministers of the two countries met, and later they exchanged visits. The mutual understanding between our two countries was thus further enhanced. After the formation of SEATO in 1954, the Pakistan Government often declared to the Chinese Government that its participation in



that organisation was not for the purpose of being hostile to China and would not prejudice Pakistan's friendship for China. Since President Mohammed Ayub Khan assumed leadership of your country as your president, facts have further proved that Pakistan's policy towards China is one of friendship and not one of hostility.

Not long ago, in the United Nations Pakistan cast its vote in support of restoration of new China's rightful position in the United Nations, and did not support the US position of retaining the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the United Nations. The most striking proof is the conclusion of the Sino-Pakistan boundary agreement. In disregard of India's position and US pressure, Pakistan resolutely took the initiative to sign the boundary agreement with China. Thus, we have further understood that Pakistan is genuinely desirous of maintaining friendly and good-neighbourly relations with China.

As for China's desire for friendship with Pakistan, it has been consistent throughout the past 14 years. Even when we were on friendly terms with India, we took an attitude of non-involvement in the Kashmir issue. We have always cherished the hope that India and Pakistan would settle the Kashmir issue and other issues between them in a friendly way. We hope to see an independent and strong Pakistan. We are now on friendly terms with Pakistan, but we have not given up our desire for friendship with India. We also hope to see friendship between India and Pakistan.

The relations between the United States and India have undergone a great change since the South-East Asian Treaty was signed. After the Geneva Conference on the Indo-China question, India still made a show of peace and neutrality. At that time, the United States chose Pakistan, Thailand and other countries to form SEATO, which parades as an anti-Communist and anti-China military alliance. But the facts in the past few years show that Pakistan has not acted in accordance with US wishes. Pakistan wishes to be friendly and not hostile to China. On the other hand, India's so-called peace and neutrality are only a facade.

In substance, India has been displeased with China from the time of China's peaceful liberation of Tibet. After that, in 1956-57 the Dalai Lama visited India, in 1959 Tibetan serf-owners

launched a rebellion and the Dalai Lama ran away, and the Sino-Indian boundary question became tense. Beginning from 1959 India has taken the lead in the anti-China campaign in South Asia. Particularly since the Sino-Indian border conflict broke out last year, the United States looked upon India, which keeps a cloak of non-alignment, as its best ally. Not counting the military aid given to it during the past half year, the United States has given India various aids adding up to 6.4 billion dollars, most of which was given to it after 1959. This massive aid is more than that received by any other country in Asia, Africa and Latin America from the United States.

The aid received by Pakistan cannot at all be compared with it. In my opinion, in the near future, US military assistance aid to India will definitely surpass that to Pakistan. Therefore, the situation has changed; it is now characterised by the fact that non-aligned India has become an aligned country, best appreciated by the United States in South Asia, while Pakistan, which is a US ally is regarded by the United States as a more or less non-aligned country. Of course, the United States will not yet give up Pakistan. It will still use Pakistan to check India. Looking at it from this angle, for a time the United States will not yet withdraw its aid to Pakistan. . . .

No matter how we look at it, the relation between China and Pakistan will continue to develop. Our political, economic and cultural relations will all continue to develop. We particularly appreciate the fact that. . . the Pakistan Government has come to see that the national independence and economic development of a country depends mainly on its own efforts and not on foreign aid. It is all right to accept foreign aid on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. But one must not allow the aiding country to enjoy any special privileges, or any conditions interfering in the domestic affairs of the recipient to be attached. We note that the Pakistan people and Government have gradually made clear their stand on this point. . . .

India wants to get arms from the United States to satisfy its expansionist ambitions. I am of the opinion that the more India relies on the United States and the more arms it gets, the more isolated will it be in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world. To my mind, the Asian, African and Latin American countries and people will change their view about India and

Pakistan. The steps taken by President Ayub to sign the boundary agreement with China has changed the view of many people in the world. Pakistan will make more and more friends in the future, while India will become more and more isolated.

China has many friends in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the relations between the Western countries and China are also changing. The relations between China on the one hand and Japan, Britain and some other countries on the other hand are changing.

What they term our fourth difficulty is presumably the differences within the Socialist camp. India's attempt to take advantage of these differences is futile. It is inconceivable that a socialist country would openly help India fight China when India should start an aggressive war against China. If it really does so, how could it still be considered a socialist country?

#### **45 Foreign Minister Bhutto's statement in the National Assembly of Pakistan, 17 July 1963 (Extract)**

India did not really fear Chinese aggression because India knew, as well as the rest of us, that the conflict with China was no more than a border clash brought upon by India's own impetuosity. That being the situation, India actually wanted to augment its resources and strength, not so much against Communist China, but against the country which it has declared to be her enemy No. 1. We are, therefore, today on the threshold of a very important and a very delicate period in our national life. How best we can maintain our security and national integrity is a matter which is seriously engaging the attention of the Government. But we know this much, and this much can be said, that, God forbid, if there was to be a clash, if India in her frustration turned her guns against Pakistan, the international situation is such today that Pakistan would not be alone in that conflict. That conflict does not involve Pakistan alone. An attack from India on Pakistan is no longer confined to the security and territorial integrity of Pakistan. An attack by India on Pakistan involves the territorial integrity and security of the largest State in Asia and, therefore, this new element and this new factor brought in the situation is a very important element and a very important

factor. I would not at this stage like to elucidate any further on this matter, but suffice to say that the national interest of another State itself is involved in an attack on Pakistan because that State and other States have known India's aggressive intentions, how India is readily capable of embarking on aggression against other countries. Therefore, a subjugated Pakistan or a defeated Pakistan is not only something which is inimical to the people of Pakistan, a question of annihilation for us; it also poses a serious threat to other countries in Asia and particularly to the largest State in Asia. So from that point of view, I think we can safely say that everything is being done to protect our national interest and territorial integrity.

#### **46 Bhutto's statement in the National Assembly, 24 July 1963**

**(Extract)**

It has been stated that we missed a golden opportunity to settle the Kashmir question when there was fighting between China and India. I think that is a very irresponsible and short-sighted view. As I have said, by our tireless efforts and by our constant endeavours, we have made the Kashmir problem again. We have brought it down from the shelf to which it had been relegated.

To take advantage of the Sino-Indian conflict, India is determined to exaggerate its nature and extent. India's main aim of course is to acquire arms for purposes other than a war with China. In pursuit of that aim a war hysteria has been created in India. Economic policies have been adopted which bear heavily upon the common man. . . .

India has deprived Kashmir of its peace, tranquility and security and turned it into a theatre of war against the People's Republic of China. These are important considerations which should be taken account of in the settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

#### **47 Bhutto's reply to Chou En-lai's letter of 2 August 1963, 1 September 1963 (Extract)**

The Government of Pakistan has given its careful consideration to the initiative of the Chinese People's Republic to convene

a world conference at the heads of government level to address itself to a most important component of disarmament, namely the question of prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

5. In the view of my government, it is a paramount duty of all peace-loving states to assist in efforts to reach this objective as part of a scheme of comprehensive and universal disarmament for the fate of all mankind hinges on this issue.

6. Pakistan, therefore, welcomes and supports Your Excellency's proposal.

**48 President Ayub's speech at the banquet given in honour of Chou En-lai, 20 February 1964 (Extracts)**

Relations between Pakistan and the People's Republic of China have happily been always cordial. History and geography have provided our two countries with links which provide a sound basis for good neighbourly relations in the interests of our two peoples. . . .

Not only is there no evidence of any wars or disputes between our two countries but that we have inherited rich traditions of goodwill and friendship on which to lay the foundations of our relationship today. Recent developments indicate that we are moving in the direction indicated by our history and by the will of our people. The signing of the Pakistan-China Boundary Agreement last year was a notable milestone in this respect as it demonstrated the mutual desire of our two countries to eliminate potential causes of friction and pave the way for the further development of friendly relations.

I am happy to note that trade between Pakistan and China is growing and that contacts between our peoples through the exchange of cultural and other delegations have also increased. When direct air service will begin between Pakistan and China on the basis of the recently concluded air agreement, our countries will come still closer to each other. . . .

As almost eight years have passed since the Bandung Conference, and many new independent countries have since emerged, particularly in Africa, we favour the convening of a second conference of Asian and African countries. . . .

We are of the view that this world organization will not be fully representative of mankind unless the People's Republic of

China, which represents almost one-fourth of the human race takes its rightful place in it. We hope that before long the People's Republic of China will be admitted to the U.N. to play its part as a major power in its Councils. . . .

By concluding boundary agreement with several of its neighbours in the spirit of give and take, the People's Republic of China has demonstrated its desire to arrive at a peaceful settlement of international differences through negotiation. We believe that the Sino-India boundary dispute can also be resolved through peaceful negotiations. Massive military preparations have never been the answer to international differences; they only create new tensions and bring added economic miseries to needy people.

#### **49 China-Pakistan joint communique on Premier Chou En-lai's visit to Pakistan, 23 February 1964**

The Prime Minister had a friendly exchange of views with the President of Pakistan. Their discussions covered the general international situation and the need for safeguarding world peace and, in that context, the importance of achieving general disarmament, including the total prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. They also reviewed the recent developments in this region and arrived at a fuller understanding of matters of common interest to the two countries.

The Prime Minister and the President expressed satisfaction at the fact that the relations between the two countries had developed further since the Prime Minister's last visit to Pakistan in 1956, particularly since the signing of the China-Pakistan Boundary Agreement in March 1963. They agreed that friendly co-operation between them should continue within the framework of the Ten Principles of peace enunciated at Bandung.

The Prime Minister and the President were gratified to note that the movement for national independence had made rapid progress in Asia and Africa and that in recent years many countries had achieved freedom and were now well on the road to independent development. They expressed their firm opposition to colonialism wherever and in whatever form it exists and hoped that it would soon be eradicated.

The Prime Minister and the President recalled that the First

Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in 1955 had opened new avenues of co-operation among the peoples of Asia and Africa and helped to strengthen the forces of national independence in their struggle against colonialism. Since that historic conference, more than 30 new nations had emerged in Asia and Africa and it was therefore time that a second conference of Asian and African countries should be convened. Such a conference could make a valuable contribution to the prevention of aggression, the striving for world peace and the development of friendly co-operation among the Asian-African countries.

The Prime Minister and the President noted with satisfaction the fact that many newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa had been admitted to the United Nations. They believed however that the United Nations could not be considered to be fully representative of mankind until the rightful place of the People's Republic of China in the organization was restored. They agreed that, in any event, as the membership of the United Nations had more than doubled since its foundation, it is necessary to give more adequate representation to the countries of Asia and Africa in the organs of the United Nations and in the specialised agencies.

The Prime Minister and the President agreed that the border dispute between India and China should and can be resolved peacefully through negotiations. They expressed the hope that the Kashmir dispute would be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan. It would be of no avail to deny the existence of these disputes and to adopt a big-nation chauvinistic attitude of imposing one's will on others. Massive military preparations have never been the answer to international differences; they only create new tensions and bring added burdens to the people. An early settlement of these disputes they considered was necessary in the interest of world peace and the well-being of the people of Asia.

On behalf of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and in his own name, Premier Chou En-lai extended an invitation to President Mohammad Ayub Khan to visit the People's Republic of China at a time convenient to him. The President accepted this invitation with pleasure.

### **50 Chou En-lai's speech at a special session of the West Pakistan Provincial Assembly, 24 February 1964 (Extracts)**

We are glad to see that in recent years the Pakistan people have carried out unremitting struggles and won many victories in defending their national independence and state sovereignty and in opposing foreign pressure and threats. The Pakistan Government and people have made positive contributions to the strengthening of Asian-African solidarity. Pakistan is making more and more friends, and its international status is rising with each passing day. . . .

President Ayub Khan has stated on several occasions that in order to attain self-reliance and self-sufficiency in economy, it is necessary to learn to rely increasingly on one's own resources. This expresses that earnest desire of the Pakistan people to build up their motherland in accordance with their own independent will.

Pakistan has a population of 100 million and has rich natural resources. We believe that through perseverance in its independent policy and the strengthening of its friendly co-operation with Asian-African countries, Pakistan can surely build up its own national economy. Nobody can prevent such a country from advancing along an independent path. An independent, prosperous and strong Pakistan will surely make greater contributions to the cause of world peace. . . .

In recent years, the Pakistan Government has opposed the imperialist plot to create "two Chinas" and stood for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. The Pakistan Government and public opinion have righteously refuted the slanders made by the forces hostile to China and pointed out that China is a peace-loving country. This constitutes a valuable support to China for which the Chinese Government and people would like to express their sincere gratitude. The Chinese Government and people in their turn firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to defend their national independence and state sovereignty. . . .



**51 Chou En-lai's press conference in Dacca, 25 February 1964  
(Extract)**

A correspondent of a U.S. magazine asked Premier Chou En-lai what his opinion was in regard to President Ayub Khan's views concerning SEATO and CENTO? Premier Chou En-lai replied: In initiating and organizing the Southeast Asian military alliance, the U.S. Government's aim is wholly aggressive and it has sabotaged peace in this region. But President Ayub Khan has explained that Pakistan's aim in joining in this treaty organization was defence, not aggression against others. The Government of Pakistan has, on several occasions, explained its position to the Chinese Government. Particularly after President Ayub Khan took office, many of the actions of the Pakistan Government in international affairs as well as its friendship with China have confirmed this; that is why we have confidence in the Pakistan Government's explanations. As to the U.S. Government, just a glance at its acts of sabotaging peace in Southeast Asia and particularly its armed aggression against the Southern part of Viet Nam tells one how the U.S. Government has been making use of this military alliance. This is a contradiction existing at present.

**52 "Pakistan makes its choice," Peking Review commentary,  
5 July 1964 (Extracts)**

Let the American loan suspension go hang. That was how Pakistan reacted when Washington decided to withhold previously agreed upon credits for the construction of a modern airport at Dacca in East Pakistan. The suspension, which came immediately after Pakistan and China agreed to open an international airline between the two countries, was aimed at wrecking the agreement. But the American global strategists miscalculated.

In Karachi, a spokesman of the Ministry of Defence announced on June 10 that Pakistan would do without the American loan and build the airport with its own funds. A budget allocation, he said, for both foreign exchange outlay and rupee expenditure has been made and the project would be completed by the middle of 1967. By dispensing with the

American loan Pakistan need not, as otherwise it must under the original commitment, purchase all essential materials from the United States and engage American technical consultants. Now, besides other advantages from self-help, the project will cost less. . . .

When the choice had to be made between national pride and the American dole with all its accompanying insolence and insults, Pakistan preferred to uphold the honour of its people. Like Indonesia and Cambodia which only yesterday threw American "aid" back in the teeth of its "donors," Pakistan, by deciding to resist American pressure and build with its own resources, shows that self-reliance is a weapon which can help the new emerging countries safeguard their national independence.

**53 "Washington's pressure scorned," *Peking Review* commentary, 18 September 1964 (Extracts)**

In a recent issue of the Pakistan *Sunday Post* there is an article that discusses the withdrawal by the American Government of a subsidy from a milk plant project in Karachi. It is another case of the open blackmail practised by the United States in its relations with countries that receive American "aid" but choose to follow an independent foreign policy. For sometime, Washington had been putting pressure on the Pakistan Government to change its line of action in the international sphere. A concrete example of this was the withdrawal of American "aid" to build a new airport in Dacca earlier in the year. The people of Pakistan scorned this pressure by deciding to carry on the project with their own hands. They propose to do the same with the milk plant. Like President Sukarno who rebuffed similar American pressure on Indonesia, they may well say, "To hell with American 'aid'!" . . .

This independent course in foreign affairs has time and again received attention in the statements made by Pakistan Government spokesman. . . . Aid or no aid, said Abdul Sabur Khan, the Minister of Communications, Pakistan will adhere to a foreign policy which enables it to enjoy self-respect in international affairs.

**54 Ayub's reply to Chou En-lai's letter of 17 October 1964,  
2 December 1964 (Extracts)**

The Government of Pakistan has taken note of the statement issued on October 16, by the Chinese Government, and welcomes the commitment that China will never be the first to use nuclear weapons and that the Chinese Government will continue to work for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

Your Excellency is no doubt aware of the views of the government of Pakistan on the necessity of associating China with all efforts for disarmament and of restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations under whose aegis disarmament negotiations are being held. We believe that the acquisition of nuclear capability by China further reinforces the arguments in favour of China's participation in the U.N. and its organs to make the working of this organization for the safeguarding of world peace truly meaningful. . . .

The government of Pakistan once again welcomes and reaffirms its support to the proposal for a summit conference of all countries of the world in order to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

The government of Pakistan hopes that the proposal would evoke a positive response among the governments of the world, and particularly among the great powers who have a special responsibility for the maintenance of world peace through the achievement of universal and comprehensive disarmament under effective international control.

Should this hope not be fulfilled under the present international situation, the proposal of the Chinese government could well be taken up at the 2nd Asian-African Conference.

**55 Premier Chou En-lai's Report on the Work of the  
Government at the First Session of the Third National  
People's Congress, 21-22 December 1964 (Extract)**

In recent years the Pakistani Government has pursued an independent policy, and in spite of obstruction from various quarters, it has persisted in developing friendly relations with

China and other Asian and African countries. This accords with the interests of the Pakistani people and with those of Asian-African solidarity.

### **56 China-Pakistan joint communique, 7 March 1965 (Extract)**

Frank, sincere and friendly talks were held between President Ayub Khan and Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai on the present international situation, the further development of the relations of friendly co-operation between China and Pakistan and other matters of common interest. Both parties were highly satisfied with the results of the talks.

The two parties held that the people of all countries are fully entitled to choose independently their own political and social systems, free from outside interference and pressure.

They were of the firm conviction that so long as the Asian and African countries adhere in earnest to the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, friendly co-operation can be established and developed between them irrespective of the differences in their social systems. The close neighbourly relations that exist between China and Pakistan conclusively demonstrate the vitality of these principles of State conduct in international relations.

The two parties noted with pleasure the completion of the work of boundary demarcation in accordance with the boundary agreement, concluded between the two countries in March 1963.

They were pleased that this task had been carried out by the Joint China-Pakistan Boundary Commission in a spirit of unflinching friendship and co-operation and the China-Pakistan boundary protocol is to be signed shortly in Pakistan by the two Foreign Ministers.

The two parties were of the view that the development of the national economies of the Asian and African countries and the well-being of their peoples on the basis of self-reliance and the carrying out of mutual assistance and co-operation among them, in keeping with their respective productive capacities and in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, will help promote a rapid upsurge in their economies and the standard of living of their peoples.

Both parties held that the attainment of economic independence is an important condition for Asian and African countries to maintain and consolidate their political independence.

It was agreed that an agreement on cultural co-operation should be signed between the two countries as soon as possible.

The two parties expressed satisfaction over the growth of friendly relations between China and Pakistan. They reiterated their determination to continue to develop friendly co-operation between the two countries in the spirit of the ten principles of the Bandung Conference and agreed that this would be in accord with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and conducive to the maintenance of peace and security in Asia.

The two parties agreed that colonialism and racial discrimination in all forms constituted obstacles to national independence and world peace. These obstacles must be completely eradicated in the interest of mankind.

They expressed firm support for the national independence movements and the struggles against imperialism and all forms of colonialism in Asia and Africa.

They were convinced that Asian-African solidarity has become a great force for the complete liquidation of imperialism and all forms of colonialism and for the development of international relations on the basis of equality of States, both large and small, the consolidation of world peace and lasting friendship between the people of the world.

Both parties considered it necessary to hold a summit conference of all countries to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. They expressed opposition to the schemes to introduce nuclear weapons into the Indian Ocean, because this would pose a threat to the independence and security of the countries concerned, aggravate tension in the Indian Ocean area and South-East Asia and undermine Asian-African solidarity.

The two parties agreed that the continuation of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute was against the interests of the peoples of China and India. They expressed the hope that the dispute would be settled through peaceful negotiations. They stressed that in handling disputes of this kind between Asian-African countries to adopt an attitude of big nation chauvinism to intimidate neighbouring countries and to embark on a

policy of arms expansion and war preparations by exploiting such disputes, would, far from being conducive to their settlement, further impair relations, between them and the solidarity of Asian and African countries.

The President of Pakistan reaffirmed his support to the immediate restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and all its organs. He reiterated Pakistan's opposition to the schemes for creating "two Chinas". The two parties held that the United Nations should reorganise itself in order to better reflect the balance of forces in the world and present international realities.

The two parties noted with concern that the Kashmir dispute remains unresolved, and considered its continued existence a threat to peace and security in the region. They reaffirmed that this dispute should be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir, as pledged to them by India and Pakistan.

They were convinced that the implementation of all the decisions adopted at the preparatory meeting of the second African-Asian Conference in Jakarta in April 1964, and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation adopted at the first Asian-African Conference held in Bandung and the reaffirmation of the same rule of procedure at the preparatory meeting at Jakarta, is of great importance to the success of the second African-Asian Conference in Algiers.

They expressed their readiness to work for the success of the conference, together with the other Asian and African countries.

The President of Pakistan extended an invitation to Chairman Liu Shao-chi to pay a State visit to Pakistan at a mutually convenient time. The Chairman accepted the invitation with pleasure.

### **57 President Ayub's statement at a press conference on his return from China, 9 March 1965 (Extract)**

The joint communique issued on the conclusion of the talks is self-explanatory. It takes into account all points of common agreement and each other's position on vital issues.

The reaffirmation by the Chinese leaders of their position

in regard to Jammu and Kashmir dispute should be a matter of gratification for all of us. The Chinese believe that this dispute should be solved without delay by ascertaining the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir as has been pledged to them by India and Pakistan. The Chinese position in this matter is just and honourable and we are all thankful to them for upholding the cause of the oppressed people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Our talks on economic matters were equally useful. The Chinese leaders showed interest in the implementation of our Second Five-Year Plan and were impressed by the concepts underlying our third Plan.

### **58 Chen Yi's speech, 25 March 1965 (Extracts)**

I have been entrusted with an important mission on my present visit to Pakistan, i.e. to sign the boundary protocol between our two countries. More than two years ago, His Excellency Foreign Minister Bhutto came to China and signed the boundary agreement. Within a short period of time, a whole series of complicated and detailed work of boundary demarcation, involving survey; erection of markers and mapping etc., have been successfully accomplished, . . .

The smooth completion of boundary demarcation by China and Pakistan is an auspicious event to the peoples of our two countries. Both China and Pakistan are big nations of Asia and the world,

The co-operation between the two big nations, China and Pakistan, shows that it is entirely possible to settle the boundary questions between Asian and African countries, so long as we base ourselves on the principles of treating each other as equals and entering into friendly consultations, and refrain from adopting a big nation chauvinist attitude or imposing one's will on others. . . .

### **59 China-Pakistan cultural agreement, 26 March 1965**

The Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, encouraged by the spirit of friendship which governs the relations between their two neigh-

bouring countries: desirous of establishing cultural co-operation between the two countries in accordance with the spirit of the principles of the Bandung Conference,

Convinced that co-operation in the fields of culture, arts and sciences will strengthen the friendship between their peoples,

Have decided to conclude the present agreement and have accordingly appointed as their plenipotentiaries. . . .

#### ARTICLE I

The two contracting parties shall according to their needs and possibilities, encourage and facilitate the exchange of educationists, scientists, scholars and experts on terms to be negotiated and agreed upon by the two parties.

#### ARTICLE II

Each contracting party shall according to its scholastic system institute a certain number of scholarships to enable students of one country to pursue studies in the territory of the other.

#### ARTICLE III

The two contracting parties shall encourage and facilitate the exchange of visits and performances of their artists and their art-troupes.

#### ARTICLE IV

The two contracting parties shall encourage friendly co-operation between their organisations of physical culture and shall facilitate reciprocal visits, exchange of experience and friendly contests between their sportsmen and sports teams.

#### ARTICLE V

The two contracting parties shall encourage and support friendly co-operation between their journalists, broadcasting, television and film institutions of the two countries.

#### ARTICLE VI

The two contracting parties shall endeavour to promote cultural and intellectual exchanges between the two countries



by arranging, through appropriate learned and cultural bodies, concerts, lectures, art and scientific exhibitions, by organising visits of scholars, by encouraging collaboration between scientific, artistic and literary societies and other organisations devoted to the promotion of learning, by exchange of publications and by the exhibition of manuscripts, archaeological specimens, objects of art, and films and by exchanging radio and television programmes which have been mutually agreed upon.

#### ARTICLE VII

For the implementation of the present Agreement, the two contracting parties shall, in the first quarter of each year, put forward their proposals in the form of an annual operational plan which shall be negotiated through channels agreed upon by the contracting parties.

#### ARTICLE VIII

The present agreement will be ratified in accordance with the respective constitutional procedure of the two Governments and will come into force fifteen days after the exchange of the instruments of ratification, which will take place at Peking.

#### ARTICLE IX

The Agreement will remain in force indefinitely unless denounced by either of the two Governments in which case the treaty shall be held to have terminated six months after one of the two Governments has notified its intention to denounce it.

The present agreement is signed at Rawalpindi on the twentysixth day of March One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Five, in duplicate, in the Chinese and English languages, both the texts being equally authentic.

#### **60 *People's Daily* editorial "Pakistan fights to preserve sovereignty," 19 July 1965**

U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson recently notified the Pakistan Government of the American decision to postpone the July conference of the member countries of the "aid" Pakistan consortium. The U.S. Government, he said was, however,

ready to discuss certain other matters with the Pakistan Government. In this way the Johnson Administration tries to force Pakistan into abandoning its independent foreign policy, openly using American "aid" as a means to bring pressure to bear upon that country. This is shameless blackmail. Once again U.S. imperialism has shown its ugly features.

When Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto informed the National Assembly of this on July 13, he let it be known that his country would not allow its foreign policy to succumb to foreign pressure. Subsequent statements were made by President Ayub Khan on July 15 and 16 reiterating that nothing can make Pakistan barter away its sovereignty and independence. Pakistan's freedom, he added, was not negotiable. The Pakistan people had made sacrifices for freedom in the past and would not hesitate to do so in the future. He declared that his country was resolved to meet all eventualities.

The Pakistan Government's stand of resisting American pressure and preserving national dignity and state sovereignty has won the unanimous support of the National Assembly and the people alike. The Chinese Government and people greatly admire this just stand taken by the Pakistan Government and people who refuse to be pushed around by others. They firmly support Pakistan in its just struggle against U.S. imperialist intervention in its internal affairs.

In recent years, the Pakistan Government, under President Ayub Khan's leadership, has been steadfastly pursuing an independent foreign policy. It opposes U.S.-British imperialists' massive military aid to the Indian expansionists, which threatens Asian and world peace. It insists on the development of friendly relations with China and other Asian-African countries, despite outside obstacles. It devotes itself to Asian-African unity by energetically taking part in such activities and working hard for the convocation of the Second African-Asian Conference. It refuses to follow the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war on the Viet Nam question. The independent foreign policy of the Pakistan Government, which accords with Pakistan's national interests and benefits Asian and world peace, has won the firm support of the masses at home and widespread admiration of the Asian-African countries. Each passing day finds Pakistan's international position rising.

U.S. imperialism has never tried to conceal its dissatisfaction with Pakistan's independent foreign policy. It has on more than one occasion put pressure on Pakistan and now openly tries to compel that nation to change its policy. To achieve its criminal ends, the ruling clique in the United States has granted India huge quantities of military aid, conniving at and backing the Indian reactionaries' anti-Pakistan activities. This time, by suspending "American aid", the Johnson Administration hopes to create difficulties for the Pakistan economy. This highhanded and hostile measure against the Pakistan people is a most arrogant and shameless move. . . .

Mr. Bhutto in his foreign policy statement said that Pakistan is following a policy which relies less and less on foreign aid. During the Third Five-Year Plan, 66 per cent of Pakistan's total expenditures will be met by funds raised at home. It is gratifying to note that, in recent years, Pakistan has made satisfactory gains in developing its national economy. It goes without saying that self-reliance does not preclude international assistance and co-operation based on equality and mutual benefit. Such mutual assistance and co-operation is exactly what has to be developed among the Asian-African countries. The scale of this kind of mutual assistance may not be large at present but it is most reliable, realistic and helpful for their independent development. It has nothing in common with the so-called American "aid" which is plunder in the name of "aid." . . .



# The Kutch Conflict



**61 Hsinhua statement on Indo-Pakistan border conflict,  
4 May 1965**

The Hsinhua News Agency is authorised to make the following statement on Indian Government's slander against China in connection with the Indo-Pakistan border conflict.

1. India has recently provoked armed conflict in the Rann of Kutch on the Indo-Pakistan border in an attempt to forcibly occupy this disputed territory by armed attack. Pakistan took self-defence measures and suggested that both sides effect ceasefire persisting in settling the border dispute through peaceful negotiations. However, the Indian Government went so far as to alert three services and busily deploying troops to the Rann. The Indian Navy carries out exercises in sea off the area. The Indian side even threatened that the military action against Pakistan would not be confined to the Rann alone and India was free to choose the time and place of attack. Meanwhile, the Indian Prime Minister, Shastri and other ranking Indian officials blatantly declared that China colluded with Pakistan in taking aggressive and hostile attitude towards India and the present conflict was engineered by China, behind the scenes. News bulletins distributed by the Indian diplomatic missions in other countries also spread the lie that China's sabre is in Pakistan's sheath, etc. Such lies and slanders by the Indian Government are sheer fabrication and entirely groundless.

2. It is common knowledge that the Indo-Pakistan border in the Rann of Kutch has never been delimited. The area is a disputed territory, left behind by history. The Indo-Pakistan agreement on West Pakistan-India border disputes signed by the two sides in New Delhi on January 11, 1960, clearly stipulates that the Rann is one of the disputed territories on the Indo-Pakistan border and the two countries agree to study relevant material and hold discussions later with a view to arriving at the settlement.

However, the Indian Government has gone back on the agreement and claimed that the area is Indian territory and there is no dispute over it. It has sent troops to occupy the area and carried out armed provocation against Pakistan. This is the crux of the present Indo-Pakistan border conflict. Such action on the part of the Indian Government once again

shows up India's big nation chauvinism and expansionism. The position of the Indian Government on the border disputes with the neighbouring countries has always been truculent and unreasonable and one of rejecting peaceful negotiations. The logic of the Indian Government is 'my territory is mine, yours is also mine, places I occupy are mine and those I want to occupy are also mine'.

In the prolonged Sino-Indian border disputes and repeated Sino-Indian border conflicts the Chinese Government has long had experience of the big nation chauvinist and expansionist logic of the Indian ruling circles. The Chinese Government and people fully sympathise with and support the solemn and just stand of Pakistan Government in opposing the Indian policy of military expansion and advocating settlement of the border disputes through peaceful negotiations.

3. The Indian reactionaries have, for years made use of the Sino-Indian border dispute and flaunted anti-China banner to solicit money and guns from U.S. imperialism and its followers, to engage in military expansions on all points of compass and to intensify suppression of democratic forces at home. The U.S. imperialism and its followers, on their part, have energetically supported the Indian reactionaries, by giving them money and guns to encourage India's arms expansion and war preparations. They have done so not only to make India a pawn in anti-China crusade but to back India in bullying its neighbouring countries so as to carry out their evil schemes of making Asians fight Asians and disrupting Afro-Asian solidarity. Events show that India's neighbours have often been subjected to its bullying and interference. This perverse line of action followed by the Indian Government has made itself more isolated than ever before in the world and intensely hated by its own people. Yet, it still hypocritically tries to present itself as peaceful, neutral, and non-aligned. This can deceive no one. Now the Indian Government has provoked border conflict with Pakistan and tries to vilify China with a view to stirring up tension and distracting attention of its people. It will never succeed in this.

4. The Chinese Government strongly condemns the big nation chauvinist and expansionist policy of the Indian Government. We would like to advise the Indian Government to give



primary consideration to the interests of the Indian people and to the Afro-Asian solidarity and thereby settle its disputes with neighbouring countries, through peaceful negotiations. If instead, it insists on having its own way and playing with fire and widens armed conflict it will certainly come to no good end.

**62 Statement by the Spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs of India, 7 May 1965**

The Government of India has seen the statement of May 4 issued by the New China News Agency on behalf of the Chinese Government in support of Pakistan's aggression against India in the Rann of Kutch.

It is significant that this statement is more prompt and vehement than even the innumerable utterances of the Chinese Government on the grave situation in Vietnam. This is a demonstration of the aggressive partnership between the Chinese and Pakistan Governments against India. The Chinese statement contains a threat against India when it says that if armed conflict is widened "the Indian Government will definitely come to no good end." This is nothing but an open incitement to Pakistan to persist in its aggressive occupation of Indian territory in the Rann of Kutch under the umbrella of a Chinese military threat against India and is further evidence of China's collusion with Pakistan against India.

The Chinese and Pakistan Governments entertain a common hatred and a common hostility against India. Both have committed aggression against India in Kashmir; both have laid claims against Indian territory and grabbed a portion of it illegally; and both have constantly applied military, political and propaganda pressure against India in order to make India submit to their aggressive demands. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Chinese Government has come out with this statement supporting Pakistan in its aggression in the Rann of Kutch just as the Pakistan Government has come out in support of Chinese aggression against India.

The boundary between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch is a well-established and delimited boundary. What Pakistan has tried is to assert its fantastic claim by use of force. The whole world knows that it is Pakistan who launched an

attack in the Rann, using considerable military force with tanks and heavy artillery, and that India had to send troops there purely in self-defense.

The world also knows that it is Pakistan who has used American tanks to fight Indian troops in this area—tanks which it has got under a military agreement with the United States and under the SEATO and CENTO pacts of which Pakistan is a founder-member and evidently China approves of this. To ignore these facts and to accuse India of fighting its neighbours with “U.S. imperialist arms” proves nothing but utter opportunism and cynicism of the Chinese Government in the field of international relations.

The Chinese Government has alleged that India is carrying out the “U.S. scheme of making Asians fight Asians and disrupting the Afro-Asian solidarity.” This is a mantle which falls fittingly on China and Pakistan who are fellow-aggressors against India. In committing aggression against India and in encouraging Pakistan to commit aggression against India, it is the Chinese Government that is disrupting Afro-Asian solidarity and making Asians fight Asians. While paying lip service to Asian-African unity and the Bandung principles, the rulers of China are doing everything possible to subvert these principles.

In the statement issued by the New China News Agency, the Chinese Government had the presumption to advise the Government of India to give consideration to the interests of the Indian people and “settle its disputes with neighbouring countries through peaceful negotiations.” The only two neighbouring countries who have resorted to military action against India in defiance of international law and good neighbourly relations and refused to settle problems through peaceful negotiations are China and Pakistan. The Chinese Government’s “advice” should, therefore, have been addressed to itself and to the Government of Pakistan.

The world has not forgotten that the Chinese Government has suppressed by massive force the autonomy of Tibet and the elementary rights of the Tibetan people, has invaded India and is occupying large areas of its territory and is interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states and indulging in subversive activities aimed at overthrowing the lawful governments of such states in Asia as well as in Africa.

The Chinese Government's stand on Pakistani aggression in the Rann of Kutch is a reflection of its familiar technique of trying to change the established frontiers of states through the use of military force. This is contrary to the principles of peaceful coexistence and the principles of Bandung and the declaration of the Cairo conference of non-aligned nations. The people of Asia and Africa can see that China is unashamedly fomenting trouble and conflict in Asia and Africa. China has emerged as the greatest disruptive force in Asia, a chauvinistic and imperialist power which has made a mockery of the principles of peaceful coexistence and is trying to bully and intimidate its neighbours and other Asian and African countries.



# Indo-Pak Conflict of 1965



**63 "Indian reactionaries expansionism," Observer's Article in  
People's Daily, 5 September 1965**

The people in the Indian-occupied sector of Kashmir started large-scale armed resistance early last month because they could no longer tolerate the brutal rule and communal prosecution of the Indian reactionaries. The Indian Government has sent in large numbers of troops and police to carry out sanguinary suppression but the local people have put up a firm resistance.

In order to cover up their wanton slaughter of the Kashmir people and to divert the people's attention at home and mislead public opinion abroad, the Indian reactionaries have been trying to shift the responsibility for their crimes on to Pakistan. They charge that "Pakistan has attacked Kashmir." They have also made vile slanders against China repeatedly, with a view to creating the false impression that China is involved in the incident engineered by themselves. On August 15, Indian Prime Minister Shastri alleged that the attack on Kashmir "is guided and controlled by Chinese officers." The next day Indian Defence Minister Chavan came out with an assertion about the "training of guerrilla warriors in Pakistan and Azad (free) Kashmir by Chinese instructors." Can these fantastic tales save the Indian rulers? Certainly not, because they cannot stand examination.

Any one who has followed the development of the situation sees that the armed uprising is an inevitable result of the Indian Government's reactionary rule. For more than a decade the Indian Government has defied the Kashmir people's demand for self-determination and deprived them of their democratic rights. It has gone to all lengths in subjecting them to communal oppression and political persecution, made wholesale arrests and held local public leaders in prolonged detention. It has made life impossible for the local population through extortionate taxation and ruthless exploitation. It is therefore no surprise that pressed beyond the limits of endurance, the people in the Indian-occupied sector of Kashmir should have risen in revolt. In fact, this popular struggle against Indian tyranny is quite understandable because even in many states of India itself there have been numerous cases of hungry people ransacking rice stores, workers and students going on strike and businessmen

observing hartal. The truth is that where there is oppression, there is bound to be revolt and the more violent the oppression, the bigger the revolt. The Indian Government's predicament is entirely of its own making, and it can blame no one but itself.

As is well known, the question of the status of Kashmir is an unsettled question left over from history. For more than ten years, India has sought to grab this disputed territory for itself. Both India and Pakistan had in the past agreed to settle the question peacefully through plebiscite. However, the Indian Government has since 1953 unilaterally gone back on its commitment by publicly declaring that Kashmir is an inseparable part of India. While barbarously cracking down on the Kashmir people recently, India has at the same time openly violated the ceasefire line agreed upon between the two countries, sent its troops into the area controlled by Pakistan and launched armed provocations against that country. Under the circumstances, Pakistan is perfectly justified in striking back in self-defence. President Ayub Khan has said that India's blatant acts of aggression cannot and shall not be allowed to go unchallenged. This is the just stand which any sovereign country must take.

It is also well-known that the Indian reactionaries never lose a single opportunity to bully and threaten their neighbours. India's provoking of the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1959 is a case in point; its kindling of the clashes in the Rann of Kutch area is another. There also have been numerous cases of wanton intervention and even unscrupulous subversion against its small neighbours. From Nehru to Shastri, this line pursued by the Indian reactionaries in disregarding other countries' sovereignty and encroaching upon their interests has never changed. We Chinese people and the people of other victimized countries have enough experience of this.

The fact that the Indian reactionaries dare to carry on this unscrupulous expansionism cannot be separated from the backing and instigation of the United States and some other big powers. For many years U.S. imperialism has given India enormous sums of money and large quantities of arms. The Khrushchov revisionists, too, have vied with the United States in giving money and arms to India. The Indian reactionaries have become their favourite and think that, since they have the back-



ing of such strong world powers, they can do whatever they please. Hence their anti-China and anti-Pakistan campaigns, not to mention their domineering attitude towards all their other neighbours. This is the root cause of tension in this part of Asia.

The Chinese people deeply sympathize with the just struggle of the Kashmir people for their right to self-determination and support Pakistan's counter-attack in self-defence against India's armed provocations. It must be pointed out that the Indian Government will never gain any benefit from its chauvinist and expansionist policy towards its neighbours. We would like to advise the Indian Government to stop its domineering and arbitrary practice of bullying its neighbour by relying on imperialism and return to the path of settling the Kashmir issue in accordance with the Indian-Pakistan agreement and the aspirations of the people of Kashmir.

#### **64 Chinese Government statement, 7 September 1965**

On September 6, 1965 India suddenly launched an armed attack on Pakistan. Indian troops have crossed the international boundary between India and Pakistan and are pushing towards Lahore, the capital of West Pakistan. The Indian radio has announced general mobilization. Thus, the Indian Government has enlarged the local conflict between India and Pakistan in Kashmir into a general conflict between the two countries. In the face of the massive armed attack by India, the President of Pakistan has called on the entire people of the country to rise in resistance against the enemy and has appealed for sympathy and support from all peace-loving peoples of the world.

The Indian Government's armed attack on Pakistan is an act of naked aggression. It not only is a crude violation of all principles guiding international relations, but also constitutes a grave threat to peace in this part of Asia. The Chinese Government sternly condemns India for its criminal aggression, expresses firm support for Pakistan in its just struggle against aggression and solemnly warns the Indian Government that it must bear responsibility for all the consequences of its criminal and extended aggression.

The Indian Government has always been perfidious on the

Kashmir question. It once pledged solemnly with Pakistan to grant the Kashmiri people the right of self-determination. But far from honouring its pledge, it has brazenly declared that Kashmir is an integral part of India and has subjected the Kashmiri people to brutal national oppression. Where there is oppression, there will be resistance. It is entirely proper that the people in the Indian-occupied area of Kashmir should rise up in resistance. In order to cover up its sanguinary suppression of the Kashmiri people, the Indian Government openly breached the cease-fire line in the disputed territory of Kashmir to intrude into the area under the control of Pakistan and carried out military provocation and armed occupation. This of course could not but arouse Pakistan to counter-attack in self-defence. All this was in the nature of a local conflict in the disputed territory of Kashmir between India and Pakistan.

India already committed aggression on the Kashmir issue. Now it has openly launched a massive armed attack on Pakistan. This is a still more serious act of aggression.

The United Nations has always had a bad reputation concerning the Kashmir question. It solemnly pledged to guarantee national self-determination for Kashmir. However, 18 years have passed during which the United Nations looked on without lifting a finger while India acted lawlessly in Kashmir. The United Nations did not breathe a single word when India violated the cease-fire line. But as soon as Pakistan fought back in self-defence, the United Nations came out to mediate. This is by no means the end of the story. It is inconceivable that the United Nations, which has been unfair for 18 years, should suddenly become fair. The so-called mediation by the United Nations is based on a report of the Secretary-General. The report itself is unfair. How can a fair conclusion be drawn from an unfair premise? On the Kashmir question, the United Nations has once again proved a tool of U.S. imperialism and its partners in their attempt to control the whole world. This will be further proved true during the current extended aggression against Pakistan by India.

India's armed aggression against Pakistan is another exposure of the chauvinist and expansionist features of its ruling circles. The Indian Government glibly says that it pursues a policy of "peaceful coexistence." But actually it has never

ceased for a single day its activities of bullying and encroaching upon its neighbours wherever possible. Almost every neighbour of India knows this from its own experience. The Indian ruling circles are the greatest hypocrites in contemporary international life. The Chinese people have had deep experience of this. Although the Indian ruling circles did not gain anything from their massive armed attack on China in October 1962, they have never stopped making intrusions and provocations along the Sino-Indian border. India is still entrenched on Chinese territory on the Sino-Sikkim border and has not withdrawn. It is constantly probing furtively and making intrusions and harassment against Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. Indian violations of Chinese territory are far from coming to an end. The Chinese Government has served repeated warnings, and it is now closely following the development of India's acts of aggression and is strengthening its defences and heightening its alertness along its borders.

The Indian Government probably believes that since it has the backing of the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists, it can bully its neighbours, defy public opinion and do whatever it likes. This will not do. Aggression is aggression. India's aggression against any one of its neighbours concerns all of its neighbours. Since the Indian Government has taken the first step in committing aggression against Pakistan, it cannot evade responsibility for the chain of consequences arising therefrom. The Chinese Government is deeply convinced that, with the sympathy and support of the peace-loving countries and peoples of Asia and the whole world, the 100 million people of Pakistan will rise as one man to save their country and finally drive back the Indian aggressors.

### **65 Chinese note to India, 8 September 1965 (summary)**

On September 8, the Chinese Foreign Minister sent a note to the Indian Government strongly protesting against a succession of serious violations of China's territory and sovereignty by Indian troops. The note demands that India dismantle all the aggressive military structures it has illegally built beyond or astride the China-Sikkim border, withdraw its aggressive armed forces and stop all its acts of aggression and provocation against

China in the western, middle and eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian border. Otherwise, it warns, India must bear responsibility for all consequences arising from its actions.

Indian provocations during the month of August in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border cannot be regarded as isolated cases. They are by no means accidental, occurring as they did at a time when the Indian Government was carrying out armed repressions against the people in Kashmir and unleashing and expanding its armed aggression against Pakistan. . . .

China cannot but pay serious attention to the Indian Government's expansionist activities against its neighbours and strengthen China's defences and maintain increased alertness along its borders.

**66 Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih's speech at a mass rally in Lhasa celebrating the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region, 9 September 1965 (Extracts)**

The Indian reactionaries have always cherished expansionist and aggressive ambitions with regard to China's territories of Tibet and Sinkiang. They have not yet learnt their lesson since their large-scale armed offensive against China was smashed in 1962. In the past few years, India has not ceased its intrusions and provocations against China. Since the end of 1962 the Indian armed forces have intruded into the air space and territory of China on more than 300 occasions. . . .

Should the Indian reactionaries continue to act arbitrarily and cherish their vain expansionist dreams, they will certainly repeat their previous mistake and suffer a still heavier defeat.

**67 Premier Chou En-lai's speech at a public reception given by the Korean Charge d'Affaires ad interim marking the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, 9 September 1965 (Extracts)**

Recently, India has launched a massive armed attack on Pakistan, and Pakistan has risen up in resistance. Every day the fighting is growing in scale. Thus a struggle between aggression and anti-aggression is unfolding right by China's side. . . .

The Indian reactionaries could not have engaged in such a

serious military adventure without the consent and support of the United States. Everybody knows that for several months now U.S. imperialism has used every means in an attempt to compel Pakistan to give up its independent policy. The Indian reactionaries' armed attack on Pakistan was an inevitable result of this policy of the United States.

In this context the modern revisionists have also played a most unseemly role. They have repeatedly asserted that Kashmir is an integral part of India. Is this not an open encouragement for the Indian reactionaries to embark on a military adventure?

India's armed aggression against Pakistan has thoroughly exposed the Indian reactionaries' much publicized nonsense about their policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. How can there be a peaceful and neutral country that arbitrarily commits aggression against its neighbours? How can there be a 'model of peaceful coexistence' that interprets aggression as peace? . . .

The Indian reactionaries are the aggressors. They are outright aggressors both in the local conflict in Kashmir and in the general conflict between India and Pakistan. If peace is to be safeguarded, aggression must be opposed. To appeal for peace without distinguishing between right and wrong will only encourage the aggressor. India's act of aggression poses a threat to peace in this part of Asia, and China cannot but closely follow the development of the situation. . . .

The Chinese Government firmly supports Pakistan's just struggle against aggression and the Kashmir people's struggle for freedom and the right of national self-determination; it resolutely condemns India for its crimes of aggression and sternly warns the Indian Government that it must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from its extended aggression.

**68 "Indian reactionaries are the out-and-out aggressors,"**  
 editorial in *People's Daily*, 11 September 1965 (Extracts)

The armed attack launched by India against Pakistan has been expanding in scale. Pakistan is putting up a staunch resistance and bitter fighting is going on. The frenzied act of aggression

on the part of the Indian reactionaries is seriously menacing peace in this part of Asia.

India alone has provoked the armed clashes. The Indian reactionaries are the out-and-out aggressors who have started an undeclared war against Pakistan. . . . For the past several months the Indian reactionaries were steadily increasing its provocations and aggression against Pakistan. On May 17 this year, Indian troops crossed the ceasefire line in Kashmir and actually threw in an entire battalion to raid three Pakistan posts in the Kargil area in Kashmir. Since August Indian troops have repeatedly crossed the ceasefire line. On August 14 Indian troops occupied three Pakistan posts in the Kargil area. On August 25, 1,000 Indian troops with artillery cover, attacked troops in the Pakistan-controlled Tithwal area. On August 28 two Indian divisions thrust southwards from Uri on the western sector of the ceasefire line. It was only after India's repeated violations of the ceasefire line and intrusions into Pakistan-controlled areas that Pakistan was compelled on September 1 to counter-attack in self-defence. The Indian reactionaries can never twist this universally known fact: it is India which provoked and committed aggression against Pakistan.

The Indian reactionaries describe their aggressive action in crossing the ceasefire line as aimed at coping with the so-called "Pakistan infiltrators." This, too, is utterly absurd. It is common knowledge that India and Pakistan reached agreement in 1953 that the status of Kashmir should be decided by a plebiscite.

However, the Indian Government later perfidiously went back on its commitment in an attempt to seize Kashmir for itself. The Indian authorities have more than once openly claimed that "Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union." This fully exposes their expansionist ambitions. To realize their aim of annexing Kashmir, the Indian reactionaries have stubbornly refused to implement the Indo-Pakistan agreement and obstructed a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute. At the same time, it has constantly tightened its reactionary rule over the people in the Indian-occupied sector of Kashmir in an attempt to strangle their legitimate aspirations for national self-determination. The people in the Indian-occupied sector staged an armed uprising in early August to oppose Indian

tyranny and demand self-determination of their own future. This is an entirely just action and no question of Pakistan "infiltration" is involved.

The Indian ruling circles sent large numbers of armed forces to suppress the just struggle of the Kashmir people in a bid to maintain their colonial rule in the Indian occupied sector of Kashmir. This is aggression pure and simple. Having failed in this suppression, they sought a pretext to invade the Pakistan-controlled sector. How can the Indian reactionaries succeed in covering up their aggression by resorting to the clumsy trick of thief shouting "stop thief"?

India has not only started aggression in Kashmir, but has gone on to direct acts of aggression against Pakistan. Indian air force first intruded over Pakistan's air space on September 1. Since September 7, the Indian reactionaries have taken further action by bombing Rawalpindi, Pakistan's provisional capital, and Karachi, Dacca and other peaceful cities. On September 6 Indian troops crossed the international frontier and mounted armed attack on the Lahore area of Pakistan. On September 7 and 8, Indian troops invaded the areas of Sialkot and Hyderabad in West Pakistan. India has thus enlarged its aggression step by step. . . .

In short, it was not Pakistan but India that first crossed the ceasefire line in Kashmir and launched military provocations and undertook armed occupation. It was not Pakistan but India that first threw its airforce into action and bombed peaceful cities of the other side. It was not Pakistan but India that first crossed the international border into the territory of the other side and launched massive armed attacks. So, India is in every sense the aggressor and Pakistan its victim. The question of who is right and who is wrong is clear to everybody. The attempts of Shastri and his ilk to reverse the truth can never succeed. . . .

#### **69 Indian note to China, 12 September 1965 (Extract)**

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 [of 8 Sep. 1965] 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. . . .



**70 "U.N.—Sanctuary for the Indian aggressor," *People's Daily* editorial, 14 September 1965**

The United Nations is again playing a most unsavoury role this time in India's large-scale armed aggression against Pakistan. In the name of "mediation" it is taking sides with the Indian aggressor and doing all it can to help the Indian reactionaries shored up by U.S. imperialism and its partners.

India's naked aggression against Pakistan is there for all to see. Indian troops, besides breaking the 1949 ceasefire line in Kashmir and carrying out armed provocations, have invaded Pakistan in various directions and so seriously threatened Asian peace. In such a situation, the U.N. Security Council, in accordance with the U.N. Charter, should have taken effective measures to check Indian aggression and safeguard Asian peace. But what has the U.N. Security Council done?

The whole world sees that although India has been stepping up its provocations and acts of aggression against Pakistan in the past month or more, the Security Council has never uttered a single word of disapproval, let alone taken any effective measures to stop them. . . .

Neither U. Thant's report nor the resolution [of 4 September 1965 of U.N. Security Council] condemned India for its violation of the ceasefire agreement. Instead, the report went so far as to speak about "armed men, generally not in uniform, crossing the ceasefire line from the Pakistan side for the purpose of armed action on the Indian side." In making this assertion, U. Thant was in fact providing an excuse for the Indian troops' violation of the ceasefire agreement and their breach of the ceasefire line. No wonder the Indian Foreign Minister, Swaran Singh, said gleefully that "thus aggression by Pakistan has been clearly established by the independent authority of the United Nations," while Indian newspapers splashed such headlines as "Thant Backs Delhi, Blames Pindi [Rawalpindi]."

Emboldened by the U.S. dominated Security Council, Indian forces on September 6, two days after the Security Council passed its resolution, swarmed into Pakistan territory in the Lahore sector, bombed Rawalpindi, Pakistan's provisional capital, and other Pakistan cities, and thus launched an undeclared war.

Then, did the U.N. Security Council act in accordance with the United Nations Charter against the flagrant violation of the Charter by India and its unscrupulous aggression against Pakistan? No, not at all. The Security Council's September 6 resolution only refers in general terms to "the extension of the fighting which adds immeasurably to the seriousness of the situation," while fighting shy of the fact that it was India that started aggression against Pakistan and then extended it. The resolution makes no distinction between India the aggressor and Pakistan the victim of aggression. Instead of calling on India to cease aggression and pull its aggressor forces out of Pakistan, it, without any sense of justice, calls for a ceasefire by the two parties. This deliberate distortion of the facts is in actuality aimed at acquitting the Indian aggressor.

The U.N. Security Council's September 6 resolution has in fact inflated the aggressive arrogance of the Indian reactionaries. Soon after its adoption, on September 7 and 8, Indian troops invaded the Sialkot and Gadra sectors of Pakistan, thus further enlarging the scope of the war.

Up till today, the U.N. Security Council has not said a single word condemning India's aggression against Pakistan. In face of a situation in which one U.N. member has launched an undeclared war on another and set its war machine in full motion, the United Nations has deliberately chosen not to discharge its duties as laid down in its Charter and refused to condemn and apply sanctions against India or give support to Pakistan which is resisting aggression. In so doing, the United Nations Organization and its Security Council have in fact undermined the very basis for their own existence. This being so, what qualifications have they to mediate in the Indo-Pakistan conflict?

The Indo-Pakistan conflict originated in the dispute over Kashmir. On this question, the United Nations has acted in the last ten years or more in a way not only contrary to its own purposes and principles but also against the ostentatious resolutions it has itself passed. According to the U.N. Charter the United Nations should uphold the principle of national self-determination. The Security Council adopted a resolution on April 21, 1948, stating that the future of Kashmir should be decided by holding "a free and impartial plebiscite." . . .

Pakistan asked the Security Council to settle the Kashmir question in 1956, 1962 and again in 1964 but all to no avail. The Security Council has deliberately put off the holding of a plebiscite and winked at the Indian Government's breach of faith. All this shows that the United Nations' partiality for India has a long history.

Carrying his September 4 report and the two resolutions of the U.N. Security Council in his briefcase U Thant made hurried visits to Pakistan and India in his capacity as U.N. Secretary-General. But in his September 4 report U Thant already took sides with India and the two resolutions of the U.N. Security Council are both in favour of India. How then can one expect U Thant to uphold justice? It is plain that the United States is behind U Thant's mission to India and Pakistan. He is merely acting as Washington's political broker.

Under the manipulation of U. S. imperialism, the United Nations, consistently reversing right and wrong and calling black white, has always served the interests of aggressors and branded the victims of aggression as the aggressors. . . . Today, the United Nations is again siding with the aggressor on the Kashmir issue and the Indo-Pakistan conflict and bullying his victim. It has become a sanctuary for the Indian aggressor.

The United Nations is a tool of U. S. imperialism. It has done much evil. It cannot do anything good. . . .

### **71 Chinese note to India, 16 September 1965**

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. . . .

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, that eight areas in the middle sector and Parigas 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 for ever retains the right to settle these questions.

Supported by the U.S. imperialists and their partners, the Indian Government has always pursued a policy of chauvinism and expansionism towards its neighbouring countries. . . .

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. . . .

This stand of ours will never change, however many helpers you may have, such as the United States, the modern revisionists and the U.S. controlled United Nations.

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 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. 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.

### **72 Indian note to China, 17 September 1965 (Extract)**

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. . . .

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 conflict. . . .

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 13 July 1965 it was clearly stated that the two Tibetan inhabitants alleged by the Chinese Government to have been kidnapped by the 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.

**73 Statement by Indian representative M.C. Chagla in the UN Security Council, 17 September 1965 (Extracts)**

Initiating a foreign policy debate in the Pakistan National Assembly in 1963, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto, said that in the event of a war with India, Pakistan would not be alone, Pakistan would be helped by the most powerful nation in Asia.

In December 1963 the Chinese Vice-Minister for Foreign Trade, Mr. Nan Han Chen, then on a visit to Pakistan, said:

“We have to build ourselves militarily, economically and financially to beat the aggressors.”

And he added:

“If ever there is war between India and Pakistan China will surely support Pakistan and not India.”

Apart from this, we have been reading in the press about the visit of Mr. Chou En-lai and the Vice-President of the Chinese Republic to Pakistan in recent times—and you will have noticed that the one country in the world which is opposed to the cessation of these hostilities between India and Pakistan is China. It has condemned the action of the Security Council; it has called it an imperialist body. It has condemned the peace mission of the Secretary-General, calling him a stooge of the imperialists. And this is for obvious reasons. China is fighting India through Pakistan. The whole policy of China is to disrupt the economy of India, to break up the country, because China realizes that India is the only country in Asia which can withstand the menace of Chinese aggressiveness. Therefore, there is no point in saying, as the representative of Pakistan has said: “We have nothing to do with China: there is no complicity between ourselves and China: we are fighting this war with India single-handed.”

**74 “Who backs the Indian aggressors?,” *People’s Daily* editorial, 18 September 1965 (Extracts)**

Facts have shown that U.S. imperialism is not at all playing the role of a “neutralist peacemaker” in the Indo-Pakistan armed conflict but is siding in every possible way with the Indian reactionaries and helping them in their aggression against Pakistan.

That the United States should adopt such a policy is not fortuitous. It is a continuation of Washington’s fixed policy over the past years in consistently supporting the Indian reactionaries against Pakistan.

The Indian ruling group has in recent years betrayed its proclaimed policy of non-alignment, stepped up the formation of a de facto alliance with U.S. imperialism and become its willing tool in opposing China and undermining Afro-Asian solidarity. . . .

In the present Indo-Pakistan armed conflict, U.S. imperialism hopes to cut Pakistan down to size through the military aggression launched by the Indian reactionaries.

It is clear that U.S. imperialism is the out-and-out arch criminal encouraging and supporting the Indian reactionaries in unleashing aggression against India’s neighbouring countries.

The revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union chimes in with U.S. imperialism on the Indo-Pakistan conflict. It also pretends to be impartial, but actually favours the Indian reactionaries and backs up the Indian aggressors at every step. Its performance in this respect is not one whit inferior to U.S. imperialism. . . .

The Soviet leaders are responsible to a great extent for the Indo-Pakistan armed conflict. This is because for the last ten years they have sided with the Indian reactionaries on the Kashmir question over which the present conflict has broken out, and have spared no efforts to support the latter’s policy to annex Kashmir. . . .

It was the encouragement, support and assistance of U.S. imperialism and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union that emboldened the Indian reactionaries to launch armed aggression against China a few years ago. It is precisely their encouragement, support and assistance that has emboldened



the Indian reactionaries to unleash armed aggression against Pakistan now. . . .

### **75 Chinese note to India, 19 September 1965 (Extracts)**

The Chinese side is in possession of ample and abundant evidence which can prove to the world that Indian troops have crossed the China-Sikkim boundary to build military works. The Indian Government is aware of this. There is now no longer any need for investigation. In its present note, the Indian Government admits that the possibility of the existence of Indian military works on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary is not excluded and it does not object to dismantling such military works as may exist. This in effect shows that there are indeed Indian military works for aggression within Chinese territory and on the boundary line. The China-Sikkim boundary is a delimited one. The Chinese frontier guards know the places where Indian troops have built military works across the boundary as they know their own palms. The Chinese Government firmly demands that the Indian Government dismantle these military works for aggression. In order to give the Indian Government the opportunity to do so, the Chinese Government is willing to put off the time-limit set in its note of September 16 to before midnight of September 22. . . .

From their own experience the Chinese people can deeply understand how Pakistan has been bullied by the Indian Government. The Indian Government's expansionism has linked China with all the other neighbouring countries which India has been bullying. The Chinese Government gives all-out support to the people of Kashmir in their struggle for the right of national self-determination. The Chinese Government gives all-out support to Pakistan in her just struggle against Indian aggression. The Chinese Government fully supports the desire of the neighbours of India to safeguard their independence and neutrality and protect their internal affairs from interference. This stand of the Chinese Government is not to be shaken by any tricks on the part of the Indian Government. . . .

**76 Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's statement in Parliament, 20 September 1965 (Extracts)**

The House will recall that we had taken an attitude calculated to maintain peace when replying to the last note which we had received from the Chinese Government. It is clear from the kind of response which China has sent that what China is looking for is not a redress of grievances, real or imaginary, but some excuse to start its aggressive activities again, this time acting in collusion with its ally, Pakistan. The extension of the time-limit for the ultimatum was, in our view, no more than a device to gain time to watch what comes out of the discussions in the Security Council.

The allegations which China has been making in the series of notes that it has been sending to us, are such that they would hardly justify any civilised Government in having recourse to force, even if the allegations were true. If there are any structures on Chinese territory in areas where the border is delimited and not in dispute even according to the Chinese, surely, there is nothing to prevent the Chinese Government from having them removed, instead of suggesting to us that we should have them removed, which would only be possible by our men going into their territory. Similarly, no one can imagine that any Government would threaten another on the ground that their cattle have been lifted or on the ground that out of the thousands of Tibetans who have sought asylum in this country two or four are being detained here against their wishes. . . .

China's aggressive intentions are clear from the fact that even while they have in their note extended the time-limit by 72 hours, in actual fact they have started firing at our border posts both in Sikkim and in Ladakh.

If, China persists in aggression, we shall defend ourselves by all means at our disposal.

**77 Shastri's statement in both Houses of Parliament, 22 September 1965 (Extracts)**

I place on the table of the House a copy of the Security Council resolution, dated the 20th September, 1965, relating to the

current conflict between India and Pakistan—a conflict which commenced on the 5th August, 1965, when Pakistan launched a massive attack on India by sending thousands of armed infiltrators across the ceasefire line in our State of Jammu and Kashmir. . . .

The Government of India had clearly accepted that they would order a cease-fire without any preconditions on being informed that Pakistan had agreed to do the same.

A further report was received a short while ago that at the request of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, an emergent meeting of the Security Council was convened, at which an announcement was made, on behalf of Pakistan that they also had agreed to issue orders for a cease-fire and cessation of hostilities. From our side, the requisite orders are now being issued to our field commanders to effect a complete cease-fire by 3-30 a.m. tomorrow morning. . . .

We are still faced with the Chinese ultimatum. The House is aware that almost at the same time when the Chinese Government announced the extension of the time-limit of the ultimatum to India by 72 hours on September 19, their troops started provocative activities at several points of the border. On the Sikkim border, about which the Chinese have been making baseless and threatening allegations, the Chinese troops crossed the well-known and delimited boundary at Dongchui La and Nathu La on 20th and 21st of September respectively. They fired at our observation posts. They have tried also to intrude into our other territories. Our armed forces have clear instructions to repel the aggressor.

Yesterday we sent a reply to the Chinese note of September 20 in which India was alleged to have intruded into Dum Chale and committed armed provocation. The Chinese charge was rejected as a fabrication and a cover-up for the intrusion and firing at Tsaskur to which I have referred a little while ago. . . .

Regarding the so-called military structures we have already told the Chinese Government that if after joint inspection any structures are found on the Tibetan side of the border there can be no objection to their being demolished. I have been told that China has announced that some of these so-called structures have been destroyed by our troops while withdrawing. All this

is a product of their imagination. . . .

**78 Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi's remarks at a press conference, 29 September 1965 (Extract)**

In its note of September 16, the Chinese Government demanded that India dismantle the 56 aggressive military works she had built within Chinese territory on the China-Sikkim border and withdraw the intruding Indian troops. The China-Sikkim boundary is the boundary between China and Sikkim and does not fall within the scope of the Sino-Indian boundary. It has long been delimited. India not only regards Sikkim as her protectorate, but has gone to the length of intruding into Chinese territory across the China-Sikkim boundary. It was her right as a sovereign state and entirely reasonable for China to lodge the protest and raise the demands in her note to the Indian Government. We had shown forbearance for several years. Knowing that it was in the wrong, the Indian Government withdrew all the intruding Indian troops and demolished a part of the aggressive military works upon receiving our notification. That was a good thing, and it was wise of them to do so. If India had failed to do so, the Chinese Government would have been entitled to act in self-defence, drive out the intruders and destroy the aggressive military works.

Along the Sino-Indian boundary of several thousand kilometres, Indian troops have crossed the line of actual control at many other places and carried out harassing raids. India is still occupying over 92,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the eastern, western and middle sectors of the Sino-Indian border. The Indian Government should understand that there is a limit to our forbearance, that it must cease its intrusions and harassments and that the question of Chinese territory occupied by it will have to be thoroughly settled,

A correspondent of the London *Daily Express* asked what assistance the Chinese Government would give Pakistan with the resumption of the conflict between India and Pakistan. Vice Premier Chen Yi said: The fact is that Pakistan is the victim of aggression and India the aggressor. Recently Indian troops have continued to launch attacks in the Lahore area. We do not wish to see the aggravation of the situation, and we hope that

the Indian side knows how to restrain itself. If the situation is aggravated, it is certain that the Chinese Government and people will give moral and material support to Pakistan. Relying on the support of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain, the Indian Government wants to do whatever it pleases, but that can frighten nobody, We hope that it will come to its senses.

India's aggression against Pakistan is not in the interest of the Indian people. I believe that the great Indian people of more than 400 million wish to live in peace with the other Afro-Asian peoples and unite with them in opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism. It is regrettable that the Indian leaders have failed to reflect this wish, but instead have perpetrated aggression by relying on foreign forces, and particularly on U.S. imperialism. Such an adventurist policy is bound to fail, and indeed it has already failed. If it is not altered, it will continue to meet with failure.

### 79 Indian note to China, 1 October 1965 (Extract)

In the two notes [of 24 and 26 Sep. 1965] under reply the Chinese Government has again belaboured the trumped-up and farcical allegations which have formed the terms of its impertinent ultimatum to India. The Government of India have already repudiated each and every one of these allegations. As regards the so-called military structures, which the Chinese had made into a *causes belli*, the Government of India and the entire world are amused by the Chinese Government's statement that these have since been demolished by Indian troops while "withdrawing" within the time-limit set by the Chinese Government. The fact was that there were no Indian troops in Tibetan territory to be withdrawn and that there were no Indian military structures in Tibet to be destroyed. The Chinese Government had, indeed, admitted this indirectly by its refusal to allow an independent observer to go to the border and also by rejecting its own proposal for joint inspection when the Government of India accepted it. Both the 'construction' and the 'demolition' of military structures by Indian troops were a China myth—a myth which has now exploded in the face of its own authors. . . .

**80 Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's statement in the General Debate of the UN General Assembly, 12 October 1965 (Extract)**

Our own experience in the past few months with two powerful neighbours has shown us that there is still a strong urge in those two countries to take recourse to arms. Twice in the last months my country and my people have faced blatant and adventurist aggression from Pakistan. During the same period we have faced ultimatums and serious threats of aggression from the People's Republic of China. It is clearly established that there was a sinister connexion between the aggression of one and the ultimatums of the other. These two forces of reaction, fanaticism and violence seem determined to combine against all those values which we cherish. It appears to us that these dictatorships next to us abhor the prospect of our success in combining the democratic way of life with planned economic growth. The world is aware that we have all along been firm adherents of the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. It was with this faith, and in the secure trust that aggression and trespass against us, if only brought to the notice of the United Nations, would be effectively tackled, that we continued to concentrate on the task of improving the standard of living of our own people. However, the inability of the United Nations and of the international community to condemn the aggressor and lend succour to the victim of aggression has caused us deep disappointment. In our case, as in other areas, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, peace and justice have been the victims of international power politics.

**81 Tashkent Declaration, 10 January 1966**

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

## I

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. They considered that the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent and, indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides set forth its respective position.

## II

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25 February 1966 to the positions they held prior to 5 August 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

## III

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

## IV

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

## V

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic mis-

sions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on Diplomatic Intercourse.

## VI

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

## VII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they will give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

## VIII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the two sides will continue the discussion of questions relating to the problems of refugees and evictions/illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

## IX

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint India-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Govern-



ment and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality.

They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to witness this Declaration.

(Sd.) LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI  
Prime Minister of India

(Sd.) MOHAMMED AYUB KHAN  
President of Pakistan

**82 "Whom is the Soviet leadership taking united action with?", Observer's article in *People's Daily*, 2 February 1966 (Extracts)**

The Soviet delegation to Vietnam headed by A.N. Shelepin arrived in Hanoi amid the fanfare of "peace offensive" trumpets blown loudly by the Johnson Administration. What was Shelepin's attitude to this gigantic fraud, this monstrous conspiracy of U.S. imperialism? He did not expose it, still less did he condemn it. But on the other hand the Soviet press, for obvious ulterior purposes, went out of its way during this period to extol the so-called "Tashkent spirit," advocating "the settlement of questions through negotiations." The "Tashkent spirit," it proclaimed, "far exceeds the confines of the Indian subcontinent," it even said that it was also "of great importance" to the whole of Southeast Asia. . . . The Tashkent talks, which were initiated by the Soviet leaders, were also a product of joint US-Soviet plotting. As soon as Moscow put forward the proposal for such a conference, Washington voiced approval. And the Johnson Administration lost no time in acclaiming the "Tashkent Declaration" when it was signed. Humphrey said without any reservation over television: "That was well done. . . . I expressed the commendation of our Government to Mr. Kosygin."

During the India-Pakistan conflict, both the United States and the Soviet Union instigated and encouraged the Indian aggressors, and crudely pressured Pakistan which was acting in self-defence to safeguard its sovereignty. Why did they work hard in close co-ordination afterwards to bring the Indian and Pakistan leaders together to "make peace"? The truth is the Soviet leaders went to all that trouble to conjure up a "Tashkent spirit" for the simple reason that they wanted to continue back-

ing up the Indian reactionaries and to use that "spirit" to publicize their general line of "peaceful coexistence" in order to weaken the united struggle against imperialism in Asia and Africa. As far as U.S. imperialism was concerned, its purpose was to make common cause against China and push ahead with its global strategy, utilizing the Soviet leaders' intervention in Asian affairs. The *New York Times* has pointed out that the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union "seem to coincide" on the India-Pakistan question. This remark pinpoints the reason for their united action.

Pakistan, 1966-1980



**83 Ayub's speech at the banquet in honour of Liu Shao-chi,  
26 March 1966 (Extract)**

The year that has elapsed. . .has been a critical one. For us it was marked by a short but heroic struggle when the armed forces and the people of Pakistan were called upon to defend their country against aggression.

The people of Pakistan remember with deep gratitude the support they received from the Government and people of China in that hour of trial.

The ties of friendship between our two countries have been further reinforced as a result of the just stand that your great country has taken on the question of the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination and in upholding the struggle of our people to safeguard their political independence and territorial integrity.

The friendship between Pakistan and China is not based on expediency. It is based rather on the common desire of the peoples of the region. The policies of both Governments are based on principles. Among these principles is a belief in the right of peoples to self-determination. Both countries consider it is of the fundamental importance that the friendly ties should be developed with all countries and especially with neighbours. Such a relationship is possible only on the basis of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty; independence and territorial integrity of States.

It is in this perspective that the Tashkent Declaration must be viewed. The Tashkent Declaration is a declaration of intent. It provides a framework and a procedure for settling outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan, and in particular, the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, which was the cause of the recent conflict between the two countries. Significance of the Declaration will be determined by the extent to which its provisions are implemented in finding a just and honourable settlement of this dispute.

What we did in Tashkent does not derogate in the slightest degree from our commitment to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Nor has the Declaration weakened our resolve to defend our independence and sovereignty or to pursue a policy guided by the interests of our country.

Mr. Chairman, apart from the bonds resulting from geographical contiguity and historical and cultural traditions our countries share common problems arising out of foreign exploitation and the legacy of colonial rule.

**84 Liu Shao-chi's speech at the banquet, 26 March 1966**  
(Extract)

We are very glad to see that in recent years the friendly relations between our two countries have made great progress. We have smoothly settled the boundary question left over by history and steadily strengthened our friendly co-operation in all fields. We have given each other sympathy and support in the struggle against imperialism and expansionism and in defence of national independence and world peace. Last year, when Pakistan was subjected to India's armed attacks, its Government, people and army put up a heroic resistance and dealt a heavy blow at the aggressors. The Chinese Government and people firmly supported Pakistan in its righteous fight against aggression. Recently when the imperialists and their collaborators were vilifying China without scruple and attempting to form a ring of encirclement against China, the Pakistan Government sternly refuted the nonsense about China's threat to the sub-continent, thus expressing the firm will of the Pakistan people to maintain friendship with the Chinese people. The facts show that despite the different political and social systems of our two countries, it is entirely possible for us to develop our friendly relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. These relations are in the fundamental interests of our two peoples. We firmly oppose aggressors. We support all peoples who fight against aggression. We are determined to support and assist their struggle to the best of our capability. The Pakistan people can rest assured that, when Pakistan resolutely fights against foreign aggression in defence of its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the 650 million Chinese people will stand unswervingly on their side and give them resolute support and assistance.

We have always held that the Kashmir dispute should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmir people. Any attempt to deprive the Kashmir people of their right of

self-determination or to bury the Kashmir question will neither be countenanced by the Kashmir people nor by the Pakistan people. President Ayub Khan has of late repeatedly stated that the Pakistan Government will not change its position on the Kashmir question and will continue to support the Kashmir people in their struggle for freedom. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the righteous stand of the Pakistan Government and the just struggle of the Kashmir people for their right of self-determination.

### **85 China-Pakistan joint communique, 31 March 1966**

At the invitation of Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, His Excellency Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Madame Liu Shao-chi paid a friendly State visit to Pakistan. They were accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Madame Chen Yi and other high officials of the Chinese Government. . . .

The Chairman and the President had a frank and friendly exchange of views on the present international situation and the further development of the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan. They expressed satisfaction at the results of the talks.

The Chairman and President stressed that the Kashmiri people's right of self-determination must be respected and that the Kashmir dispute should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people as pledged to them by both Pakistan and India. The President reaffirmed that the Pakistan Government will continue to support the Kashmiri people's struggle for self-determination. The Chairman reaffirmed the firm support of the Chinese Government and people to the righteous stand of the Pakistan Government on this dispute and the just struggle of the Kashmiri people for their right of self-determination.

The President expressed the deep gratitude of the Government and people of Pakistan for the support they received from the Government and people of China in resisting aggression. The Chairman expressed admiration for the heroism and patriotism of the Pakistan people in their struggle against foreign aggression and intervention. The Chairman reaffirmed

that the Chinese Government and people adhere to their principled stand of opposing aggression and assisting its victims, and that the Chinese people unswervingly stand on the side of the Pakistan people in their struggle to defend national independence and sovereignty and oppose aggression.

The President reiterated the firm belief of the Government and people of Pakistan that the People's Republic of China should be restored its lawful rights in the United Nations, and that any scheme to create "two Chinas" is bound to fail. The Chairman expressed thanks for this stand.

The Chairman and the President expressed satisfaction at the development of friendly relations between their countries. They stressed that the friendship between China and Pakistan is not based on expediency but has a solid foundation. The people of the two countries have given sympathy and support to each other in the struggle against aggression, and a profound friendship has been forged between them. The two parties are determined to further strengthen and develop the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan, and hold that this is in accord with the common desire of the two peoples and conducive to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace.

**86 President Ayub's first-of-the-month broadcast to the nation,  
1 April 1966 (Extract)**

I have repeatedly declared that our relations with China do not militate against the interest of any other country. These relations are being strengthened in the interest of peace and peace alone. There should, therefore, be no apprehension in any country about our relations with China. Our relations with other countries continue to be friendly and it is our endeavour to strengthen them further.

**87 Official memorandum by Foreign Minister Bhutto, 11 April  
1966 (Extracts)**

We have good relations with China not because China gave an ultimatum to India during the September war. Our good relations with China preceded the ultimatum. Our relations with China have developed not on account of any particular initia-



tive taken by China, but on account of the hard realities of geography, history and politics. If good relations with the great powers depend on each and every initiative either in favour or otherwise then there would be no continuity or certainty in State relations and no logical rules determining the course of relationship between the States. Therefore, it is essential for us to improve our relations with the Soviet Union independent of any particular initiative. . . . This will give our relations a broader scope and much greater manoeuvrability.

**88 Vice-Premier Chen Yi's speech at Dacca civic reception,  
15 April 1966 (Extract)**

Some people said that by supporting Pakistan's struggle against Indian aggression and the Kashmiri people's struggle for the right to self determination, China was "adding fuel to the fire" and "fishing in troubled waters." These assertions are a complete reversal of right and wrong. Should China have refrained from supporting the victim of aggression but supplied large amounts of weapons to the aggressor as they did, in order not to be labelled as "adding fuel to the fire"? Should China have supported India's annexation of Kashmir while disguising herself as an impartial mediator as they did, in order not to be labelled as "fishing in troubled waters"? We always draw a clear line of distinction between right and wrong and uphold principles. We maintain that only by supporting the victim of aggression and dealing blows to the aggressor can justice be upheld and peace be defended. In the future, should East Pakistan or West Pakistan again face the armed attack of any aggressor, the Chinese Government and people will continue to support the Pakistan people in their struggle to safeguard national independence, state sovereignty and national unity. So long as the Kashmiri people still suffer from brutal oppression and are deprived of their freedom, the Chinese Government and people will continue to support them in their struggle for the right to self-determination. We will never change this stand of ours, no matter how others may abuse and slander us.

**89 President Ayub's speech at a dinner given in honour of Chou En-lai, 29 June 1966 (Extract)**

It is a firm principle of our foreign policy to promote friendly relations with all countries of the world, specially our neighbours. Pakistan and China are close neighbours and have historic links. The development of friendly relations between them conforms to their national interests and reflects the desire of their peoples to forge good neighbourly ties. This friendship is not based on expediency but on principles and will continue to flourish over the years.

The people of Pakistan can never forget the invaluable support of the people and Government of China in their hour of need. We also value greatly the support of China to the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their own future as pledged to them by both India and Pakistan.

Our two countries are engaged in efforts to develop their economies and to improve the lot of their peoples. We greatly admire China for the remarkable progress made by her in every sphere in a short space of time. We can learn much from your experience. We therefore, welcome the growth of commercial and economic cooperation between our two countries. In order to maintain and promote our development, we need conditions of peace and order in our region and the world. This can come about only through a just settlement of the issues involved in keeping with the wishes of the peoples concerned.

**90 Chen Yi's speech at the banquet given in honour of Pakistan Minister of Commerce, 28 July 1966**

Our Pakistan friends can rest assured that when you resolutely resist foreign aggression and threat, we will certainly support and assist you. The Chinese people remain for ever the most reliable friends of the Pakistan people.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said that we should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports. The US imperialists and the Soviet modern revisionists do not like Sino-Pakistan friendship, nor do the Indian expansionists. They try hard to undermine the relations of friendship and co-operation between our two countries. This

proves that we have done the right thing to develop Sino-Pakistan friendship, which is in accord with the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Pakistan peoples and conducive to the consolidation of peace in this region. The United States and the Soviet Union are trying by every means possible to plot joint Indian Pakistan opposition to China; this is detrimental to China and is also harmful to Pakistan. I can say with certainty that this scheme of the United States and the Soviet Union will not be countenanced by the people of our two countries, nor by our two Governments. No force on earth can undermine the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples.

**91 Statement by Foreign Minister Pirzada in the UN General Assembly, 29 September 1966 (Extract)**

It is necessary to recognize in the very first place that this Organization cannot perform its essential tasks of maintaining world peace and furthering international cooperation if it does not include within its fold all the nations of the world. The arguments advanced to keep the door of this Organization locked against the People's Republic of China never had any justification in logic or basis in law. That policy imposed a disability, not on the People's Republic of China, but on this Organization. To persist today in preventing the People's Republic of China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations and all its organs, on whatever pretext or by whichever stratagem, is to ignore the realities of the world situation. The absence of the real representatives of China from the United Nations is the most important single cause of the decline of its effectiveness and the inability of the world community to deal realistically with the problem of disarmament and to settle the many conflicts and tensions in Asia.

**92 Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi's speech at the banquets during Pakistan Foreign Minister Pirzada's visit, 22 and 25 October 1966 (Extracts)**

The flower of Sino-Pakistan friendship has not grown in a greenhouse but has stood the test of storms. U.S. imperialism,

Soviet modern revisionism and the Indian reactionaries have never ceased their activities to sabotage Sino-Pakistan friendship. However, far from being weakened, this friendship is growing ever stronger. . . . It is through constant struggle against evil forces that Sino-Pakistan friendship has grown up. The friendly relations between China and Pakistan were based on the vital interests of the two peoples and on the safeguarding of peace and security in this region. With such a solid basis, Sino-Pakistan friendship could never be undermined by any force on earth. . . .

As in the past, the Chinese Government and people would always stand by the Pakistan people in their struggle to safeguard national independence and to oppose Indian expansion and foreign aggression, and in the Kashmiri people's struggle for the right to self-determination. . . .

The Indian reactionaries. . . backed by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet modern revisionists, "are energetically continuing their arms expansion and war preparation, obdurately pursuing their big-nation chauvinist and expansionist policies, ruthlessly persecuting the Kashmiri people who are fighting for the right to self-determination, and tightening their control over Bhutan which is striving to win independence. At the same time, the Indian reactionaries have raised a hue and cry about what they call China-Pakistan 'collaboration' and 'threat' to India and have concocted lies that Chinese troops have intruded into Bhutan, all in a vain attempt to sow discord between China and her neighbouring countries so as to realize their ulterior motives." The Indian reactionaries, by sanguinarily suppressing the people at home and, externally, hiring themselves out to U.S. imperialism and carrying out expansionism, would come to no good end.

**93 Speech by Yeh Chien-ying, Vice Chairman of the National Defence Council, at the banquet given in honour of the Pakistani Defence Minister Vice-Admiral Afzal Rahman Khan in Peking, 26 May 1967 (Summary)**

Noting that China and Pakistan were good neighbours, he [Yeh] said that the people of the two countries had a traditional friendship of long standing. Though U.S. imperialism and its

followers were hostile to Sino-Pakistan friendship and tried to undermine it, no force on earth could obstruct its consolidation and development.

Yeh Chien-ying paid tribute to the Pakistan people for their struggle in resisting aggression by the Indian reactionaries, the stooges of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, and in safeguarding state sovereignty and national dignity,

Yeh Chien-ying expressed the unswerving determination of China's 700 million people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army to support the Pakistan people in safeguarding their national independence and territorial integrity and to support the Kashmiri people's just struggle for the right to self-determination.

**94 Speech by Vice-Premier Nieh Jung-chen at the banquet given in honour of visiting Pakistani Government goodwill delegation led by Khwaja Shahabuddin, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, 29 September 1967 (Extracts)**

The friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries had made much progress in recent years. The friendly relations existing between the two countries were based on equality and mutual respect.

Vice-Premier Nieh Jung-chen strongly condemned the Indian reactionaries who had hired themselves out to U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and carried out incessant political blackmail and military provocations against China and Pakistan. He said: "Our enemies are all extremely hostile to and afraid of the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples, and they try in a thousand and one ways to sow discord and dissension between our two countries, in a vain attempt to achieve their ulterior aims." Therefore, it was "necessary for both our peoples to heighten their vigilance and strengthen their unity so as to frustrate any scheme aimed at undermining Sino-Pakistan friendship and be ready at any time to deal crushing blows at the aggressors."

"The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle against foreign aggression and interference, and firmly support the people of Kashmir in their struggle for national self-determina-

tion and against the Indian reactionaries' tyrannical rule. This stand of ours is consistent and unswerving". . . .

"Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that, in your struggles against imperialist intervention and subversion and against the Indian reactionaries' expansionism, the Chinese people will always be your friends. No one can undermine the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples."

**95 Statement by Chinese Charge d' Affaires in Rawalpindi as broadcast by Radio Peking, 10 February 1968**

The brave Chinese people, who have been amply tested during the great cultural revolution, initiated and directed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, will fully support the people and the Government of Pakistan in meeting and repelling any foreign invasion and aggression and will go on resolutely supporting the struggle of the people of Kashmir for the attainment of their right of self-determination.

**96 Speech by Vice-Premier Chen Yi at Pakistan Embassy reception celebrating Pakistan's National Day, 23 March 1968 (Extracts)**

The Pakistan Government and people have recently smashed foreign schemes to subvert and split Pakistan and exposed the criminal manoeuvres of imperialism and modern revisionism in stepping up the arming of India and threatening the security of Pakistan and South Asia as a whole. The just struggle of the Pakistan people has won the sympathy and support of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. . . .

The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to oppose foreign aggression and interference and safeguard state sovereignty and national independence, and firmly support the Kashmiri people in their just struggle to win the right to national self-determination.

In recent years, the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Pakistan have steadily developed and our mutual understanding is constantly increasing. In spite of the

fact that imperialism, revisionism and reaction have an intense hatred for Sino-Pakistan friendship and are constantly trying to sow discord between us and to sabotage our friendship, all their schemes have failed ignominiously thanks to the joint endeavours of the Chinese and Pakistan Governments and peoples. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, make unremitting efforts to promote the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

**97 Extracts from *Political Situation in Pakistan* by Z.A. Bhutto, June 1968**

Pakistan remains committed to the United States without a *quid pro quo*, yet Government proclaims a strange kind of neutrality in relations with three Great Powers. We make declarations on bilateral relations and remain pledged to an extreme form of multilateralism. The Sino-Indian conflict opened the eyes of our rulers to the geographical situation of our country. . . .

Pakistan does not have any disputes with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and yet we outpassed even the United States' NATO allies, including Britain and Germany, in our ability to provoke the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. India, which was genuinely non-aligned under Nehru, received as much, if not more, economic assistance and food supplies as aligned Pakistan.

Pakistan's policy of complete attachment to the United States was to a considerable extent responsible for the Soviet Union's consistent partiality towards India . . . . Following Pakistan's developing relations with China in the aftermath of the Sino-Indian conflict some small signs of better attitude of the Soviet Union towards Pakistan were discernible.

Now that there has been a freeze in Pakistan-China relations, the Soviet Union has deemed it safe to openly return to its traditional policy and restore military assistance to India without any fear of reaction from China. . . .

The Tashkent Declaration involves nonaligned India and an aligned Pakistan that has lost its military support from the United States and a measure of political support from China.

The Soviet Union continues to maintain its preference for







**98 Speech by Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi at the banquet given in honour of Foreign Minister Arshad Hussain, 4 August 1968 (Extract)**

The imperialists, modern revisionists and expansionists bitterly hate Sino-Pakistan friendship and are continually sabotaging it. But their schemes have all met with ignominious failure. Foreign Minister Hussain has recently reiterated in the Pakistan National Assembly that friendship with China is a cardinal principle of Pakistan's foreign policy. This represents a high appraisal of Sino-Pakistan friendship as well as tremendous trust in the Chinese Government and people. The Chinese Government and people also highly value their friendship and co-operation with Pakistan. We shall unswervingly contribute our share to the consolidation and development of this friendship.

Under President Ayub Khan's leadership, the Government and people of Pakistan have carried out resolute struggles against foreign aggression and intervention to safeguard their state sovereignty and national independence and have won significant victories. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and intervention and firmly support the people of Kashmir in their just struggle for national self-determination. We are consistent and steadfast in this stand.

**99 Speech by Foreign Minister Arshad Hussain at the banquet, 4 August 1968 (Extract)**

Relations between Pakistan and China, are based on principles of mutual respect, non-interference in each other's affairs, respect for each other's sovereignty and mutual co-operation in the larger interests of our two peoples. It is our view that neither expediency nor pursuit of selfish interests at the cost of others find any place in the policy of either Pakistan or China. On the other hand, good neighbourly conduct, as manifested in co-operative, friendly and mutually beneficial relations, is the guiding principle of the policies of China as well as of Pakistan.

We desire to further increase the pace of this development.

Unfortunately, however, the policies of one of our neighbouring countries are causing us concern in regard to our security and the maintenance of peace in the region. We have a national obligation in our circumstances to be alert and vigilant in the face of threat to our security. When aggression is forced upon a people, they are left with no other choice but to defend themselves. In 1965, we were forced to fight in defence of our independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty. We remember with gratitude the strong support that your great country extended to us at that time, as also the very valuable assistance which has come to us since then. It is in times of difficulty that true and loyal friendship proves itself. Your help on that occasion was a shining example of such a friendship.

The people of Pakistan, like the people of Jammu and Kashmir, are aware of your support to their struggles. In accordance with the lofty principles which your great country upholds, you have on many occasions declared your support for their just struggles. Pakistan will spare no effort to help secure for the people of Jammu and Kashmir what is their just and rightful due.

**100 Speech by Vice Premier Chen Yi at the Peking banquets during Pakistani Government Goodwill Delegation led by Syed Fida Hasan, Adviser to President Ayub Khan, 28 September and 2 October 1968 (Extracts)**

The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just struggles of the revolutionary people of all countries; they firmly support the Pakistan people's struggle against colonialism and expansionism and the Kashmiri peoples's just struggle for national self-determination. . . .

The current visit to our country by Fida Hasan and the other distinguished guests from Pakistan has deepened our mutual understanding and made an important contribution to the further consolidation and development of Sino-Pakistan friendship.

The Vice-Premier thanked the Pakistan Government for its public refutation of the lies slandering China as persecuting Muslims spread by certain persons with ulterior motives. He said: The Pakistan Government and people have pursued an

independent foreign policy, defending national independence and sovereignty, opposing foreign aggression and intervention and upholding the principle of Sino-Pakistan friendship. The Chinese Government and people are greatly encouraged by this. We are deeply convinced that, by strengthening their unity and increasing their vigilance, the industrious and courageous Pakistan people can smash all plots of foreign aggression and intervention. Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that the Chinese Government and people will firmly support their just struggle. The Chinese people will remain the reliable friends of the Pakistan people for ever.

**101 Foreign Minister Arshad Hussain's Address to Pakistan  
Institute of International Affairs, 2 November 1968  
(Extracts)**

Pakistan's policy towards China is based on a careful assessment of Pakistan's immediate and long term interests. It would be incorrect to assume that these relations could be based on mere expediency or opportunism. The political aspects of Sino-Pakistan relations are of vital interest to Pakistan and friendship with China is of fundamental importance to Pakistan's security. Since the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 the global policy aims of the super-powers have tended to coincide over the issue of India's posture of confrontation with China. Although there is no possibility of any large scale military clash between China and India, certain foreign powers, have given substantial material help in building up India's military capability. This military build-up, coupled with India's militant outlook and hostility to Pakistan, has created a grave and continuing threat more to Pakistan than to China. China is well able to take care of itself. . . . Considering the security problem with which Pakistan is faced as a result of Indian threats and the need to ensure minimum defence requirements, it is not difficult to visualise how much more vulnerable Pakistan's position would be without Sino-Pakistan friendship.

**102 Speech by Huang Yung-sheng, Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army at the Peking banquets during the visit of a Pakistani Armed Forces Delegation, led by General Yahya Khan, C-in-C of Army, 8 and 10 November 1968 (Extracts)**

Under President Ayub Khan's leadership, the Pakistan people have in recent years fought unremittingly to safeguard their national independence and resist foreign aggression. The Pakistan people and armed forces have heroically repulsed the armed attacks by the Indian reactionaries. United as one, the Pakistan people have time and again frustrated subversive activities from abroad and criminal schemes to split East and West Pakistan. We sincerely hope that the Pakistan people and armed forces will achieve new and still greater victories in their just struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty.

The most ferocious aggressors of our time, U.S. imperialism and the chieftain of modern revisionism, are stepping up their collaboration in a vain effort to redivide the world. They collude and give large quantities of arms and equipment and "economic aid" to support the Indian reactionaries who have repeatedly invaded the territories of China and Pakistan and are threatening the security of our two countries. U.S. imperialism and the chieftain of modern revisionism have done everything that is evil and disgraceful. . . .

The Chinese people would, as they had done before, resolutely support the Pakistan people's just struggle to defend national independence and oppose foreign aggression and firmly support the just struggle of the Kashmiri people for the right to national self-determination!

Fostered by U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism, the Indian reactionaries, the defeated enemy of the peoples of China and Pakistan, disregard the plight of the Indian people and are frantically expanding their arms and strengthening their war machine, menacing the security of China and Pakistan. . . .

**103 Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih's speech at the Pakistan National Day reception in Peking, 23 March 1969 (Extracts)**

The people of Pakistan may rest assured that the Chinese people will always remain your reliable friends in your struggle to oppose foreign aggression and interference and safeguard national independence. The Chinese people remain unshakable in adhering to their stand of giving resolute support to the Kashmiri people's just struggle for the right to self-determination. . . .

A profound traditional friendship exists between the people of China and Pakistan. In recent years, great progress has been made in the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries. As pointed out by Ambassador Kaiser, the friendship between China and Pakistan is not based on expediency. Our friendship is based on a solid foundation. We have sympathized with and supported each other in our common struggle against imperialism and expansionism. In our relationship, we both firmly abide by the five principles of peaceful coexistence; each shows respect for the other, each refrains from imposing its will on the other, and we do not interfere in each other's internal affairs. The development of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Pakistan is the result of the joint efforts made by our two governments and peoples, and it is also inseparable from the active endeavours of President Ayub Khan. The people of both countries are gratified with this development. However, the imperialists, modern revisionists and their lackeys are extremely hostile to Sino-Pakistan friendship. They have spread all kinds of rumours and resorted to various despicable means in futile attempts to undermine and sow discord in the friendly relations between the people of China and Pakistan. As they have failed ignominiously in the past, so they can never achieve their aims, now or ever.

**104 Chou En-lai's message to President Yahya Khan, 5 May 1969**

In recent years the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan have greatly developed, and as Your Excellency is aware, this is in accordance with the common

interests of our two peoples. I wish to reiterate to Your Excellency that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, strengthen friendly and good neighbourly relations with Pakistan on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity: mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the just struggle of the Pakistan Government and people to oppose foreign aggression and interference and firmly support the Kashmiri people's just struggle for the right of self-determination.

I hope that through the joint efforts of both sides, the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistani peoples will continue to consolidate and develop.

**105 Chou En-lai's speech at the banquet given in honour of Air Marshal Nur Khan of Pakistan, 13 July 1969 (Extract)**

At present, the U.S. imperialists and social-imperialists are stepping up their collusion and contention in pursuing their policies of aggression and war in a vain attempt to dominate and redivide the world. Recently, in particular, they have been running hither and thither in Asia for a series of scheming activities against China, against the people and against the revolution. The so-called "Asian collective security system" is a new step taken by social-imperialism in its intensified efforts to rig up a new anti-China military alliance. Flaunting the signboard of "collective security," social-imperialism actually aims at aggression and expansion against Asian countries, trying to force them to abandon their sovereignty and independence. In order to realize this scheme, it has put forward the so-called "regional economic co-operation" by taking advantage of Asian countries' desire to develop their national economies, vainly attempting thereby to lure them into its trap and gradually place them within its sphere of influence. In so doing, social-imperialism is simply stepping into the shoes of U.S. imperialism. This "treaty" and that "organization" rigged up by U.S. imperialism in Asia over a decade ago for opposing China and the people have fallen apart and exist only in name. In repeating

the same practice today, social-imperialism will only meet with still more ignominious failure. It is only natural and perfectly just that the Pakistan people and the righteous world opinion have recently exposed and rebutted its schemes.

### **106 Speech by Air Marshal Nur Khan in Peking, 16 July 1969**

The strength of your country has been and will remain a stabilizing factor in the maintenance of peace in the region. It is our belief that China does not pose a threat to any nation.

There are no outstanding issues between our two countries. We have exchanged views at length with Your Excellency and your colleagues about problems of mutual interest. Discussions held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere between us have demonstrated, as usual, a complete meeting of minds on all such problems. China's unqualified support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for the inalienable right of self-determination is a source of strength to them and is appreciated by all those who cherish justice and human freedom. Our determination to secure the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir remains unshakable.

We are grateful, Your Excellency, for the valuable assistance your country has so generously extended to us. This assistance has already made an impact on our national development. The highway linking our two countries which is now nearing completion is an outstanding engineering feat and symbolises courage and competence of our two peoples. The spirit of cooperation between our two peoples demonstrated in this project will effectively serve the cause of economic development in this region and will further strengthen economic and friendly ties between us.

The people of Pakistan are engaged in the challenging task of safeguarding their independence and sovereignty and promoting economic prosperity. It is our conviction that peace is essential for the achievement of our national objectives. We are confident that with the existing identity of views on problems of mutual interest, China and Pakistan are making a significant contribution to the cause of peace and security in this part of the world. Pakistan and China have set an example in neighbourly cooperation which others can well emulate. Where such



understanding is lacking and, furthermore, where differences exist on fundamental issues, any talk of regional cooperation on economic or other issues is unrealistic.

**107 Chou En-lai's speech at the banquet given by Nur Khan in Peking, 16 July 1969 (Extracts)**

Air Marshall Nur Khan's present visit to China has made new contributions to the strengthening of the friendly relations between the two countries and proves once again that Sino-Pakistan friendship is based on the solid foundation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and that no one on earth can undermine it. Imperialism, modern revisionism and their lackeys have once again failed in their recent scheme to wantonly sabotage Sino-Pakistan friendship. . . .

The modern revisionists themselves have really betrayed internationalism and wallowed in the mire with imperialism and have degenerated into social-imperialists. . . .

The Chinese Government will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan people against foreign aggression, firmly support the Kashmiri people in their struggle for the right to national self-determination.

**108 Speech by Kuo Mo-jo at the dinner given in his honour in Pakistan, 11 March 1970 (Extract)**

China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours. There exists a profound traditional friendship between our two peoples. Although the social systems of our two countries are different, in our relations, we respect each other and refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs; in the struggle against imperialism and expansionism, we sympathize with and support each other in the development of economic co-operation, we help each other and meet each other's need. Facts prove that the Sino-Pakistan friendship based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence has a broad prospect of development.

The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao teaches us: "The just struggles of the people of all countries support each other." The Pakistan Government and people explicitly oppose the plot of creating "two Chinas" and stand

for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. We express our sincere thanks for this just support of yours. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and oppose foreign aggression and interference and firmly support the Kashmiri people in their just struggle for the right to self-determination. I am deeply convinced that the strengthening of the Sino-Pakistan friendship is in accord with the fundamental interests of our two peoples and conducive to the Afro-Asian people's common cause of unity against imperialism.

Our visit to your country is made just at the beginning of the great 1970s. May the Sino-Pakistan friendship, with the joint efforts of our two Governments and peoples, be further consolidated and developed in the coming years.

**109 Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo's speech at the reception given by Pakistan Ambassador in celebration of his country's National Day, 23 March 1970 (Extracts)**

. . . The people of Pakistan have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and expansionism. The Pakistan Government has pursued a foreign policy of independence and persevered in upholding state sovereignty and national dignity and in opposing foreign aggression and interference and the expansionist policy of big-nation chauvinism. The Chinese Government and people express great admiration for this. . . .

There exists a profound traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Pakistan. In recent years, thanks to the common efforts of our two Governments and peoples, the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan have continuously developed and grown stronger. . . .

Sino-Pakistan friendship is based on the Five Principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence; it grows in the struggle against the aggression and interference by imperialism and expansionism and is in accord

with the fundamental interests of the peoples of China and Pakistan. . . .

Together with the Pakistan Government and people, we will, as always, make joint efforts to safeguard and promote Sino-Pakistan friendship. We firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and oppose foreign aggression and interference and firmly support the Kashmiri people's just struggle for the right to self-determination. We are deeply convinced that Sino-Pakistan friendship can stand the test of time. No one can ever succeed in his wild attempt to sabotage the friendly relations between China and Pakistan.

**110 Banquet speeches of Commander of Air Force, Wu Fa-hsien, at the time of Pakistan Air Force C-in-C's visit, 31 May and 3 June 1970 (Extracts)**

The smooth development of the friendly relations between China and Pakistan is in accord with the fundamental interests of our two peoples and conducive to the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism. The Pakistan people have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and expansionism. The Pakistan Government and people have pursued a foreign policy of independence and persisted in safeguarding state sovereignty and national dignity and in opposing foreign aggression and interference. The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army firmly support the Pakistan people and army in their just struggle to oppose foreign interference and safeguard state sovereignty and firmly support the Kashmiri people in their just struggle for the right to self-determination. . . .

Together with our Pakistan friends, we will, as always, make joint efforts to further develop the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. The people of Pakistan can rest assured that the Chinese people will always remain their reliable friends in the struggle against imperialism and expansionism.

**111 Pakistan Air Force C-in-C Abdul Rahim Khan's banquet speeches in Peking, 31 May and 3 June 1970 (Extracts)**

The friendship between the people of Pakistan and China is founded on mutuality of our interests and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. This friendship will grow from strength to strength and prove a powerful force in the cause of peace and stability in Asia.

We are pledged to the people of Jammu and Kashmir that they be given the right of self-determination. The people of Pakistan are gratified at the firm and consistent support that the People's Republic of China has given to the cause of the Kashmiri people. . . .

The people of Pakistan will always remember with deep gratitude the resolute support given by the People's Republic of China at the time of our national peril when India launched an aggression against Pakistan in 1965. During those critical days in our national existence not only did we defeat a treacherous enemy but also found a true friend.

Provided Pakistan and China are united, we are certainly able to defeat imperialism and thus set an example for the people of Asia. . . .

Pakistan-China friendship has contributed significantly to the cause of peace in our region. Our friendship is not based on the transient motives of expediency or selfishness.

China's firm and consistent support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for their inalienable right of self-determination has been a source of great strength and inspiration to them. China has given us generous economic assistance. This has yielded substantial results in our economic development. China proved in deeds the depth and loyalty of her friendship for Pakistan and her firm backing for a just cause.

**112 Statement of President Yahya Khan in the UN General Assembly, 24 October 1970 (Extract)**

Unless the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China can find a way to the mutual accommodation of their interests and harmonizing them with the aspira-

tions of the others world peace will remain insecure.

The first step indeed the essential step to strengthen international peace and security would be to restore forthwith the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Without the active participation of over 700 million people of China this world body will remain seriously handicapped in fulfilling its primary responsibilities. China's participation, which is within her rights, would be a vital factor for consolidating peace and promoting progress throughout the world. In this context, I am happy to say that Pakistan for one is not a country that dreads an accommodation between any two among the three great powers, or better still, among all three. Friendly relations with the People's Republic of China, the United States and the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of our policy.

### **113 Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu's speech, 11 November 1970**

**(Extract)**

China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours. There exists a profound traditional friendship between our two peoples. Our friendly relations have been established on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. These relations have developed in the common struggle against imperialism and expansionism. Our two peoples sympathize with and support each other in the struggle against imperialism and expansionism and co-operate with and assist each other in the economic, scientific and technological fields. In recent years, the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have developed satisfactorily. Although some people are displeased with the continuous development of Sino-Pakistan friendly relations and are even sowing dissension, we firmly believe that, with the joint efforts of our two Governments and two peoples, they will not succeed in their attempt.

In disregard of foreign pressure, the Pakistan Government and people have persisted in their friendship with China and firmly opposed the scheme of creating "two Chinas." Not long ago, President Yahya Khan made very friendly remarks about

China on the international platform reaffirming the Pakistan Government's just stand in support of the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. . . .

Following Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teachings on supporting the just struggles of the people of all countries, the Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and national dignity and oppose foreign aggression and interference, and firmly support the Kashmiri people in their just struggle for the right to self-determination. Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that the Chinese people will always stand together with you and remain your reliable friends in your struggle to defend national independence and oppose foreign aggression. . . .

**114 Yahya Khan's banquet speech in Peking, 11 November 1970  
(Extracts)**

Excellency, a profound and abiding friendship exists between the people of China and Pakistan. This friendship, which is governed by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, springs from the determined will of our two peoples to live in peace and amity. Like you, we firmly believe in these principles which pay due regard to the national aspirations of peoples, irrespective of their size and differences of their way of life. Sino-Pakistan friendship is not based on expediency nor is it directed against others. Its essence is good-will and mutual co-operation, its ultimate aim is peace.

Excellency, the people and Government of Pakistan will always remember with deep gratitude the unstinted support your great country and people extended to Pakistan at a time when our national existence was threatened by armed aggression from our neighbour. We are profoundly grateful to you for the substantial assistance that you have made available to us in various fields. Co-operation between our two countries in the field of trade and commerce is also expanding. We have been continuing to pursue a policy of peace and friendship with other countries. . . .

We are beholden to your Government and people, Excellency, for extending, so unremittingly their unstinted support

to the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir a people in bondage.

The People's Republic of China, with a fifth of the world's population and its great advancement in science and technology, is a major Power with vast capability for the promotion of world peace. She has abundantly demonstrated her dedication to peace by offering to resolve all her disputes with other nations through free and frank discussions. The world must recognise China's vital role and importance in resolving the grave problems that bedevil our world today. It is short-sighted to deny the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the comity of nations and in all world organisations, to which her title is indisputable as the sole legal representative of all the Chinese people. Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China. We categorically reject the myth of two Chinas and all that is attempted to be built round this myth.

**115 China-Pakistan joint communique on President Yahya Khan's visit to China, 14 November 1970 (Extracts)**

Premier Chou En-lai and President Yahya Khan held talks in a very sincere and friendly atmosphere on important international issues, further development of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Pakistan and other questions of common interest. Both sides were highly satisfied with the results of the talks. . . .

The two sides expressed full satisfaction at the deep, all-round development of the friendly relations between China and Pakistan on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. The two sides expressed the view that the further strengthening and development of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Pakistan were in accord with the common desire and fundamental interests of the two peoples and conducive to the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism. The two sides expressed the view that strict adherence by both China and Pakistan to the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence was exemplified in the settlement of the boundary question bet-

ween the two countries. Such friendly relations between China and Pakistan provided a good example of friendly relations between states practising different social systems.

The Pakistan side expressed deep appreciation of the assistance and co-operation that China had extended to Pakistan and warmly acknowledged the fact that China's generous help in the true spirit of mutuality of benefit had contributed to the economic development of Pakistan. Noting that Pakistan had currently launched her Fourth Five Year Plan, the Chinese Government expressed its willingness to render to Pakistan further assistance within China's means and capacity to help make the economy of Pakistan self-reliant.

Warmly praising the determination and courage that the people of Pakistan had consistently displayed in safeguarding their national integrity, the Chinese side reiterated its firm support to the people of Pakistan in their struggle for the defence of national independence and against all forms of outside aggression or foreign interference and to the Kashmiri people in their just struggle for their right of self-determination. The Chinese side noted with interest the recent offer made by the President of Pakistan on the withdrawal of troops with a view to enabling the people of Jammu and Kashmir to freely exercise their right of self-determination, and considered it worthy of the support of the people of various countries. The Pakistan side expressed thanks for China's support.

The President apprised the Chinese leaders of the dispute over the distribution of the Ganges waters. The Chinese side appreciated Pakistan's stand for a peaceful solution of this question and hoped for an early settlement of this dispute.

The Pakistan side reiterated that Government of the People's Republic of China was the sole legal Government of the Chinese people and that Taiwan was an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Pakistan side expressed the firm conviction that without the participation of the People's Republic of China the important problems that confront the world today could not be resolved, and reaffirmed that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored forthwith. The Chinese side expressed thanks for the friendly stand of Pakistan.

The two sides held that the present international situation



was continuing to develop in favour of the people of various countries. The two sides reaffirmed that the people of all countries had the right to settle their problems by themselves without any outside threat and interference. The two sides expressed firm support to the peoples of Asia and Africa in their national independence movements and the struggle against imperialism and all forms of colonialism. They condemned the racial rule practiced by the white colonialist authorities in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Both sides expressed their determination to work for the complete prohibition and through destruction of all nuclear weapons. The Pakistan side noted with positive interest China's proposal for a Summit Conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The Chinese side expressed thanks for this.

The two sides had an exchange of views on the situation in Indo-China. They held that the struggle of the three peoples of Indo-China for national liberation was just and that the Indo-China question must be settled by the peoples of Indo-China themselves.

The two sides expressed deep concern over the situation in the Middle East where Israel, in total disregard of world opinion, continued to enjoy the fruits of its aggression. Both sides held that Israel must vacate all Arab lands that it had seized by aggression. They reaffirmed their resolute support to the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and Israeli Zionism and for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The Pakistan side paid a warm tribute to the all-round progress that the dedicated people of China have achieved in such a short period of time. It expressed admiration at the profound transformation that China had undergone through the Great Cultural Revolution under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Both sides agreed that the visit of the President of Pakistan, General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan to China and the useful exchange of views between the leaders of the two countries had made an important contribution to the further development, strengthening and consolidation of the friendly relations

between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The President of Pakistan took this opportunity to renew his invitation to His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai to pay a visit to Pakistan at a mutually convenient date. The Premier while thanking the President of Pakistan indicated that he would visit Pakistan at the earliest possible opportunity.

**116 Speech by Chinese Communications Minister, Yang Chieh, at the opening of the Karakoram Highway, 16 February 1971 (Extracts)**

China and Pakistan are close friendly neighbours. The towering Karakoram mountains link us together. Since ancient times there has existed a profound traditional friendship between our two peoples. . . . Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, and especially over the past ten years, the friendship between our two peoples has been further consolidated and developed. The conclusion of the Sino-Pakistan boundary treaty has promoted our good-neighbourly relations and set a good example for peaceful settlement of boundary questions between nations. . . .

In the economic and technical fields, we have also worked in fruitful co-operation with each other. The economic co-operation between us is based on equality and mutual benefit, the supply of each other's needs and mutual assistance. The construction of the Karakoram Highway is an embodiment of these friendly relations. The construction of this Highway started in 1966. . . .

Now section from Khunjerab Daban to Hallen Gush has been completed and the Karakoram Highway has been opened to traffic. That it has been possible for our two sides to complete this plateau Highway within such a short period is a matter for rejoicing and congratulation. . . .

The Karakoram Highway is not only a road link between China and Pakistan but also a highway of friendship. We are convinced that with the completion of the Highway, the economic co-operation and trade relations between our two countries will further develop and the friendship between our two peoples further grow in strength. . . .

The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and interference and for the defence of national independence and firmly support the Kashmiri people's just struggle for the right to national self-determination. We firmly believe that our just cause will triumph and that the friendship between our two peoples will be further consolidated and developed.

**117 Speech by Pakistan's Communications Minister welcoming Yang Chieh, 18 February 1971 (Extracts)**

Pak-China relations have grown in warmth and depth during the last decade. Pak-China friendship is an important factor in the preservation and promotion of peace and stability in Asia. It is based on mutual respect for the principle of the right of self-determination of struggling peoples—the right which has been ardently advocated and staunchly upheld by both the countries in Kashmir and other areas where freedom-loving people are held in subjugation.

The friendship between People's Republic of China and Pakistan reflects mutual respect for peaceful settlement of international disputes. . . .

Pak-China friendship is also based on mutual respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of any country. Pak-China friendship has demonstrated to the world that the two countries can maintain most cordial and friendly relations notwithstanding differences in social order provided there is mutual respect and understanding for each other.

The people and the Government of Pakistan have great admiration and respect for the leaders and people of the great People's Republic of China. We attach great importance to our growing friendly relations with China.

This friendship was given a unique expression during the darkest hour of our national crisis when in 1965 India committed aggression against Pakistan. The people and the Government of China gave unqualified support to Pakistan at that critical hour. Every Pakistani recalls with a deep sense of gratitude China's moral diplomatic and material support both during and after the September War of 1965. I may claim that

Pak-China friendship is based today on fundamental and enduring factors.

As President Yahya Khan has expressed, it is our firm conviction that the close bonds of friendship and mutual friendly relations that so happily exist between the two countries will continue to develop in the years ahead and will further contribute to the preservation of peace in this region. China has proved to be a good and reliable friend of ours and we may assure that there is equally warm feeling for the people and leaders of the great People's Republic of China in Pakistan.

### **118 Yang Chieh's speech, 18 February 1971 (Extract)**

Indeed, the Sino-Pakistan friendship is firmly based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and is developed in the common struggle against imperialism and expansionism.

The friendship is therefore most valuable and can stand the test of time. It has been proved by the facts that the consolidation and development of Sino-Pakistan friendship are not only in the fundamental interests of the principles of the two countries but also beneficial to the cause of unity of Afro-Asian countries against imperialism. The Government and people of China have always been treasuring the friendship between China and Pakistan and are determined to make unremitting efforts to strengthen it.

Though our present visit to Pakistan is very short, we are deeply impressed by the determination and will of Pakistan Government and people in their persisting in the road of independent development. We are deeply moved by the sincere friendship of the Pakistan people for the Chinese people.

Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that in your just struggle against foreign aggression and for State sovereignty and national independence, the Chinese people will always remain the reliable friend of the Pakistan people. . . .

### **119 Chou En-lai's message to Bhutto on his becoming the President of Pakistan, 22 December 1971**

On the occasion of your assumption of the presidency of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, I extend to you my heartfelt con-

gratulations.

The people of Pakistan have carried on a heroic struggle against the Indian aggressors in defence of their state sovereignty and territorial integrity and won the sympathy and support of all the countries and people of the world that uphold justice. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Government and people of Pakistan in their just struggle against foreign aggression. We are deeply convinced that so long as the people of Pakistan uphold unity and persist in struggle, they will certainly be able to overcome temporary difficulties and final victory will certainly belong to the great people of Pakistan fighting valiantly against aggression.

May the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan people and the friendly relations and cooperation between the countries develop and grow stronger daily.

**120 Chou En-lai's speech at the banquet given in honour of President Bhutto, 1 February 1972 (Extract)**

The Chinese Government and people are consistently opposed to the imperialist and expansionist policy of aggression and resolutely support the people of all countries in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and territorial integrity. We have always held that a country's internal affairs, including nationality problems, should be handled only by its own people and no foreign country has the right to interfere, and that disputes between states should be settled by the two parties concerned through peaceful consultations and there should be no resort to force. Using Pakistan's internal nationality problem as a pretext and relying on the support of social-imperialism, the Indian Government has grossly interfered in Pakistan's internal affairs, and even employed massive troops for armed aggression, the military occupation of East Pakistan and the forcible dismemberment of Pakistan, thus crudely trampling upon the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the U.N. Charter and the norms guiding international relations. We pointed out more than a month ago that the fall of Dacca was definitely not a 'milestone' on the road towards victory for the Indian aggressors, but the starting point towards their defeat. By pushing power politics and an expansionist policy, the

Indian Government has not only seriously violated peace in the subcontinent, but also intensified its contradictions with its neighbouring countries and aggravated the scramble between the two superpowers in this area, thus further arousing the strong dissatisfaction and resistance of the peoples of South Asia, including the Indian people, and giving rise to still greater upheaval in the subcontinent. We can say with certainty that by its doings the Indian Government is lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet and will eventually eat the bitter fruit of its own making and meet with ignominious defeat. . . .

In their struggle against foreign aggression, the people of Pakistan have enjoyed the sympathy and support of the people of various countries. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle in defence of state sovereignty and territorial integrity and against foreign aggression and interference, and resolutely support the people of Kashmir in their just struggle for the right to national self-determination. We firmly maintain that the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council should be respected and implemented and that the Indian Government should withdraw its armed forces from Pakistan territory and cease its military provocations against Pakistan. We believe that the Pakistan people, strengthening their unity and making concerted efforts under the leadership of President Bhutto, will certainly be able to overcome their temporary difficulties and win victory in their struggle.

**121 President Bhutto's speech at the banquet, 1 February 1972  
(Extracts)**

Almost ten years ago I came here to conclude the boundary agreement between our two countries—an agreement that was for peace, confidence and stability between Pakistan and the People's Republic of China. Since these early days the relations between my country and your country have developed step by step in confidence, in trust and in mutual benefit directed towards peace and stability between our two countries, in Asia and generally in the world. We have tried to positively co-operate to promote the friendliest of relations based on five principles of peaceful co-existence. We have tried to adhere to

the norms of United Nations Charter and to the generally accepted and recognised principles of statecraft.

You have raised your powerful voice for the oppressed people, for the cause of Third World, for the aspirations of the Afro-Asian peoples. With you we have also raised our voice. Though not powerful but it was in consonance with the principles of United Nations. That voice has been raised along with yours in the interest of Third World. Relations between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan have stood the test of time. They have withstood the rigours of the political weather. This is so because our relations are rooted in principles, in geography and in a common political understanding based on permanent human values.

Ever since our independence 25 years ago, Pakistan has been subjected to armed aggression on three separate occasions by our neighbouring country India. This happened in 1947. It happened in 1965, and now again in November 1971.

On the previous two occasions, our people and our brave armed forces were able, with the co-operation and sympathy of the world at large and the People's Republic of China, in 1965 to withstand the armed aggression against the territorial integrity and unity of Pakistan.

But I regret to say that on this occasion the conspiracy against the integrity and territorial unity of my country was a deeper and broader one. And as such we have suffered from a terrible military reversal.

A part of my country is under Indian military occupation. We have been subjected to the use of brutal and naked force. And whilst this has not yet been over, we are now being subjected to diplomatic coercion from certain countries.

I want to inform our friends that the people of Pakistan are determined to arrive at a settlement between the two parts of Pakistan but that settlement must be left to the people and the leaders of the two parts of Pakistan without foreign interference and without foreign occupation.

All we seek for is the implementation of the United Nations resolutions both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. India might have won a temporary military victory which is a passing phenomenon. But Pakistan has a great political victory which is a permanent factor and that great political

victory is that the whole world, that is, 105 countries of the world in the United Nations supported Pakistan's cause as being just and right. . . .

If an effort is made to impose a settlement on Pakistan that will be a grave mistake and that will not lead to permanent peace but will lead to permanent disaster. . . .

I know that all friends here who are interested in the promotion of peace and goodwill will be happy to learn that our stay in China has been productive, useful, constructive and successful and we leave China tomorrow with greater confidence in our struggle assured by the fact that unqualifiedly we have the support of 800 million people of this great country who have stood by us and will continue to stand by us. The identity of views that we have reached here in our discussions has gratified us and I would like to repeat that we return to Pakistan completely satisfied with the discussions we have had here and with the results that we have achieved in this great capital.

Before concluding, I would like to assure the Chinese leaders and the Chinese people that Pakistan has no intention of being a liability and burden on the People's Republic of China. We would like to be a source of strength for our mutual relations directed towards the cause of world peace. If today you have to impose certain burdens on our behalf we shall remember them and we shall repay them because we want a relationship based on honour, dignity and self-respect.

### **122 China-Pakistan joint communique on Bhutto's visit to China, 2 February 1972**

The President had a detailed exchange of views with Prime Minister Chou En-lai on the Indo-Pakistan conflict and its aftermath, major international issues and the further consolidation of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Pakistan. The discussions were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. They were fully satisfied with the results of the discussion.

The President and the Prime Minister strongly condemned the naked aggression committed by India against Pakistan and the occupation of Pakistan's territory by her in blatant defiance



of international law, the United Nations Charter and the Bandung principles. They called upon the international community to take serious note of the grave consequences that must ensue for the world order if a country imposes its will on another neighbouring country by the use of military force involving armed aggression.

The President reiterated that future relations between the two parts of Pakistan should be established through negotiations between the elected leaders of the people without foreign intervention or influence and that Indian forces must withdraw from East Pakistan to enable such negotiations to take place in an atmosphere free from coercion or intimidation. He urged all States to refrain from taking any precipitate action that would not only frustrate the objective but would, in effect legitimise Indian aggression. The Prime Minister expressed his understanding of and respect for the above stand of Pakistan.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the countries in South Asia as elsewhere, should co-exist in peace and amity. They expressed their conviction that there can be no tranquillity in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent unless India vacates territories under her military occupation in implementation of the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council dated 7th and 21st December 1971 respectively. The United Nations must ensure strict observance of the cease-fire and the withdrawal of forces to their respective territories and to positions which respect the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir. They noted with gratification that the members of the Third World in general and the Islamic countries in particular are supporting the Government and the people of Pakistan in their struggle to preserve their national independence and territorial integrity against foreign aggression and interference in their internal affairs.

The President and the Prime Minister expressed grave concern over the fate of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilians in East Pakistan who are in the hands of Indian occupation forces.

They called upon India to fulfil her obligations under the Geneva Conventions and repatriate these persons without delay. The President expressed readiness to repatriate Indian prisoners of war and other civil and military personnel from East Pakistan now in West Pakistan in order to assist in the

rehabilitation of East Pakistan. The President and the Prime Minister further expressed their earnest hope that the atrocities being perpetrated against innocent civilians in East Pakistan would cease immediately.

The President and the Prime Minister held that the international situation is developing in a more and more favourable way for the people of the various countries. The President expressed his desire for peace in South Asia and for friendly relations with all neighbouring countries based on the Bandung principles. They firmly support the peoples of the Indo-Chinese countries in their just struggle for national liberation, the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and for the restoration of their legitimate rights, and the Afro-Asian peoples in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The President and the Prime Minister noted with satisfaction the development of economic co-operation between the two countries. The Prime Minister stated that in order to help the development of the national economy of Pakistan, the Chinese Government has decided to change into grants the four loans which have already been provided to Pakistan and are being utilized, and the repayment period of the loan provided in 1971 shall be deferred for 20 years. The Prime Minister further expressed the Chinese Government's readiness to provide Pakistan with fresh loans on similar terms when that loan has been utilized.

The President and the Prime Minister declared that friendship and understanding between their two countries are based on principles that are in accord with the fundamental interests and wishes of their peoples. They reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of respect for territorial integrity, peaceful co-existence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The Prime Minister warmly praised the determination and courage that the people of Pakistan had constantly displayed in safeguarding their State sovereignty and territorial integrity and reiterated the Chinese Government and people's firm support to the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to preserve their State sovereignty and territorial integrity against outside aggression and interference and their firm support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in the just

struggle for the right of self-determination.

**123 President Bhutto's speech at a public meeting at Lahore,  
19 March 1972 (Extract)**

China is our friend. China has stood by us. Our relations with China are not based on hypocrisy.

America was suspicious of our friendship with China. It does not mean we are not friendly to the United States. Now there is friendship between China and the United States. Our friendship and bond with China will stay and grow stronger. Our friendship with China is not directed against Russia. If India wishes to improve her relations with us, we are willing too. I want to assure China that there will be no conspiracy against her.

We shall never give up our friendship with China. We wish good relations with Russia and good relations with America. We wish good relations with all other countries, but I want your approval.

**124 Pakistan Foreign Secretary's speech welcoming Chinese  
Vice-Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, 28 August 1972**

The bonds of friendship and deep ties linking Pakistan and China are not based on expediency but on principles that united us. It is said in Pakistan that friendship with great China is an article of faith. This expression is what we truly mean from our heart. Because the friendship with great China is the very cornerstone of our foreign policy. We admire the principles of Chinese foreign policy and our foreign policy is based on the same principles. Our external relations are motivated by these principles.

**125 Chiao Kuan-hua's speech in Rawalpindi, 28 August 1972**

Pakistan is a great country and the people of Pakistan a hard working and heroic people. In her struggle against foreign aggression and in defence of national independence and state sovereignty, Pakistan has enjoyed the sympathy and support of the people of all countries. The resolution adopted by the U.N.

General Assembly and the other adopted by the Security Council last December expressed the views of the overwhelming majority of countries in the world and showed that justice is on the side of Pakistan. These resolutions, however, have not been earnestly carried out up to now, and this is not a satisfactory state of affairs. Persisting in principles and upholding justice the Chinese government firmly maintains that the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council resolutions last December must be duly respected and implemented conscientiously. This is the consistent stand and attitude of the Chinese government. At present, certain big powers out of their ulterior motives are attempting to obstruct the implementation of these resolutions and put off a reasonable settlement of problems of the South Asian subcontinent, maintain and aggravate tension in this region, so as to profit from it. Their course of action runs totally counter to the desires and interests of the South Asian peoples and cannot succeed.

The Chinese people are friendly toward all people of the whole south Asian subcontinent. We hope that all countries in the subcontinent will live together in peace and friendship and seek among themselves fair and reasonable solutions to their mutual problems on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. We are glad to see that the government and people of Pakistan are making efforts to this end. Not long ago, a partial troops withdrawal agreement was reached through consultations between India and Pakistan to which His Excellency President Bhutto made positive contributions. This agreement should be implemented conscientiously. His Excellency President Bhutto has recently reiterated that he is prepared to meet Mr. Mujibur Rahman without conditions to discuss all important questions between them. We deem that his reasonable proposal should be welcomed and responded to.

China-Pakistan friendship is our established policy and not a matter of expediency. The Chinese government and people will, as always, firmly support the government and people of Pakistan in their struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and will work continuously for further strengthening and development of friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries.

**126 Bhutto's speech at the banquet given in honour of Chiao Kuan-hua, 29 August 1972**

The friendship between China and Pakistan will continue to march forward and never retreat. The people and government of Pakistan will not falter or waver in further strengthening the friendship with the Chinese government and people. Sino-Pakistan relations had gone through many stresses and strains and crises, but they have continued to develop from strength to strength. Whether it was 1965 or 1971, there was no difference in quality and content of our friendship. There was a time when the world thought that China was isolated. Certain countries and people regarded it a sin to have relationship with China. "I am proud to say that the people of Pakistan were among the first sinners."

Pakistan wanted to have good relations with all its neighbours on the basis of principles and not at the cost of Pakistan's friendship with China. Pakistan was determined to improve its relations with India on the basis of the Bandung principles. Referring to the recent agreement between India and Pakistan at Simla, he said that it did not violate Pakistan's friendship with other countries and principally "our ally the People's Republic of China." Pakistan was also determined to forge fraternal relations with Muslim Bengal. Pakistan also wanted to develop good neighbourly relations with countries of the South Asian subcontinent—Sri Lanka, Burma, Nepal—and the Soviet Union. However, if ever a condition was imposed that these relations would be at the cost of Pakistan's friendship with China, "we will forsake all agreements and conditions." "This is a clear position of the government of Pakistan."

Pakistan was being asked to recognise a reality. Realities did not exist on one side of the fence. There were realities on the other side too and these were embodied in the U.N. General Assembly resolution of December 7 and the Security Council resolution of December 21. If Pakistan was being called upon to recognize one, the world should ensure recognition of the other as embodied in the U.N. Resolution. China was stressing recognition of the total reality and not a partial one. So much were being said about the Chinese veto which was her first in the United Nations. China was not responsible for the

provision of veto. Some countries had insisted that they would join the United Nations only if veto power was given to them. One great power had exercised about 107 vetoes. Some of these vetoes had fallen on the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, while others had neutralised measures to prevent aggression. Another great power did not have to use veto so much because of its brute majority in the United Nations. If veto was to be eliminated, both China and Pakistan will be happy to do so. He said that 104 countries had voted for Pakistan. This shows that neither Pakistan nor China relied on veto but on principles. Whenever Pakistan was faced with difficulties and crises, China was the first country to respond. It was always a pleasure to welcome representatives and leaders of China.

#### **127 Chiao Kuan-hua's speech at the banquet, 29 August 1972**

The most enthusiastic speech just given by President Bhutto expressed his excellency's concern for the friendship between China and Pakistan and embodied the most profound sentiments of the Pakistan people towards the Chinese people.

President Bhutto is an old friend of the Chinese people. For many years his excellency has been making outstanding contributions to the consolidation and development of the friendship between China and Pakistan. China and Pakistan are friendly neighbouring countries. In the storm of our common struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and expansionism, we have been supporting each other and have forged a profound friendship. The Chinese government and Chinese people firmly support the struggle of the Pakistan people to safeguard national dignity under the leadership of President Bhutto. This struggle is a just struggle, and just struggles are bound to win final victories.

As his Excellency President Bhutto said just now, in the course of a just struggle, there is no so-called 'isolation.' Although it is possible that some temporary phenomena occur now and then, the people of the world always stand by the countries upholding justice. The U.N. resolution on the India-Pakistan question adopted by 104 votes in the General Assembly last December and the resolution adopted later by 13 votes

in the Security Council have fully demonstrated this fact. However, there are people who are now trying to deny, disrupt or refuse to implement these two resolutions. This is something which China can by no means agree to. We must veto such unjust actions, not only now, but also in the future when necessary, because this is a veto which is used to uphold justice. . . .

**128 Statement by Premier Chou En-lai at the banquet given in honour of Begum Bhutto, 19 February 1973 (Extract)**

Pakistan is a great country. The people of Pakistan are an industrious and valiant people with a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism. Under the leadership of President Bhutto, the Government and people of Pakistan, upholding principle, have carried on an unremitting struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty, and won extensive sympathy and support from the peoples of the world. In international affairs, the Government of Pakistan has taken a series of positive measures and made valuable contributions to the advancement of the Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism. The Chinese Government and people heartily rejoice at every success you have achieved and wish you continuous new victories along your road of advance.

The present situation in the South Asian subcontinent is not satisfactory. The relevant resolutions of the U.N. Security Council have not been fully implemented to this day. The more than 90,000 interned war prisoners and civilians of Pakistan have not yet been repatriated. Recently, certain foreign forces, in an attempt to achieve their expansionist ambitions, have been stepping up subversive activities in this region, which threaten the security of Pakistan and peace in the south Asian subcontinent. The Government and people of China firmly support the Government and people of Pakistan in their just struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty against foreign aggression and subversion.

China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours. There exists a profound traditional friendship between the two peoples, who have always sympathized with and supported each other in their struggles against imperialism and expansionism. Our friendship

is one that has stood tests. In recent years, the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan have developed satisfactorily. We are convinced that Begum Bhutto's current visit to China will certainly make a new contribution to the further enhancement of China-Pakistan friendship. We wish Begum complete success in her visit.

**129 Statement by Begum Bhutto at the banquet, 19 February 1973 (Extracts)**

The just stand of the People's Republic of China in favour of prompt and unconditional repatriation of the Pakistani prisoners of war is unassailable in law and morality and has earned for it the respect and admiration of all fair-minded people in the world.

Pakistan is still faced with the threat to its independence and state sovereignty and subversive forces aided and abetted from outside. But we are vigilant. We shall not relax. We are determined to foil every attack on our independence, sovereignty and national unity. Above all we are confident that our people are determined to safeguard that independence and right to sovereign equality.

I acknowledge with satisfaction that, following in the footsteps of the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and under Your Excellency's guidance, China has emerged as a powerful voice on behalf of the third world countries which are engaged in the struggle to protect their independence, sovereignty and national identity. China's own example has inspired countries of the third world in their struggle against all forms of colonialism, imperialism and expansionism.

**130 "Pakistan Builds Anew," Article by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in *Foreign Affairs*, April 1973 (Extracts)**

Coming to our neighbour China, it has been our experience over the years that she does not harbor any thoughts of disruption in the subcontinent. On the contrary, China has scrupulously adhered to the principle of non-intervention. Pakistan's relations with China are animated by our common struggle against hegemony and our adherence to the principles of an equitable



world order. It is of the essence of such principles that they cannot operate against the legitimate interest of any third country. While standing by us in our severest crises in 1965 and 1971, China has nevertheless refrained from involving herself in the subcontinent in a disruptive manner. . . .

Our friendship with China has for some years been a cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy based as it is partly on our geographical proximity, partly on the similarity of our ideals and ambitions in relation to the Third World. China's support of Pakistan at crucial points in our history has evoked the spontaneous appreciation of our people. Our association with China, which was misinterpreted in the past is now being better understood, with the current detente between China and the United States.

**131 Peking Review commentary on President Bhutto's article in *Foreign Affairs*, 27 April 1973 (Extract)**

In a recent article, Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto wrote on the situation in Pakistan and the South Asia subcontinent. He pointed out that the Pakistan people are determined to reconstruct their country and that Pakistan will never accept the concept of Indian hegemony in the subcontinent.

Published in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs*, an American quarterly review, the article was republished in *The Pakistan Times*.

President Bhutto reviewed the great difficulties caused to Pakistan by India's aggression. He pointed out that Pakistan's recovery has been quicker than might have been expected. He paid tribute to the resolve of the people of Pakistan not to be laid low by the upheaval of 1971.

**132 Statement by Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei at a reception in Karachi, 18 June 1973**

Pakistan is a great country. The Pakistan people are an industrious and valiant people who have a glorious anti-imperialist and anti colonialist tradition. In recent years under the leadership of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Government and people of Pakistan have been making great efforts to safeguard

state sovereignty and develop the national economy. The new constitution of Pakistan adopted not long ago has further strengthened the internal unity of Pakistan and further consolidated the country. In international affairs, the Pakistan government has taken a series of positive steps, which have made valuable contributions to furthering the Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism. The Chinese government and people heartily rejoice at every achievement scored by Pakistan and wish you ever more new success on your road of advance.

“At present the situation in the South Asian sub-continent is still disquieting. The relevant resolution adopted by the United Nations Security Council in December 1971 has not yet been fully implemented to this day, and more than 90,000 Pakistan War Prisoners and Civilians are still being unreasonably detained. Pakistan's demand for the unconditional release of all the detained personnel is entirely just and has won the sympathy and support of more and more countries and people. We appreciate the efforts made by President Bhutto and the Pakistan Government for the normalization of the situation in the subcontinent, The Chinese government and people will, as before, adhere to principle, uphold justice and resolutely support the government and people of Pakistan in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty.”

The Chinese people cherish sentiments of friendship for the people of all the countries in the South Asian subcontinent. We hope to see all parties concerned in the subcontinent solve their mutual problems in a fair and reasonable way through negotiations and establish friendly relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. This will accord with the fundamental interests of the people of all the countries in the South Asian sub-continent. The unsettled situation in the South Asian subcontinent is inseparable from the activities of certain expansionist forces. In order to realize their expansion, those expansionist forces are trying hard to exacerbate discord among the countries in the subcontinent while stepping up their activities at infiltration and subversion in every way, thus gravely endangering the peace and security of this region. This calls for sharp vigilance.

“China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours, and there exists a profound traditional friendship between our two peoples. The Chinese Government and people have always devoted themselves to strengthening and developing the friendly relations with Pakistan. China and Pakistan have sympathized with and supported each other in their common struggle against imperialism and expansionism. Our friendship has stood tests. We are firmly confident that, through our common efforts, the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries will be further consolidated and developed.”

**133 Peking Review comment on Pakistan National Assembly decision on recognition of Bangladesh, 20 July 1973 (Extracts)**

The National Assembly of Pakistan adopted a resolution on July 10 authorizing the government to formally recognize Bangladesh at an appropriate time. This is an important step by Pakistan to normalize the situation in South Asia.

The Assembly held that the prerequisite for such normalization is full implementation of the provisions of U.N. Security Council Resolution 307 and the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the release and repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees without any further delay. . . .

It should be recalled that since the ceasefire in the Indian-Pakistan war of December 1971, the Pakistan Government has been making unremitting efforts to solve the problems left over by the war. But the Indian Government, in violation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 307 adopted on December 21, 1971, held over 90,000 Pakistan prisoners of war and civilians as “hostage” to press Pakistan to recognize Bangladesh and to accept New Delhi’s other unreasonable demands.

In his July 9 speech, President Bhutto stressed: “No political advantage can be extracted from Pakistan. It is, or should be, understood now beyond any doubt that we will not agree to any humiliating terms, any conditions that militate against our principles, under any pressure whatsoever. It is, or should be, manifest now that there is no question of our accepting India’s dominance in South Asia.”

**134 Statement by Chi Peng-fei at a banquet given in honour of Aziz Ahmed, Pakistani Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs, 30 August 1973 (Extracts)**

Of late, there have been new developments in the situation in the South Asian subcontinent. Pakistan and India have through consultations reached an agreement on the repatriation of Pakistan War prisoners and other questions. The Government of Pakistan upheld principles and adopted a series of constructive measures in the talks, enabling the talks to yield positive results. Thus favourable conditions have been created for a detente in the South Asian region and the normalization of relations among the parties concerned.

But there are people who do not wish to see a detente in the South Asian Region. In order to attain their expansionist ambitions, they are continually resorting to interference and subversion in the countries of this region, sowing discord among them and trying to create new incidents to fish in troubled waters. However, her expansionist features are becoming more and more apparent and stimulating the people of South Asian countries to keep sharp vigilance. Their schemes are doomed to failure. . . .

The Chinese government and people will, as in the past, firmly support the Pakistan government and people in their just struggle to combat foreign interference and defend state sovereignty.

**135 Statement by Aziz Ahmed at the banquet, 30 August 1973**

Aziz Ahmed expressed thanks to the Chinese government and people for their consistent support to the Pakistan government and people in their struggle to safeguard their national independence and against foreign aggression. He spoke warmly of the friendship between the peoples of Pakistan and China. "There are certain forces in this world who do not like this friendship, the closeness of this friendship between China and Pakistan. But if they think that they can in any way affect this friendship, they are very very sadly mistaken. They should know that," he said. He expressed the hope that the friendship between the people of the two countries would grow stronger every day.

**136 Speech by the Chinese Vice-Premier, Teng Hsiao-ping, at a banquet welcoming Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan, 12 May 1974 (Extracts)**

His Excellency Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, is a well-acquainted and respected friend of the Chinese people. Prime Minister Bhutto has visited China on many occasions and made great contributions to the constant growth of the friendship between China and Pakistan. . . .

In international affairs, Pakistan has constantly strengthened unity, co-operation and mutual support and assistance with other Third World countries and actively supported the people of Asian and African countries in their just struggles against imperialism and hegemonism. The second Islamic Summit Conference held not long ago in Lahore, which was presided over by Prime Minister Bhutto, made a new contribution to the Third World Countries' cause of unity against hegemonism. It is particularly noteworthy that, in the last two years the Government and people of Pakistan, in seeking a settlement of the questions left over by the war, have upheld principle, persisted in struggle and time and again taken the initiative to put forward reasonable proposals and ultimately brought about the return to their homeland of all prisoners of war who were long detained unwarrantedly. This is an important victory for the struggle of the Government and people of Pakistan, and it is also an achievement scored through the common efforts of the justice-upholding countries and people of the whole world of the Third World in particular. . . .

Of late, new developments have taken place in the situation in South Asia. We are glad to see that agreements have been reached among the countries concerned of the subcontinent, which have led to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council and thus created favourable conditions for the normalization of relations among the countries of the subcontinent. The Chinese Government welcomes these developments. It is our hope that the countries of the subcontinent will live in friendship in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty. The Chinese people have always cherished profound sentiments for the people of the South Asian

countries. We are ready to develop good-neighbourly relations with the countries of the subcontinent on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and further enhance our traditional friendship with their people. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the peoples of South Asia in their struggle against hegomonism and expansionism. . . .

In brazenly instigating the war to dismember a sovereign state two years ago, social-imperialism aroused the common indignation of the people of the world and thoroughly revealed its ugly features as an aggressor and expansionist as well as its essential weakness. . . .

China and Pakistan are close neighbours, and there exists a profound traditional friendship between our two peoples. We are both developing countries belonging to the Third World. For years, our two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against hegemonism and expansionism. Our friendship has stood the test of great storms. China-Pakistan friendship is by no means based on expediency but is an established policy of our two countries. The Chinese Government and people highly treasure, and will never forget the support and help the Government and people of Pakistan have given us in many respects over the years. Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that, come what may, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support Pakistan in her struggle in defence of national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity and against hegemonism and firmly support the people of Kashmir in their struggle for the right to self-determination.

**137 Prime Minister Bhutto's speech at a banquet in Peking,  
13 May 1974 (Extracts)**

I came to China, Mr. Vice Premier, at the behest of the people of Pakistan to personally thank the leaders and the people of this great country for their unwavering solidarity with Pakistan in the darkest days of its history. . . .

The history of Sino-Pakistan relations has established that friendship between our two countries is based on principles, not on expediency or opportunism. We are partners in a campaign against injustice and exploitation, not parties to a conspiracy.

Therefore, how can this friendship ever weaken or wither?

The inter-change of ideas between our peoples has enriched us and we are determined not only to continue and consolidate the existing cooperation between our two countries in various spheres but also to expand and deepen it further. We believe that our two countries have a common stake in upholding just causes and we shall continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with you in opposing imperialism, colonialism and expansionism.

Our present visit has opened a new and vigorous phase in our relations. It has further consolidated the existing cooperation between us and has strengthened our common resolve to continue efforts for peace and the cause of the third world.

In the course of our talks in Peking we discussed a variety of matters of common concern to China and Pakistan in a spirit of complete understanding and cordiality which has always characterized relations between our two countries. Our discussions have been fruitful and I have no doubt that, as a result, our friendship has acquired added strength and substance.

We attach very great importance to China's role in promoting the establishment of a durable peace and the maintenance of a stable equilibrium in South Asia. . . .

During the past two and a half years, considerable progress has been made towards the normalization of relations in South Asia. On our part we are committed to the promotion of a just and durable peace. Peace, however, can endure only if it is based on principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and just settlement of international disputes. For lasting peace and friendship, the settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute which has bedevilled relations between India and Pakistan for over a quarter century is imperative.

**138 Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's speech at the banquet,  
13 May 1974**

Our two sides have had a sincere exchange of views on the international situation and important questions of common concern. His Excellency the Prime Minister's current visit, though short, has made a positive contribution to promoting

the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Pakistan and reinforcing the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries, and has achieved satisfactory results.

During the visit, His Excellency the Prime Minister has warmly praised China for her support and assistance to Pakistan; this is a great encouragement to us. We believe that it is only natural and proper for countries of the third world to support one another politically and help one another economically. And it must be said that over the years the government and people of Pakistan have likewise given us tremendous support and help. I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to the government and people of Pakistan. China too, is a developing country, and her assistance to Pakistan is still very limited. It is our hope that as our socialist revolution and socialist construction develop, we shall be able to make a bigger contribution.

### **139 China-Pakistan joint communique on Bhutto's visit to China, 14 May 1974**

The Prime Minister of Pakistan met Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and they had a cordial and friendly conversation. Prime Minister Bhutto conveyed to the great leader of the Chinese people the profound admiration of the people of Pakistan for the progress achieved by the people of China in various fields of national reconstruction under his leadership. Prime Minister Bhutto praised China for consistently upholding in international affairs the principles that states, irrespective of their size or strength, should respect sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence and strictly refrain from interference in internal affairs as well as for the contribution she had made in this connection.

Prime Minister Bhutto also expressed to Chairman Mao Tse-tung the gratitude of the Government and people of Pakistan for China's steadfast and principled support on the questions of withdrawal of forces from the territories occupied in the 1971 India-Pakistan war and the unconditional release and repatriation of the Pakistani prisoners of war as required under the resolutions of the United Nations and the Geneva Conven-



tions of 1949.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Prime Minister Bhutto held wide-ranging discussions in a sincere and friendly atmosphere on the current international situation and the developments in South Asia as well as on further developing the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. Both sides expressed full satisfaction with the results of the talks.

Both sides agreed that at the present time the international situation was developing in a direction favourable to peoples everywhere and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. The Third World had awakened and was playing an ever more important role in international affairs. The struggle of the peoples of the Third World for complete political independence and their demand for a change in the present iniquitous world economic order were becoming an irresistible historical trend.

In this context the two sides welcomed in particular the results of the recently concluded special session of the United Nations General Assembly as constituting an important milestone in the struggle of the Third World countries for the establishment of a just international economic order in the fields of controlling their own natural resources, reforming international trade, reforming the monetary system and principles of economic assistance to the developing countries, and considered that the session had made a positive contribution to strengthening the unity of the developing countries and promoting the struggle of the people of all countries against imperialism, and against hegemonism in particular. Both sides expressed their determination to continue their efforts, in cooperation with other states, to bring to an end the exploitation of the Third World and to establish a new world economic order based on equality and mutual benefit.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan informed the Premier of China of the results of the historic Second Islamic Summit Conference, held in Lahore in February 1974, which was attended by heads of state or high ranking officials of thirty-six countries of Asia and Africa, representing a population of more than five hundred million. The main aims of the conference were to support the just struggle of the Arab people

against Zionism and following the recent sharp increase in prices of certain commodities to explore the possibilities of enabling the Third World countries to speed up their economic development through greater mutual co-operation on the basis of individual and collective self-reliance. Premier Chou En-lai welcomed the positive results achieved by the Islamic Summit and especially the increasingly important role played by the Islamic countries in the struggle of the Third World against colonialism, imperialism, expansionism and exploitation imposed by a system of unequal economic relations.

The two sides expressed firm support for the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their just struggle to win and defend national independence, safeguard state sovereignty, develop the national economy and protect their national resources. They firmly support the Indochinese peoples in their just struggle against foreign aggression and for national liberation. They firmly support the just struggle carried on by the Cambodian people under the leadership of the National United Front of Cambodia, with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman, and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. They firmly support the Korean people's just cause of independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. They firmly support the Arab peoples in their struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and for the recovery of the occupied territories and the full restitution of the national rights of the people of Palestine. They firmly support the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggles against Portuguese colonial rule and against racism in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The two sides noted with pleasure that agreements had been reached among the countries concerned of the South Asian subcontinent, which had led to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council and thus created favourable conditions for the normalization of relations among the countries of the subcontinent. The two sides hoped that the countries of the subcontinent would live in friendship in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty, and they expressed readiness to develop good-neighbourly relations with the countries of the sub-continent on the basis of the

### **Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.**

While welcoming the positive developments that had taken place on the South Asian subcontinent, the two sides emphasized the need for continuing vigilance against tendencies towards hegemonism and expansionism and assertion of claims to positions of dominance or spheres of influence, and reiterated their determination to oppose such tendencies and guard against foreign interference, aggression and subversive and disruptive activities. The Chinese Premier reiterated that the Chinese Government and people would, as always, firmly support the Government and people of Pakistan in their just struggle in defence of national independence, state sovereignty, and firmly support the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for the right of self-determination.

The Chinese side warmly acclaimed the fact that, under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the people of Pakistan had achieved outstanding successes both in the internal and external spheres over the past two years by fully safeguarding Pakistan's political independence and state sovereignty, opposing foreign interference, healing the wounds of war, strengthening internal unity and developing the national economy. At the same time, the Pakistan Government had, during this period, progressively strengthened its friendship and solidarity with the Islamic countries and other countries of the Third World.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan stated that Pakistan would continue to give full support to the Chinese in their struggle to liberate the Taiwan Province which is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. He expressed his conviction that this struggle would be crowned with complete victory. The Chinese side thanked the Government and people of Pakistan for the support and help they had given China in many respects over the years.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that the visit of Prime Minister Bhutto to China had made a significant contribution to the further consolidation of the close relations between their two Governments and to deepening the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples.

**140 Article by the *People's Daily* commentator on the Fifth Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference, 28 June 1974 (Extract)**

The Pakistan Government and people have always opposed any aggression and threat from outside. After India's recent nuclear blast, Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto told the Pakistan National Assembly: "It is out of the question" for Pakistan "to submit to the nuclear blackmail of India." The solemn stand of the Pakistan Government expressing the Pakistan people's unwavering determination to defend state sovereignty and independence in defiance of brute force has won sympathy and support from many countries.

Taking note of the fact "that on May 18, 1974, India exploded a nuclear device," the resolution of the Fifth Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference declared "firm support of the member countries of the Islamic Conference to the political independence, territorial integrity and state sovereignty of non-nuclear weapon states against nuclear threat," and called upon all nuclear-weapon states not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear weapon state. This resolution is an effective exposure of the superpowers which are pursuing the policy of nuclear blackmail, and the country which entertains expansionist ambitions.

The Chinese Government and people firmly support Pakistan and other countries in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and oppose aggression and intervention from outside, including nuclear blackmail and threat. . . . We hold that no policy of nuclear blackmail and threat by any country can cow the people of various countries. Countries which try to carry out expansion and aggression by resorting to nuclear blackmail policy will be lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet and will suffer ignominious defeat.

**141 *Peking Review* report on the statement of the Spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Ministry, 5 July 1974**

"China will continue to give full and resolute support to Pakistan in her just struggle in defence of her national independence

and state sovereignty against foreign aggression and interference, including that against nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail," the spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Ministry said in a statement on the afternoon of June 26, according to an APP report.

Referring to the result of Secretary of the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs Agha Shahi's recent visit to China, the spokesman said: "China has expressed her firm opposition to the attempt of any country to pursue expansionism" by means of nuclear threat or nuclear blackmail. China has also reiterated her consistent position that nuclear weapons should be completely prohibited and thoroughly destroyed and, as a first step, countries possessing nuclear weapons should undertake the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, pledging in particular not to use them against non-nuclear weapon countries and nuclear-weapon-free zones."

He added: "China will continue her efforts for the realization of this position and hopes that other nuclear countries will also undertake the above-mentioned obligation."

**142 Bhutto's interview to National Broadcasting Corporation correspondent, Jack Reynolds, September 1974 (Extract)**

Our relations with China are extremely cordial and happy. We have very good relations with Indonesia. Our relations with Soviet Union are good and I will continue to make efforts to improve them, without, of course, impairing our relations with China or any other country.

**143 Speech by Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua in the UN General Assembly, 2 October 1974 (Extract)**

The Soviet Union is unscrupulous in its efforts to interfere in, subvert, divide and control the South Asian countries. It is conspiring to engineer another dismemberment of Pakistan. It dreams of opening a corridor to the Indian Ocean to serve its interests in its contention with the other superpower for hegemony in the South Asian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean. The two superpowers are competing with each other in setting up military bases in the Indian Ocean, some of which are overt

bases while others are covert ones, nominally for civilian but actually for military use. The turbulent situation in South Asia and the Indian Ocean calls for vigilance.

The turbulence and unrest in South Asia totally contradict the desire for peace of the people of all countries in this region. The proposal put forward by Pakistan for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia is entirely reasonable. China gives it her firm support.

#### **144 *Peking Review* commentary on Premier Bhutto's visit to the United States, 28 February 1975**

Pakistan Prime Minister Bhutto visited the United States in early February and had talks with U.S. President Ford.

A joint statement issued after the talks said the two leaders discussed security questions of mutual interest and "the important international political developments of the past 18 months." Prime Minister Bhutto expressed Pakistan's determination "to continue to play a constructive role in the search for peaceful solutions to regional disputes so as to promote establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent." "President Ford assured the Prime Minister that support for the independence and territorial integrity of Pakistan remains an enduring principle of American foreign policy."

In the talks, Bhutto asked the United States to lift its embargo on arms sales to Pakistan, so as to make it possible for Pakistan to buy some defensive weapons from the United States. Ford indicated in the talks that the matter of dropping the embargo would receive "active consideration."

An editorial on February 4 in *The Washington Star-News* said that the embargo applied to both India and Pakistan since the war between the two countries in 1965 "has been almost entirely one-sided." "India," it said, "has not been seriously hampered in procuring arms during this period, being supplied by the Soviet Union and possessing a defence industry of considerable importance."

**145 Prime Minister Bhutto's speech at a banquet given in honour of Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien, 20 April 1975 (Extracts)**

Pakistan has found China to be a reliable friend and the friendship between Pakistan and China is based on principles.

“The people of Pakistan cherish goodwill and support of the Chinese people who have stood by them at all time of difficulty and need. The relations between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan have endured the test of time and I am confident that our friendship will grow in strength in future as well”. . . .

Referring to the situation in South Asia, Prime Minister Bhutto hoped that it will be possible to make further progress in the normalization of relations with Bangladesh and India. However, this normalization has to be based on sovereign equality of states.

“We have no doubt that the firm stand taken by China on the basis of principles will continue to serve the cause of peace and stability in this area. It is in this context that we are determined to continue to consolidate the existing cooperation between our two countries in various spheres and to expand it further. We believe that our two countries have a common stake in the upholding of just causes and that our relationship is not only in the interest of our peoples but also serves the cause of peace in Asia and the world.”

**146 Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's speech at the banquet, 20 April 1975 (Extracts)**

Pakistan is a great country, and her people have a glorious tradition of combating imperialism and colonialism. In recent years, under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the government and people of Pakistan have persistently safeguarded state sovereignty and national independence against foreign interference, sabotage and subversion and dealt heavy blows at the scheming activities of certain insidious people.

He said: “How gleeful the superpower and the expansionists were just three years ago, when they thought that after being dismembered by them Pakistan would knuckle under the threat

of force and never recuperate. But facts in the past three years and more have proved that they made a gross miscalculation. Today under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the Pakistani people are more determined than ever to fight against hegemonism and expansionism in defence of their national independence and state sovereignty, and they have built their country much better by working hard for her prosperity. . . .”

“Superpower contention,” he pointed out, “has also led to turmoil and unrest in South Asia. The Chinese government and people have always cherished friendship for the people of all countries in South Asia. We hope that South Asian countries can settle the issues between them through peaceful negotiations free from foreign interference and on the basis of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, and that they will live in amity and not be taken in by the superpowers. The Chinese government is ready to develop good-neighbourly relations with all South Asian countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We will continue to render resolute support to the people of the South Asian countries in their just struggle against hegemonism and expansionism, to the proposal of the Pakistan government for a nuclear-free-zone in South Asia, to the struggle of the people of Kashmir for self-determination, to the resistance of the people of Sikkim against the naked annexation by the Indian expansionists, to the just stand of His Majesty the King of Nepal in declaring Nepal a zone of peace and to the positive proposal of the Sri Lanka government for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.”

“China-Pakistan friendship is a friendship based on principles and has withstood the test of storms and stress. It is a genuine friendship which no force on earth can undermine. The Chinese government and people highly value and appreciate the manifold support and assistance rendered by Pakistan in past years. Our Pakistani friends may rest assured that the Chinese people will always remain reliable friends of the Pakistani people.”



**147 Bhutto's interview to Amin Aboul Enein, Editor of the  
*Egyptian Gazette* and *Egyptian Mail* at Lahore, 29 January  
1976 (Extract)**

I can give you one example when the veto was used to promote peace and justice. That was when the People's Republic of China refused to admit Bangladesh to the membership of the United Nations until the 90,000 prisoners of war were returned to Pakistan and the territory occupied by aggression had been vacated. The Chinese veto in the Security Council helped to bring about the return of 90,000 prisoners of war. That was a big contribution to peace.

**148 Premier Hua Kuo-feng's speech at a banquet given in  
honour of Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto, 26 May 1976  
(Extracts)**

Prime Minister Bhutto is the Chinese people's well-acquainted and respected friend of long standing, who over the years visited China on many occasions and made an outstanding contribution to the growth of the friendship between China and Pakistan. . . .

The Chinese people greatly admire the people of Pakistan, who are an industrious, brave and heroic people unafraid of brute force, and with a glorious tradition of combating imperialism, colonialism and aggression. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the Government and people of Pakistan have in recent years continued to work hard with a will and achieved marked success in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, building the country and developing the national economy. On the international plane, Pakistan has made active efforts to strengthen solidarity, co-operation and mutual support and assistance with other third world countries and made a positive contribution to the cause of unity of the people of all countries against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. We heartily rejoice at the growing strength of Pakistan and her rising international standing. . . .

In recent years, the situation in South Asia has also developed in a direction more and more favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. The

developments and changes in the situation in South Asia are a sharp indication of the South Asian people's strong desire to shake off the fetters of hegemonism and expansionism and march along the road of independence. Although a certain superpower flaunts all kinds of banners and shifts various tactics, it does not take long before an increasing number of people come to see through its vicious features as it harbours the evil intentions of controlling and enslaving the South Asian countries. The South Asian peoples who have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism are not to be bullied. We are sure that the South Asian peoples will frustrate all conspiratorial activities of the enemy if they continue to heighten their vigilance, persist in struggle and strengthen their unity. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the South Asian peoples in their struggles to defend national independence and state sovereignty and combat imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism. We firmly support the proposal of the Pakistan Government for a nuclear-free zone in South Asia. We firmly support the positive proposal of the Sri Lanka Government for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We firmly support the just stand taken by His Majesty the King of Nepal in declaring Nepal a zone of peace. We are ready to assume appropriate commitments arising therefrom.

The Chinese Government and people have always cherished a profound friendship for the people of the South Asian countries. We earnestly hope that the South Asian countries will exclude outside interference, resolve their differences through consultations on an equal footing and live in friendship in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We are pleased to note that Pakistan and Bangladesh, after establishing diplomatic relations, are actively developing their friendly relations and co-operation. Pakistan has, moreover, made positive efforts for strengthening solidarity among the South Asian peoples and normalizing relations with neighbouring countries. Pakistan and India have recently reached agreement on resuming diplomatic relations and Prime Minister Bhutto will be visiting Afghanistan to hold talks with President Daoud on the relations between the two countries. These are all welcome developments. Friendly coexistence among the South Asian countries is conducive to their defence of national

independence and development of their national economies and adverse to superpower rivalry and expansion in this region, and is therefore in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people of the South Asian countries. On its part, the Chinese Government will continue to strengthen and develop friendly and good neighbourly relations with the South Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. . . . The past twenty-five years testify that our two countries are truly old friends and good friends. This is not only because there exists a deep traditional friendship between our two peoples, but also because the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and expansionism has always bound our two peoples closely. Whether in overcast weather or in storm, our two countries have always sympathized with and supported each other. Our friendship and co-operation are most sincere and serves the interest of the common cause of the unity of the third world against imperialism and hegemonism, and are therefore indestructible by any force on earth. Just as Prime Minister Bhutto has said, the relations between China and Pakistan "have stood the test of time. They have withstood the vagaries of political weather." In future as in the past, the Chinese Government and people will firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and oppose outside interference. Our Pakistan friends can rest assured that the Chinese people will always be reliable friends of the Pakistan people.

**149 Prime Minister Bhutto's speech at the banquet, 26 May 1976**  
(Extracts)

Throughout the long period of our close association, the Chinese people and their Government have stood staunchly by Pakistan and given us unstinted support in our just struggle to defend our national unity, political independence and state sovereignty. I recall that in the wake of the tragic events of 1971, there were many who wondered whether Pakistan after its dismemberment would be able to resist a dictated peace. There were also those

who underestimated the strength of our people's will, their fortitude and determination to defend and preserve their national independence. There were others who failed to recognize the fact that Pakistan continued to enjoy the powerful support of friendly nations, wedded to the principles of a just peace. In that dark hour of our history, it was China's resolute support that provided a source of strength to the Government and people of Pakistan. It was China which reinforced our resolve to resist a diktat regardless of the price in human sufferings and to accept nothing short of an honourable peace settlement.

The friendship between our two countries is based on our common dedication to the high principles of international conduct. It is not based on expediency or opportunism. We stand side by side in the struggle against domination and exploitation. Our friendship rests on the common dedication of our two governments and peoples to the defence of the principles of respect for state sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity and of non-interference in internal affairs. We are confident that, as in the past, Sino-Pakistan friendship will continue to make a major contribution to the security and stability of our region and to the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, expansionism and hegemonism everywhere.

Pakistan has always endeavoured to cultivate and maintain peaceful and amicable relations with all its neighbours—big or small. It remains committed to advancing the process of normalization in South Asia and it is indeed gratifying that our efforts in this direction have met with a good measure of success.

The various steps envisaged in the Simla agreement for normalizing international relations in South Asia have been completed and only the Jammu and Kashmir dispute remains to be resolved. Conscious of our historic responsibility to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, we shall continue to strive for a peaceful settlement of our dispute with India in regard to their future, but we shall not compromise on principles. I wish to take this opportunity to once again thank the Government and people of China for their unwavering and principled support to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. . . .

We are entering an era in which domination has begun to

assert itself in its new shape of economic exploitation. . . .

It is in the resistance to this threat that the third world faces the sternest challenge to its unity. Neocolonialist designs aim to disrupt and destroy this unity or to feed us on false hopes with a view to gaining time in order to oppose our just demands. We must ask ourselves whether exercises in dilatory tactics, such as international conferences, are to be endlessly tolerated, or whether the time has come for all the third world countries to unite their strength and forge a common platform at the highest political level in a great conference of Asian, African and Latin American countries, to establish a more just international economic order? . . .

The exchanges in the cultural, trade, economic and technological fields between our two peoples have enriched us and we are determined not only to continue and consolidate the existing co-operation between our two peoples in those spheres but to expand and strengthen it further. Our two countries have set a good example of positive and constructive international co-operation. The increasing contacts between our peoples is a distinguishable feature of our relations which, I am confident, will continue to grow from strength to strength with the passage of time.

### **150 China-Pakistan joint communique on Premier Bhutto's visit to China, 30 May 1976**

1. At the invitation of His Excellency Hua Kuo-feng, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Begum Nusrat Bhutto paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from May 26 to May 30, 1976. The Prime Minister of Pakistan and members of his delegation were accorded a warm and cordial welcome by the Government and people of China reflecting the feelings of profound friendship and solidarity that have traditionally existed between the two governments and peoples.

2. Chairman Mao Tse-tung met with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and they held discussions in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Prime Minister Bhutto conveyed to the great leader of the Chinese people and through him to the fraternal people of

China the greetings of the people of Pakistan and the gratitude of the Government and People of Pakistan for China's unfailing and firm support to the just cause of Pakistan. Prime Minister Bhutto praised China for consistently upholding in international affairs that all states, big or small, must respect the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence and strictly eschew interference in the internal affairs of other states.

3. Prime Minister Bhutto congratulated Premier Hua Kuo-feng on his appointment as the First Vice-Chairman of the Party and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

4. Prime Minister Bhutto and Premier Hua Kuo-feng held extensive talks on the current international situation, developments in South Asia as well as on bilateral relations and co-operation between the two countries. The two leaders expressed complete satisfaction with the outcome of the talks.

5. Reviewing the international situation, the two sides agreed that, at present, the international situation is developing in a direction increasingly favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. They acclaimed the further awakening of the third world which was playing an ever greater role in international affairs. They agreed that the just struggle of the peoples of the third world against imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism had become an irresistible historical trend. The two sides are opposed to the attempts by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony and spheres of influence in any part of the world.

6. The two sides agreed that a new economic order should be established on the basis of the principles of independence, self-reliance, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit to replace the old economic order under which the third world is exploited by a few big powers. They agreed to take all effective measures to strengthen third world unity so as to change the unjust old economic order—a legacy of the imperialist and colonialist era.

7. The two sides acclaimed the great victory of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, and held that it would be a source of inspiration to all peoples of the third world in their determination to defend their national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integ-

riety. The two sides firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, firmly support the Arab people in their just struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and outside interference and for the recovery of the occupied territories and the complete restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people. The two sides warmly congratulate the African people on the victories they have won in their great struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, highly appreciate the African people's vigilance against outside interference in African affairs, and firmly support the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in southern Africa in their just struggles for independence and liberation and against apartheid and white minority rule.

8. The two sides welcomed the positive developments in the situation on the South Asian subcontinent. The Prime Minister of Pakistan reiterated his commitment to normalizing relations in South Asia in accordance with the Simla agreement. He informed the Chinese Premier that the various steps envisaged in the Simla agreement for normalizing international relations in South Asia had been completed. Only the Jammu and Kashmir dispute now remained to be resolved peacefully in accordance with the right to self-determination recognized in United Nations and accepted by both India and Pakistan. The Prime Minister affirmed that a just settlement of this dispute was imperative if relations between India and Pakistan are to be fully normalized on the basis of principles of peaceful co-existence. The Pakistan Prime Minister reaffirmed Pakistan's sincere desire to close the chapter of conflict and confrontation in South Asia and stressed the need for durable peace for Pakistan, India and Bangladesh so that they may be able to devote their energies and resources to the material and spiritual advancement of their peoples.

9. The Prime Minister apprised the Chinese Premier of the full rapprochement achieved between Pakistan and Bangladesh and expressed confidence that the historic ties between the peoples of the two countries would constitute a constructive element in promoting harmony and tranquility in the region. The Prime Minister welcomed the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Bangladesh.

10. The Chinese Government welcomed the positive developments in the relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh and appreciated the contribution that Pakistan had made to the process of normalization of relations with India. The Prime Minister of Pakistan apprised the Chinese Premier of the present state of relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Chinese Government looked with favour upon the Prime Minister's forthcoming visit to Kabul and hoped that it would lead to positive results.

11. The two sides emphasized that the relations among all countries in South Asia must reflect the principles of sovereign equality of states, large or small, inviolability of territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. They reaffirmed their opposition to expansionism, hegemonism and claims to dominance or spheres of influence. The Chinese Premier reiterated that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan people in safeguarding national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity. They also firmly support the struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for attaining their right to self-determination.

12. The two sides firmly support the just proposition of the Government of Sri Lanka for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and the proposal of His Majesty the King of Nepal that Nepal be a zone of peace.

13. The Pakistan Prime Minister thanked the Chinese Premier for China's firm support to the proposal of the Pakistan Government for a nuclear-free zone in South Asia and expressed deep gratification at China's willingness to assume appropriate commitments arising therefrom.

14. The Prime Minister of Pakistan reaffirmed that Pakistan would continue to give full support to the Chinese people in their struggle to liberate Taiwan which is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

15. The Pakistan side expressed deep admiration for the spectacular achievements made by the Chinese people under the great leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung in consolidating the results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and national reconstruction. The Chinese side warmly acclaimed the fact that under the leadership of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the people of Pakistan had achieved outstanding



successes both in internal and external affairs and safeguarded Pakistan's political independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity by opposing foreign interference and strengthening internal unity and developing the national economy.

16. The Chinese Premier welcomed the visit of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto which coincided with the 25th anniversary of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan. The two leaders noted that during this period relations between the two countries were characterized by ties of sincere and indestructible friendship and were convinced that the Prime Minister's present visit to China would consolidate further the deep and traditional relations between the two countries.

17. Prime Minister Bhutto extended a cordial invitation to Premier Hua Kuo-feng to visit Pakistan. The invitation was accepted by the Chinese Premier with pleasure.

**151 Bhutto's interview to George Hutchinson, Deputy Editor of *Spectator*, 11 September 1976 (Extract)**

*Q.* Since the death of Chou En-lai the political situation in China has undergone a considerable change. You have displayed a deep understanding of the People's Republic. What is your assessment of the future, in relation to Pakistan.

*A.* My assessment of Pakistan-China relations derives from the fact that these relations are not, and never have been, based on changing expediences. It was not a fortuitous set of circumstances but a natural recognition of geo-strategic realities that helped their establishment. The sentiments of mutual support and sympathy, flowing from certain shared principles, infused warmth and cordiality into the relationship. The policy of bilateralism that we follow insulates this friendship from any warping pressures.

**152 Bhutto's interview with Fariborz Atapour of the *Tehran Journal*, 24 September 1976 (Extracts)**

*Q.* Sir, referring to your book *The Myth of Independence* and recalling Dr. Kissinger's speech in Lahore one is bound to say that your China policy of the 1960's was real pioneer states-

manship. From the perspective of history, however, can it be said that your opening up to China was inspired by strategic considerations vis-a-vis India?

A. . . . We certainly did take into account China's strategic importance but not in the context of India, but in the context of Asia, the much larger perspective of China's role both as a Pacific power and as a continental land mass adjacent to the Soviet Union, adjacent to Pakistan and, as I said, its specific orientation and a population of seven hundred million people. We felt that it would not be possible to have a successful United Nations, an effective United Nations without the participation of the real China. We felt it unrealistic that the major issues of Asia at least should not be resolved without the full participation of China. And this is what happened. For example, the Vietnam war came to an end.

We felt that on the larger plane there could not be disarmament and complete disarmament if ever it is to come with China excluded from the disarmament negotiations. We felt that questions like apartheid and segregation could not really be resolved without the full force and support in international forums and in other regional forums, of the People's Republic of China. So, our motivation for improving relations with China, was not only that it was a neighbour of Pakistan having a common border of about three hundred and seventy miles through some of the most difficult and rugged terrain of the world but also because of the other factors outlined by me. . . .

Q. In the long-term strategic sense would you not agree that your China policy made the Russians push more toward South Asia and the Indian Ocean.

A. The Russians are a great power and a Super-Power. The Russians have age-old objectives. There might be a change of systems and a change of government but the objectives of the Super Powers do not change easily. The Russian objectives would have remained unchanged even if there had not been Sino-Soviet differences.

**153 "Bilateralism," Article by Premier Bhutto in *Foreign Affairs*, October 1976 (Extracts)**

As a concept, the guiding principles of Pakistan's foreign policy

which we call **Bilateralism** suffers from no confusion or complexity. The idea of conducting and developing our relations with each of the great powers on a bilateral basis, identifying areas of cooperation with one without repudiating an alliance with another and thus evolving an internally consistent and integrated policy requires no justification and implies no moral pretence. The normal mode of maintaining relations between any two countries, great or small, is to base them on their joint perception of their mutual interest. . . .

Pakistan was among the states which recognized the People's Republic of China soon after its establishment. Yet, some years later, while still maintaining the recognition, it persistently voted in the United Nations against the immediate representation of China by its legitimate and recognized government. . . .

It was not only that the head of Pakistan's government was making an offer of joint defence to India which only those unlettered in international affairs would hope to be accepted or reciprocated. That was humiliating enough. What was dangerous was that, in the process, he was serving notice to China of Pakistan's hostility and, in addition, lending sanction to India's claim to Kashmir, the very claim which Pakistan had challenged through all the years and the United Nations had refused to recognize. This way how Pakistan's interpretation of the alliance with the United States was damaging its enduring national interests. . . .

It is a matter of history how these small beginnings led to bigger results in the form of establishing contacts with China, negotiating and concluding a boundary agreement with her and opening the era of cordiality and close friendship between Pakistan and her great neighbour. . . .

For its own benefit and in the larger interest of restoring a balance to our region, Pakistan decided to activate its diplomatic arteries with both China and the Soviet Union. . . .

This progress was, however, arrested by two sets of developments. One was the considerable pressure put on Pakistan by the obsessive hostility of the Lyndon Johnson administration in the US towards China and by the pressures it exerted to force a change in Pakistan's policy. Such was the extent of the suspicion with which that administration viewed every move regarding

China that, in August 1963, it suspended a \$4.3 million loan for the Dacca airport because Pakistan had signed a civil aviation agreement with China. The cancellation in April 1965 of an invitation to Ayub Khan to visit the United States, the postponement in July 1965 of the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium meeting, the imposition of an arms embargo during the India-Pakistan war of 1965 which operated to the direct detriment of Pakistan and not of India, the warning to China on 16 September 1965 against helping Pakistan—all these were actions against the policy of dialogue and friendship with China. . . .

The relationship between Pakistan and China has withstood the stress of that and other lesser developments. Its strength lies in its sincerity on both sides. But the essence of Bilateralism is that a sincere relationship need not be converted into an *affaire de couer* which disregards circumspection and imposes a strain on both sides. . . .

Bilateralism does not *per se* repudiate alliances with the great powers; second, the combination of a bilateralist stance and an adherence to an alliance does create difficulties in the actual conduct of international affairs. The difficulties and the strains are accentuated in situations where a particular alliance system or organization, divorced from the bilateral agreements or understandings between its members, has lost the cohesion and strength envisaged for it in a different historical situation. What Bilateralism seeks to do is, firstly, to fasten on those elements in an alliance which remain relevant through all the changes in the global environment and, depending on reciprocity, carry out obligations flowing from them and, secondly, to demarcate the area which is not covered by these elements and exercise the state's options in it.

**154 Statement by General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, Chief of Army Staff and Chief Martial Law Administrator, on the occasion of the handing over ceremony of the Chinese Embassy building to the Chinese ambassador, 27 September 1977 (Extracts)**

The Pak-China friendship has now become a legend. It has become a legend after standing several tests of time. The friendship has continued to flourish even after the absence

of the first architects of this relationship from the political scene of this world. It shows that our friendship does not depend on mortal persons. It is anchored on very solid principles. . . .

Pakistan under late Field Marshal Ayub Khan realised for the first time the importance of a great neighbour across the Himalayas and felt the need for a close and dependable relationship between the two countries. The initiative met with a very warm response from Peking and the two countries started marching hand in hand with time. Soon, the cooperation expanded to several fields to the mutual benefit of both countries. It found expression in many forms including the Friendship Highway. The joint construction of this Highway proves that not even the Himalayas could stand between the two countries. . . .

The growing power and influence of the People's Republic of China is a positive contribution to the world peace. It also provides strength and inspiration to the countries like Pakistan which are striving hard to maintain their independence and sovereignty.

**155 Speech by Vice Premier Teng Hslao-ping at the banquet given in honour of General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, Chief Martial Law Administrator, 16 December 1977 (Extracts)**

China and Pakistan are close, friendly neighbours. There is a bond of deep traditional friendship between our two peoples, and the common struggle to defend independence and sovereignty and combat hegemonism ties us still more closely. China-Pakistan friendship is based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. Our two sides strictly observe the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and have worked together for strengthening of friendly co-operation between the two countries and the increasing of the friendship between our two peoples. . . .

Both our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou considered China's relations with Pakistan a matter of great importance, and they personally guided the work of promoting China-Pakistan friendship. The Chinese Government and people will, as in the past, continue their efforts to strengthen the friendly relations

and co-operation between our two countries in every field, and we will firmly and unswervingly support the Pakistan people's just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and oppose interference from outside.

The situation in South Asia has also taken a turn favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to Super-Power hegemonism. The people of South Asia have come to see more clearly that the rivalry between the two hegemonist powers is the principal source of turmoil and unrest that has plagued this region. In particular, the expansionist manoeuvres of social-imperialism aimed at controlling South Asia and dominating the Indian Ocean pose a grave threat to the independence, sovereignty and security of the countries in this region. At present, there is a growing demand among the South Asian countries and peoples for the elimination of Super-Power control and interference and an increasing desire for progress along the road of independent development. Social-imperialism may change tactics and intensify its political and economic infiltration, but confronted with the awakening people of South Asia, its sinister design to control the region is bound to fall through. We are happy to note that relations between South Asian countries have gradually improved. As their close neighbour, we hope that the South Asian countries will solve problems in their mutual relations through consultations free from Super-Power interference, treat each other as equals and live in amity on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. This will not only accord with the fundamental interests of the South Asian peoples, but also serve the Third World's struggle against hegemonism.

The Chinese people highly admire the Pakistan people for their spirit of defying brute force and daring to struggle. . . . Pakistan committed to an independent policy and standing like a rock on the South Asian subcontinent constitutes a major obstacle to hegemonism's designs to control South Asia as well as an important force for peace and stability in this region. Currently, the people of Pakistan are continuing their endeavour to defend their country's independence and sovereignty and build up their country and develop the national economy. We are sure that the Government and people of Pakistan will surmount the difficulties on their way and win

new and greater successes.

**156 General Z'ia-ul-Haq's speech at the banquet, 18 December 1977 (Extracts)**

The friendship between our two countries is based on the universally recognized principles of justice and equality in international affairs and permanent human values. It is not based on any transient considerations of expediency. We share your deep commitment to the strengthening of international peace which can be ensured only by upholding the principles of sovereignty and equality among states, respect for their political independence and territorial integrity and strict non-interference in their internal affairs. The people of Pakistan are equally committed to these principles and are firmly resolved to oppose all attempts to establish positions of preeminence or dominance prejudicial to the sovereignty of States.

It is our firm conviction that friendship between our two countries will continue to make a significant contribution to the promotion of international peace and to the cause of the struggle of the peoples of the world against the evil forces of colonialism, imperialism, expansionism, and hegemonism everywhere. . . .

[China's] unstinted and principled support [in 1971] in the defence of our sovereign right to national unity and political independence enabled us to overcome what appeared to be insurmountable difficulties in the way of an honourable settlement.

Pakistan remains committed to developing cordial and friendly relations with all its neighbours, on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. . . . An early and peaceful resolution of this [Jammu and Kashmir] issue in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations to which all parties concerned are committed will clear the way for the establishment of a durable peace in South Asia. He expressed appreciation to the People's Republic of China for its support to the initiatives to realize the objectives of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia.

**157 Speech by Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping at the return banquet by General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, 18 December 1977 (Extracts)**

The friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples is longstanding and deep-rooted. Our two peoples have always supported and helped each other both in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and in building our respective countries. . . . The Chinese Government and people will continue to give unswerving support to the Pakistan people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and State sovereignty and in their efforts for the exercise of self-determination by the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

**158 Statement by General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq to visiting American journalists, 16 February 1978 (Extracts)**

Answering a question about China's role in international affairs, Gen. Zia who recently toured China and had detailed talks with Chinese leaders, said that although Pakistan's big neighbour called itself a developing country because Chinese were a modest people, "I consider them as a Super Power."

He said China as well as the other two super powers have a definite role to play.

Gen. Zia said he knew China fairly well and "I can say that they are peace-loving." They were helping developing countries and providing assistance that goes to strengthen the recipients' internal resources and boost self-reliance.

He said they had enabled Pakistan to stand on its feet militarily and develop indigenous capability. They had provided economic help which was without strings and military aid without any payments involved. There was no trace of expansionism so far as the Chinese were concerned. . . .

"China has definite role to play—a role towards maintenance of world peace."



**159 Premier Hua Kuo-feng's report at the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, 26 February 1978  
(Extract)**

The good neighbourly relations we have with Burma, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran are steadily getting better and better. We support the proposals put forward by the countries concerned to make the Indian Ocean a peace zone, South Asia a nuclear-free zone and Nepal a zone of peace.

**160 "Report from Karachi: A new trend in South Asia,"  
*Peking Review* commentary, 14 April 1978**

Recently, leaders of South Asian countries have exchanged visits and made efforts to improve their state relations, establish and develop economic co-operation and combat super-power hegemonism. This new trend in South Asia deserves attention.

Since the second half of 1977, General Mohammad Zia-Ul-Haq, Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan, has twice visited Afghanistan. Last December, Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman toured Nepal, India and Pakistan while Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai made a trip to Nepal. In January this year, King Birendra of Nepal visited Bangladesh and the following month Indian External Affairs Minister Vajpayee paid a visit to Pakistan, the first in ten years by an Indian Foreign Minister. In February Sri Lanka Minister of Finance journeyed to Pakistan as a special envoy of President J. R. Jayewardene. President Daoud of Afghanistan visited Pakistan and India.

These visits have promoted understanding among South Asian countries and strengthened their unity and co-operation. Bangladesh and Nepal signed agreements on trade, transit and aviation, thus easing the latter's difficulties in the import and export of goods. Pakistan is providing Afghanistan with facilities for the transit of goods. Not long ago, the Pakistan Government decided to donate 8,250 tons of cement to Bangladesh and supply 10,000 tons of rice to Afghanistan. Recently, the Heads of Government of Bangladesh and Nepal

agreed to establish a joint committee at a high level to promote co-operation between the two countries and proposed the co-operation of South Asian countries in developing water resources and controlling floods. The Governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh have decided to set up a joint economic committee to expand trade between the two countries. In recent years, Pakistan and Bangladesh have signed agreements on trade, shipping, aviation, banking, and post and telecommunications.

During their visits, government leaders of South Asian countries agreed to maintain their relations of friendship and co-operation, which, they stressed, can be consolidated and strengthened on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, equality, independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Confirmation of these principles has brought about gratifying changes in relations between South Asian countries in recent years.

The unremitting efforts of the Bangladesh Government have led to the signing of an agreement on sharing the water of the Ganges River, which settled a longstanding dispute between Bangladesh and India. The agreement was signed by leaders of the two countries in Dacca last November 5 in the spirit of mutual benefit and mutual accommodation. During his stay in Pakistan, Indian External Affairs Minister Vajpayee's statement that Indian-Pakistan trade should be balanced and reciprocal was welcomed by the host country. According to Pakistan press reports, Pakistan had an unfavourable balance of 84.8 million rupees with India in the first six months of fiscal 1977-78. Expressing concern about this, the Pakistan public believed that trade between the two sides can be expanded and carried on smoothly only on the basis of equilibrium and reciprocity.

During their visits, South Asian leaders all expressed support for the proposed Indian Ocean peace zone, deeming it an increasingly urgent goal.

This proposal for a peace zone was tabled by Sri Lanka and 12 other countries at the 26th U.N. General Assembly in 1971, at which the resolution declaring the Indian Ocean a peace zone was adopted. A draft resolution on the implementation of this declaration was approved by the First Committee

of the U.N. General Assembly last November. The Soviet Union and the United States, however resorted to various schemes to sabotage the implementation of the declaration and the draft resolution.

The two superpowers have their reasons for opposing making the Indian Ocean a peace zone. Ten years ago, the Soviet Union, which looks on the Indian Ocean as an important area of contention with the United States for world hegemony, began to send its warships into the region and has ever since strengthened its naval forces there. In 1975 the Soviet navy put in 7,000 days in the Indian Ocean, more than four times the number of days the U.S. navy spent here. Furthermore, it has wrested the right to use a dozen or so ports of coastal countries and turned them into military bases in disguise. Beginning in 1972, the United States also strengthened its naval forces in the Indian Ocean to counterbalance Soviet forces there. Quoting a foreign news agency dispatch, the Pakistan newspaper *Dawn* reported on February 22 that recently the Soviet Union and the United States had held four rounds of secret talks in Moscow and elsewhere on the so-called "limitation of naval activities in the Indian Ocean" without the participation of the coastal countries. What the two hegemonist powers term negotiations on "limitation of naval activities" actually means stepping up their rivalry. This is a naked expression of superpower hegemonism.

Soviet-U. S. rivalry in the Indian Ocean threatens the independence, sovereignty and security of South Asian countries and has thus aroused the concern and opposition of the people there. They demand that the affairs of the Indian Ocean be handled by the coastal and landlocked countries there and that the superpowers get out of the Indian Ocean.

In their recent visits, leaders of Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal all expressed support for the U.N. resolution on making the Indian Ocean a peace zone. They proposed that the coastal and landlocked countries of the Indian Ocean should take part in the discussions and arrangements for the implementation of the resolution and expressed the view that an Indian Ocean peace zone could be established by ruling out superpower contention and creating conditions for the security of countries in this region.

The emerging of the new trend of unity against hegemonism in the South Asian region is not accidental. The Bangladesh weekly *Holiday* pointed out: The people of countries in the subcontinent had the common experience of being subjected to colonialist exploitation. They have waged resolute struggles against the colonial powers and are now still carrying on revolutionary movements against imperialism and hegemonism. Their common aspiration to promote unity among them is quite natural.

The people of South Asian countries highly treasure their national independence and are in urgent need of a peaceful international environment to build up their respective countries. But superpower contention has brought prolonged unrest on this region. Soviet social-imperialism, in particular, is carrying out aggression and expansion in the guise of an "ally" and is exploiting and plundering under the signboard of "aid." It is sowing dissension among the South Asian countries and fomenting trouble in this region. Pakistan media point out that because of its location of strategic importance, South Asia as a whole today has become an area of sharp contention between the two superpowers.

People of South Asian countries have come to realize that only by making joint efforts to strengthen unity can they counter aggression and expansion by the two hegemonist powers and bring peace and tranquillity to South Asia.

**161 General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq's speech at the banquet given in honour of Vice Premier Keng Piao, 16 June 1978 (Extracts)**

Our [China-Pakistani] friendship and fraternal relations are not based on expediency, but their roots are deep, strong and lasting. The basic principles underlying our friendship are internationally recognized and this friendship has stood the test of times.

Apart from this, our two countries share a common history of struggle against domination and exploitation. . . .

I take this occasion to thank the Government and the people of the Republic of China for rendering support to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kash-

mir in accordance with international principles and the resolutions of the United Nations. . . .

Along with improving our relations with the neighbouring countries we are making efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and give stability to peace and security in the region. In this connection we were the first to move a resolution in the UN that South Asia be declared a nuclear weapons free zone. The Chinese support to our resolution has not only encouraged Pakistan but also all those countries who view the use and spread of atomic weapons with deep concern.

### **162 Keng Piao's speech at the banquet, 16 June 1978 (Extracts)**

“The Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the South Asian countries in their just struggles to defend national independence and sovereignty against foreign aggression and interference. They firmly support the Pakistani Government's proposal for making South Asia a nuclear-free zone as well as its efforts for the self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. They firmly support the Sri Lankan Government's proposal for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.”

“There is a growing trend among the peoples of South Asia to shake off superpower control and take their own road of independent development and there is a steady improvement in their mutual relations.”

“We ardently wish that the countries in South Asia may continue to improve their mutual relations free from outside interference and that they treat one another as equals and live in amity on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This not only accords with the fundamental interests of the people of South Asian countries but also serves the third world's cause of unity against hegemonism.”

China and Pakistan are close neighbours linked by the majestic Karakoram Mountains. “Now, the Karakoram Highway, a joint undertaking of our two countries, is successfully completed. It is a crystallization of the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries and will have a permanent place in the annals of Sino-Pakistan friendship.

If the time-honoured 'Silk Road' testifies to the history of the traditional friendship between our two peoples, the building of the Karakoram Highway is, as General Zia-ul-Haq pointed out, an outstanding example of today's close friendship and cooperation between our two countries." "There is wide scope for the development of China-Pakistan friendship. We are convinced that, through our joint efforts, our two countries will always advance in close cooperation along the road of friendship!"

The Government and people of Pakistan have made unremitting efforts to safeguard national independence and sovereignty and build up the country, and made positive efforts for the realization of normal relations with neighbouring countries and for the promotion of regional stability and tranquillity, thus making a positive contribution to the third world's cause of unity against hegemonism.

"The presence on the South Asian sub-continent of a strong Pakistan firmly adhering to a policy of independence is an important factor for peace and stability in this region. We fervently hope that Pakistan will enjoy prosperity, stability and ever growing strength, and we sincerely wish that Pakistan may overcome the difficulties on the way ahead and score new and continuous successes under the leadership of General Zia-ul-Haq."

Our Pakistani friends may rest assured that whatever the vicissitudes on the international arena, the Chinese Government and people will remain your reliable friends in your just struggle to build and defend your country.

### **163 Keng Piao's speech at the completion ceremony of the Karakoram Highway, 18 June 1978 (Extracts)**

"With the completion of this highway, we have now an additional monument to the friendly cooperation between China and Pakistan. This is a happy event which calls for rejoicing by our two peoples."

From now on, China and Pakistan have a land route as well as an aerial bridge between them, "Our two countries are getting closer, and the ties of friendship between our two countries stronger. Contacts between our two peoples will be more

frequent.”

“How the people longed for centuries to have a broad and level road to facilitate trade between East and West, to carry out cultural exchange and to strengthen friendship! Today, the people’s thousand-year-old dream has come true with the completion of the Karakoram Highway. . . .

The Chinese Government and people highly value our friendship with Pakistan. We unswervingly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty. We will make unremitting efforts to further develop the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries.”. . .

“Through the joint efforts of our two governments and peoples, the traditional Sino-Pakistan friendship which began with the ‘Silk Road’ will develop more rapidly and grow broader in scope like traffic over the Karakoram Highway.”

**164 Statement by the Pakistani representative Naik in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly, 31 October 1978 (Extract)**

The key question is: which non-nuclear-weapon States should be covered by the guarantees against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons? Fundamentally, Pakistan’s position is that all non-nuclear-weapon States should receive such guarantees. However, only one nuclear Power, the People’s Republic of China, has extended such an assurance. All other formulations, including that contained in article I of the Soviet draft convention, are conditional, qualified and less than universal. We are, of course, familiar with the Soviet formula for negative guarantees that was advanced in 1966 by the Premier of the Soviet Union, Mr. Kosygin. As far as Pakistan is concerned, this formulation covers our national concerns since we do not produce nuclear weapons nor do we have them on our territory. But security assurances, if they are to be meaningful, must be obtained from all the nuclear Powers, and we are all aware that the Soviet formulation poses fundamental difficulties to certain States. These States feel that this formulation is not consonant with the principle that a disarmament measure should not diminish the security of any State.

**165 Speech by President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq at the banquet in honour of Chinese Vice-Premier Li Xiannian 21 January 1979 (Extract)**

We are grateful to the leaders and the people of China for their positive contribution to industrial and economic co-operation between the two countries which is playing a vital role in our economic development. Our sense of gratitude has considerably increased in view of the fact that China itself is a developing country and the resources that it gives to friends are needed for its own development. Friendship means sacrificing one's own needs by providing it to friends who need it as well.

**166 Speech by Vice-Premier Li Xiannian at the banquet, 21 January 1979 (Extracts)**

The Chinese people will never forget the valuable efforts made by the Pakistan Government and people in helping restore China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and bringing about normalization of relations between China and a number of other countries. For all this we wish to express our profound thanks. Sino-Pakistan relations of friendship and cooperation flow not only from a time-honoured tradition of friendship between our two countries, but also from our common desire for peace, stability and prosperity. Based as it is on solid principles, our relationship has withstood severe tests. It is precisely for this reason that Sino-Pakistani friendship is growing with each passing day and will forever remain evergreen despite the vagaries of the international climate. . . .

As a close neighbour and reliable friend of Pakistan, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty; firmly support the proposal advanced by the Pakistan Government for a Nuclear Weapon-free Zone in South Asia and firmly support the Pakistan Government's efforts for the realization of the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. We have done so in the past and will continue to do so in the future. The vagaries of the international climate notwithstanding our principled stand will always remain unchanged.



**167 Premier Hua Guo-feng's message to President Gen. Zia-ul-Haq appealing to grant clemency to Mr. Bhutto, 10 February 1979**

I have learnt that the Supreme Court of Pakistan has rejected Mr. Bhutto's appeal and upheld the conviction and death sentence. This is, of course, entirely Pakistan's internal affair. However, China is a good neighbour and friend of Pakistan. I sincerely express to Your Excellency my concern about this matter and appeal to you to use your supreme power and influence as the President so that he may be granted clemency.

**168 Remarks by Vice-Premier Li Xiannian while talking to Pakistani military goodwill delegation, 11 February 1979 (Extract)**

Backed by the Soviet hegemonists, Viet Nam has launched wanton aggression against Kampuchea and at the same time has stepped up its military provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border and occupied some Chinese places. The Chinese people are very indignant at this. We have time and again warned the Vietnamese not to turn a deaf ear to what we have said.

**169 Statement by the Pakistan representative Naik in the UN Security Council on Sino-Vietnam conflict, 25 February 1979 (Extracts)**

My Government expressed its deep concern over the developments in Democratic Kampuchea last month. In an official statement issued on 16 January the Government of Pakistan declared:

“The external military intervention to overthrow the lawful Government of that country constitutes a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law governing the rights and duties of States. It is the international duty of every State to respect the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States and refrain from interference in their

internal affairs.”

The statement continued by adding that:

“Considerations of human rights cannot be invoked to justify external military intervention. In accordance with these universally recognized principles, the Government of Pakistan fully supports the international call for immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Democratic Kampuchea.”

When the Council considered the grave situation in Democratic Kampuchea at that time, it did not succeed in taking decisive action to effect an immediate cease-fire, put an end to hostilities and ensure the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country. Had the Council performed its primary responsibility under the Charter, the underlying causes of the increased tension and violence in the region would have been removed.

Now that the Council is once again seized of the situation in South-East Asia, it must address itself to the urgent task of finding a comprehensive solution to the problems of the region. We are conscious of the opportunity that the occasion provides to the Council and indeed to the international community to adopt prompt and effective measures to bring back peace and stability to an area whose tranquillity has been disturbed by the violation of Kampuchea's sovereignty and the provocations across the Viet Nam-China border areas.

In this context, we have noted the statement made by the Government of the People's Republic of China on 17 February which has been reiterated in the Council by the representative of China, to the effect that the Chinese troops would withdraw from Vietnamese territory.

All the participants in the debate have underlined the need for scrupulous respect for State sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. We support these principles. We support the call for an immediate cessation of hostilities in all the areas of conflict and withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and Viet Nam. These immediate steps should lead to the initiation of the process of restoring stable peace and tranquillity in the

region through negotiations among the parties directly concerned as well as through the good offices of the Secretary-General.

We should like here to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the cause of peace and for making his good offices available to the parties involved. However, in order to set in motion any process for peace and stability my delegation need not re-emphasize the necessity for the Council to adopt appropriate decisions to effect the immediate cessation of hostilities and for all foreign forces to withdraw from all the States of the area.

**170 Speech by President Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq at a banquet given in honour of Chinese goodwill military delegation led by Zhang Caiqian, Deputy Chief of General Staff, 22 October 1979 (Extracts)**

Like our Chinese friends, we firmly believe that the people of every country, who are free from foreign interference have basic rights to safeguard independence and territorial integrity, use and develop all natural resources of their own country. . . .

We do not intend to join any sphere of influence and blocs. We hope that we will be far off from rivalry of big powers and work for the happiness of the people of our own country. Our participation in the nonaligned movement has shown our strict adherence to the above-mentioned principles.

**171 Zhang Caiqian's speech at the banquet, 22 October 1979 (Extracts)**

We feel particularly proud that the friendship between the peoples and armed forces of China and Pakistan has constantly been developed and mutual exchange of visits have increased in every passing day. The visit of the Chinese goodwill military delegation is precisely a demonstration of this friendly relations.

Pakistan has followed an independent foreign policy and has played an active role in international affairs. Stable and prosperous Pakistan is of great significance to the defence of peace in this region and in the world. . . .

We have never interfered in the internal affairs of other

countries and have never wanted an inch of territory of others. But we will not in any way tolerate any form of aggression and will never allow any people to obstruct the peaceful construction of our country.

**172 Xinhua commentary on Pakistani achievements in peaceful use of nuclear energy, 26 October 1979 (Extracts)**

Pakistan has made considerable achievements in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, it was learnt from the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) in Islamabad recently.

Pakistan entered the nuclear age in 1963 with the operation of a 5,000-kilowatt research nuclear reactor at the Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology in Islamabad. The reactor provided research in many departments, including agriculture, industry, medicine and science and technology.

This was followed by the operation of a 137,000-kilowatt Karachi nuclear power plant (Kanupp) in 1972, which supplies 25 per cent of electricity to Karachi, the biggest city in Pakistan.

The satisfactory operation of both the research nuclear reactor and the nuclear power plant has also provided valuable experience to Pakistani scientists and engineers and helped train senior nuclear scientists, engineers, operators and technicians. . . .

The introduction of nuclear technology in Pakistan has made a far-reaching impact on improving the standards of scientific research, training high-quality specialists, raising the level of education and building up of scientific establishments in the country.

A new nuclear power plant with a capacity of 600,000 kilowatts is planned to be built in Punjab province. This plant will use a light water reactor which requires enriched uranium as fuel.

Pakistan's proposed nuclear reprocessing plant forms an integral part of its peaceful nuclear programme. Chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission Dr. Munir Ahmed Khan told the Pakistan Engineering Congress in Lahore early last September that the future economic progress of the country depends entirely on the acquisition of appropriate nuclear

technology. Pakistan is likely to manufacture its own nuclear reprocessing plant in the near future, but its nuclear capabilities will be only used for peaceful purposes, he declared. Through the reprocessing plant, Pakistan could be able to re-use 79 per cent of the used nuclear fuel and in the process valuable plutonium would be produced for the breeder reactors planned for the future.

Pakistan has a shortage of conventional resources of energy such as oil, coal, natural gas, etc. It has no alternative but to resort to the peaceful use of nuclear energy for its economic development. However, Pakistan has discovered large promising geological formations of uranium reserves. This substantiates that Pakistan has sufficient deposits of uranium for its nuclear development programme to meet the requirements of its economic progress.

**173 Zhang Caiqian's speech at the banquet given by him in honour of President Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, 28 October 1979 (Extracts)**

Continuous development of Sino-Pakistan friendship is the set policy of the government of China and this also conforms to the fundamental interests of the two peoples. . . .

Zhang Caiqian highly appreciated Pakistan's persistent stand on safeguarding national independence and sovereignty against hegemonism and expansionism and its contribution to defending peace and stability in South Asia.

**174 Speech by President Zia-ul-Haq at the inauguration ceremony of the tank rebuild factory constructed with Chinese assistance at Taxila, 28 November 1979 (Extract)**

After passing through many years and numerous trials, the Pak-China friendship has now strengthened on so firm foundations that no external element can disrupt it any longer. Not only the people of the two countries are rightly proud of this friendship, but many nations of the world look upon it with envy.

Pakistan regarded its friendship with China as of basic importance for regional and world peace because the growing

power of China is vital for the promotion of world peace and stability of this region.

**175 Commentary by Xinhua correspondent Li Jiasheng on  
Huang Hua's visit to an Afghan refugee camp, 20 January  
1980 (Extracts)**

Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua today assured Afghan refugee leaders here that the Chinese government and people support the Afghan people's struggle against the Soviet invaders and will do what they can to relieve their suffering.

The Soviet aggression against their country "poses a serious threat to the peace and security of the region." He warned that the Soviet Union has "plans for further incursions into adjacent areas."

He emphasized that Soviet social-imperialism is the "root cause" of the suffering of the Afghan people.

He paid glowing tribute to the Afghans as "a great heroic people" who had fought many wars to preserve their freedom and independence. "Like all aggressors in the past, the Soviet Union is bound to fail." . . .

Afghan refugee Commissioner Shamsheer Ahmed told Huang Hua there were now 378,860 registered refugees in the province alone. It is estimated that from 15 to 20 per cent of the refugees who had trekked to Pakistan did not register themselves at all. All of them were forced to leave their homes and land by the Soviet invasion and atrocities.

The Chinese Foreign Minister was told that the Pakistan government granted each refugee four rupees a day for their subsistence. Some relief has come from the United Nations, Kuwait and Britain. But so far international assistance has fallen far short of the mounting need. . . .

Huang Hua expressed the sympathy of the Chinese people in his conversation with refugee leaders. One of them, Maulvi Nur Mohammed, told the Chinese Minister that very few of the Afghan population supported the present Soviet-installed Kabul regime. "We are determined to fight and drive the Russians out of our beloved land."

**176 Foreign Minister Huang Hua's press conference at Karachi,  
22 January 1980 (Extracts)**

The Chinese government and people firmly stand by the Pakistan people in standing up to the external threat.

He urged the West European countries, Japan and the United States to deal seriously with the Soviet threat. "We believe that these countries should offer genuine assistance to Pakistan and all other countries that are faced with threat and aggression. The assistance should be commensurate with the present developments. It should not be symbolic or temporary out of expedient considerations." . . .

Through its flagrant invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has escalated its aggression and expansion to a new stage.

The invasion not only poses threats to the peace and security in the Persian Gulf region, South Asia and Asia as a whole, but also endangers world peace and security.

The Soviet Union's long-term and broader strategic objective in invading Afghanistan—to control the oil-rich region and make a thrust southward to the Indian Ocean to control the sea lanes and realize its outflank and encircle Europe.

"In order to deal effectively with the Soviet expansion and aggression timely, adequate and effective assistance should be given to the Afghan people and their resistance movement and other patriotic forces in their struggle against the Soviet aggressor."

"This kind of assistance should also be given to the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan and countries faced with the threat of Soviet aggression."

The strategic implications of the Soviet invasion, brought home the threat to Pakistan as well as the threat to the lifeline of the West European countries, Japan and the United States.

"In China's view the time has come for the West European countries, Japan and the United States to watch seriously the developments in Afghanistan and the inherent threat to the surrounding areas."

China and Pakistan, have agreed that under the present circumstances they need further to strengthen their friendship and cooperation in various fields. They will keep in touch and

continue their consultations with each other and some follow-up actions will be taken to increase their cooperation.

**177 Beijing Review report on Foreign Minister Huang Hua's visit to Pakistan (18-23 January 1980), 4 February 1980**

The situation in Pakistan has become increasingly tense since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and deployment of troops near the Pakistan border. Foreign Minister Huang Hua's visit to Pakistan at this juncture, therefore, took on added significance. President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq has said that "Pakistan deserves attention as it is now facing a superpower at its doorsteps" and that what has happened in Afghanistan has completely changed the situation in this region.

During his visit, Foreign Minister Huang Hua exchanged views with President Zia-ul-Haq and his adviser Agha Shahi on the international situation and issues of common concern, particularly the current situation in Asia. Their talks showed that their viewpoints were unanimous or very similar. Both sides decided to maintain contacts and continue consultations on matters of common concern and to further strengthen their friendly relations and co-operation.

**178 "Threat to peace and security in South Asia," Xinhua commentary on Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, 10 February 1980**

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has sharpened the vigilance of the people in South Asian countries. One question people are thinking over is what grave consequences the Soviet action will bring to the security and stability of the sub-continent.

Soviet troops have reached the northwest entrance to the sub-continent and Soviet tanks were reportedly 8 miles away from Pakistan. This constitutes a major threat not only to Pakistan: but also to South Asia. This should be dealt with seriously.

The Soviet Union has a long-term strategic objective in South Asia—a Southward thrust into the Indian Ocean to take hold of warm harbours there. South Asia is an important part of its global strategy for hegemony. Logically, it will direct its



spearhead at Pakistan following its occupation of Afghanistan.

Under such situation, the people of South Asian countries cannot but think: What is the common threat to South Asian countries? What is the most pressing issue facing them all? The Indian press said that Kampuchea fell a victim to foreign occupation yesterday and Afghanistan today. Who will be the next, Pakistan or India? they asked.

More and more people in the South Asian nations have come to realize that tolerance and restraint can only stimulate the Soviet arrogance for aggression and expansion. Only when all countries which stand against Soviet aggression and expansion get united and take measures, can the Soviet Union be stopped from taking reckless action and security and peace in South Asia be guaranteed. What the Soviet Union fears most is the unity of the Southern Asian countries.

Recently, the Soviet Union openly intimidated Pakistan and sowed discord between India and Pakistan by making use of the Pakistani endeavour for strengthening its defense. However, a number of far-sighted figures in Southern Asia and Western nations maintained that the reinforcement of Pakistan's defense capabilities and its determination against the Soviet pressure is of vital importance not only to peace and security in South Asia but also to peace in the world as a whole.

Facing threats from the aggressors coveting the sub-continent, there has appeared the gratifying tendency among the Southern Asian countries of making contacts, improving relations, coordinating positions and discussing countermeasures. For instance, Indian and Pakistani leaders expressed their desire to settle through peaceful negotiations pending problems between the two countries on the basis of the 1972 Simla Agreement, ease contradictions and propel the process of normalizing their relations. Although there still exist this or that sort of contradictions, the spirit of taking the overall situation into account and seeking common ground while reserving differences is undoubtedly in keeping with the interests of peace and security in the South Asian sub-continent.

**179 "Pakistan: developments in foreign relations,"**  
**commentary by *People's Daily* correspondent Li Yun-fei,**  
**March 1980**

Since the Soviet armed occupation of Afghanistan, diplomatic activities in Pakistan have been unprecedentedly brisk. Government officials and newsmen of various countries flocked to Islamabad. A few days after the close of the extraordinary session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference, the Australian Foreign Minister, the U.S. President's National Security Adviser, the Indian Foreign Secretary, a delegation of U.S. Congressmen and a West German Parliamentary delegation visited Pakistan. They either entered into discussions with Pakistan government leaders or went to Peshawar and Khyber Pass for on-the-spot surveys. The Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) started a twice-a-week shuttle between Islamabad and Peshawar.

What does the Soviet control of Afghanistan mean? It means the Soviet Union has pushed its frontier south to border on Pakistan, a Pakistani official pointed out. In other words, Soviet combat troops are now 120 miles from Islamabad as the crow flies, 250 miles from Lahore, capital of Punjab Province, the granary of the continent since ancient times; 300-odd miles from the natural naval port of Gwadar in Baluchistan Province on the Arabian Sea and only 300 miles from the Strait of Hormuz, the vital throughfare of the West. They are all places the Soviet Union seeks to capture to attain world hegemonism. Afghanistan is only a launching pad to seize these objectives.

Because of this, many countries are very worried about Pakistan's independence and security. They praised Pakistan's humanitarianism in settling 500,000 Afghan refugees, expressed sympathy for its present difficulties and supported its people's just struggle to defend their country's independence and sovereignty. They also promised to render economic and military assistance to Pakistan. In this respect, recent Pakistan-U.S. and Pakistan-Indian relations are particularly worthy of attention.

*Pakistan-U.S. Relations.* The two countries had signed an agreement on bilateral defence cooperation in 1959, but for

some reasons the agreement did not fulfil the role it was supposed to and the bilateral relations turned a shade cooler. The U.S. attitude underwent an obvious change after Afghanistan. During Brezezinski's visit, he talked with President Zia-ul-Haq and fundamental agreements were reached on a series of questions. The United States reaffirmed its firm commitment to Pakistan's independence and security, while Pakistan expressed its trust in the United States. American economic and military assistance was discussed.

*Pakistan-Indian Relations.* Despite its unhappiness over the United States proposed military assistance to Pakistan, Indira Gandhi's government is also worried about the Soviet armed occupation of Afghanistan and the serious threat this poses to South Asia. It reiterated that any military intervention in a sovereign country in the international community was unacceptable. It also said that it would try to persuade the Soviet Union through diplomatic channels to pull out its troops from Afghanistan. During the Indian Foreign Secretary's visit to Pakistan, the two sides reached agreement on a number of questions through negotiations which they affirmed were "beneficial." They also said that they would continue to exchange opinions. Many international far-sighted people have pointed out that under the present situation the building of Pakistan's defensive capability is also to the interests of India. It is in the interests of peace and stability in the region for Pakistan and India to strengthen their co-operation after both sides reach a mutual understanding through seeking common ground while reserving differences, they noted.

Following the extraordinary session in January, Pakistan is making preparations for an Islamic foreign ministers' conference in April. Domestically, it is also taking measures to strengthen national unity. It is reported that advisory committees from the central down to the local levels are to be organized. They will absorb people from all walks of life so that the present government will have wider representation. Lately, Baluchis and Pathans have voiced their determination to defend Pakistan's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity at any cost.

**180 "China urges U.S. patience on Pak rejection of aid,"  
Reuter report on the statement of a US official concerning  
Chinese Vice Foreign Minister's visit to the United States,  
21 March 1980 (Extracts)**

The Chinese vice foreign minister, Mr. Zhang Wenjin has urged U.S. patience over Pakistan's rejection of American aid to counter threats posed by Soviet forces in Afghanistan, a senior U.S. official said yesterday.

Mr. Zhang, ending four days of Washington talks, was told in turn that the Pakistani rejection was "not helpful."

According to the senior official who briefed reporters on the talks, Mr. Zhang said Pakistan was still determining its needs.

The official's description of the rejection contrasted sharply with the national security adviser, Mr. Brezezinski's recent comment that it "suits us just fine."

Mr. Zhang told the United States that China was willing to assist Pakistan, even though Peking's resources were limited.

The United States got no specific indication of the aid China might be willing to give Pakistan, the official said. A Chinese delegation is in Pakistan studying its needs.

A major purpose of the talks with Mr. Zhang, was to explore separate but parallel steps which the United States and China could take in responding to the Afghanistan crisis.

China expressed its full support for international demands that the Soviet Union make an immediate total and unconditional withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan, the senior U.S. official said.

"We have indicated that the absolute preconditioning for any neutralisation of Afghanistan would be total withdrawal of Soviet forces and establishment of a government acceptable to the people of Afghanistan," the official said.

Both sides, however, agreed that a Soviet withdrawal was unlikely in the foreseeable future.

Mr. Zhang said China supported President Carter's call for an international boycott of the Moscow Olympics and would send athletes to alternative games.

China also supported the build-up of U.S. military forces in the Indian Ocean, which it felt had a bearing on Pakistan's

security, the official said.

**181 "Pakistan adheres to independent foreign policy,"  
commentary by Xinhua correspondent, 1 May 1980  
(Extract)**

Pakistan upholds justice in international affairs and stands for safeguarding independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and opposing imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism. . . .

Pakistan opposes Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan, a member country of the non-aligned movement. . . .

Pakistan supports the Kampuchean people in the struggle against Vietnamese aggression. In his message dated March 25 to Mr. Khieu Samphan, President of the Presidium of the State and Prime Minister of the government of Democratic Kampuchea, General Zia-ul-Huq extended full support to the just stand of Democratic Kampuchea for a total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from its territory.

Pakistan maintains that any alliance with a superpower or a bloc of big powers is contrary to its fundamental interests. It is opposed to multilateral alliance because it thinks such alliance is sponsored by a superpower. It joined the non-aligned movement in September last year.

Pakistan favours establishing a "zone of peace in South Asia" or a "zone free from nuclear weapons" in the South Asian and Indian Ocean region. Recently it said it would propose declaring the Gulf region as a "zone of peace" at the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Meeting to be held in Islamabad in mid-May so as to check superpower rivalry in the region.

Pakistan supports the Arab struggle to recover the Arab lands occupied by Israel. . . .

Pakistan has close ties with other Moslem countries. It has sent over 700,000 workers and technicians to Arab countries to help in their economic construction. On the other hand it also receives economic aid from them. President Zia once said, "We believe in the Islamic unity which is the pillar of Pakistan's foreign policy."

Pakistan also makes efforts to strengthen friendly relations with its neighbours. . . . Pakistan is continuing its efforts to

normalize relations with India and develop, step by step, trade and economic ties between the two countries. It stands for a solution of the pending Kashmir problem in accordance with the spirit of the Simla agreement and relevant U.N. resolutions.

The friendly relations between Pakistan and China has stood the test of time. They are in the interests of the people of both countries and peace in Asia and the rest of the world. Pakistan considers friendship with China as one of the bases of its foreign policy. It is generally believed that President Zia's present visit to China will consolidate further the relations of neighbourliness and cooperation between Pakistan and China.

**182 President Zia-ul-Haq's interview with Li Yun-fei,  
correspondent of *People's Daily*, 1 May 1980 (Extracts)**

"When this Afghanistan problem came into being, my explanation at that time and still now is that it is not a regional problem, it is a global problem. I call it global in the sense because a superpower is involved. The Soviet Union has occupied a non-aligned and Muslim country unilaterally against the will of the people of that country. It shows the designs of the Soviet Union: it is an indication of Soviet expansionism. This is the first time they moved into the south and they moved into Afghanistan.

If you see the map of geographic importance of this and the geopolitical importance of the section, it is that Pakistan is threatened, Iran is encircled, it is an outflanking movement against China as well. It is a threat towards the sea lanes of the entire supplies of oil to western Europe, to Japan, and therefore, it is of great significance and it cannot be taken lightly.

Today there are approximately 90,000 Russian soldiers inside Afghanistan. And the direct result of this is that in Pakistan today we have 700,000 refugees. So, I think, from this point of view, the importance is also ascertained. The consolation is that this action of the Soviet Union has been condemned by the world at large. In the United Nations, 104 countries voted against this. It has been viewed with great concern in the Islamic World, because the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Conference held in Pakistan recently unanimously condemned

the Soviet Union. I think it must be viewed with concern and our efforts should be made to force the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. The Soviet Union should be forced to withdraw its forces now. We must put all moral and political pressure on the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan.

As far as Pakistan is concerned it is important that the people of the country must unite. And "if 80 million people are determined, and united, and prepared, then I am sure no nation in the world, even a super power, would dare to invade. But we should be very alive to the dangers of external threat. and we should be fully prepared to meet it.

At the last Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, it was decided that all Muslim countries should boycott the Olympic games in Moscow. We are bound by that decision. But legally, the decision has to be taken by Pakistan Olympic Association which is an autonomous body." However, "they will respect the resolution of the Islamic Conference." He said his recommendation is 'to boycott the Olympics.'

Referring to his visit to China the President pointed out that this is his second visit to the country. He is going to talk about all matters of bilateral and international importance with Chinese leaders. "The purpose is to exchange views, draw benefits from each other's thoughts and analyses, formulate a coherent policy for the region."

Asked about the prospects of further strengthening of Pakistan-China friendship, he said such meetings at the level of Chairman Hua Guo-feng, Vice Premier Deng Xiao-ping and at various other levels "are always fruitful and I am sure Pak-China relations with these meetings will be further strengthened."

On Pakistan-Indian relations the President said the relations has had many setbacks "we had fought three wars. Our efforts are to normalize the relations, and at the same time, our recommendation to our neighbour India is that they must reconcile now about the existence of Pakistan." "I think it is in the interest of India that a strong and stable Pakistan exists now as its neighbour. We are a peaceful country. We believe in co-existence. But we believe in co-existence in terms of equality. . .our government in the last three years or so has

been trying to normalize relations and has made good success with the previous government of India and now with Mrs. Gandhi's government."

"Pakistan-American relations are good. We have been friends for a long time. But we have had some tensions. The American Administration, currently we find is very sensitive to the Indian reaction to this region. . . . I hope the United States of America will realise its interests in Pakistan and will treat Pakistan on its own merits and not for the sake of any other country. I hope some of these troubles and difficulties will be resolved and we will continue to be friends."

**183 *People's Daily* editorial welcoming President Zia-ul-Haq,  
2 May 1980 (Extracts)**

Towards the end of the last year, the Soviet authorities brazenly sent troops to invade Afghanistan. This naked aggression not only trampled on the independence and sovereignty of that country but also directly threatened the security of Pakistan and other neighbouring countries.

At this crucial moment, the Pakistan government and people, defying brute force, sternly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and strengthened their own defences by a series of effective measures. They are determined to fight for the security and territorial integrity of Pakistan.

At the Special Conference of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries in January this year, the Pakistan government along with other Islamic Countries, resolutely demanded a complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

"Not long ago, President Zia-ul-Haq flatly rejected a 'proposal' of the Karmal regime for direct negotiations with Pakistan on the so-called normalization of relations between the two countries. The President reaffirmed that Pakistan would observe the resolutions of the Special Conference of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries and refuse to recognize the Kabul regime before the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This principled, just stand of the Pakistan Government has won praise from all the countries and people in the world who cherish peace and uphold justice.



The Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan has aggravated tension in South Asia and seriously threatened the peace and security of various countries in this area. Hence, the correct way to relax tension in this area is to compel the Soviet Union to withdraw all its aggressor troops from Afghanistan and let the Afghan people solve their problems on their own without external intervention.

Only in this way is it possible to really settle and Afghan question, effectively contain the aggression and expansion of the hegemonists, and safeguard peace, security and stability in South Asia and in the world as a whole.”

China and Pakistan are close and friendly neighbours, the two peoples, have an age-old traditional friendship. In the current turbulent international situation, it is of great significance for the peoples of China and Pakistan to strengthen unity and cooperation.

President Zia-ul-Haq’s official goodwill visit to China and his discussions with Chinese leaders on bilateral relations and important international issues of mutual interest will further promote friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.”

#### **184 Premier Hua Guo-feng’s speech at the banquet given in honour of President Zia-ul-Haq, 2 May 1980 (Extracts)**

The Soviet social-imperialists’ brutal aggression against Afghanistan, a peaceful and non-aligned Islamic country, “not only poses a threat to the security of the South Asian countries, but also seriously endangers the peace of Asia and the whole world.”

The people of all countries were becoming increasingly aware that the Soviet Union was the main source of threat to world peace and stability. “Appeasement, concession and retreat would only inflate the arrogance of the aggressor.”

“On the question of Afghanistan, the resolutions adopted at the Emergency Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly and the Special Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Countries earlier this year must be upheld. The Soviet troops must be withdrawn from Afghanistan immediately and unconditionally and the Afghan people must be allowed to decide

their own affairs free from outside interference.”

“So long as the Soviet troops hang on in Afghanistan, all other countries have the right to condemn the Soviet Union and give moral and material support to the Afghan people in their resistance to aggression. Hegemonistic actions flouting right and justice absolutely must not be condoned in the world of today.”

The Chinese Premier praised Pakistan for its important contributions to the cause of combating imperialism and hegemonism over the years.

“At the UN General Assembly and the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference held earlier this year, the Government of Pakistan took a clear-cut righteous stand. In fulfilment of humanitarian duties, the Pakistan Government and people have borne a heavy burden of sustaining the large number of displaced refugees created by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

“In the face of new grave military threats, Pakistan is enhancing internal unity and making steady efforts to strengthen its national defence. We believe the Pakistan Government and people will be able to overcome all difficulties and effectively defend their country.”

“The Chinese government and people will, as always, firmly support you in your just struggle in defence of national independence and state sovereignty and will stand firm together with you against foreign aggression and interference. As a Chinese saying goes, ‘the strength of a horse is tested by the distance travelled, and the heart of a man is seen with the passage of time.’ The Chinese and Pakistan peoples have been, and will forever remain, trustworthy friends.”

### **185 Zia-ul-Haq’s speech at the banquet, 2 May 1980 (Extracts)**

“The dangerous consequences of the military intervention in Afghanistan have been a subject of deep concern to the international community. The General Assembly of the United Nations and the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers have condemned the Soviet armed intervention and demanded the unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

It is deeply disturbing that this call of the world community remains unheeded. Military measures to suppress the resistance

movement have been intensified. An end to the refugee influx into Pakistan is not in sight.

The Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers which is due to meet in Islamabad in the middle of this month, will have to address itself to this situation once again. Pakistan will respond positively to all constructive proposals in this forum which would facilitate a resolution of the Afghan crisis in accordance with the principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and non-interference in their internal affairs.

Viet Nam continues its military occupation of Kampuchea in defiance of the . . . UN General Assembly resolution calling for the withdrawal of its military forces.

The Persian Gulf has become a third centre of crisis where conflicting superpower interests endanger the independence, security and stability of the countries of the region. Pakistan has expressed full solidarity with the Iranian Revolution and declared its opposition to any use of force or coercive measures against Iran for the resolution of the hostages issue.

A root cause of the prevailing tension and instability in our region is the failure to find a just settlement of the Palestinian problem.

Pakistan has consistently supported the just Arab cause and contributed to the efforts of the international community towards bringing about the vacation by Israel of all the occupied Arab territories.

In the search for peace and stability in South Asia, and in conformity with the policy of developing good neighbourly relations, Pakistan has sincerely pursued the path of normalisation of its relationship with India in accordance with the Simla Agreement. We have sought to remove impediments in the way of amity and concord between the two countries through a continuing dialogue with India at various levels.

In its dedication to the goals of peace and human progress, Pakistan enjoys China's wholehearted support.

Our two countries have cooperated with each other and with other peace loving nations of the world in the defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and in espousing the right of self-determination of peoples subjected to colonial or alien domination.

Pakistan and China stand together in opposition to all forms of aggression, intervention and hegemonism anywhere and everywhere. They have presented a united and resolute front in opposition to imperialism and colonialism in all their forms and manifestations. Pakistan-China relationship is not directed against any other country. This friendship is based on principles and accords with the legitimate interests and the peace loving policies of the peoples of both countries.”

**186 Statement by President Zia-ul-Haq at a press conference in Islamabad on his successful China visit, 6 May 1980 (Extracts)**

Pakistan-China friendship was an enduring one and would continue so in times to come.

His China tour was very successful and there was complete understanding between him and the Chinese leaders on all the matters discussed in Beijing.

During the last three years or so his government had strengthened the ties of friendship with China in all fields whether it be the economic or the defence fields. As a result of his visit more Chinese help would be available to Pakistan in these two fields. . . .

Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is an infringement of the liberty of a non-aligned Muslim country and that it has materially disturbed the situation in that region. . . .

“We are trying to persuade the Soviet Union that it must withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.”

President Zia also told the pressmen that he had been pleased to find that China shares the same view with Pakistan and wanted good relations with its neighbours. “They are trying to improve relations with India, we also want the same.”

**187 “President Zia-ul-Haq’s visit brings Pakistan and China closer together,” commentary by Xinhua correspondent, 7 May 1980 (Extract)**

China and Pakistan have pledged themselves to stand still more closely together to oppose whatever form of aggression,

interference and hegemonism.

This is one of the important pursuits of the visit to China of General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, President of Pakistan, which ended today.

His visit has also helped to strengthen friendship and co-operation between the two peoples and will exert a positive influence on the safeguarding of their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and on peace and stability in this region and the rest of the world.

During his stay in Beijing, the Pakistan President had several long meetings and talks with Premier Hua Guofeng and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping. Subjects covered ranged from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan to the threat it posed to the security of countries in South Asia as well as the peace of Asia and the world as a whole.

In view of the serious military threats arising from the Soviet Union's deployment of heavy troops along the borders of China and Pakistan, the leaders naturally focussed their attention on the common objective of strengthening cooperation and mutual assistance, safeguarding peace and opposing aggression from without.

Upholding the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries, President Zia-ul-Haq reiterated during the talks in Beijing his demand for a complete and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan so that peace and stability could be resorted in that country and the Afghan refugees could return home in safety and with dignity.

The President reaffirmed his country's refusal to recognize the Karmal regime in Kabul or to have any direct contact with it before the Soviet withdrawal. In dealing with the Afghan question, General Zia-ul-Haq said, Pakistan would never violate these principles.

Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping spoke highly of the Pakistan government and people for their adherence to principle and defiance to brute force in face of Soviet hegemonism. He made it clear that the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was the key to a settlement of the Afghan question.

Analyzing the Soviet Union's global strategy for world

domination, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was neither an accident nor a regional problem. It was a vital step to hasten its strategy of a Southward thrust on its way toward supremacy, following in the footsteps of the old Tsars. Therefore, he said, the Afghan question should be viewed from the angle of global strategy and correct policies formulated on this basis.

Deng Xiaoping paid tribute to the people of Pakistan for not only fighting to defend their national dignity and state sovereignty but also helping to stem the southward thrust of hegemonism and to safeguarding peace and stability in Asia and other parts of the world.

He said that all nations cherishing peace and upholding justice should give the people of Pakistan vigorous support and assistance.

China and Pakistan are close neighbours who have lived together amicably since ancient times. President Zia-ul-Haq's visit to China will surely bring their friendship and cooperation to a new stage of development.

# Bangladesh Crisis and Indo-Pak War of 1971





**188 "What are Indian expansionists trying to do?" Article by  
People's Daily commentator, 11 April 1971**

Of late, the Indian Government has redoubled its efforts to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs in disregard of the repeated stern protests of the Pakistan Government. This overbearing action of the Indian Government cannot but arouse the indignation of all justice-upholding countries.

The relevant measures taken by President Yahya Khan in connection with the present situation in Pakistan are the internal affairs of Pakistan, in which no country should or has the right to interfere. But the Indian reactionaries came forward in a great hurry to openly interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. Certain bigwigs in the Indian Government ranging from the Prime Minister, the Minister of External Affairs, to members of Parliament and chief ministers of states raised a hue and cry for fanatic interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. The Indian Parliament and the Indian National Congress openly discussed and adopted resolutions interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The Indian Government was busily plotting for international intervention in league with the two super-powers. Meanwhile, the Indian reactionaries have set their entire propaganda machine in motion to fan up anti-Pakistan chauvinist sentiments. All these frenzied acts are a new exposure of the expansionist features of the Indian reactionaries.

To create pretexts for meddling in the internal affairs of a neighbouring country, the Indian reactionaries insisted that changes in the internal situation of Pakistan "cannot but prejudice India's own security." It may be asked: Is it Pakistan that "threatens" India's security, or is it the Indian expansionists that threaten Pakistan's security. While the Indian reactionaries were making inflammatory remarks over the Pakistan situation, the Indian Government massed troops along the East Pakistan border, and even instigated armed plainclothesmen to infiltrate into Pakistan territory for disruption and harrassment. Does the flagrant threat of force not seriously prejudice the security of Pakistan?

The Indian reactionaries also claimed that "geography makes it impossible" for India to "view" the situation in Pakistan "as simply an internal matter for Pakistan." Such argu-

ment is extremely preposterous. With a definite place in geography, every country has neighbours. If this "theory" of the Indian expansionists can stand, then countries with expansionist and aggressive ambitions may wilfully interfere in the internal affairs of their neighbouring countries for geographical reasons. Under such circumstances, what normal relations can there be between nations?!

It is worth noting that the two superpowers, working in close co-ordination with the Indian reactionaries, crudely interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The U.S. State Department issued a statement in an effort to poke its nose into Pakistan's internal affairs, while the Soviet Government acted more blatantly. In his message to President Yahya Khan, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Podgorny made no mention of the Indian reactionaries' threat to Pakistan, but on the contrary impudently criticized the Pakistan Government. They posed themselves as "friends" and hypocritically expressed concern for "the interests of the . . . people of Pakistan." As known to all, if the independence, sovereignty, unification and territorial integrity of a country are encroached upon, then what is left of the interests of the people?! Judging by what had been done by the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia, it is not hard to see what the Soviet leadership supports, what it opposes, and on whose side after all it stands.

The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We firmly maintain that all nations should practise the well-known Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence." This is the criterion for handling relations among nations. Anyone who interferes in the internal affairs of other countries in an attempt to achieve one's ulterior motives will never come to a good end.

The Pakistan peoples have the revolutionary tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism and have waged unyielding struggles against aggressors and interventionists from outside. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and against foreign aggression and interference.

**189 Chou En-lai's message to Yahya Khan, 12 April 1971**

I have read Your Excellency's letter and Ambassador Chang Tung's report on Your Excellency's conversation with him. I am grateful to Your Excellency for your trust in the Chinese Government.

China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours. The Chinese Government and people are following with close concern the development of the present situation in Pakistan. Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan have done a lot of useful work to uphold the unification of Pakistan and to prevent it from moving towards a split.

We believe that through the wise consultations and efforts of Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan, the situation in Pakistan will certainly be restored to normal.

In our opinion, the unification of Pakistan and the unity of the people of East and West Pakistan are the basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength.

Here, it is most important to differentiate the broad masses of the people from a handful of persons who want to sabotage the unification of Pakistan.

As a genuine friend of Pakistan, we would like to present these views for Your Excellency's reference.

At the same time, we have noted that of late the Indian Government has been carrying out gross interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan by exploiting the internal problems of your country. And the Soviet Union and the United States are doing the same one after the other.

The Chinese Press is carrying reports to expose such unreasonable interference and has published Your Excellency's letter of reply to Podgorny.

The Chinese Government holds that what is happening in Pakistan at present is purely the internal affair of Pakistan, which can only be settled by the Pakistan people themselves and which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever.

Your Excellency may rest assured that should the Indian expansionists dare to launch aggression against Pakistan, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and national independence.

### **190 Declaration of the Fourth International on the struggle in Bangladesh, 18 April 1971**

As the Pakistani armies continue their effort to crush the independence movement of the people of Eastern Bengal it becomes clear that the Yahya military clique failed to secure the quick victory it sought. Despite the brutalities and the mass killings, it has been unable to terrorize the Bengali people into submission.

Incensed by the wholesale slaughter of unarmed people, the Bengali masses are certain to continue their resistance against the colonial regime ruling their country. But the whole question of revolutionary leadership and revolutionary strategy is posed with the utmost sharpness. The Bengali people are united as never in the past. However their current leadership is completely inadequate. Far from preparing the workers and peasants for the decisive prolonged struggle for independence, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did all in his power to arrive at a compromise with Yahya Khan. The Awami League opposed independence and set its sights instead on autonomy. Mujibur engaged in discussions with Yahya Khan while the dictator placed his military forces in position. The Mujib leadership now flounders and hopes for help from the United Nations and the international bourgeoisie, starting with the Indian capitalists. Its real line was clearly expressed in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's declaration to the *Agence France Presse*: "Is the West Pakistan government not aware that I am the only one able to save East Pakistan from communism? If they take the decision to fight I shall be pushed out of power and the Naxalites will intervene in my name. If I make too many concessions, I shall lose my authority. I am in a difficult position." (*Le Monde*, 3 March 1971.)

The Fourth International, while declaring its complete solidarity with the struggle of the Bengali masses against national oppression, reaffirms its view that the development of a revolutionary leadership is essential to win the struggle. This victory will only be achieved by the Bengali workers, peasants and students organized and led by a revolutionary proletarian leadership. This party will have the task of continuing the revolutionary struggle by all means necessary and thus begin the task

of smashing the old structures of the Bengali countryside and cities and laying the basis to establish a workers' and peasants' government, which will start building a socialist society. This task can only be impeded by any intervention of the Indian bourgeoisie, which is interested only in preserving the status quo and preventing the struggle in Bangladesh from overflowing into West Bengal. The Fourth International is opposed to intervention by the Indian bourgeoisie which would be designed to hinder the development of the Bengali struggle rather than to help it. Once more the counter-revolutionary nature of Indira Gandhi's policies and of the bourgeois state of India has been confirmed by her government's aid, side by side with the Yahya Khan clique, to the Ceylon Army's repression of the revolutionary forces in that country.

The Fourth International condemns the treachery of the Maoist government in publicly supporting the Yahya dictatorship and thus helping it to maintain its ruthless exploitation and oppression of the Bengali people. In the guise of combating Indira Gandhi's 'interference', the Mao regime stands today as direct accomplice to the massacre. Chou En-lai's message to Yahya Khan on 12 April is a brazen attempt to cover up Peking's approval of the massacre of the Bengalis: "We believe that through consultations and the efforts of Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan, Pakistan will certainly be restored to normal. In our opinion unification of Pakistan and unity of the peoples of East and West Pakistan are basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength."

Mao's subsequent personal message to Yahya Khan repeats the same idea in ever, stronger language. The 'unity' of Pakistan is the 'unity' of a monstrosity sponsored by British and world imperialism against the unity of the workers and peasants of the Indian subcontinent. It is a 'unity' that strengthens the grip of a tiny group of semi-feudal landlords, comprador capitalists and Generals over millions of super-exploited and starving peasants, agricultural and industrial workers. It is a 'unity' that showed callousness to the most elementary needs of the Bengali people by failing to take precautionary measures in advance of last year's tornado and by doing nothing for the victims afterwards. It is a fundamental revision of the elementary principles

of Marxism-Leninism to speak about the Pakistani 'state' and the Pakistan Army without clearly specifying its class character: a state defending the interests of a coalition of semi-feudal landlords, rapacious compradors and monopoly capitalists (22 families of robber barons control two thirds of the industrial assets of the country). The army is a reactionary bourgeois army formed and trained by imperialism and ready to join similar armies in Iran and Afghanistan in forming an anti-communist *cordon sanitaire* in Central Asia in the direct service of world imperialism. These are the forces approved by Mao to preserve 'unity'.

The support given to Yahya Khan by the Chinese bureaucracy represents an open betrayal of the class interests of the workers and poor peasants who had died in the struggle for national self-determination, who are struggling today against the Pakistan Army and who will tomorrow continue the struggle for a socialist Bengal. It is obvious that the Maoist leaders, far from learning the lessons of the Indonesian defeat or the lessons of their unprincipled support for Yahya's predecessor, Ayub Khan, continue on the same opportunist road. Their course weakens the socialist forces in Bangladesh and strengthens right-wing elements that utilize Peking's support of Yahya to discredit 'communism'. Mao's support to Yahya Khan weakens and harms the advance of the Chinese Revolution: the only substantial bulwark against the threat of imperialist aggression from the Indian peninsula against the People's Republic of China is a strong and powerful revolutionary mass movement moving towards the overthrow of the reactionary states of India and Pakistan, towards a victorious workers' and peasants' revolution in the whole subcontinent. If the mass uprising in East Bengal is smashed, this will strengthen reaction in the whole peninsula and the very same reactionary army that Mao and Chou flatter today, would be ready tomorrow to support aggression against the Chinese Revolution.

Those communists on a world scale who have chosen to support the Chinese leadership in the Sino-Soviet dispute on the grounds that it acts in a more revolutionary and militant way against imperialism must say today where they stand on this issue. Silence would amount to complicity.

The various Western imperialist powers have, while deploring the mass slaughter, supported in various ways the status quo. The United States in particular has manipulated the distribution of its stocks of food to favour Yahya Khan, knowing well that starvation is a key weapon in his armoury. Moreover most of the arms used by Yahya were supplied by the Pentagon and will be replaced from the same source as they are used up in putting down the population.

The Fourth International appeals to the international workers' movement to render all possible assistance to the freedom fighters of Bangladesh, to carry out solidarity actions with the Bengali masses and to demonstrate unconditional support of the Bengali struggle for national self-determination. The Fourth International calls upon all socialists to oppose any interference by capitalism and imperialist forces designed to maintain neo-colonialism's grip on the whole Indian sub-continent. In particular military aid and especially assistance to Yahya Khan's forces in transit must be opposed by all means necessary. Revolutionaries should put the maximum pressure on the Maoist leadership to end its shameful support to Yahya Khan's dictatorship. It is also a vital task to expose the Soviet military aid which helped build up the West Pakistan counter-revolutionary army. The Left should be on its guard against the possibility of a massive intervention sponsored by US imperialism to prevent any spread of the revolutionary struggle in Asia. The Fourth International calls upon the workers, peasants, students and revolutionary intellectuals in West Pakistan to break with all chauvinistic anti-Bengali sentiments, to understand that the murderous Generals now trying to smother the uprising of the Bengali people in a bloodbath are their old oppressors. The struggle against the colonial war unleashed by Yahya Khan in Eastern Bengal is not only their internationalist duty, but is also in their own class interests. To defeat the West Pakistan Army in Bengal will speed the liberation of the West Pakistani masses from the yoke of their exploiters.

The Fourth International is confident that despite temporary attacks, the Bengali masses will finally triumph over the armed might of West Pakistani capital and thus pave the way for a united socialist Bengal which in turn will give powerful impetus to the liberation of the entire subcontinent from the yoke of

imperialism and landlordism.

Victory to Bangladesh!

For a Socialist Bangladesh!

For a United Socialist Bengal!

**191 Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's answer to a question at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., 17 June 1971 (Extract)**

*Question:* What is your assessment of the effect of Chinese support of the Government of Pakistan's actions in East Pakistan on China's credibility and influence in the world?

*Foreign Minister:* Surely any support that Pakistan military rulers might get from any quarter, which gives a pat on their back, will encourage them in their intransigence. And to that extent, this support from the Government of the People's Republic of China is something which encourages them to continue in their path of repression, and to that extent is definitely a negative factor in the entire situation. . . .

**192 Chi Peng-fei's speech at the banquet given in honour of Bhutto, 7 November 1971**

In order to defend their state sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence, they [the Pakistani people] have waged unremitting struggles against foreign aggressors, interventionists and domestic secessionists. The Pakistan Government has adhered to its foreign policy of independence and contributed to the defence of peace in Asia and the promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity.

Of late, the Indian Government has crudely interfered in Pakistan's internal affairs, carried out subversive activities and military threats against Pakistan by continuing to exploit the East Pakistan question. The Chinese Government and people are greatly concerned over the present tension in the Subcontinent. We maintain that the internal affairs of any country must be handled by its own people. The East Pakistan question is the internal affair of Pakistan and a reasonable settlement should be sought by the Pakistan people themselves, and it is absolutely impermissible for any foreign country to carry out interference and subversion under any pretext. Consistently abiding



by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the Chinese Government never interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and firmly opposes any country interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. This is our firm and unshakable stand. We believe that the broad masses of the Pakistan people are patriotic and they want to safeguard national unity and unification of the country, oppose internal split and outside interference. It is our hope that the Pakistan people will strengthen their unity and make joint efforts to overcome difficulties and solve their own problems. We have noted that certain persons are truculently exerting pressure on Pakistan by exploiting tension in the Subcontinent, in a wild attempt to realize their ulterior motives. The Chinese Government and people have always held that disputes between states should be settled by the two sides concerned through consultations and not by resorting to force. The reasonable proposal put forward recently by President Yahya Khan for the armed forces of India and Pakistan to withdraw from the border respectively and disengage is helpful to easing tension in the Subcontinent and should be received with welcome. Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that should Pakistan be subjected to foreign aggression, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to defend their state sovereignty and national independence.

**193 Statement by the Chinese delegate Fu Hao in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly on Pakistani refugees in India, 19 November 1971**

The Chinese Government and people have always held that the internal affairs of any country should be settled by the people of the country themselves. The question that has arisen in East Pakistan is purely Pakistan's internal affair which can only be settled by the Pakistan people themselves, and no country has the right to interfere in it under any pretext.

The so-called question of refugees from East Pakistan came into being and developed to its present state due to a certain country's intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs, which has resulted in the present tension on the Subcontinent. Recently

the Pakistan Government has repeatedly proposed relaxing the tension on the Subcontinent and settling the refugee question. But all these proposals have been rejected by the country concerned. It continues to exploit the question of refugees from East Pakistan to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, to carry out subversive activities against her and obstruct the return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homeland, making it impossible to reach a reasonable settlement of the question of the East Pakistan refugees. These tactics of interference in the internal affairs of other countries are well known to the Chinese Government and people. In our experience, a certain neighbouring country plotted a rebellion in the Tibetan region of our country and carried out subversive activities. When the rebellion it plotted was smashed by the Chinese people, it coerced tens of thousands of Chinese inhabitants into going to its country, creating a question of so-called 'Tibetan refugees' in wild opposition to China. We hold that in order to attain a reasonable settlement of the question of refugees from East Pakistan, interference in Pakistan's internal affairs must first of all be stopped. Only in this way can the East Pakistan refugees truly be assisted in returning to their homeland.

The Chinese Government has always abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is firmly opposed to any country interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, under the pretext of a so-called 'refugee question' or anything else. As for disputes between states, we have always held that they should be settled through consultation between the countries concerned. We believe that the broad masses of the Pakistan people are patriotic, are opposed to foreign interference, and they will certainly be able to solve their own problems.

**194 Statement by Foreign Minister Swaran Singh in Rajya Sabha regarding pro-Pakistani stand by China in UN Third Committee, 23 November 1971**

Government have seen the statement made by the Chinese Delegation on the question of Bangla Desh refugees, in the course of the debate in the Third Committee of the United Nations. The statement was not expected.

The refugee problem has been created as a result of the atrocities committed by the West Pakistan military authorities against the people of Bangla Desh to suppress their democratic rights and fundamental freedoms. The allegation that this problem has been created by outside intervention is baseless. The solution of the problem can be found if the military rulers of West Pakistan abandon their military approach and make a political settlement with the already elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh. For this reason, we have resisted Pakistan's attempts to divert attention from the main problem by converting it into an Indo-Pakistan dispute.

India is shouldering an intolerable burden in looking after these millions of refugees and is determined to ensure that they shall return to their homeland in safety and human dignity at the earliest possible date.

The grim tragedy which the millions of refugees represent, and for whom there is deep sympathy and support all over the world, cannot be ignored or evaded. The U.N. itself is directly involved in bringing relief to them. Many nations have responded to the U.N. Secretary-General's appeal. Attempts to introduce extraneous matters should not lead us away from the main problem. If the problem is considered objectively, no country, guided by considerations of humanity and justice, will allow itself to be side-tracked into extraneous and irrelevant arguments. No purpose will be served by accusations which are unrelated to reality. India has a proud record of non-interference in other countries' domestic affairs and categorically rejects any insinuations to the contrary. India hopes that no country of the world and, in particular, no Great Power, will add to the already existing tension in this region.

**195 Statement by Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien at an Albanian reception, 29 November 1971**

In the past few days, because the Indian Government, supported and encouraged by social-imperialism, has been carrying out subversive activities and military provocations against East Pakistan, the tension on the Subcontinent has been aggravated. The Chinese Government and people are greatly concerned over the present India-Pakistan situation. We maintain that

disputes between states should be settled by the two parties concerned through peaceful consultations and absolutely not by resorting to force; it is all the more impermissible for a country, under any pretext, to employ large numbers of armed troops to wilfully cross its own border and invade and occupy another country's territory. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and in defence of their state sovereignty and national independence. In order to ease the present tension, we hold that serious consideration should be given to President Yahya Khan's reasonable proposal for the armed forces of India and Pakistan to withdraw respectively from the border and disengage.

#### **196 Statement by the Chinese representative Huang Hua in the UN Security Council, 4 December 1971**

Of late, the Indian Government has openly sent troops to invade East Pakistan and provoked large-scale armed conflicts, thus aggravating tension in the India-Pakistan Subcontinent and Asia. The Chinese Government and people express serious concern over this and are closely following the development of the situation.

1. The question of East Pakistan is purely the internal affair of Pakistan, in which no one has any right to interfere. It is impermissible for the Indian Government to commit armed aggression against Pakistan by using the question of East Pakistan as a pretext.

2. The Indian Government asserts that it has sent troops to East Pakistan for the purpose of 'self-defence.' This is sheer gangster logic. The facts show that it is India which has committed aggression against Pakistan, and not Pakistan which has 'menaced' the security of India. According to the logic of the Indian Government, anyone can use the pretext of 'self-defence' for invading other countries. In that case, what guarantee is there for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of various countries?

3. The Indian Government asserts that the purpose for its sending troops to invade East Pakistan is to help the refugees of East Pakistan to return to their homeland. This is utterly

untenable. At present, there are in India large numbers of so-called 'refugees' from Tibet, China; the Indian Government is also grooming Dalai Lama, the chieftain of the Tibetan counter-revolutionary rebellion. According to the Indian Government's assertion, are you going to use this also as a basis for aggression against China?

4. The Pakistan Government has proposed that the armed forces of the two sides withdraw from the border respectively and disengage and that the question of the refugees of East Pakistan be settled through negotiations between the two Governments. This is entirely reasonable. However, the Indian Government has unwarrantedly rejected it. This shows that the Indian Government has no intention at all to settle the question of the refugees of East Pakistan, but want to capitalize on this question as a pretext for further subversion and aggression against Pakistan.

The Chinese Delegation maintains that according to the United Nations Charter, the Security Council should strongly condemn the aggressive acts of the Indian Government and demand that the Indian Government immediately and unconditionally withdraw all the Indian armed forces from Pakistan.

Finally, on behalf of the Chinese Government, I wish to state that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against Indian aggression. Here I would like to point out to the Security Council, the United Nations and the people of the world that the Indian Government's current acts of aggression have been perpetrated with the support of social-imperialism. This is borne out by an abundance of facts. I reserve the right to speak further on this matter.

### **197 Draft resolution submitted by China in the UN Security Council, 5 December 1971**

The Security Council,

Having heard the statements of the representatives of Pakistan and India,

Noting in particular that India has launched large-scale attacks on Pakistan, thus gravely undermining the peace in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent,

Strongly condemning the Indian Government's acts of creating a so-called "Bangla Desh" and of subverting, dismembering and committing aggression against Pakistan,

Calls upon the Government of India to withdraw its armed forces and armed personnel sent by it from Pakistan territory immediately and unconditionally and calls upon the Government of Pakistan to withdraw the armed forces which it has sent into Indian territory for counter-attack,

Calls upon India and Pakistan to cease hostilities and to withdraw respectively from the international border between India and Pakistan and to disengage from each other so as to create conditions for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between India and Pakistan,

Calls upon all states to support the Pakistan people in their just struggle to resist Indian aggression,

Requests the Secretary-General to submit as early as possible a report to the Security Council on the implementation of this resolution.

### **198 Statement by the Chinese representative Huang Hua in the UN Security Council, 5 December 1971**

The Chinese delegation has presented a draft resolution (S/i0421) to the Security Council on the question, for consideration of the members of this Council. Now I should like to make some explanation, briefly, with regard to this draft resolution. An argument has been raised to the effect that a request can first be made for a cease-fire by both India and Pakistan and the cessation of all military actions, although the question of withdrawal of military forces can be deferred to a later date. That is an argument to which we definitely cannot agree because the present objective situation is that the Indian Government has brazenly carried out subversion and aggression against Pakistan and flagrantly sent troops to invade Pakistan territory. In these circumstances the key to the realization of peace and security on the sub-continent is that the Indian Government's subversion and aggression must be immediately stopped. Indian troops must withdraw from Pakistan territory immediately, unconditionally and completely.

The demand for only a cease-fire in place by the two sides,

without a demand for withdrawal of Indian troops, is in effect tantamount to conniving at and encouraging aggression and to recognizing the Indian aggressor troops remaining in Pakistan territory as legal. To do so would be of no help whatsoever to the settlement of the arms conflict between India and Pakistan or the relaxation of tension in that area. On the contrary, it would only bring grave and dangerous results. Just as the representative of Somalia said yesterday, have not the resolutions passed by the United Nations on the question of the Middle East that failed to demand the immediate withdrawal of Israeli aggressor troops from Arab territory but only called for a cease-fire in place, resulted in legalizing the fruits of aggression and imposing them on the Arab countries and people and in creating in the Middle East the danger of aggression and war on a still larger scale?

The United Nations should in no way repeat time and again such a grave error of principle. Should it do so, the people throughout the world who uphold justice will have every reason to accuse the Security Council of being an accomplice in the scheme of India and her behind-the-scenes boss, Soviet social-imperialism, to invade and occupy Pakistan territory and to dismember the State of Pakistan. We sincerely call upon the sponsor States to give serious consideration to such evil consequences. Therefore, we propose that clauses strongly condemning Indian armed aggression against Pakistan and demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Indian armed personnel that have invaded Pakistan territory be added to the draft resolution under consideration.

**199 Statement by the Chinese representative Huang Hua in the UN Security Council, 5 December 1971 (Extracts)**

I should like to explain the vote we have just cast. The Chinese delegation voted against the Soviet draft because it would constitute direct interference in the internal affairs of a Member State. The present armed aggression by the Indian Government against Pakistan is being carried out with the connivance, support and shielding of the Soviet Union. Countless facts have proved this. Over a long period the Soviet Government has energetically supported India's expansion and has provided the

Indian expansionists with large quantities of arms and other war material. It has encouraged India in its scheming activities to subvert and dismember Pakistan, and has at the same time openly exerted all kinds of pressure on the Pakistan Government.

Last August the Soviet Union and India concluded a so-called treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation which is in fact a treaty of military alliance. With the encouragement of that treaty, the Indian Government has become even more embroiled in carrying out expansion and aggression. Not long ago the Indian Prime Minister visited Moscow and held talks with the Soviet leaders. It is by no means accidental that since then the Indian Government has flagrantly sent troops to invade Pakistan.

The Soviet representative's performance at yesterday's meeting has made it even clearer that the Soviet Government is the supporter, encourager and protector of the Indian aggression against Pakistan. Reversing right and wrong, confounding black and white, the Soviet representative calls India, which carries out armed aggression, a victim and blames Pakistan, which is subjected to aggression, for the current armed conflict.

The Indian representative has undisguisedly declared that the Indian Government regards the dismemberment of Pakistan and the disruption of its unity as state policy, and has openly slandered the representative of Pakistan as representing only West Pakistan.

The Soviet representative has also done his utmost to defend the Indian aggressive acts subverting the Pakistan Government and disrupting the national unity of Pakistan. In the draft resolution he put forward yesterday the Soviet representative went to the length of attacking Pakistan for causing the deterioration of the situation and he asserted that only after the so-called political solution of the question of East Pakistan could the acts of hostility cease. In other words, so long as the Pakistan Government refuses to agree to the "independence" of East Pakistan the Indian Government has the right to continue its subversion and aggression against Pakistan. This echoes the open clamour of the Indian leaders that the Indian troops and armed personnel must not be withdrawn from East Pakistan, and they demand that Pakistan troops withdraw from their own



territory, East Pakistan, and that a so-called Bangla Desh be established.

That is a naked revelation of the role played by Soviet social imperialism in India's armed aggression against Pakistan. To put it bluntly, in supporting India in its provoking of an armed conflict with Pakistan, the purpose of the Soviet Government is to take advantage of India's inevitable dependence on the Soviet Union in the war and to control the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and the Indian Ocean and expand its spheres of influence so as to compete with another Super Power for world hegemony. . . .

Because of the above-mentioned reasons, the Chinese delegation voted against the Soviet draft resolution.

**200 Statement by the Chinese representative Chiao Kuan-hua in the UN General Assembly, 7 December 1971 (Extracts)**

India and Pakistan are both close neighbours of China. The Chinese Government and people are seriously concerned over the armed conflict between India and Pakistan. The Chinese Delegation would like to make a few remarks on this question.

**1. The Indian Government is an outright aggressor.**

Our Colleagues here all know well how the war between India and Pakistan was started. The Indian Government has been saying again and again that it was the question of the East Pakistan refugees that has put it in a position in which it has no alternative but to send troops to invade Pakistan. This is indeed absurd to the extreme. The Indian ruling circles had also sometime ago forcibly coerced several tens of thousands of China's Tibet into going to India and set up a so-called government in exile headed by the Chinese traitor Dalai Lama. To agree that the Indian Government is justified to use the so-called refugee question as a pretext for invading Pakistan is tantamount to agreeing that the Indian Government will be justified to use the question of the so-called "Tibetan refugees" as a pretext for invading China. Is not this kind of pretext utterly ridiculous?

Supported by a certain big power, the Indian Government has become most arrogant and rampant. It openly clamours that since Pakistan is a neighbour of India, the existence of

Pakistan troops in East Pakistan constitutes in itself a threat to India. This is sheer fascist nonsense. India is also a neighbour of China; does the existence of Indian troops in India then constitute a threat to China?

Indian ruling circles claim that India is a country that loves democracy, freedom and peace. This can only deceive or hoodwink those who are not familiar with the facts. In the world today only in India can one find several tens of millions of untouchables. Among the new, independent countries in Asia and Africa, only India has a "protectorate." Almost all the neighbours of India have been bullied by it at one time or another. What kind of democracy is this? What kind of freedom is this? And what kind of peace is this?

India's expansionism had a long history. In his book *The Discovery of India*, Nehru openly proclaimed that the South Asian Subcontinent and the Indian Ocean is the sphere of influence of India. For years the Indian ruling circles have never given up their ambitious attempt to become a "superpower" or a "semi-superpower." Their present aggression against Pakistan is the inevitable outcome of the implementation of such an expansionist policy.

2. The Soviet Government is the boss behind the Indian aggressors.

The Indian expansionists usually do not have much guts. Why have they become so flagrant now? The reason is that a superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, is backing them up. As I said earlier, the so-called Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation is in effect a treaty of military alliance. Since the conclusion of that treaty, the Indian Government has become all the more flagrant, carrying out subversion and aggression against Pakistan without any scruples. On December 5, TASS published a statement which is full of the smell of gunpowder. It clamours that the tension between India and Pakistan has threatened the so-called interests of the security of the Soviet Union and that it cannot remain indifferent. This is blackmail and is a menace to China as well as all the neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan. Distinguished Soviet representative, what exactly are you planning to do? You might as well tell us here.

In the Security Council meetings of December 4, 5, 6, Soviet

representative Mr. Malik and the Indian representative echoing each other, insisted on imposing the representatives of the so-called "Bangla Desh" on the Security Council. The Soviet representative vetoed two draft resolutions which were supported by the majority of Council members. He unwarrantably assailed at will all those representatives who differed with him. He openly declared that he would veto all draft resolutions other than his own. This is indeed arrogant and crude to the extreme. I can hardly find the proper words to describe his behaviour. . . .

Making use of the ambition of the Indian expansionists, the Soviet leading clique is supporting India's armed aggression against Pakistan with the purpose of further controlling India and as the next step controlling the whole of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent and the Indian Ocean in order to contend with another superpower for world hegemony.

3. The United Nations should not repeat the mistakes of the League of Nations.

The current Indo-Pakistan situation cannot but remind us of the situation during the 30s. In 1931, the Japanese militarists unleashed a war of aggression against China by invading and occupying our three northeastern provinces, and set up a so-called "Manchukuo." The German and Italian fascists closely co-ordinated with them by giving "recognition" to that puppet regime. The League of Nations which was then under the control of Britain, France and other powers did not distinguish between right and wrong, between the aggressor and the victim of aggression and, therefore, became helpless and permitted Japan to have its own way in its aggression against China. This was, in effect, an encouragement to aggression. It was in these circumstances that Japan further expanded its war of aggression against China, the Italian fascists unleashed their war of aggression against Ethiopia and Hitler's Germany annexed one European country after another. In the end that led to the out-break of World War II and the League of Nations collapsed thereafter.

Historical lessons merit attention. The United Nations is now facing a situation similar to that of the 30s. The flames of the war of aggression launched by India are spreading, menacing the peace of Asia and the world. The United Nations must overcome the obstructions by the Soviet Union and speedily

adopt measures to hold back this dangerous situation. First of all, it must draw a clear line of distinction between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, strongly condemn the aggressor and must give firm support to the victim of aggression. It should not take an ambiguous stand, still less should it abet and shield the aggressor. Under the manipulation of the one or two superpowers, the United Nations made in past quite a few mistakes in this respect in contravention of the majority of member-states. The United Nations must learn from the lessons of history and must in no way embark on the old path of the League of Nations.

4. China maintains that the United Nations:

(1) Must strongly condemn India's aggression against Pakistan and thoroughly expose the shameless support given by the Soviet social-imperialists to the Indian aggressors;

(2) Must call upon all countries to support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against Indian aggression;

(3) Must call upon the the Indian Government to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Pakistan territory the armed forces and armed personnel sent by it and call upon the Pakistan Government to withdraw the armed forces which it sent into Indian territory for counter-attack;

(4) Calls upon both India and Pakistan to cease fire immediately on the basis of the withdrawal of the armed forces of each side from the territory of the other;

(5) Recommends that the armed forces of the two sides withdraw respectively from the border between India and Pakistan and disengage from each other so as to create conditions for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between India and Pakistan.

Fundamentally speaking, the dispute between India and Pakistan is a legacy of the British imperialist rule in the Indian subcontinent. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the new independent Afro-Asian countries should resolve their disputes in a friendly way through consultation on an equal basis. They must not be taken in by the imperialists.

**201 Speech by Chi Peng-fei, 9 December 1971**

The situation in the South Asian Sub-continent has further deteriorated in the past few days. The Indian Government has launched all-round armed aggression against Pakistan and hastily and flagrantly given 'recognition' to the so-called 'Bangla Desh' which was engineered by it single-handedly. The doings of the Indian Government have completely laid bare its wild expansionist ambition of annexing East Pakistan. The Indian Government's aggressive arrogance has swelled to such an extent because it has the energetic support and co-ordination of social-imperialism in the political, economic and military fields. Social-imperialism has undisguisedly assumed the role of the protector of the Indian expansionists and, acting in a truculent and irascible manner. It has put up a varied shameless show in the United Nations, fully revealing, its ugly features of big-power chauvinism and of practising despotism. But, in spite of obstruction by social-imperialism and Indian expansionism, the U.N. General Assembly eventually adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling for ceasefire and troop withdrawal by the Indian and Pakistan sides. The fact that an absolute majority of countries uphold right and justice has landed social-imperialism and Indian expansionism in unprecedented isolation. This represents the general trend and popular sentiment in the world today.

The Chinese Government and people sternly condemn the Indian Government for its criminal acts of expansionism and armed aggression and firmly oppose the power-politics and despotism practised by social-imperialism. The Indian Government must at once stop its aggression against Pakistan and withdraw immediately, unconditionally and totally its aggressor troops from Pakistan territory. We believe that the Pakistan Government will certainly withdraw its armed forces, who have entered Indian territory for the purpose of counter-attack, back to their own country. Together with the peace-loving countries and people of the world, the Chinese Government and people will firmly make their contribution to the defence of international peace and justice.

We should like to advise the Indian Government that it had better honestly accept the resolution of the U.N. General As-

sembly and not alienate itself from the people of the world. If it should wilfully persist in its unscrupulous and perverse course, it will in the end certainly eat the bitter fruit of its own making.

**202 Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's interview to the *New York Times*, 12 December 1971 (Extract)**

India and China are neighbours. In the recent past, and at the present moment, there have been differences. Differences between neighbours are not uncommon. We believe that the people of China and the people of India want to live as good neighbours and that the time is not far off when relations will be normalised.

The present situation has been brought about by the conduct of West Pakistan's military rulers in continuing atrocities and suppressing results of elections. It is this unwise policy that has created a feeling of cohesion among the people of Bangla Desh which has culminated in the emergence of a free Bangla Desh.

I don't see why in such a situation the People's Republic of China should intervene in a matter which is, in origin and by history, a matter between the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan military rulers. We have been dragged into this on account of the pushing of about 10 million refugees into Indian territory.

I don't see how and why the Government of the People's Republic of China should find it necessary to intervene in the situation.

**203 Statement by the Chinese representative Huang Hua in the UN Security Council, 15 December 1971 (Extracts)**

The Soviet representative has three times flagrantly abused the veto power in disregard of all consequences, with the obvious aim of marking time so as to shield India in its occupation of East Pakistan. . . .

Here I deem it necessary to mention the Polish draft resolution (S/10453/Rev. 1). This is a draft resolution to dismember Pakistan and legalize the dismemberment. This is a draft

resolution to involve the Security Council directly in the dismemberment of Pakistan. China firmly opposes this draft resolution. This draft resolution certainly cannot represent the Polish people, because they cannot possibly forget the sad history of their own motherland which was partitioned on many occasions, nor can they forget the unpleasantness of Poland today. To put it bluntly, this is not a Polish draft resolution but a Soviet draft resolution.

During the debate, Britain and France assumed an attitude which is seemingly impartial, but fails to distinguish between the right and wrong on the major question concerning the Soviet Government's support for Indian aggression and the dismemberment of Pakistan. This has inflated the aggressor's arrogance of the Soviet Union and India. This reminds us of the League of Nations during the thirties. The United Nations is now standing at the crossroad of history. Whither the United Nations? This is a question which gives much food for deep thought by all the countries and peoples who love peace and uphold justice.

In defiance of world opinion and in disregard of all the consequences, the Soviet leading clique is abetting, encouraging and supporting India in its aggression against Pakistan. Its purpose is to make use of the wild ambitions of the Indian expansionists to control the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the Indian Ocean and to gain superiority on the subcontinent as a flanking movement to affect the situation in the Middle East, to strengthen its position in its confrontation with another super-Power in the Middle East and other parts of the world and to wage an even fiercer struggle for world hegemony with another super-Power.

But the Soviet revisionist social imperialists and the Indian expansionists should not become overjoyed too early. The question is far from being finished . . . .

China is following with deep and great concern the development of the India-Pakistan situation. No matter what happens in the India-Pakistan subcontinent, the Chinese Government and people will firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and in defence of national independence and unity. We are deeply convinced that no matter how many difficulties

and twists and turns may still occur, the Pakistan people, persevering in the struggle, will surely win final victory.

The Chinese delegation has consistently held that the United Nations and the Security Council must respect the sovereignty, independence, national unity and territorial integrity of Pakistan. In order to put a quick end to Indian aggression, the Chinese delegation will not oppose a draft resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire by India and Pakistan followed by the withdrawal of their troops from the territory of the other side, but the draft resolutions now under consultation have failed to reflect the just will of the 104 countries in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly. On the contrary, they contain provisions which seriously contravene the principles of the United Nations Charter and which are partial to the aggressors. The Chinese delegation declares that, should any draft resolution contain provisions which interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, disrupt the national unity of Pakistan and support the puppet regime, the so-called "Bangla Desh," China will have no part in it.

#### **204 Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China, 16 December 1971 (Extracts)**

A large-scale war of aggression against Pakistan was brazenly launched by the Indian Government on November 21, 1971 with the active encouragement and energetic support of the Government of the Soviet Union. This has gravely disrupted peace on the South Asian subcontinent, given a tremendous shock and caused serious anxiety to the people throughout the world. On December 7, the United Nations General Assembly adopted by the overwhelming majority of 104 to 11 with 10 abstentions a most urgent resolution which, being very magnanimous to India, calls upon India and Pakistan to bring about a cease-fire and withdraw their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders. This resolution reflects the common desire of the whole world and all the countries which love peace and uphold justice to oppose aggression and interference, be concerned for the security of nations and safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the world.



After its adoption, the resolution of the U.N General Assembly was immediately accepted by the Pakistan Government but categorically rejected by the Indian Government. . . . The Indian Government is continuing to expand its war of aggression. . . .

These acts have completely laid bare the wild ambitions of the Indian expansionists. Cherishing the pipe dream of a Greater Indian Empire, they want not only to swallow up East Pakistan, but also to destroy Pakistan as a whole. If a timely stop is not put to such aggression committed by the Indian Government, Pakistan will not be the only country to fall victim, inevitably other countries neighbouring on India will also be endangered. Such a state of affairs is absolutely impermissible, whether from the point of view of the United Nations Charter, of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence initiated by China and India, or the ten Principles of the Asian-African Bandung Conference.

The Indian Government asserts that it has launched the war in order to realize the national aspirations of the people in East Pakistan and bring about the return of East Pakistan refugees to their homeland. This assertion is indeed absurd to the extreme. Many countries in the world have nationality problems, which need to be solved properly and reasonably in conformity with the desire and interests of the people, but these are the internal affairs of the respective countries, which can be solved only by their own governments and people, and in which no foreign country has the right to interfere. The Pakistan Government has repeatedly expressed its willingness to seek a political solution to the East Pakistan question in a spirit of understanding and cooperation. What right has India to take the affairs of others into its own hands, flagrantly interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs, and even employ powerful armed forces to invade and occupy East Pakistan? It is known to all that India too has its own nationality problems, whose complexity and acuteness are rarely seen elsewhere in the world. It may be asked how India would react if other countries should deal with India in the same way that India is today dealing with Pakistan and use armed force against India. The Indian Government has shown such "thoughtful concern" for the so-called realization of the aspirations of the people in East Pak-

istan as expressed in the 1970 elections. But people's memories are not so short as to forget that India and Pakistan agreed long ago to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir to decide its ownership but that both the Governments of Nehru the father and of his daughter have gone back on their word and refused to do so. Why is it then the Indian Government is so indifferent to the national aspirations of the Kashmir people?

As for the question of the return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homeland, it should, and can only, be settled by India and Pakistan through consultation, and it is absolutely unjustifiable to resort to force. Has there not been much interflow of refugees between India and Pakistan over the past two decades and more since the India-Pakistan partition? . . . The Indian Government has single-handedly manufactured a so-called "Bangla Desh" and inserted it into East Pakistan by armed force. The Indian Minister for External Affairs Swaran Singh has said that the Indian armed forces will remain in Pakistan territory for as long as this regime requires them. This proves that it is a puppet regime, which can hardly exist without the protection of Indian bayonets. In this sense, it is exactly the same stuff as the so-called "Manchukuo" of the 30s and 40s, which was under the aegis of Japanese militarism.

The Soviet Government has played a shameful role in this war of aggression launched by India against Pakistan. The whole world has seen clearly that it is the back-stage manager of the Indian expansionists. For many years, the Soviet Government has been energetically fostering the Indian reactionaries and abetting India in its outward expansion. In last August the Soviet Union and India signed a treaty which is labelled as one of "peace, friendship and co-operation" but is in substance a treaty of military alliance. They claimed that this treaty was not directed against any country but actually it is precisely under their joint conspiracy that the subversion, interference and aggression against Pakistan have been intensified. Since the outbreak of the war of aggression, the Soviet Union has stepped up its efforts in pouring a steady stream of arms and equipment into India to bolster and pep up the Indian aggressors. What makes people particularly indignant is that the representative of the Soviet Government in the U.N. Security Council has time and again used the veto to obstruct the cease-fire and

troop withdrawal which are desired by the overwhelming majority of countries and the people all over the world. The Soviet Government has wantonly vilified China, alleging that it is China that has stirred up the conflict between India and Pakistan and "set Asians to fight Asians." Actually, it is the Soviet Government itself that has really "set Asians to fight Asians." The purpose of the Soviet Union in so doing is known to all, that is, to further strengthen its control over India and thereby proceed to contend with the other superpower for hegemony in the whole of the South Asian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean and at the same time to foster India and turn it into a sub-superpower on the South Asian subcontinent as its assistant and partner in committing aggression against Asia. The present sudden invasion of Pakistan by India with the support of the Soviet Union is precisely a repetition on the South Asian subcontinent of the 1968 Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia. The acts of the Soviet Government have once again revealed its hideous features as social-imperialism and its expansionist ambition. We must for ever maintain high vigilance against imperialism and expansionism, and we would here advise our friendly countries on the South Asian subcontinent as well as all the countries in the world which are subjected to injury and threat by superpowers or sub-superpowers that they should by no means relax their vigilance but should continuously strengthen their defence capabilities and be ready at all times to hit back at the enemy who may seek every opportunity to attack them. . . .

The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle against aggression, division and subversion; we not only are doing this politically, but will continue to give them material assistance. The Chinese Government firmly maintains that the December 7, 1971 resolution of the U.N. General Assembly must be carried out immediately. We hold that there can be no neutrality on the question of aggression versus anti-aggression, of division versus anti-division, and of subversion versus anti-subversion. Certain big powers making no distinction between right and wrong and remaining inactive and silent, have all along condoned and allowed the aggressor to grow through appeasement. The result can only be a tread again on the wrong path of

Munich and the former League of Nations.

**205 Statement by the Chinese representative Huang Hua in the UN Security Council, 21 December 1971**

The Chinese delegation has just voted in favour of the draft resolution. However, we are highly dissatisfied with this resolution. It has failed to draw a line of distinction between right and wrong and failed to point out who is the aggressor and who is the victim of aggression. It does not contain a single word of condemnation of the open aggression against, and dismemberment of, a sovereign State by the Indian expansionists with the support of the Soviet Government.

In the past two weeks and more, the Security Council has remained helpless and unable to act in face of the Indian expansionists' aggression against, and trampling upon, Pakistan. This is a big mockery of the Security Council.

At present, the social-imperialists and Indian expansionists are overjoyed at their so-called successes. They fancy that they can be immune from resistance and punishment when they subject, under broad daylight, a sovereign State to wilful aggression and dismemberment. However, it is too early for them to become elated! The fall of Dacca is by no means a so-called milestone of victory for the Indian aggressors, but a starting-point from which they are heading towards defeat. The military occupation of East Pakistan will lead to greater upheaval and intranquility in the South Asian subcontinent. The Pakistan people will not cease their heroic resistance. Nor will the Indian people be driven about like sheep by the social-imperialists and Indian expansionists. The people of the world will not pardon the monstrous crimes they have committed against the Pakistan people. They will surely eat the bitter fruits of their own making and will be censured by history.

The Chinese Government and people have consistently opposed aggression, subversion and interference by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists against other countries and firmly supported the people of all countries in the defence of their sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan people in their just struggle against aggression, subversion and

dismemberment. We are convinced that no matter what difficulties and hazards may occur, final victory will belong to the great Pakistan people so long as they persevere in unity and struggle.

**206 Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's press conference in London,  
23 December 1971 (Extract)**

*Q.* Sir, would you care to give us your appreciations of the attitude of China and of Chinese designs as you see in the foreseeable future?

*A.* In this [Bangladesh] crisis, China's attitude is, to say the least, full of contradictions. They generally have been pursuing a policy of supporting people's movements in different parts of the world. This movement, which had the overwhelming support of the people of Bangladesh, has not been viewed by the government of the People's Republic of China in the style in which they had been approaching similar struggles in other parts of the world. Their persistent and consistent support to the military regime of West Pakistan is a factor which made the West Pakistan military regime more intransigent. It was not in their interests either that the military regime has now been liquidated. This has been one of the results of unprincipled and blind support that China extended to the military regime which has faced this disaster.

**207 Statement by Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien,  
26 December 1971**

The Indian expansionists, after invading and occupying East Pakistan recently with the support and encouragement of social-imperialism, are attempting to hang on in East Pakistan indefinitely in disregard of the resolutions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council by overwhelming majorities. At the same time the Indian aggressor forces and the East Pakistan rebels under their command are barbarously massacring and cruelly persecuting innocent Pakistan people in all parts of East Pakistan, causing serious anxiety among the people and public opinion of the world. We sternly condemn the Indian aggressors for these sanguinary crimes. The Indian

Government must stop forthwith the massacre and persecution of the Pakistan people and immediately and unconditionally withdraw its aggressor forces from East Pakistan and all the other places they have occupied.

**208 Message from the Red Cross Society of China to the International Committee of the Red Cross, 27 December 1971**

According to reports from various sources, the Indian occupation forces in East Pakistan and the local armed forces under their command have carried out brutal massacre of Pakistan people. At present these monstrous atrocities are becoming increasingly worse and the whole of East Pakistan is in the grip of terror of carnage. We are greatly shocked and seriously disturbed by all this.

The barbarous outrages perpetrated by the Indian occupation forces against innocent inhabitants in the eastern part of Pakistan not only flagrantly contravene the principle of humanitarianism and the December 21, 1971 resolution of the U.N. Security Council but also crudely trample upon the 1949 Geneva Conventions to which the Indian Government is a party. They cannot but arouse the utmost indignation and strong oppositions of all the countries and people that love peace and uphold justice.

We appeal to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies and the national Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies of various countries, which are duty-bound to uphold the principle of humanitarianism to take immediate action, condemn the Indian forces for their sanguinary atrocities of massacring Pakistan people, undertake impartial investigation into these outrages and demand that the Indian Government immediately stop these outrages.

**209 "It is impermissible to legalize India's invasion and occupation of East Pakistan," *People's Daily* editorial, 31 January 1972 (Extracts)**

. . . the Indian Government is making a big outcry that "Bangla

Desh" has become a "reality." Singing the same tune as the Indian reactionaries, Soviet revisionism has tried hard to advertise that the situation in East Pakistan is "returning to normal." This was followed up by the Soviet Government's announcement of its recognition of "Bangla Desh" in accordance with the so-called "principle of national self-determination." This clap-trap of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and Indian expansionism is a typical argument to legalize aggression.

What kind of "fait accompli" is the so-called "Bangla Desh" after all? The whole world can see that it has been created by the Indian Government through naked aggression and subversion with the support of Soviet revisionism. By putting up the signboard of so-called support to "national self-determination," Soviet revisionism cannot cover up in the least the essence of the issue. Pakistan is a sovereign state whose national question at home is the affair of the Pakistan people themselves. It should and can only be solved by the Pakistan people themselves and brooks no interference by any foreign country. A Pakistan leader once said that the Pakistan Government had made mistakes and very serious mistakes indeed in the past in handling the question of East Pakistan. But this can only be solved by Pakistan itself. It does not mean that Soviet revisionism is allowed to support India in sending troops to occupy East Pakistan and impose a so-called solution on Pakistan by force from outside. If "self-determination" is permitted, then there is no need to dispatch troops; since troops have been dispatched, then there is no self-determination. What Soviet revisionism has done has nothing to do at all with national self-determination, but is national determination by others. . . .

If the logic of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and Indian expansionism were tenable, then couldn't India which invaded and occupied East Pakistan by making use of the so-called "national question," invade and subvert other countries on the same or a similar pretext? . . .

If the measures used by the Soviet revisionists and Indian expansionists towards Pakistan were adopted, then couldn't other countries also send troops to India to foster "national self-determination" and create a country of Nagas, a country of Mizos and a "Sikhstan"? . . .

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and Indian expansionism are swollen with arrogance, thinking that they have got the upper hand on the South Asian subcontinent. But they had better not rejoice too soon.



# Bangladesh, 1972-1980



**210 Statement by the Chinese representative Huang Hua in the UN Security Council, 24 August 1972 (Extracts)**

The question of the application of "Bangladesh" for membership in the United Nations is inseparably linked up with the implementation of the two relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council last year. . . .

The only conclusion to be drawn from the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter is that the implementation of the two relevant United Nations resolutions which gave expression to the will of the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world is an important indication of the applicant's ability and willingness to fulfil the obligations contained in the Charter. That is a most fundamental criterion in judging whether or not an applicant fulfils the requirements of Article 4 of the United Nations Charter. To separate the question of the application of "Bangladesh" from the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions is contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

In view of the fact that the two relevant United Nations resolutions have not been seriously implemented and in view of the actual state of continued serious confrontation and tension on the South Asian subcontinent as a result of the failure to implement the above-mentioned resolutions, the Chinese delegation believes that it is of great importance and urgency for the Security Council to reaffirm and demand the full implementation by those concerned of General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) and Security Council resolution 307 (1971), because this will help promote the taking by the parties concerned, including "Bangladesh," of speedy measures for the implementation of the above-mentioned resolutions, and will promote their proving by actual deeds that they are truly willing to carry out the Charter obligations rather than merely uttering empty promises. This will naturally lead to a relaxation of the existing grave tension and confrontation on the South Asian subcontinent and conduce to the normalization of relations between the parties concerned. This is in complete accord with the desire of all the people on the South Asian subcontinent for peace and development.

For the foregoing reasons the Chinese delegation proposes

the following two operative paragraphs in its draft resolution:

“1. Decides to postpone consideration of the matter referred to in document S/10759, pending the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) and Security Council resolution 307 (1971).

2. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council at an early date on the full implementation of the above resolutions by all those concerned.” (S/10768). . . .

The Chinese delegation definitely cannot compromise on important questions of principle. If the Soviet Union, India, and other countries should insist on obstructing the passage of the very right and reasonable draft resolution submitted by the Chinese delegation and try to press the Security Council for the admission of “Bangladesh” into the United Nations in the present circumstances the Chinese delegation, in defence of the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council and the principles of the United Nations Charter, as well as the interests of the people on the South Asian subcontinent, will categorically vote against it.

**211 Statement by the Chinese representative Huang Hua in the UN Security Council, 25 August 1972 (Extracts)**

How can the “Bangladesh” authorities which have shown open contempt for the principles of the United Nations Charter and refused to comply with the relevant resolutions expect the Security Council to shut their eyes and make a “judgement,” asserting that they “are able and willing” to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter? Inability and unwillingness to carry out the obligations contained in Charter are the very proof of a direct contravention of Article 4 of the Charter and the complete lack of qualification for being admitted into the United Nations. . . .

If we give deeper thought to the matter, we will understand that the Soviet and Indian Governments simply harbour ulterior motives in obstinately opposing a postponement of the consideration of “Bangladesh’s,” application for membership and insisting on dragging “Bangladesh” into the United Nations before the serious implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Are the Soviet and Indian Governments

really concerned about the application of "Bangladesh" for membership in the United Nations? To be frank, what really concerns them is not whether "Bangladesh" will be admitted into the United Nations, nor the vital interests of the people on the South Asian subcontinent who ardently desire peace and development. They are deliberately taking advantage of the consequences of the war of aggression and are detaining the more than 90,000 prisoners of war and civilians as hostages for the purpose of blackmailing Pakistan and pressuring the United Nations. Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that pending the final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, she will not permit the repatriation of Pakistan prisoners of war. This statement alone reveals their true intention. Pakistan President Bhutto stated on many occasions and reiterated on 10 August:

We are prepared to meet with Mujib Rahman and to discuss with them all important issues between us free from any preconditions.

But this reasonable proposal on the part of President Bhutto was again rejected unreasonably as a result of the obstruction put up by instigators behind Mujib Rahman. In trying to force "Bangladesh" into the United Nations when India, in collusion with "Bangladesh," is refusing to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions, the purpose of the Soviet and Indian Governments is to legalize their violation of the United Nations Charter, and further to exert pressure on Pakistan and seek a chance to expand aggression against Pakistan. Their act definitely is not aimed at, nor will it ever lead to, a relaxation of tension on the South Asian subcontinent or the normalization of the relations between the parties concerned. On the contrary, their aim is, and can only be, to maintain and aggravate the tension on the South Asian subcontinent so as to gain profit therefrom. . . .

In short, the controversial issue before us is an extremely important question of principle. The Chinese delegation definitely cannot agree to the Security Council considering "Bangladesh's" application for membership in the United Nations in the present circumstances in contravention of the principles

of the United Nations Charter and in disregard of the relevant United Nations resolutions which gave expression to the will of the overwhelming majority of countries of the world. All States Members have formally declared their support of the United Nations Charter. Many countries have voted in favour of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Whether recognition has been accorded to "Bangladesh" or not, first of all the Members of the United Nations are under the unshirkable obligation to urge the full implementation of these resolutions and to urge India, Pakistan and "Bangladesh" to reach agreement through consultations on an equal footing for a reasonable settlement of the issues between them, before the application of "Bangladesh" can be considered. . . .

Since the Soviet Union and India, clinging to their obdurate course, have now unreasonably opposed the reasonable proposal of the Chinese delegation and pressed for the Security Council's approval of the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations, we, as one of the permanent members of the Security Council and in defence of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the interests of the people of the South Asian sub-continent and the whole world, will be compelled to fulfil determinedly our sacred duty and vote firmly against the unreasonable demand of the Soviet and Indian delegations, so as to defend the prestige and authority of the United Nations and the Security Council.

### **212 Statement by the Chinese representative Huang Hua in the UN Security Council, 25 August 1972**

In total disregard of the United Nations Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions as well as the desire of many delegations for a postponement, the Soviet delegation in collaboration with the Indian delegation has clung to its obdurate course, pressed hard and tried to force the Security Council to adopt a decision for admitting "Bangladesh" in the present circumstances. . . .

The Soviet Union harbours ulterior motives in colluding with India deliberately to create a situation in which to compel the Chinese delegation to apply a veto. Their purpose in obstructing a reasonable solution to the application of "Bang

ladesh" for membership in the United Nations is to continue to obstruct the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and a reasonable settlement of the issues between India and Pakistan and between Pakistan and "Bangladesh" as well as the relaxation of tension on the south Asian subcontinent.

**213 Statement by Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua in the UN General Assembly, 3 October 1972 (Extract)**

We all remember that last December, in this very hall the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session adopted by the overwhelming majority of 104 votes a resolution calling for cease-fire and troop withdrawal by India and Pakistan. Subsequently, the Security Council also adopted by 13 votes in favour and 2 abstentions a resolution demanding cease-fire, troop withdrawal and release of prisoners of war by all those concerned. However, while the resolutions of the United Nations were not yet implemented, the Soviet Government and its followers raised at the Security Council last August the question of the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations. In disregard of the reasonable demand of many countries to postpone the consideration of the question, they insisted on a vote to compel China to use the veto. China's stand for postponing the consideration of this question does not mean that we are fundamentally opposed to the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations. China cherishes friendly sentiments for the people of East Bengal and has no prejudice against Mr. Mujibur Rahman. We stand for postponing the consideration of this question, in order to promote a reconciliation among the parties concerned and the implementation of the United Nations resolutions, which are the very immediate concern. However, the Soviet Government has hurriedly pressed for United Nations admission of "Bangladesh." This is definitely not aimed at helping "Bangladesh," but at forcing China to use the veto, maintaining and aggravating the tensions among the parties concerned on the subcontinent and whitewashing its foul act of supporting the Indian Government in dismembering Pakistan last year. But its attempt will not succeed. If it had been national self-determination, it should have been the people of East Bengal solving

their problems by themselves. Why should Indian troops have invaded East Pakistan? And why should the 90,000 and more Pakistani war prisoners and civilians have been taken to India?

After the admission of "Bangladesh" has been vetoed, certain people are trying to bypass the Security Council and referring the question to the General Assembly for discussion. This is clearly done with ulterior motives. This will in no way help promote a reconciliation among the parties concerned on the subcontinent, nor will it reflect honour on the country inciting such a move. China stands firm on principles. China considers that whether or not reasonable United Nations resolutions supported by the over-whelming majority of its Members are implemented is a matter of principle affecting what direction the United Nations is heading for. And on matters of principle China will never retreat.

**214 Statement by the Chinese representative Huang Hua in the UN General Assembly, 29 November 1972 (Extracts)**

The Chinese delegation has repeatedly stated its principled stand on the question of the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations both in the Security Council and in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly; that is, pending the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, and a reasonable settlement of the issues between India and Pakistan and between Pakistan and "Bangladesh," "Bangladesh" is not qualified for membership in the United Nations. This principled stand of the Chinese delegation is in full accord with the spirit of the United Nations Charter. It has been clear-cut and consistent. . . .

At the plenary meeting of its twenty-sixth session on 7 December last year, the United Nations General Assembly adopted with an overwhelming majority of 104 votes a resolution co-sponsored by Algeria, Argentina and 32 other countries, calling for cease-fire and troop withdrawal on the South Asian subcontinent. Subsequently, the Security Council adopted a resolution with a great majority of 13 votes, calling on all those concerned to cease-fire and withdraw their troops as soon as practicable from all areas of conflict, includ-



ing Jammu & Kashmir and calling on all those concerned to release and repatriate the prisoners of war without delay in observance of the Geneva Convention of 1949. "All those concerned" referred to in the resolution certainly include "Bangladesh," which is now applying for membership in the United Nations. Therefore, the two resolutions mentioned above are important resolutions directly concerning "Bangladesh." In view of the foregoing, the question of "Bangladesh's," application should in no way be discussed in deviation from the above two important resolutions.

Nearly a year has passed now since the adoption of the two resolutions, and yet the Indian Government has thus far failed to withdraw all its troops to its own territory. What is more, in collaboration with the "Bangladesh" authorities, the Indian Government has continued to detain more than 90,000 Pakistan prisoners and civilians, refusing to release and repatriate them. The "Bangladesh" authorities even insist on bringing the Pakistan prisoners of war to Trial. They have all along unwarrantedly rejected the reasonable proposal repeatedly put forward by President Bhutto of Pakistan for holding meetings between the two sides unconditionally. Since the "Bangladesh" authorities, at the instigation of their behind-the-scenes supporters, have refused to implement the important resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council directly concerning them, how can it be asserted that they are "able and willing" to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter? How can it be asserted that they are qualified for membership in the United Nations. . .

What China seeks in the South Asian subcontinent is simply the promotion of a reasonable settlement of the issues between the parties concerned through consultations on an equal footing. China stands for postponing the consideration of the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations. . . .

We are not fundamentally opposed to the admission of "Bangladesh" to the United Nations. China has always cherished profound friendly sentiments for the people of East Bengal. We hope that the "Bangladesh" authorities will make their own decisions independently and meet with the Pakistan leaders at an early date so as to reach a reasonable settlement of the issues between Pakistan and "Bangladesh," thus demonstrating that

it is a truly independent State. However, China cannot agree to the admission of "Bangladesh" under the present circumstances, that is, before the important United Nations resolutions are implemented by the parties concerned and a reasonable settlement of the issues between India and Pakistan and between Pakistan and "Bangladesh" is reached.

Thanks to the efforts of many justice-upholding countries the General Assembly has finally surmounted the unreasonable obstructions put up by the Soviet delegation at the last moment and decided on the simultaneous adoption, without vote, of the two parallel resolutions under the item of admission of new Members, one calling for the implementation of Security Council resolution 307 (1971) and the return of prisoners of war by the parties concerned, and the other hoping that "Bangladesh" will be admitted to membership of the United Nations at an early date.

In his statement, the President of the General Assembly has pointed out clearly that the above two resolutions adopted simultaneously are interdependent. This has foiled the scheme of the Soviet Government and shows clearly that only when the relevant Security Council resolution is implemented and the illegally detained Pakistan prisoners and civilians are released and expatriated will it be possible to consider the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations.

The Chinese delegation hopes that the parties concerned will truly and speedily implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in the spirit of the decision made at this plenary meeting and thus make it possible for "Bangladesh" to be admitted to membership of the United Nations at an early date. But, if the Soviet Government should cling to its obdurate course and try to force the Security Council to vote again on the question before the relevant United Nations resolutions are implemented, in violation of the spirit of the decision made at this plenary meeting, we would reiterate at this rostrum that, in order to defend the principles of the United Nations Charter and the interests of the entire people on the South Asian subcontinent, the Chinese delegation will be forced to firmly oppose it again.

**215 Statement by the Chinese representative Chiao Kuan-hua in the UN General Assembly, 2 October 1973 (Extract)**

At the time of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly in 1971, the Soviet Union supported India in dismembering Pakistan by armed force. The General Assembly and then the Security Council adopted resolutions by overwhelming majorities calling for cease-fire, troop withdrawal and repatriation of prisoners of war by India and Pakistan. At its twenty-seventh session, in 1972, the General Assembly further adopted two interdependent resolutions calling for the repatriation of Pakistan prisoners of war and expressing the desire for the admission of Bangladesh into the United Nations.

It was not until 28 August of this year that an agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians was reached between India and Pakistan. This agreement has come much too late, but its ultimate conclusion is to be welcomed. The agreement reached is on paper, and there will have to be a process before it can be turned into reality. Complications may yet arise. The Chinese Government holds that the question of admitting Bangladesh into the United Nations can be considered once the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are implemented without qualification. But this can be done only after the thorough implementation of the United Nations resolutions, and definitely not before.

**216 Statement by the Chinese representative Chuang Yen in the UN Security Council, 10 June 1974**

In August 1972, the Chinese Delegation was opposed to the consideration of the question of admission of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations before the relevant United Nations resolutions were implemented. At the time and on later occasions, the Chinese Delegation stated clearly that the Chinese Government's stand for postponing the consideration of this question did not mean that we were fundamentally opposed to the admission of Bangladesh into the United Nations. The Chinese people cherish friendly sentiments for the people of Bangladesh. China stood for post-

poning the consideration of this question for the very purpose of upholding the principles of the U.N. Charter and defending the interests of the people on the South Asian subcontinent so as to promote a reconciliation between the parties concerned on the subcontinent free from superpower interference from outside and bring about the full implementation of the relevant U. N. resolutions, thus leading to the normalization of relations between the countries of the subcontinent.

New developments have now taken place on the South Asian subcontinent. We are glad to see that with the concerted efforts of the parties concerned and many Third World countries, agreements have finally been reached among the countries concerned of the South Asian subcontinent, which have led to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and thus created favourable conditions for the normalisation of relations among the countries of subcontinent. In these circumstances, the Chinese Government, considering that Bangladesh is eligible for membership in the United Nations, has decided to support the admission of Bangladesh into the United Nations, and hopes that after its admission to membership in the United Nations, Bangladesh will make positive contributions towards upholding the basic principles of the U.N. Charter.

The Chinese government welcomes the positive developments on the subcontinent. We hope that the countries on the subcontinent will further remove outside interference, normalize their mutual relations and live in amity on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty. We are ready to develop good neighbourly relations with the countries on the subcontinent on the basis of the Five principles of Peaceful Co-existence and further enhance our traditional friendship with their peoples. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the peoples in South Asia in their struggle against hegemonism and expansionism.

**217 *Peking Review* report on Farakka barrage issue, 14 June 1974**

India's reluctance to solve the Farakka Barrage issue was con-

demned by the Dacca weekly *Holiday* in a recent report.

The Ganges River flows through Bangladesh and the eastern part of India. Farakka Barrage was built by India 11 miles from the border of Bangladesh. Cutting off the Ganges River, the barrage has made a massive quantity of the river waters flow into Calcutta and exclusively serve India, causing heavy damage to agriculture, navigation and power generation in Bangladesh on the lower reaches of the Ganges River.

The Farakka Barrage is "a life and death question for Bangladesh."

"Eight of the 19 districts in Bangladesh will turn into desert if the barrage (built by the Indian authorities) is commissioned for the benefit of Calcutta Port without agreement to let a sufficient quantity flow through Bangladesh for her agriculture, inland navigation and for the development of water resources," the report said.

Negotiations between India and Bangladesh on how to apportion river waters have been going on for some time but the question has remained unsolved owing to India's unreasonable attitude.

### **218 Peking Review report on Soviet demand on Bangladesh 27 September 1974**

While the country was reeling under the consequence of rain-storm, the Soviet Union, in a protocol signed with Bangladesh, asked the latter to repay in five years, beginning September 1975, the loan of 200,000 tons of wheat contracted in 1973.

The Soviet Union at first demanded an immediate repayment of the entire 200,000 tons. But when the negotiations on foodgrains were making headway between Bangladesh and the United States, it was decided that the return of the Soviet wheat be spread over a period of five years.

"The Soviet Union cannot make out any political or economic justification for such a shylock-like expropriation," the *Holiday* report says. "This is an example of outrageous political pressure by the Soviet social-imperialists."

It is a general practice of the Soviet social-imperialists to use so-called "assistance" as a means of intervention and exploitation and to force repayment of loans when the recipient

countries are in difficulties.

**219 Premier Chou En-lai's message to the Bangladesh President  
Khondaker Moshtaque Ahmed recognizing Bangladesh,  
31 August 1975**

On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, I have the honour to inform you that the Chinese Government recognizes the People's Republic of Bangladesh as from this date. I am convinced that the traditional friendship between our two people will grow steadily.

**220 President Khondaker Moshtaque Ahmed's reply welcoming  
Chinese recognition, 1 September 1975**

I acknowledge with profound thanks your message conveying the recognition of the People's Republic of Bangladesh by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The recognition has been warmly welcomed by my government and the people of Bangladesh and is a reaffirmation of the traditional friendship and links that have bound the people of our two countries. I am confident that our relations will be further strengthened and consolidated in the mutual interests and benefit of the two countries and the two peoples. On this occasion, I wish to convey my personal greetings through you to His Excellency Chairman Mao, Your Excellency and those from the people and government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the people and government of the People's Republic of China.

**221 Joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic  
relations between China and Bangladesh, issued in New  
York, 4 October 1975**

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh have decided to establish diplomatic relations as from 4th October 1975 and to exchange ambassadors.

(Sd.) CHIAO KUAN-HUA  
 Minister of Foreign  
 Affairs of the People's  
 Republic of China

(Sd.) JUSTICE ABU SAYEED  
 CHOWDHURY  
 Minister for Foreign Affairs  
 of the People's Republic of  
 Bangladesh

**222 *People's Daily* editorial on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Bangladesh, 8 October 1975 (Extracts)**

The Chinese Government and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh have, after friendly negotiations, decided to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level, on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit. The decision reflects the common desire of the two peoples and is in accord with their common interests. We are pleased with the decision and extend our warm congratulations.

The people of Bangladesh are industrious and courageous. They have waged an arduous struggle to defend state sovereignty and national independence and to oppose aggression, penetration, exploitation and plunder by expansionism and big-power hegemonism. Changes took place in the Bangladesh political situation on August 15, 1975. The new government of Bangladesh proclaimed a policy of non-alignment, maintenance of friendly relations with Islamic countries and non-aligned nations, support for the Arab countries' struggle against Zionism, respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other countries, and opposition to outside interference in the internal affairs of Bangladesh. Recently the Governments of Bangladesh and Pakistan have, after friendly negotiations, decided that diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level will be established between the two countries. We welcome the decision and we are convinced that the existence of a Bangladesh which firmly defends state sovereignty and national independence and pursues a genuinely non-aligned policy will surely be conducive to safeguarding peace and security in the South Asian subcontinent and in Asia.

The Chinese government and the Chinese people have al-

ways held that all nations, big or small, should be equal, and that the five principles of peaceful coexistence should be the principles governing relations between nations. We are firmly opposed to hegemonism pushed by the super Powers in international affairs and their interference in the internal affairs of others, firmly opposed to the big nation bullying the small and a strong nation bullying the weak. The Chinese people firmly support the policy of neutrality and non-alignment pursued by the Bangladesh government, firmly support the Bangladesh people's struggle for defending national independence and state sovereignty, and firmly support the peoples of South Asia in their struggle against hegemonism and expansionism. We hope that the countries of South Asia will be able to further shake off outside interference and live together in peace and friendship on the basis of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty.

At present the international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all nations. The Third World, full of vitality and as the main force of the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggle, is pounding vigorously at the old world order. The people of Asia have been winning victory after victory in their struggle against superpower interference and control and against the attempt of any country to seek hegemony in Asia. The struggle of the peoples of South Asia against expansionism and hegemonism has made new progress. . . .

There exist a traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Bangladesh. The Chinese people have always cherished a friendly feeling towards the people of Bangladesh. The formal establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries opens up bright prospects for the development of their friendly relations. We are convinced that, with the joint endeavours of the governments and peoples of the two countries, the friendly relations between China and Bangladesh founded on the five principles of peaceful co-existence will surely develop further.



**223 Hsinhua report entitled "Military coup d'etat smashed in Bangladesh," 9 November 1975**

Ziaur Rahman, Army Chief of Staff of Bangladesh, with the support of the armed forces and the people, has smashed a military coup d'etat launched by Khalid Musharaf, Chief of the Army General Staff, according to foreign news agency reports from Dacca.

It was reported that in the early morning of November 3, troops called out by Khalid Musharaf surrounded the official residence of the President, occupied key points in the capital and arrested Army Chief of Staff Ziaur Rahman. After the coup d'etat Bangladesh President Khondaker Moshtaque Ahmed resigned on November 5 and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem was sworn in as President on the next day. The Soviet news agency Tass and Indian newspapers and radios reported the coup speedily and in quick succession.

It was reported that on the fifth day after the coup, Ziaur Rahman in a counter-coup d'etat on November 7 seized back the power usurped by Musharaf and resumed his post of Army Chief of Staff. In a radio speech to the nation, Ziaur Rahman said that he had acted "at the request of the people, the armed forces and the police." He said that "all offices, courts, transport, airports, seaports, mills and factories should work in full sway everywhere."

President Sayem announced on November 7 that he would rule Bangladesh under Martial Law with himself as Chief Martial Law Administrator, and Ziaur Rahman and the navy and air force Chiefs of Staff would be Deputy Martial Law Administrators.

Quoting Dacca radio on November 7, AFP reported that hundreds of thousands of Dacca residents swarmed into the streets that day to give an enthusiastic welcome to the "heroic return" of Ziaur Rahman.

It was reported that the Indian Government expressed "considerable anxiety" over the development of the situation in Bangladesh on November 7. Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi in a statement the same day expressed her "grave concern." The Indian Foreign Ministry said in a statement that

India "cannot remain indifferent and unconcerned about the developments taking place in Bangladesh." An AP report pointed out that the Indian Government's attitude is "in sharp contrast" to its response to the coup d'etat launched by Musharaf.

**224 Peking Review commentary on border incidents between India and Bangladesh, 20 February 1976 (Extract)**

On the night of January 19, a group of bandits, armed with automatic weapons including rifles, light machine guns and mortars, crossed from the Indian side of the international border into the Netrokona subdivision of Bangladesh and mounted surprise attacks on two police stations in Durgapur and Kamalakanda, which are several miles from the Indian border. These armed bandits carried out harassment inside Bangladesh territory and abducted a local police officer and members of his family. The marauders were driven away by the Bangladesh armed forces.

An Indian delegation was sent to Dacca on request from Bangladesh Government to hold talks on the incidents. From February 11 to 13, delegations of the two countries discussed border incidents and other related matters.

A joint communique issued after the talks said that the Bangladesh side had pointed out to the Indian side the series of raids, arson and loot recently committed by brigands in the border areas of Mymensingh district coming from sanctuaries across the border. This was denied by the Indian side. Both sides agreed to set up a joint inquiry team to look into these incidents.

A special correspondent of the Bangladesh weekly *Holiday* who was covering the situation on the spot wrote that the armed bandits from Indian territory were supported by Indian troops.

**225 Peking Review commentary on Farakka Barrage, 27 February 1976 (Extract)**

The Ganges is a major river flowing through India into Bangladesh. The sharing out of the river water has been a long-standing issue in the relations between India and Bangladesh.

Several years ago, India arbitrarily built the Farakka Barrage 11 miles away from the Bangladesh border to divert a flow of 40,000 cubic metres out of 55,000 cubic metres per second during the dry season to the harbour of Calcutta, to the great detriment of Bangladesh.

Negotiations have taken place on many occasions between the two governments on this question which, however, remains unsolved because of India's unreasonable stand.

India and Bangladesh reached a provisional agreement on April 18 last year, providing for the specific quantum of water to be diverted from April 21 to May 31 of 1975; any further diversion beyond that period should be subject to prior consultation between the two governments. However, India continued using the Farakka Barrage to divert water from the Ganges without any consultation with the Bangladesh Government.

India's arrogant and hegemonic action naturally has been condemned by the Bangladesh people and world public opinion.

### **226 Peking Review welcomes progress in Pakistan-Bangladesh relations, 19 March 1976 (Extracts)**

Pakistan and Bangladesh are steadily developing their friendly relations. Following the exchange of ambassadors, negotiations on the resumption of postal and telecommunication links have yielded initial results, and telecommunications are being re-established on an experimental basis between Rawalpindi and Dacca. All-round resumption of trade between the two countries is also under discussion.

These gratifying developments not only conform to the interests of the people of the two countries, but also constitute a positive contribution to promoting the normalization of the situation in South Asia.

It is in the fervent common aspiration of the two peoples that relations between their countries are quickly normalized and that fraternal co-operation is developed. . . .

In the past few years the Pakistan Government has made great efforts to improve relations between the two countries. . . . The process of normalization, however, was slow moving because of the attitude of the then Mujibur regime and particularly

the obstructions by external forces.

Relations between the two countries began to take a turn for the better after the August 1975 coup d'état, when the Mujibur regime in Bangladesh was overthrown. . . .

Since Bangladesh smashed the counter-coup on November 7, 1975, in which foreign countries were involved, Pakistan-Bangladesh relations have developed quickly. . . .

Facts show that relations will develop rapidly so long as foreign interference is excluded and the two sides adopt a positive attitude.

The steady development of Pakistan-Bangladesh relations has been warmly welcomed by the two peoples as well as by the people of other South Asian countries and the rest of the world. The Soviet imperialists, however, are greatly angered. It can be recalled that, soon after the coup d'état in Bangladesh last August, the Soviet revisionists lashed out at Bangladesh. Since then *Pravda* and *Izvestia* have carried a number of articles openly interfering in the internal affairs of Bangladesh. They have even demanded that the new government continue the policy of the Mujibur regime.

The Soviet authorities were highly elated when the counter-coup d'état was staged with foreign support early last November. On the very day of the coup TASS released seven dispatches, encouraging those who staged the counter-coup. But the counter-coup was suppressed within a few days. Enraged, the Soviet Union viciously turned its propaganda machines on full blast in an attack on the Bangladesh Government's independent policy, falsely publicizing an "alarming situation in Bangladesh." The Indian expansionists for their part, have continued their threats against the country.

While hypocritically proclaiming "friendship" and "co-operation" with the people of South Asia, that superpower which flaunts the banner of socialism is intensifying its infiltration and expansion there. Aware of this, a number of people in Pakistan have pointed out the need for the utmost vigilance against Soviet social-imperialist manoeuvres to use others for intervention in Bangladesh.

The Kremlin bitterly hates the independent policy being followed by Bangladesh and the improvement of Pakistan-Bangladesh relations. This not only bares the vicious features

of hegemonism but also reveals the difficulties the Soviet Union is encountering in South Asia, an area of great significance in the Soviet global strategy for world hegemony. For years the Soviet Union has been locked in fierce contention with the other superpower over South Asia and has done everything it can to expand its influence there. But things are developing in the opposite direction. . . .

Developments since last summer in Bangladesh, in particular have proved to be a setback for hegemonism and expansionism. The Soviet Union's intensified efforts to sabotage unity and co-operation among the various countries in South Asia and to undermine the people's struggle to defend their national independence and state sovereignty are of no avail. The days are gone for ever when imperialists and hegemonists can do what they like. It is the South Asian people and not the superpowers who will determine the future of South Asia.

**227 Peking Review on strengthening friendly cooperation between Nepal and Bangladesh, 30 April 1976 (Extracts)**

Nepal and Bangladesh signed four separate agreements on trade, transit, technical co-operation and air service in early April. . . .

It is indeed gratifying from the point of view of the relations among third world countries that an inland country and a coastal one can help supply each other's wants to an equal footing. This has set a good example for the third world countries in strengthening unity and co-operation.

**228 Peking Review on the strengthening of friendly ties of Bangladesh with other Third World countries, 9 August 1976 (Extracts)**

Over the last year the People's Republic of Bangladesh has made gratifying progress in actively developing its friendly ties with other third world countries.

Breaking through many obstacles and after friendly consultations, the Government of Bangladesh and Pakistan have established diplomatic relations and exchanged ambassadors. This was followed by the signing of a trade agreement under which

the two sides accord each other the most favoured nation treatment in trade, memorandums on shipping and banking arrangements, the establishment of postal and telecommunications and air links and the exchange of delegations visiting each other. Although the imperialists, especially the social-imperialists, have tried hard to undermine Bangladesh-Pakistan relations, friendship between the two countries are being enhanced continuously.

Last April Bangladesh signed four accords with Nepal on trade, transit, technical co-operation and aviation. . . .

The development of relations between Bangladesh and other South Asian countries reflects the increasing unity among the third world countries which is conducive to the South Asian countries' efforts to safeguard their own national independence and develop their national economies.

China and Bangladesh have been friendly to each other. Their friendly good-neighbourly relations have been growing continuously since the establishment of diplomatic ties. China resolutely supports the Bangladesh people's struggle to safeguard its national independence and develop its national economy. Bangladesh supports the Chinese people in their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

**229 Speech by Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua in the UN General Assembly, 5 October 1976 (Extract)**

We firmly support the proposal of the Government of Sri Lanka to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We firmly support the proposal of the Government of Pakistan to establish a nuclear-free zone in South Asia. We firmly support the solemn statement of the King of Nepal declaring Nepal a zone of peace. We firmly support the reasonable position taken by Bangladesh on the question of sharing the water of the Ganges River.

**230 Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's speech at the banquet given in honour of Chief Martial Law Administrator of Bangladesh, Major General Ziaur Rahman, 2 January 1977 (Extracts)**

In recent years, the people of Bangladesh have achieved marked success in their unremitting struggle against hegemonism and

expansionism. Particularly in the past year, the Government and people of Bangladesh led by Major General Ziaur Rahman defying duress and pressure, have firmly defended their national independence and state sovereignty, displaying lofty patriotism and heroism of daring to struggle. The Chinese Government and people express our highest admiration for this. We are glad to note that the Government and people of Bangladesh have also achieved very gratifying successes in developing their national economy, especially in agricultural production. In foreign affairs the Bangladesh Government pursues a policy of non-alignment, supports the just struggles of the people of various countries and works to strengthen its unity, co-operation and mutual assistance with other third world countries, making a positive contribution to the cause of unity of all peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The Chinese Government and people sincerely congratulate the Government and people of Bangladesh on your every achievement and wish you continuous new victories on your road of advance! . . .

The people of the numerous third world countries are playing an ever growing role as the main force in the united struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

In recent years, the situation in South Asia has also been developing in a direction more and more favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. The developments and changes in the situation in South Asia, particularly in Bangladesh, are a profound proof that the South Asian peoples are strongly opposed to hegemonist and expansionist aggression, interference, subversion or control and that they are determined to protect their own national dignity and take the road of independence. The superpower that flaunts the title of the so-called 'natural ally' of the third world is resorting to nice rhetoric and changeful deceptive tactics. But its sinister intention to control and enslave the South Asian countries has been seen through by more and more people. The just struggles waged by the people of the South Asian countries to defend their national independence and state sovereignty demonstrate that they are not to be bullied. In the end, the perversive actions of all reactionaries will prove to be boomerangs. We firmly believe that the people of the South

Asian countries will frustrate all enemy schemes and plots so long as they maintain sharp vigilance, persist in struggle and strengthen their unity. . . .

There is a profound traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Bangladesh. Friendly contacts between the two peoples started more than a thousand years ago. Our two peoples have always supported and sympathized with each other in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. In his lifetime our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai visited Dacca twice and was accorded most ceremonious and enthusiastic welcome by the Bengali people, the memory of whose friendly sentiments is still fresh in the minds of the Chinese people. China and Bangladesh are both developing countries belonging to the third world. We note with satisfaction that since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the traditional friendship between our two countries has made new progress thanks to the joint efforts of our Governments and peoples. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Government and people of Bangladesh in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and resist foreign interference.

**231 Major General Ziaur Rahman's speech at the banquet,  
2 January 1977 (Extracts)**

We believe that the Indian Ocean should be declared a zone of peace. In order to make this meaningful the littoral and hinterland states should renounce the threat or use of force against one another.

Left far behind in the march of history, what we in Bangladesh have is a commitment to enduring peace, stability and harmonious relations among countries in the South Asian subcontinent. Only such conditions will enable us to devote our entire energy to tackling the critical problems of hunger, disease, illiteracy and unemployment. To this end we have consistently pursued a policy of maintaining relations with our close neighbours on the basis of mutual respect for equality, independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The stresses and strains in the affairs of the subcontinent have not deterred us in our resolve to consolidate our sovereignty and safeguard our



genuine and true independence. We have persisted in this inspite of the loss of many valuable lives and notwithstanding the disruption caused among the inhabitants of our border areas and the hardships caused by diversion of the waters of the River Ganges. We desire to seek solutions of these problems on the basis of equality and justice, and look forward to the continuance of our dialogue with our neighbour.

Bangladesh stands shoulder to shoulder with the people of the third world in their struggle against expansionism and hegemonism. Bangladesh supports the just struggle of the third world countries for establishment of a new international economic order. . . .

We in Bangladesh consider ourselves a close neighbour of your great country. We have no common border but at the closest point our territories are within miles of each other. Although diplomatic relations between our two countries are new, the friendship between our peoples has endured well over a millennium. Today, geographical and historical factors have been reinforced by an identity of intent and purpose.

### **232 Press communique on the visit of Major General Ziaur**

**Rahman, Chief Martial Law Administrator of Bangladesh, to China, 6 January 1977 (Extracts)**

At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Major General Ziaur Rahman, Chief Martial Law Administrator of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, and his party paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from January 2 to 6, 1977. . . .

In a sincere and friendly atmosphere, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Major General Ziaur Rahman exchanged views on developing friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries and on the international situation, the situation in Asia and international issues of mutual interest. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the results of the talks.

During the visit, the two Governments signed an agreement on economic and technical co-operation and one on trade and payment.

The Government and people of China noted with joy the efforts made and the marked successes achieved by the Govern-

ment and people of Bangladesh in opposing interference from outside, defending national independence and state sovereignty, and developing the national economy. The Government and people of China reiterated their firm support for the just struggle of Bangladesh in this regard.

The Government and people of Bangladesh praised the victories and successes achieved by the Government and people of China in building their own country and expressed firm support to the Chinese people in their sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying their motherland.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that the visit of his Excellency Major General Ziaur Rahman, Chief Martial Law Administrator of Bangladesh, to China had been a complete success as well as an important contribution to developing friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries, enhancing mutual understanding and traditional friendship between the two peoples and promoting the third world's cause of unity against hegemonism.

Major General Ziaur Rahman invited Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien to pay an official visit to the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien accepted the invitation with pleasure and thanks. The time is to be agreed upon later.

**233 "New development in China-Bangladesh relations," *Peking Review* commentary on Ziaur Rahman's visit to China, 7 January 1977**

Major General Ziaur Rahman visited China from January 2 to 6. This was the first occasion for contact between the leaders of the two countries. Though short, the visit achieved completely successful results.

During the visit, Vice-premier Li Hsien-nien and Major General Ziaur Rahman exchanged views on the international situation, the strengthening of relations between the two countries and other questions of common concern, thus enhancing their mutual understanding and trust. An economic and technical co-operation agreement and a trade and payment agreement between the Governments of China and Bangladesh were signed in Peking.

Since changes took place in the Bangladesh political situation in the second half of 1975, the Government and people of Bangladesh have made arduous efforts and achieved remarkable successes in maintaining national independence, safeguarding state sovereignty, developing the national economy and building their own country. Grain production in fiscal year 1975-76 reached 13 million tons. The country is now striving to realize self-sufficiency in grain. In international affairs, the Government of Bangladesh follows a non-aligned policy, opposes hegemonism, expansionism and interference in internal affairs by foreign countries, supports the people of all countries in their struggle against imperialism and stands for the strengthening of unity with other third world countries. The Chinese people follow development of Bangladesh with interest and firmly support the just struggle of its people to maintain national independence and state sovereignty.

**234 Premier Hua Kuo-feng's message to Ziaur Rahman on his assumption of the office of President of Bangladesh, 29 April 1977**

On the occasion of your assumption of the office of President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, I wish to extend to you our warm congratulations on behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in my own name. May Bangladesh, under Your Excellency's leadership, achieve continuous new successes in its sacred cause of defending national independence and state sovereignty, developing the national economy and building the country. May the friendship between the peoples of China and Bangladesh grow daily.

**235 Peking Review commentary on Farakka Barrage, 14 October 1977 (Extracts)**

On September 29 in New Delhi, Bangladesh and India reached an agreement on sharing the Ganges water. It includes interim arrangements between the two countries for sharing the water at the Farakka Barrage and for finding a solution to the long-term problem of augmenting its flow. . .

India built the Farakka Barrage near the Bangladesh border

in 1971, diverting the river water into the sea at the port of Calcutta and washing away filthy mud there. This brought serious losses in irrigation, navigation and fishery to Bangladesh, which lies in the lower reaches of the Ganges.

An arrangement on the joint exploitation of the water resources was reached between Bangladesh and India in May 1974. It stipulated that before a solution acceptable to both sides was sought to the question of apportioning the water of international river Ganges, India would not use the Farakka Barrage. However, India has violated the agreement by unilaterally withdrawing water from the Ganges at this point. Thus, the sharing of the Ganges water is a major problem between the two countries.

**236 President Ziaur Rahman's speech at the banquet given in honour of Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, 18 March 1978 (Extracts)**

The people of Bangladesh wish to live in peace, freedom and dignity. They are committed to a policy of creating an environment of enduring peace and stability in the South Asian sub-continent so that its peoples can devote all their energies and their resources towards providing for the people the basic conditions of a decent life. . . .

It is heartening to us as well as to the other countries of the third world that the friendly people of your great country share with us the vision of a world order free from imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism in any form.

**237 Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's speech at the banquet, 18 March 1978 (Extracts)**

Having suffered long from imperialist and colonial oppression, the South Asian countries all highly treasure independence. Forced with the arduous task of building up their countries, they all need an environment of peace and stability. But the intense rivalry between the superpowers has for a long time caused intransquility in this region and posed a grave threat to the independence and security of the countries here. . . .

We always maintain that all countries, big or small, are

equal and that big countries should not bully small ones and strong countries should not pressure weak ones. Whether a country treats others as equals or seeks hegemony is a major criterion for judging whether that country follows the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It is also one of the criteria for telling a genuine socialist country from a sham one.

**238 Statement by the Bangladesh representative Huda in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly, 23 October 1978 (Extract)**

Bangladesh also is in accord with the view that the first steps towards nuclear disarmament should be aimed at the most heavily armed nuclear powers. We believe that the international community should decry the use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances as illegal under international law, not only because they are indiscriminate in their destructive consequences and pose the threat of immeasurable destruction to the environment, but also because they are genocidal. As a primary move towards discouraging the use of nuclear weapons, all nuclear-weapon States must be urged to accept a pledge never to launch nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon countries. A concurrent pledge should be given by all nuclear-weapon Powers never to use nuclear weapons first. It is only logical that if the super-Powers advocate the retainment of nuclear weapons as a good for deterrent but difficult to use in war, there is no reason for nuclear Powers not to promise abstinence from at least their first use. In this regard we welcome China's continued propagation and adherence to its pledge of non-first use.

**239 Statement by Bangladesh representative Kaiser in the UN Security Council on the Sino-Vietnamese conflict, 24 February 1979 (Extracts)**

Early in January of this year the Council considered the situation and attempted constructively to dampen tensions, contain the problem and encourage movement along avenues towards a peaceful resolution of the problem. However in spite of its best efforts no tangible advance was possible. The Secretary General

has aptly categorized the present and continued blood-letting as "another tragic situation where violence begets violence" and has warned that unless the vicious cycle is broken quickly it could spread with unforeseeable consequences.

Bangladesh, like the great majority of countries of the region and beyond cannot but express its gravest concern and anxiety over this concentric circle of action, reaction and counter-action in South East Asia and the wider ominous implications it holds of eventually drawing into the vortex of turmoil and war all the countries of the region and maybe of the world. . . .

Bangladesh is convinced that the words and actions of this Council should not be conducive to a negative approach of accusation, recrimination or moral judgement. The issues involved are too complex and affect too sensitively the susceptibilities of different national interests to be subject to the passing of judgement. It would be all too easy to fall into the quagmire of motives and intentions that inevitably justify any action or reaction and thus become diverted from our task. Our pre-eminent goal is to secure and preserve peace. Our actions must lead to defined ends that are constructive and contributory, not merely to a temporary respite or piecemeal pursuit of peace but to genuine long-term and durable peace and security in the region. . . .

Bangladesh believes that the situation requires three immediate and concurrent actions: first, putting an end to all hostilities and the cessation of all military operations in the entire region coupled with genuine respect for the political independence of all States involved. Secondly, the withdrawal of all troops from all foreign territories. And thirdly, the exercise of maximum restraint on the part of all outside Powers in refraining from any actions that could exacerbate tension or lead to further widening of the conflict.

Finally, Bangladesh believes that it is the fundamental responsibility of the Council to encourage and to promote the exploration of all avenues that could lead to the normalization of the situation, a peaceful settlement of disputes and to long-term and durable peace in this region.

In the first instance, it is our primary responsibility to seize upon and to foster all positive elements proposed by the parties themselves to this end. We particularly note and wel-

come with satisfaction the statement made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on 22 February 1979 in which he offered his own "good offices". We appeal to the parties concerned to seize upon this initiative in the interests of peace.

**240 Speech by Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua at the banquet given in honour of the Bangladesh Foreign Minister, Professor Muhammad Shamsul Huq, in Peking, 15 November 1979 (Extract)**

Economic cooperation, trade, and cultural exchanges between China and Bangladesh had been developing successfully and contacts generally increasing. The friendly relations and cooperation between China and Bangladesh are developing satisfactorily.

In the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, our two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other. In international affairs, we both uphold justice, stand for equality and mutual benefit and oppose big nations bullying the small and strong nations overpowering the weak. We share identical views on many issues and have worked together in effective coordination. This has further strengthened the foundation of our friendly relations and cooperation.

At present when hegemonism is more adventurous and aggressive and when the independence and security of many countries are under serious threat, there is a greater need for all peoples, including our two peoples, to heighten our vigilance and support and help each other more effectively, for that is in the interest of peace in this region and in the world as a whole.

Huang Hua expressed the conviction that with the joint efforts of the Chinese and Bangladesh Governments and peoples, friendship and cooperation between the two countries would grow in strength.

**241 Speech by Bangladesh Foreign Minister Shamsul Huq at the banquet, 15 November 1979 (Extracts)**

Shamsul Huq said that he had come to China at a time when relations between the two countries were already firmly laid on solid foundations of deep friendship and close cooperation. "It

is the geo-political situation and the high principles of state policy shared by both of our nations that have brought us close together.”

He expressed his concern at the situation in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indo-China, which “has posed a great threat to peace and stability not only in the region but even globally.” . . .

“In keeping with the basic principles of our foreign policy, we are opposed to all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination or interference anywhere. With a view to achieving a durable peace, it is necessary to ensure the strict observance of the principles of respect for sovereign equality and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. It is, therefore, essential that all foreign troops from the area of conflict should be withdrawn so that the people themselves are able to resolve the problem in a peaceful manner and without outside interference.”

#### **242 “Bangladesh to continue talks with India on Ganges water,” Xinhua commentary, 4 May 1980**

Bangladesh will continue its talks with India to work out an honourable long-term solution to the issue of augmenting the dry-season flow of the Ganges water, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said here yesterday.

According to Radio Bangladesh, the spokesman told local newsmen that the present differences between Bangladesh and India in the Joint River Commission meetings could be “narrowed down” through negotiations.

He hoped that India would not unilaterally violate the Farakka Agreement signed in 1977 between the two countries.

On a long-term solution to the issue of the Ganges river water, Bangladesh refused an Indian proposal for linking the Brahmaputra river with the Ganges river at Farakka. India turned down a Bangladesh proposal to associate Nepal in the long-term plans for augmenting the dry-season flow of the Ganges on sharing the Ganges river water.

The two countries have held 18 meetings since 1977. But no agreement has been reached so far. The two sides, however, agreed that they will continue their talks.



**243 Vice-Premier Zhao Ziyang's talks with Bangladesh educational delegation led by State Minister of Education, Abdul Baten, 10 June 1980**

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, friendly exchanges between China and Bangladesh have increased and friendship between the two peoples has grown steadily. Now we have a common task before us, that is, to improve the living standards of the people and raise their cultural and educational levels. We should learn from each other to make up each other's deficiencies and make common progress.

**244 Premier Hua Guofeng's speech at the banquet given in honour of Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman, 21 July 1980 (Extracts)**

The presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea and Afghanistan constituted a serious threat to international peace and security. "We firmly believe that all foreign troops should be withdrawn immediately and unconditionally from Kampuchea and Afghanistan enabling the peoples of these two countries to decide their own future free from any outside interference." . . .

China and Bangladesh were confronted with the common task of safeguarding national independence, developing the national economy, eliminating poverty and backwardness and improving the people's livelihood.

"We both need a peaceful and stable international environment in which to pursue our cause." "But as the harsh reality shows, the frenzied expansion and aggression carried out by the big and small hegemonists are posing a serious threat to world peace and the independence and security of all countries."

The Soviet Union was redeploying its troops in Afghanistan and "stepping up its suppression of the Afghan people's resistance in an attempt to strengthen its bridgehead for further advances to the south." . . . Recently Vietnam had "flagrantly invaded the territory of Thailand."

The Chinese Premier called on all countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice to unite and deal with this grave situation.

“All countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice must unite and resolutely oppose the hegemonists’ aggression and expansion. They must exert political, economic and other pressures to force the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to withdraw their troops so as to create conditions for a settlement of the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea.” . . .

Hua Guofeng praised the Bangladesh people for their encouraging successes in safeguarding national independence and sovereignty and in developing the national economy, particularly in developing agriculture, in recent years.

“The Government of Bangladesh has pursued an independent and non-aligned foreign policy and stood for the maintenance of friendly relations and cooperation with all countries on the basis of independence, equality and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs. Bangladesh has upheld justice and is outspoken in opposing aggression and has played a positive role in international affairs, thus winning the praise and admiration of the people of the world.”

Hua Guofeng also spoke of the profound traditional friendship that existed between the Chinese and Bangladesh people and the development of friendly relations and cooperation of the two countries since the establishment of diplomatic ties.

He noted that China and Bangladesh shared identical views on many major international issues of today. He expressed conviction that China and Bangladesh would join the other third world countries and all other peace-loving countries in contributing to world peace and the progress of humanity.

#### **245 Ziaur Rahman’s speech at the banquet, 21 July 1980**

(Extracts)

The principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of states is one of the cardinal principles of the non-aligned movement. It is a principle which is also enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

“A violation of this principle constitutes a violation of the very fabric of international conduct and inter-state relations. Bangladesh cannot condone the violation of such principles. It is for this reason we have consistently opposed the presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea and in Afghanistan.”

He noted that, during the past year and a half that Bangladesh had been a member of the Security Council, "We have been able to function closely together with you on so many important international issues." . . .

Peace in the Middle East was possible only when Israel withdrew from all illegally occupied Arab territories and the rights of the Palestinian people were restored. . . .

The people of Bangladesh "are committed to a policy of creating an environment of enduring peace and stability in the South Asian region so that its peoples can devote all their energies and their resources towards providing for the people the basic conditions of a decent life.

"We have sought to develop good relations with all countries, particularly with our neighbours on the basis of mutual respect for the sovereignty, equality of nations and non-interference in one another's internal affairs."

He said that the long-standing relations between China and Bangladesh had always been "imbued with a warm spirit of friendship, understanding and cooperation."

The Bangladesh President expressed his belief that the resolute efforts of the Chinese leadership and people would contribute to the successful conclusion of the "four modernization programme".

#### **246 Xinhua report on Ziaur Rahman's discussions with Hua Guofeng, 22 July 1980**

Chinese Premier Hua Guofeng and visiting Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman agreed today that, to strive for a peaceful international environment in which to develop national reconstruction China and Bangladesh must strengthen unity and cooperation and unite with other peace-loving countries and people in resolutely fighting against colonialism, expansionism and hegemonism.

According to a spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the two leaders, in two rounds of talks in the morning and afternoon, had a wide-ranging exchange of views and reached complete agreement on major international issues of today and relations between China and Bangladesh.

Hua Guofeng expressed appreciation of the principled stand

and practical measures taken by President Ziaur and the Bangladesh Government on the maintenance of the norms of international relations and defence of peace and security in South Asia and the world at large and other major international issues.

The Chinese Premier pointed out that the time for a political settlement of the Afghan question was not yet ripe. The Soviet Union's so-called partial troop withdrawal was a fraud, he said.

"A genuine settlement of the question is possible only when the Soviet Union unconditionally withdraws all its troops and the Afghan people are left to decide their own destiny," Hua Guofeng stressed.

"In the meantime," he added, "all countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice should render moral and material support to the Afghan people in their resistance to the Soviet aggression and exert pressure to force the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from that country."

Ziaur Rahman reiterated the Bangladesh Government's stand of opposing the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by foreign troops and strongly demanded that all foreign troops withdraw therefrom.

Referring to his proposal for holding a South Asian summit meeting, Ziaur Rahman expressed his hope that the summit would study the situation in South Asia and the Gulf region so as to safeguard peace and stability in this part of the world. Hua Guofeng indicated that China had always supported the efforts of the countries in South Asia to improve their relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and work together to oppose external interference and aggression and safeguard security in this region.

On the political settlement of the question of Kampuchea, Hua Guofeng said that this was possible only if Viet Nam completely withdrew its occupation troops and let the people of Kampuchea handle their own affairs. "People of various countries should support the resistance movement of Democratic Kampuchea and compel Viet Nam to withdraw its troops," he added.

Ziaur Rahman indicated that Bangladesh was determined to develop friendly relations with the Islamic countries, ASEAN

countries and other non-aligned and third world countries, and make common efforts for peace and security throughout the world.

In a sincere and friendly atmosphere, the two leaders reviewed the development of bilateral relations since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Bangladesh. They expressed satisfaction with the rapid growth of friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries in recent years.

Hua Guofeng and Ziaur Rahman agreed that direct exchange of views between Chinese and Bangladesh leaders was highly conducive to furthering friendly relations of the two countries.

**247 Ziaur Rahman's speech at the return banquet given by him in Beijing, 23 July 1980 (Extracts)**

Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman said. . . his cordial talks with Premier Hua Guofeng on a wide range of bilateral, regional and international issues lent special significance to his present visit to China and brought it to complete success.

President Ziaur pointed out that the spontaneity and warmth of the reception he and his party had received in China reflected the historic and friendly ties between the people of Bangladesh and China which had withstood the test of time spanning over centuries.

“It is only in an environment of peace and stability free from external interference that we can consolidate our independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty and also create necessary conditions for economic and social progress. We express our solidarity with all peace-loving nations especially the peoples of the developing nations in resisting imperialism, colonialism, expansionism, hegemonism and domination of all types.

“Our relations have attained such a level of maturity that it would not only stand the test of time but contribute positively towards consolidation of peace and stability in the region.”

**248 Hua Guofeng's speech at the banquet, 23 July 1980**  
**(Extracts)**

China and Bangladesh “have always sympathized with and encouraged each other. We consider each other equals, and have dealt with one another in full sincerity. Both our countries oppose aggression, expansion and interference in the internal affairs of other countries. We both oppose the big bullying the small, the strong bullying the weak. We have fought to defend peace, independence, sovereignty and justice. Therefore, we have much common ground in international affairs and have been working together in an effective manner.”

Premier Hua Guofeng noted that China and Bangladesh shared identical views on many major international issues.

He said: “Meetings and discussions between the leaders of our two countries are beneficial to the deepening of our mutual understanding and friendship, and are important to the strengthening of friendly cooperation between our two countries.”

The relations between China and Bangladesh, he said, were imbued with a spirit of friendship, understanding and cooperation, and were based on the fundamental interests of the two peoples. The way their relations had developed since the establishment of diplomatic ties had given expression to this spirit, he added.

Hua Guofeng requested Ziaur to convey the good wishes and high respects of the Chinese Government and people to the Government and people of Bangladesh.

# Nepal, 1950-1980





**249 Tibeto-Nepalese Treaty of 1792**

1. That China should henceforth be considered as father to both Nepal and Tibet, who should regard each other as brothers;
2. That after due investigation by the Chinese Government, the full value of the articles plundered at Lhasa would be paid to the Nepalese sufferers by the Tibetan authorities;
3. That all Nepalese subjects; with the exception of armed soldiers would be permitted to travel, to establish factories and to carry on trade within the jurisdiction of Tibet and China.
4. That if either of the two brotherly States should commence an unprovoked dispute with the intention of possessing the territories of the other, the representatives of the two Governments would report all particulars to the court of Peking which would finally decide the dispute;
5. That if Nepal be ever invaded by a foreign power, China would not fail to help her;
6. That the two brotherly States would send to China some produce of their country every five years in token of their filial love;
7. That the Chinese Government would in return send to Nepal a friendly present, and would make every necessary arrangement for the comfort of the mission to and from Peking.

**250 Treaty of Peace between Nepal and Tibet, 24 March 1856**

We, the undermentioned Nobles, Bharadars, and Lamas representing the Gorkha Government and the Tibetan Government have mutually settled a Treaty of the following ten Articles, and with Supreme Being as witness we have affixed our seals unto it of our own free will and choice.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor of China shall continue to be regarded with respect<sup>2</sup> as heretofore. So long as the two Governments continue to abide by the terms set forth herein, they shall live in amity like two brothers.

<sup>1</sup>The Tibetan text omits "of our own free will and choice".

<sup>2</sup>The translation of the treaty by C.U. Aitchison says instead: "We further agree that the Emperor of China shall be obeyed by both States as before."

May the Supreme Being not allow that side to prosper which may make war upon the other; and may the side be exempt from all sin in making war upon the other side which violates the terms contained in this agreement (Treaty).

[Here follow the names and seals of the signatories]

#### *Article 1*

Tibet shall pay a sum of rupees ten thousand annually to the Gorkha Government.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Article 2*

Gorkha and Tibet have both been regarding the Emperor of China with respect.<sup>2</sup> Tibet being merely a country of Monasteries of Lamas and a place for recitation of prayers and practice of religious austerities, should troops of any other Raja invade Tibet in future, Gorkha will afford such assistance and protection as it can.

#### *Article 3*

Tibet shall not levy any taxes (on routes), duties (on merchandise), and rates (of any other kind) leviable by Tibet on the merchants and subjects of the country of Gorkha.

#### *Article 4*

Tibet shall return to the Gorkha Government all Sikh soldiers held as prisoners and also all officers, soldiers, women, and guns of Gorkha that were captured and taken during the war; and the Gorkha Government shall return to Tibet all the soldiers of Tibet captured in the war, as also the arms, the yaks whatever there may be belonging to the Rayats of Kirong, Kutu, Jhunga, Taklakhar, and Chhewar-Gumbha, and on the completion of this Treaty all the Gorkha troops that are in Taklakhar, Chhewar-Gumbha, Kirong, Jhunga, Kutu, Dhyaklang, and upto Bhairab Lanbur range shall be withdrawn and the places evacuated.

<sup>1</sup>The Tibetan text inserts the words "in cash." Aitchison adds the words as "tribute" and Sir Charles Bell "as a present".

<sup>2</sup>Aitchison translates the relevant word as 'borne allegiance.'

*Article 5*

Henceforth not a Naikya (Headman) but a Bharadar shall be posted by the Gorkha Government at Lhasa.

*Article 6*

The Gorkha Government will establish its own trade factory at Lhasa which will be allowed to trade freely in all kinds of merchandise from gems and ornaments to articles of clothing and food.

*Article 7*

The Gorkha Bharadar at Lhasa shall not try and determine suits and cases amongst Gorkha subjects, merchants, the Kasmeries of Nepal, residing within the jurisdiction of Lhasa. In the event of dispute between the subjects and merchants of Gorkha and those of Tibet, the Bharadars of both Gorkha and Tibet shall sit together and jointly adjudicate the cases. All incomes (fines, etc.) from such adjudications realized from the Gorkha subjects and merchants and Kasmeries shall be taken by Gorkha.

*Article 8*

A Gorkha subject who goes to the country of Tibet after committing murder of any person of Gorkha shall be surrendered by Tibet to Gorkha; and a Tibetan subject who goes to the country of Gorkha after committing murder of any person of Tibet shall be surrendered by Gorkha to Tibet.

*Article 9*

If the property of Gorkha subjects and merchants be plundered by any person of Tibet, the Bharadars of Tibet shall compel the restoration of such property to Gorkha subjects and merchants; should the property be not forthcoming from the plunderer, Tibet shall compel him to enter into arrangement for restitution (of such property). If the property of Tibetan subjects and merchants be plundered by any person of Gorkha, Gorkha shall compel the restoration of such property to the Tibetan subjects and merchants. Should the property be not forthcoming from the plunderer, Gorkha shall

compel him to enter into an agreement for the restitution (of such property).

*Article 10*

After the completion of the Treaty neither side shall act vindictively against the person or property of the subjects of Tibet who may have joined the Gorkha Durbar during the war, or of the subjects of Gorkha who may have so joined the Tibetan Durbar.

This the third day of Light fortnight of Chaitra in the year of Sumbat 1912.

N.B. Bharadars are the high civil or military officers under the Government of Nepal or of Tibet.

In this translation "Tibet" is used for "Bhote".

**251 Mao Tse-tung's brochure, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, December 1939 (Extract)**

In defeating China in war, the imperialist States have taken away many Chinese dependent States and a part of her territories. Japan took away Korea, Taiwan and Ryuku islands, the Pescadores, Port Arthur; England seized Burma, Bhutan, Nepal<sup>1</sup> and Hong Kong; France occupied Annam and even an insignificant country like Portugal took Macao.

**252 Statement by Yuang Shang-kim, Chief of the Central Office of the Chinese Communist Party, 1950 (Extract)**

After the liberation of Tibet, the Chinese people and Nepalese people will be united in close solidarity for the sake of defending Asia and preserving world peace.

**253 Premier Chou En-lai's Report on the Work of the Government delivered to the first session of the First National People's Congress, 23 September 1954 (Extract)**

Contacts are being made with a view to establishing normal

<sup>1</sup>The subsequent editions of the brochure omitted reference to Burma, Bhutan, Nepal as also Korea, Ryuku islands and Annam.

relations between China and Afghanistan as well as between China and Israel. Our country is also ready to establish normal relations with Nepal.

### **254 China-Nepal joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations, 1 August 1955**

The negotiations conducted in Kathmandu on and from July 27, 1955, between the Delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Delegation of the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, have now concluded successfully. The negotiations were carried on in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere and it has been agreed as follows:

The two Governments desirous of establishing friendly relations between the two countries have agreed to establish normal diplomatic relations and to exchange ambassadors between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal. The two Governments have further agreed that the following five principles, namely:

*One.* Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;

*Two.* Non-aggression;

*Three.* Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons—of an economic, political or ideological character;

*Four.* Equality and mutual benefit;

*Five.* Peaceful co-existence,

should form the basic principles to guide the relations between the two countries.

The two Governments believe that the establishment of diplomatic relations will also promote further development in the cultural and economic co-operation between the two countries.

**255 Chou En-lai's message to Ganjaman Singh, leader of the Nepalese Government delegation which negotiated the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, 2 August 1955**

On the occasion of establishing normal diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal, I have the honour, on behalf of the Government and people of the People's Republic of China and in my name, to extend to your Government and people and Your Excellency my warm congratulations. May the friendly relations between our two countries have a new development on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

**256 Speech by Chinese Ambassador while presenting credentials to the King of Nepal, 3 August 1955**

China and Nepal have common boundaries, and between them there have been in history close relations of long-standing. Between the peoples of China and Nepal, there has been maintained a traditional profound friendship. And now China and Nepal have established normal diplomatic relations and affirmed the five principles of peaceful co-existence as the fundamental principles guiding the relations between the two countries. I am deeply convinced that the establishment of such new diplomatic relations not only conforms with the common interests and aspirations of our two peoples but also will certainly contribute to peace in Asia and the world.

**257 "China and Nepal," article by Huang Sheng-chang in *People's China*, 1 May 1956 (Extracts)**

The Chinese people have watched with satisfaction the revival of ties with this old and good neighbour. Great interest is being shown in the study of past relations between China and Nepal, which have been intimate and long-continued.

Such contacts began more than 1500 years ago. . .

During the past hundred years, when both China and Nepal suffered from imperialist aggression and oppression, contact between the two states became more tenuous. But the people

along both sides of the border continued their close relations, carrying on trade and making pilgrimages to each other's sacred places. Many Nepalese live in our Tibet region, where they are on very good terms with the people.

Now the alienation and separation of Asian states caused by foreign interference has come to an end. With the establishment of the people's power in China, it has become possible for us gradually to restore and develop close relations with our neighbours. In July 1955, the Chinese and Nepalese Governments agreed to institute regular diplomatic intercourse, and to make the five principles of peaceful co-existence the guiding spirit in their mutual relations. Soon afterwards, they exchanged ambassadors. . .

In an awakened Asia, guided by the light of the five principles, there is every reason to believe that the 1500-year old friendship between China and Nepal will find new strength. It will flourish for our common benefit, closer and warmer than in even the best times of the past.

**258 Chou En-lai's address on the Present International Situation and China's Foreign Policy and the Liberation of Taiwan delivered at the third session of the First National People's Congress, 28 June 1956 (Extract)**

The friendly relations already existing between China and Afghanistan and Nepal have also been further developed through contacts between their leaders at the Asian-African Conference.

**259 China-Nepal agreement to maintain friendly relations and on trade and intercourse, 20 September 1956 (effective from 17 January 1958)**

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal,

Being desirous of further developing the friendly relations between the two countries as good neighbours on the basis of the long-standing friendship between the two peoples,

Reaffirm that the five principles (Panch Shila) of

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and

sovereignty,

2. Non-aggression,

3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character,

4. Equality and mutual benefit, and

5. Peaceful co-existence,

Should be the fundamental principles guiding the relations between the two countries.

The two Parties have resolved to conclude the present agreement in accordance with the above-mentioned principles and have for this purpose appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries. . .who, having examined each other's credentials and finding them in good and due form; have agreed upon the following:

#### *Article I*

The High Contracting Parties declare that peace and friendship shall be maintained between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal.

#### *Article II*

The High Contracting Parties hereby reaffirm their decision to mutually exchange diplomatic representatives on ambassadorial level.

#### *Article III*

All treaties and documents which existed in the past between China and Nepal including those between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal are hereby abrogated.

#### *Article IV*

In order to maintain and develop the traditional contacts between the peoples of the Tibet Region of China and Nepal the High Contracting Parties agree that the nationals of both Parties may trade, travel and make pilgrimage in those places in each other's territory as agreed upon by both Parties, and the two Parties agree to safeguard the proper interests of the nationals of the other Party in its territory in accordance with the laws of the country of residence, and for this purpose the High Contracting Parties agree to do as follows:



Paragraph I. The High Contracting Parties mutually agree to establish Trade Agencies:

1. The Chinese Government agrees that the Government of Nepal may establish Trade Agencies at Shigatse, Kyerong and Nyalam;
2. The Government of Nepal agrees that the Chinese Government may establish an equal number of Trade Agencies in Nepal, the specific locations of which will be discussed and determined at a later date by both Parties;
3. The Trade Agencies of both Parties shall be accorded the same status and same treatment. The Trade Agents of both Parties shall enjoy freedom from arrest while exercising their functions, and shall enjoy in respect of themselves, their wives and their children who are dependent on them for livelihood freedom from search. The Trade Agencies of both Parties shall enjoy the privileges and immunities for couriers, mail-bags and communications in code.

Paragraph II. The High Contracting Parties agree that traders of both countries may trade at the following places:

1. The Chinese Government agrees to specify (1) Lhasa, (3) Shigatse, (3) Gyantse and (4) Yatung as markets for trade;
2. The Government of Nepal agrees that when with the development of Chinese trade in Nepal, it has become necessary to specify markets for trade in Nepal, the Government of Nepal will specify an equal number of markets for trade in Nepal;
3. Traders of both countries known to be customarily and specifically engaged in border trade between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal may continue trade at the traditional markets for such trade.

Paragraph III. The High Contracting Parties agree that pilgrimage by religious believers of either country to the other may continue according to religious custom. Personal baggages and articles used for pilgrimage carried by the pilgrims of

either Party shall be exempted from taxation by the other Party.

Paragraph IV. For travelling across the border between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal, the High Contracting Parties agree that the nationals of both countries shall use the customary routes.

Paragraph V. For travelling across the border by the nationals of the two countries, the High Contracting Parties agree to adopt the following provisions:

1. Diplomatic personnel and officials of the two countries and nationals of the two countries except those provided by Sub-paragraphs 2, 3 and 4, who travel across the border between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal, shall hold passports issued by their respective countries and visaed by the other Party. Nationals of the two countries who enter the Tibet Region of China or Nepal through a third country shall also hold passports issued by their respective countries and visaed by the other Party.
2. Traders of the two countries known to be customarily and specifically engaged in trade between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal, their wives and children dependent on them for livelihood and their attendants, not covered by Sub-paragraph 3 of this Paragraph, who enter into the Tibet Region of China or Nepal as the case may be for the purposes of trade, shall hold passports issued by their respective countries and visaed by the other Party, or certificates issued by their respective Governments or by organs authorized by their respective Governments.
3. Inhabitants of the border districts of the two countries who cross the border to carry on petty trade, to visit friends or relatives, or for seasonal changes of residence, may do so as they have customarily done heretofore and need not hold passports, visas or other documents of certification.
4. Pilgrims of either Party who travel across the border between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal for the purposes of pilgrimage need not hold passports, visas or

other documents of certifications but shall register at the border checkpoints or the first authorized government office of the other Party, and obtain permits for pilgrimage therefrom.

5. Notwithstanding the provisions of the foregoing Sub-paragraphs of this Paragraph, either Government may refuse entry to any particular person.
6. Nationals of either country who enter the territory of the other Party in accordance with the foregoing Sub-paragraphs of this Paragraph may stay within the territory only after complying with the procedures specified by the other Party.

#### *Article V*

This Agreement shall be ratified. It shall come into effect after mutual notice of ratifications, and remain in force for eight (8) years. Extension of the present Agreement may be negotiated by the two Parties if either Party requests for it six (6) months prior to the expiry of the Agreement and the request is agreed to by the other Party.

Done in Kathmandu on the 20th day of September 1956, in duplicate in the Chinese, Nepalese and English languages, all texts being equally authentic.

### **260 Exchange of Notes between Chinese Ambassador Pan Tzu-li and Nepalese Foreign Minister C. P. Sharma on certain matters concerning relations between China and Nepal, 20 September 1956**

#### **(a) Chinese Ambassador Pan Tzu-Li's Note:**

In the course of our discussions regarding the Agreement to Maintain the Friendly Relations Between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal and on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal, the Delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Delegation of the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal agreed that certain related matters be regulated by an exchange of notes. In pursuance of this understanding, it is hereby agreed between the two Governments as follows:

1. The two Parties mutually agree to establish Consulates-General:

The Chinese Government agrees that the Government of Nepal may establish a Consulate-General at Lhasa of the Tibet Region of China.

The Government of Nepal agrees that the Chinese Government may establish a Consulate-General at Kathmandu of Nepal, the date for the establishment of which will be discussed and determined at a later date.

2. The Government of Nepal will be pleased to withdraw completely within six (6) months after this exchange of notes its military escorts now in Lhasa and other places in the Tibet Region of China, together with all their arms and ammunition. The Chinese Government will render facilities and assistance in such withdrawal.

3. Nepalese nationals in the Tibet Region of China and Chinese nationals in Nepal shall be subjected to the jurisdiction of the Government of the country of residence, observe the laws and regulations of the country of residence, pay taxes to that Government and respect the local customs. All civil and criminal cases or disputes in which nationals of one Party in the territory of the other may be involved, shall be dealt with by the Government of the country of residence.

4. The Government of either Party will protect and safeguard the person, property and legitimate interests of the nationals of the other Party in its territory.

5. (A) The Governments of the two Parties agree that the nationals of either Party in the territory of the other Party, under the condition that they pay rents according to market prices and sign contracts for lease with the house owners on a mutually voluntary basis, may have the facility to rent houses.

(B) Nationals of either Party who have already rented houses in the territory of the other Party, under the condition that they pay rents according to market prices and that contracts for lease are or have been concluded with the house owners on a mutually voluntary basis, may continue to rent the houses.

6. Both Parties agree to adopt necessary measures to

promote and expand the trade relations between the two countries, and to levy customs duties on the import and export commodities of the two Parties in accordance with the favoured tax-rates of each Government.

7. The range of business engaged in by the traders of either Party in the territory of the other shall comply with the relevant laws and regulations of the Government of the country of residence.

8. The Nepalese primary school in Lhasa of the Tibet Region of China shall be changed into a primary school for children of Nepalese nationals and shall complete registration procedures in accordance with the relevant regulations of the Chinese Government.

9. The two Parties agree to establish direct wireless telegraphic service between Lhasa and Kathmandu, the specific arrangements of which will be discussed and decided upon at a later date by the departments concerned of both Parties.

10. The Government of either Party will assist the Consulate-General and the Trade Agencies of the other in its territory in renting houses.

11. The Trade Agents of both Parties may, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the country of residence, have access to their nationals involved in civil or criminal cases.

12. The Trade Agents and traders of both countries may hire employees in the locality.

13. Traders and pilgrims of both countries shall have the facility of hiring means of transportation at normal and reasonable rates.

14. The two Parties agree that any person residing in the Tibet Region of China born of parents holding respectively the nationality of the People's Republic of China and the nationality of the Kingdom of Nepal and of eighteen years of age or above, may, according to their own will, choose the nationality of the People's Republic of China for themselves and their children who are under the age of 18, by completing relevant procedures at the Chinese Government. After the completion of the above mentioned procedures, they and their children under the age of 18 shall be considered to have lost automatically the nationality of Nepal.

If the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal agrees to the

present note, the present note along with Your Excellency's reply shall become an agreement between our two Governments which shall come into force upon the exchange of the present note and Your Excellency's reply.

**(b) C. P. Sharma's Note.**

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of September 20, 1956, which reads as follows. . . .

[as above. . . .]

On behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal, I hereby agree to Your Excellency's note. Your Excellency's note along with this reply shall become an agreement between our two governments which shall come into force upon the exchange of the present notes.

**261 *People's Daily* editorial on success of Sino-Nepalese relations, 24 September 1956 (Extracts)**

Nepal is China's neighbour. Long standing friendship exists between the two peoples. In recent years, we have established good neighbour relations on a new basis. Both China and Nepal advocate observance of the five principles of peaceful co-existence in international relations and work for friendly co-operation among nations. Through the negotiations between the two governments, we have now reiterated the five principles of peaceful co-existence as principles guiding the relations between the two countries and have declared that we should maintain peace and friendship. Thus our two countries have crystallized our long standing friendly relations in a new agreement. . . .

Certain abnormalities that formerly existed in the relations between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal were vestiges of the past. Now conditions have changed in both our countries and we are all advancing on the new road of development. Therefore, we have abrogated the treaties of the past and concluded this new one in their place. This is completely in line with the common wishes of the two peoples. There is no doubt that the signing of the new agreement based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence will greatly promote economic and cultural exchange between China and Nepal and contribute to

their common prosperity and development.

The negotiations between China and Nepal show that if sincere negotiations are conducted in accordance with the principles of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit, any long outstanding complex problem can be solved without difficulty. The success of the Sino-Nepalese negotiations therefore will extend the influence of the five principles of peaceful co-existence in Asian countries.

Nepal is also India's close neighbour and the two countries have always maintained friendly and close relations. Since China, India and Nepal are all neighbours and executors of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, it is only natural that our three countries have become close friends. Tanka Prasad Acharya, the Prime Minister of Nepal, recently said that China and India "are our great friends", and that "Nepal shall always remain a dependable link between the two countries". We highly value this sincere friendship of Nepal. We will certainly reciprocate such friendship. Let China, India and Nepal work ceaselessly to strengthen our good neighbour relations so as to set an example of friendly co-operation among the nations of Asia and contribute our efforts to the cause of peace.

**262 Chou En-lai's speech at the banquet given in honour of  
Nepalese Premier Tanka Prasad Acharya, 27 September 1956  
(Extracts)**

According to the new agreement signed between China and Nepal, Nepal has abrogated the treaties which had rendered the relations between China and Nepal not entirely normal. We appreciate very much this expression of friendship on the part of Nepal. So far as China is concerned, our socialist system completely precludes the possibility for China to launch aggression against any country. In our relations with Nepal in the future, we will prove by deeds that we will strictly adhere to the five principles of peaceful co-existence—Panch Shila. . . .

As friends, we express our sympathy and admiration for the enthusiasm and efforts of the Nepalese Government and people in the desire to construct their country. We think that in our respective constructions there will certainly be many aspects in which we could learn from and help each other. Pre-

cisely because of this, there is a broad prospect for further development of the Sino-Nepalese friendly relations.

The Chinese people highly respect and welcome the policy adopted by the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal in its international relations, a policy of peace and neutrality and of promoting friendship and solidarity with all countries and the Asian countries in particular. Despite of the fact that there are persons trying hard to hold onto colonial rule in Asia and Africa, the solidarity among the Asian and African countries in their common cause of opposing colonialism is increasingly strengthening. The times when the fate of the Asian and African countries was manipulated by others have definitely gone for ever. I am deeply convinced that this friendly visit of Your Excellency the Prime Minister and other friends from Nepal will not only further enhance the understanding and friendship between our two countries, increase contacts and strengthen the co-operation in various respects between our two countries, but at the same time, contribute to the solidarity among the Asian countries and peace in the world.

**263 Tanka Prasad Acharya's speech at the banquet,  
27 September 1956 (Extract)**

Nepal feels very happy to be between the two great and most progressive republics in Asia—China and India. And it is indeed gratifying to note that Nepal enjoys the best of friendship and goodwill from her two great neighbours. Although Your Excellency has referred to the non-aggression policy of the People's Republic of China towards her neighbours, I would like to state that the Government of Nepal have never entertained such apprehensions from her good neighbours, more so when these two great neighbours of Nepal are the great promoters of peace, friendship and peaceful co-existence of our times. . . .

China and India are engaged in their great and noble task of nation building and Nepal too, with her limited resources, has been endeavouring for her economic development. I am confident that mutual help and assistance in the field of national reconstruction will not be lacking among our three friendly countries.



**264 China-Nepal joint statement, 7 October 1956**

At the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Tanka Prasad Acharya, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Nepal, arrived in China on September 25, 1956 for a friendly visit. . . .

The two Prime Ministers reviewed the traditional friendship and close ties existing from ancient times between China and Nepal, and expressed their appreciation of the further development of the friendly and neighbourly relations between the two countries since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Nepal and the affirmation of the Five Principles (Panch Shila) of peaceful co-existence initiated by China and India as the fundamental principles guiding their relations. The two Parties expressed the view that they would make joint efforts to further develop the relationship.

The two Prime Ministers hold that peaceful co-existence between nations is not only necessary but also possible. The Chinese and the Nepalese Governments will continue, in line with the Five Principles, to make contributions to the strengthening of peace in Asia and Africa and in the world and the promotion of solidarity and co-operation among the Asian and African countries. The two Parties expressed satisfaction over the fact that more and more countries have come to support and accept the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence.

After friendly negotiations, the Governments of China and Nepal signed on September 20, 1956 the "Agreement to Maintain the Friendly Relations Between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal and on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal." The two Prime Ministers believe that this Agreement will further enhance the traditional friendship between the two peoples and trade and intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal. After the ratification of this Agreement, the two Governments will work for the thorough implementation of its provisions.

With a view to achieving the prosperity of their respective countries and the happiness of their peoples, the two Prime Ministers agreed that the two countries would continue to develop their traditional economic and trade relations on the

principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The two Prime Ministers expressed the desire to strengthen the cultural ties between the two countries. They considered the cultural exchange between the two countries to be one of the important means of promoting their friendly relations.

The two Prime Ministers are very glad to have this opportunity of meeting each other and exchanging their views. They believe that their talks have not only strengthened the mutual understanding, confidence and friendship between China and Nepal, but also contributed to the cause of safeguarding peace in Asia, Africa and the world.

### **265 China-Nepal economic aid agreement, 7 October 1956**

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal, for the purposes of promoting the friendly relations between the two states and of strengthening the friendship of their peoples and on the basis of Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence (Panch Shila), have reached an Agreement the articles of which are as follows:

#### *Article 1*

The People's Republic of China shall make a free grant to the Kingdom of Nepal within a period of 3 years as from the date of the signing and coming into force of this Agreement in an amount of sixty million (60,000,000) Indian Rupees. Of the sixty million (60,000,000) Indian Rupees, one third shall be given by instalments in foreign exchange and two thirds in machinery, equipment, materials and other commodities which the Kingdom of Nepal needs and the People's Republic of China can supply. The said machinery, equipment, materials and other commodities shall be determined by further negotiations between the two Governments.

#### *Article 2*

The economic aid to be granted by the Government of the People's Republic of China to the Kingdom of Nepal is made without whatever conditions attached thereto and no technical personnel shall be despatched to Nepal in connection with this aid. The Government of the Kingdom of Nepal shall have

entire freedom in utilizing the above-mentioned money and goods and the Government of the People's Republic of China shall not interfere.

### *Article 3*

The organs to carry out this Agreement shall be the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the People's Republic of China for the People's Republic of China and the Ministry of Planning and Development of the Kingdom of Nepal for the Kingdom of Nepal.

### *Article 4*

This Agreement shall become effective from the date of its signature.

Done and signed in Peking, on the 7th day of October 1956, in two copies, each in the Chinese, Nepalese and English languages, all texts being equally authentic.

## **266 China-Nepal joint communique, 29 January 1957**

At the invitation of Tanka Prasad Acharya, Prime Minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal, Chou En-lai, Premier of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Kathmandu on January 25, 1957 on a friendly visit.

During Premier Chou En-lai's friendly goodwill visit in Nepal, the two Premiers held talks in an extremely harmonious atmosphere. In the spirit of the intimate and friendly talks which they had held in Peking, the two Premiers recalled and reaffirmed the traditional friendship which has existed between the two countries since time immemorial. They affirmed that ever since China and Nepal established diplomatic relations and concluded an agreement for the maintenance of friendship, the close and friendly relations between the two countries have steadily grown and they expressed satisfaction over this.

The two Premiers held that their exchange of visits had also proved to be beneficial to the further growth of friendship between China and Nepal. They regarded such visits and the cultural and economic exchange between the two countries as capable of immensely strengthening the bonds of friendship between them.

The two Premiers expressed interest in the all-round development of their two countries and held that world peace was very necessary for the progress and prosperity of China, Nepal, and other countries of Asia, Africa and the world.

The Premiers reiterated their support for the Bandung principles and expressed satisfaction over the broad support and acceptance by many countries in Asia and Africa and the world of the five principles of peaceful co-existence (the Panch Shila) jointly initiated by China and India.

The Premiers agreed that Asian-African solidarity was of tremendous significance to the safeguarding of world peace. To complete this tremendous task, the Asian and African countries should rise above the minor differences between them. Despite their different political systems the Asian and African countries shared the great aims of defending their own national independence and freedom, constructing their own countries and promoting the welfare of their own people. The Premiers regarded this unanimity of purposes as providing a basis for their solidarity. They further pointed out that the unity among countries which they had in mind was not confined to the Asian and African countries but also formed a basis for the real unity among all peace-loving countries in the world.

The Premiers agreed that all countries in the world would eventually come to realise the great importance of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, and that humanitarianism of mankind would finally gain the upper hand over and defeat arrogance based on strength arising from the possession of large-scale destructive lethal weapons.

The Premiers were very glad to have the present opportunity of meeting each other and were deeply moved by the friendly feelings between the peoples of the two countries. They considered this as a real basis for further development of Sino-Nepalese friendship.

### **267 *To Kung-Pao* commentary on King Mahendra's visit to the Soviet Union, June 1958 (Extracts)**

The development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Nepal has proved that only by upholding the Principles of peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation can

friendly relations between the peoples of all countries be established and extended irrespective of differences in their political system. . . .

Nepal's increasingly friendly co-operation in recent years with the Soviet Union, China, India and other peace-loving countries has created favourable conditions for it to complete its first five year plan. As the joint communique indicates, the Soviet Union has agreed to give economic assistance to Nepal. The disinterested spirit in which the Soviet Union helps the Asian and African countries is well known. Now the Nepalese people too will benefit from Soviet economic aid.

As a country with fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and a friendly neighbour of Nepal, China is happy to see the strengthening and development of friendly co-operation between the two countries. We attach great importance to their reaffirmation of support for restoration of the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations and their conviction that international tension must be relaxed.

**268 Statement by Nepalese Premier B. P. Koirala at a press conference, 11 August 1959 (Extracts)**

B. P. Koirala said that Nepal could no longer afford to ignore the defence of her 500-mile-long northern border.

Before the situation changed in Tibet [evidently referring to the changes brought about by the advent of the Chinese there], he said, the northern border did not pose any problem "even from the defence point of view." "Tibet paid us a tribute and we enjoyed extra-territorial concessions there. Historically speaking, we had some suzerainty over Tibet."

He declared: "We have now to look after two frontiers".

He added that the defence of the north would cost more than that of the southern frontier with India. The army personnel had to be paid special high-altitude allowance and they had to be specially equipped to withstand the rigours of the climate at high altitudes.

**269 Statement by Nepalese representative Rishikesh Shaha in the UN General Assembly on the question of representation of China in the UN, 21 September 1959 (Extracts)**

This is not the question of the admission of a new Member State. China is a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, having the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Charter clearly states in Article 3 that the Members of the United Nations shall be States, thereby making it quite obvious that membership in the United Nations has nothing to do with any particular Government which might have been in authority at any particular time. My contention is that only a Government that has effective control in the territory of a State can represent it in the world body. From all evidence it has become clear that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the only Government whose sway extends over the entire Chinese mainland.

The other argument against the inclusion of the item of the representation of China is sometimes based on the words "peace-loving States" in Article 4 of the Charter. It has often been argued that the Government of the People's Republic of China is not peace-loving and hence should be disqualified from membership in the United Nations. We firmly hold the view that the internal form and structure of government and its policies are not relevant to the purpose of the representation of a particular State in the United Nations. Have not so many aggressor nations of yesterday already become the respected members of the United Nations? Are there not among Member States, some whose internal systems of government show, in effect, scant regard for fundamental human rights and the dignity of the individual? The view that the Government that exercises effective government within the territory of the State should not be excluded from this Organization is shared by many other Members of this Organization. The representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will not only carry it a big step forward towards its goal of universality but will enable the United Nations to deal more effectively with so many international problems that seem to threaten the peace of the world. In our opinion, the more the United Nations reflects

the real situation in the world outside, the more effective it becomes as an instrument for conciliating and resolving differences between nations.

Of the eighty-two Member States of the United Nations, as many as thirty-three recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China, and many more have started trade and cultural relations with that country. I mention this only to show how the prestige of this Organization will be undermined if year after year moratorium resolutions are passed here merely with a view to avoiding a discussion of this question. . .

The United Nations cannot achieve a lasting and peaceful settlement in the Far East and Southeast Asia without the participation of the People's Republic of China in it. . .

Disarmament is the primary function of the United Nations. The success or failure of the Organization depends largely on the extent of the progress made in the field of disarmament. The Geneva talks which began more than ten months ago gave us reason to hope for an early and effective cessation of nuclear tests. However, it is only too apparent that no effective solutions of problems related to disarmament can be achieved without the co-operation and participation of China. . . .

The passage of moratorium resolutions on an important question such as this will merely serve to aggravate the world situation which is already tense for some nations in Southeast Asia.

The question we are dealing with at the moment is not the question of accepting or rejecting a procedural amendment. The question is one of excluding from or bringing under the beneficent and efficacious influence of the activities of the United Nations 640 million people of China. Apart from the moral and humanitarian considerations involved, the question has attained dimensions which are of great consequence to the people of the world. I beg to submit that the sooner we face the consequences of public debate in such a vital matter as this the better it will be for all concerned. With this purpose in mind. I urge the adoption of our amendments by the General Assembly. . . .

**270 Statement by Nepalese representative S.P. Upadhyaya in the UN General Assembly on the question of Tibet, 20 October 1959 (Extract)**

It is perhaps not necessary for me to stress that the Question of Tibet is a question that is intimately connected with the question of China's representation in the United Nations. The Question of Tibet is being pressed for debate against a certain background of events that have occurred there during the last nine or ten months. The Dalai Lama has left Tibet and gone to India and received political asylum there. There has been an influx of Tibetan refugees into India and Nepal. For example, about a thousand refugees have come into Nepal from across the Tibetan border. These are the events that lie in the background of this question of Tibet. It is the Government of the People's Republic of China that is believed to be responsible for these events, but that Government still remains unrepresented in the United Nations.

It is true that many questions or issues have been brought before the United Nations which are claimed by interested Member States to be internal. The United Nations has actively taken up many such questions, such as race relations in South Africa and the anti colonial struggle in Algeria. But in all these cases the interested States have always been represented in the United Nations. I venture to submit that the question of Tibet is the only question that has been brought before the United Nations without the interested State, namely the People's Republic of China, being represented. In our opinion, this kind of attitude is against the spirit of the United Nations Charter, the overriding objective of which is to ensure fair play and justice to small and big nations alike. We wonder what useful purpose has been served by bringing the question of Tibet before the United Nations when China itself is not represented here.

Then there is another aspect of the problem. There are many Member countries which have recognized China and which have also recognized the special kind of relationship that exists between China and Tibet today. So far as Nepal is concerned, there is a definite agreement between Nepal and China defining clearly our relations with China, including the matters connect-



ed with Tibet. There are many other countries which have somewhat similar agreements or understandings. Such countries are by no means confined to the communist bloc, even to Asia alone.

Both the memorandum that accompanied the request for inscription (A/L 234) and the draft resolution (A/L 264) that is before us, while claiming that there has been in Tibet a hindrance to the traditional cultural and religious way of life, speak merely of Tibetan autonomy, which indicates clearly that even the sponsors of the item recognize China's suzerainty over Tibet. Even Mr. Tsiang appears to hold the same view.

The question of human rights and their suppression has been raised many times by many countries in the General Assembly, as well as in the General Committee. If we speak of human rights and their suppression in Tibet, we should first try to find out what human rights the Tibetan people have enjoyed through the centuries and which of these human rights have been denied to the people of Tibet today. It is only after we have studied and examined these matters carefully that we can look at the question of Tibet in proper perspective. Even Tibet has to be viewed in the context of the new, changing, revolutionary Asia. In the tremendous transformation through which Asia is passing now, traditional patterns of life, the tampering with which the memorandum deplures, will have to be substantially modified, and we believe that Tibet will be no exception to this.

Therefore, in Asia today a call for a reversion to the traditional way of life may amount practically to a call for the maintenance of the social *status quo*, when this *status quo* is no longer desirable and can no longer be maintained. Therefore, while we still value the traditional way of life in every country, in so far as it does not stand in the way of political, economic and spiritual progress, we are not inclined to accept tradition as an end in itself, as a sacred, absolute thing which should never be molested.

For these and many other reasons, we believe that no useful purpose has been served by bringing the Question of Tibet before the United Nations. In these circumstances, we could not support and vote for the inscription of the item on the agenda, and I am afraid that we will not vote for the draft resolution, and for the very same reasons. Moreover, we believe that at a time

when the main efforts of the responsible statesmen of the east and west have been directed toward relaxation of tension and thawing of the cold war, the inscription of the item and the consequences that have followed from the inscription have worked in the direction of the defeating of that very purpose. The stand of my delegation on this question has been guided by the consideration I have set forth.

## **271 China-Nepal joint communique on Nepalese Premier**

**B. P. Koirala's visit to China, 21 March 1960 (Extract)**

During the talks, the two sides held frank and free discussions on matters of common interest, in particular the question of consolidating and further developing friendly relations between China and Nepal.

The two sides pointed out with satisfaction that China and Nepal, in their mutual relations, had consistently and faithfully adhered to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In order to ensure tranquility on the border of the two countries and bring about the formal delimitation of the boundary between China and Nepal as soon as possible, the Governments of the two countries signed the "Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty's Government of Nepal on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries." Under the guidance of the Five Principles, the two sides settled smoothly through friendly consultations this question inherited from history, thus adding a new page to the annals of friendly relations between the two countries.

Out of its profound desire to maintain lasting peace and close friendship between the two countries, the Chinese Government proposed that the two countries conclude a treaty of peace and friendship. Prime Minister Koirala appreciated this proposal of the Chinese Government.

In order to further strengthen the economic co-operation between the two countries so as to promote the prosperity of the two countries and the well-being of their peoples; the Governments of the two countries, in accordance with the principles of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit, signed the "Agreement

Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty's Government of Nepal on Economic Aid." According to this Agreement, the Chinese Government, at the request of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, agreed to give the latter, within a period of three years, a free grant of aid of a total value of 100,000,000 (one hundred million) Indian Rupees, without any political conditions attached. This aid does not include the remaining 40,000,000 (forty million) Indian Rupees, provided under the Agreement Between China and Nepal on Economic Aid of 1956, which has not yet been used by His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

Prime Minister Koirala brought to the Chinese people the profound friendship of the Nepalese people; at the same time, he also saw during his visit the sincere friendship the Chinese people cherished for the Nepalese people. To further strengthen the ties and co-operation between the two countries, the two Governments agreed to establish embassies mutually in Peking and Kathmandu. The two sides confirmed that the continuous development of friendly co-operation between China and Nepal was not only in the interest of the peoples of the two countries, but also in the interest of the solidarity of Asian countries and world peace.

Prime Minister Koirala invited Premier Chou En-lai to visit Nepal. Premier Chou En-lai accepted the invitation with pleasure. The two sides agreed that they would discuss and sign the treaty of peace and friendship between the two countries during Premier Chou En-lai's visit in Nepal.

### **272 China-Nepal boundary agreement, 21 March 1960**

The Government of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty's Government of Nepal have noted with satisfaction that the two countries have always respected the existing traditional customary boundary line and lived in amity. With a view to bringing about the formal settlement of some existing discrepancies in the boundary line between the two countries and the scientific delineation and formal demarcation of the whole boundary line, and to consolidating and further developing friendly relations between the two countries, the two Governments have decided to conclude the present Agreement

under the guidance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and have agreed upon the following:

*Article I*

The Contracting Parties have agreed that the entire boundary between the two countries shall be scientifically delineated and formally demarcated through friendly consultations, on the basis of the existing traditional customary line.

*Article II*

In order to determine the specific alignment of the boundary line and to enable the fixing of the boundary between the two countries in legal form, the Contracting Parties have decided to set up a joint committee composed of an equal number of delegates from each side and enjoin the committee, in accordance with the provisions of Article III of the present Agreement, to discuss and solve the concrete problems concerning the Sino-Nepalese boundary, conduct survey of the boundary, erect boundary markers, and draft a Sino-Nepalese boundary treaty. The joint committee will hold its meetings in the capitals or other places of China and Nepal.

*Article III*

Having studied the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries as shown on the maps mutually exchanged (for the map submitted by the Chinese side, see attached Map 1; for the map submitted by the Nepalese side, see attached Map 2)<sup>1</sup> and the information furnished by each side about its actual jurisdiction over the area bordering on the other country, the Contracting Parties deem that, except for discrepancies in certain sections, their understanding of the traditional customary line is basically the same. The Contracting Parties have decided to determine concretely the boundary between the two countries in the following ways in accordance with three different cases:

1. Sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is identical.

<sup>1</sup>The maps are not included in this book.

In these sections the boundary line shall be fixed according to the identical delineation on the maps of the two sides. The joint committee will send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to conduct survey on the spot and erect boundary markers.

After the boundary line in these sections is fixed in accordance with the provisions of the above paragraph, the territory north of the line will conclusively belong to China, while the territory south of the line will conclusively belong to Nepal, and neither Contracting Party will any longer lay claim to certain areas within the territory of the other Party.

2. Sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is not identical, whereas the state of actual jurisdiction by each side is undisputed.

The joint committee will send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to conduct survey on the spot, determine the boundary line and erect boundary markers in these sections in accordance with concrete terrain features (watersheds, valleys, passes, etc.) and the actual jurisdiction by each side.

3. Sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is not identical and the two sides differ in their understanding of the state of actual jurisdiction.

The joint committee will send out joint teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to ascertain on the spot the state of actual jurisdiction in these sections, make adjustments in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, friendship and mutual accommodation, determine the boundary line and erect boundary markers in these sections.

#### *Article IV*

The Contracting Parties have decided that, in order to ensure tranquillity and friendliness on the border, each side will no longer dispatch armed personnel to patrol the area on its side within twenty kilometres of the border, but only maintain its administrative personnel and civil police there.

*Article V*

The present Agreement is subject to ratification and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Kathmandu as soon as possible.

The present Agreement will come into force immediately on the exchange of the instruments of ratification and will automatically cease to be in force when the Sino-Nepalese boundary treaty to be signed by the two Governments comes into force.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the twenty-first day of March, 1960, in the Chinese, Nepalese and English languages, all texts being equally authentic.

Signed  
CHOU EN-LAI

Signed  
B. P. KOIRALA

**273 China-Nepal economic aid agreement, 21 March 1960**

The Government of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty's Government of Nepal, for the purpose of further promoting the friendly relations and of strengthening the economic and technical co-operation between the two countries have, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, concluded the present Agreement, the articles of which are as follows:

*Article I*

With a view to helping His Majesty's Government of Nepal to develop its economy, the Government of the People's Republic of China is willing to give His Majesty's Government of Nepal, within a period of three years as from the date of coming into force of the present Agreement, a free grant of economic aid without any conditions or privileges attached. The amount of the aid is 100,000,000 (one hundred million) Indian Rupees. This amount, together with the remaining 40,000,000 (forty million) Indian Rupees, provided under the Agreement Between China and Nepal on Economic Aid of 1956, which has not yet been used by His Majesty's Government of Nepal, making a total of 140,000,000 (one

hundred and forty million) Indian Rupees, shall be utilized by instalments during the period of validity of the present Agreement by His Majesty's Government of Nepal in accordance with the items of economic aid to be agreed upon by both sides.

### *Article II*

The economic aid to be given by the Government of the People's Republic of China to His Majesty's Government of Nepal shall cover equipment, machinery and materials, technique and other commodities.

### *Article III*

According to the requirement of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Government of the People's Republic of China is willing to supply, on the basis of the principles of economy and usefulness, equipment, machinery and materials and designs relating to the items of aid, in order to help develop the economy of the Kingdom of Nepal.

### *Article IV*

At the request of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Government of the People's Republic of China agrees to dispatch a necessary number of experts and technicians to help the Kingdom of Nepal in the construction of the items of aid to be specified under the present Agreement. The travelling expenses of the Chinese experts and technicians to the Kingdom of Nepal and back to China and their salaries during their period of work in the Kingdom of Nepal shall be borne by the Government of the People's Republic of China; the living expenses of the Chinese experts and technicians during their period of work in the Kingdom of Nepal shall be paid from the amount of the aid, with their standard of living not exceeding that of personnel of the same level in the Kingdom of Nepal.

At the request of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Government of the People's Republic of China agrees to accept trainees dispatched by His Majesty's Government of Nepal to learn technical skill in China. The expenses of the trainees shall be paid from the amount of the aid.

*Article V*

The items of aid to be given by the Government of the People's Republic of China to His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the methods of their implementation, in accordance with Article II of the present Agreement, shall be discussed and decided upon separately in a protocol to be concluded by the representatives to be appointed by the two Governments.

*Article VI*

The organs to carry out the present Agreement shall be the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the People's Republic of China for the People's Republic of China, and the Ministry of Finance of His Majesty's Government of Nepal for Nepal.

*Article VII*

The present Agreement will come into force on the date of its signing and remain in force for a period of three years. At the expiry of the present Agreement, if the amount of the aid is not yet used up, the period of validity of the present Agreement may be extended by agreement of the two Governments.<sup>1</sup>

Done in duplicate in Peking on the twenty-first day of March, 1960, in the Chinese, Nepalese and English languages, all texts being equally authentic.

Signed  
CHOU EN-LAI

Signed  
B. P. KOIRALA

**274 B.P. Koirala's statement at a press conference in Kathmandu,  
4 April 1960 (Extracts)**

China had claimed that Mount Everest belonged to her, but Nepal had refused to entertain the claim. . . .

There had been some minor border disputes, but the claim on Everest was a new one and was made during his recent visit to Peking. Since Mr. Koirala had summarily rejected it, there was no discussion on it at that time. The extent of the claim is

<sup>1</sup>The validity of the Agreement was extended till 1968 as the aid could not be utilized within the stipulated period.



not known.

Mr. Koirala said that the Chinese claim might be discussed during Mr. Chou-En-lai's visit to Kathmandu beginning on April 26.

He hoped that this claim as also other border disputes would be amicably settled through the machinery devised by the two Premiers in their recent Border Agreement for the delineation of the 500 mile-long border.

He said: "The Chinese said that Everest is a British name, and that there is no word for it in Nepalese though Tibetan name, Chomolungma, has existed since long. I said the Nepalese name for it was Sagarmatha. The Chinese thought it was of recent origin".

He said that he regarded his visit to Peking as "fully successful."

He thought that the chances of a settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute had brightened mainly because of "the impact of international opinion in the last few months". He had not discussed the Sino-Indian border dispute with anyone in China.

Discussions on the proposed Treaty of Peace and Friendship with China would be continued during Mr. Chou En-lai's visit on April 26,

Asked about his attitude to a Non-aggression Pact with China, he said, he was not hostile to any measure calculated to ensure peace and friendship, but he thought that such a Pact in itself was no guarantee of security. "I do not envisage any threat to Nepal from China but if Nepal is ever threatened from any quarter, what will save her is the fact that she will not be alone—rather than any Non-aggression Pact." In recent history, Non-aggression Pacts had been freely trampled upon.

In reply to another question, he derided any suggestion that his visit to China could have created any gulf between Nepal and India.

Referring to a Non-aggression Pact, he said that any aggression against Nepal would touch off a world war and in the event of aggression from China, Nepal would not be alone. In the present-day world, no nation, big or small, "can easily commit aggression." If it did, "the world mechanism" would be set in motion just as it did when British took military action against

Egypt in 1956. . . .

He said that the Agreement with China to demilitarize 20 kilometres on either side of the frontier was a definite gain to Nepal.

A correspondent asked if it was really "wise" to contract this agreement in view of the several administrative requirements like emergencies, and he replied that although no written provisions were there, in the event of internal emergencies Nepal could send armed personnel to border areas. The Agreement applied to normal conditions.

The Border Demilitarization Agreement had been entered into with China with the object of avoiding any panic in the area. Nepal could exercise her jurisdiction even in the face of this Agreement. Moreover, he did not fear any internal emergency in the frontier area.

About the Boundary Commission proposed under the Agreement, he said that its agreed decisions would be final. There would be a one-man Commission which, in its turn, would set up several committees entrusted with specific jobs.

Asked if he was prepared to publish the Nepalese frontier maps which he presented to the Chinese Prime Minister, he said it would not be in the public interest to do so. . . .

**275 Chou En-lai's speech at a reception hosted by the Nepalese Chamber of Commerce (Lhasa), Kathmandu, 26 April 1960 (Extracts)**

China and Nepal had cultural and commercial intercourse since ancient times and now the economic and trade intercourse between the two countries should undergo ever greater development not only between Nepal and the Tibet region of China but on a still greater scale. Though there lay high mountains between the two countries, particularly between Nepal and the Tibet region of China. . . . We hope that there are yet possibilities to establish direct traffic contact.

**276 Chou En-lai's speech in the Nepalese Parliament, 28 April 1960 (Extracts)**

China and Nepal are two ancient and yet young countries.

There exists between our two peoples a profound traditional friendship of long standing. Since the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, we have not only restored our once interrupted friendly ties, but, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, founded new good neighbourly relations. During the past several years, our two countries have consistently adhered to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and unremittingly upheld our friendship. Recently, as a result of the signing of the Sino-Nepalese Agreement on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries and the Sino-Nepalese Agreement on Economic Aid, our relations of friendly co-operation have entered a new stage. It is certainly no exaggeration when we say that thanks to the joint efforts of our two Governments and peoples, we have in our relations set an example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Both China and Nepal are faced with the arduous task of building up their own countries. We deeply realize that for us Asian and African countries, only when we have become independent economically, can we enrich the content of our political independence and provide a complete guarantee for our independence. Up till now, both our countries are still backward economically and lack experience in construction. This objective reality determines that it is necessary for us to help each other and strengthen our co-operation in economic construction. . . .

His Majesty's Government of Nepal has repeatedly stated that it is determined to pursue an independent policy of neutrality, not to join any military bloc, and to carry out firmly the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Chinese Government and people warmly welcome and fully support this policy of His Majesty's Government of Nepal. This policy is not only in the interests of Nepal's peaceful development and the smooth implementation of its Five-Year Plan for Economic Construction, but also in the interest of the noble cause of preserving the solidarity of Asian countries and consolidating world peace. The Chinese Government and people are willing to strengthen further solidarity with His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Nepalese people in continuing to make concerted efforts for safeguarding world peace and pro-

moting the solidarity and friendly co-operation among Asian and African countries.

**277 Chou En-lai answers questions by correspondents at a press conference in Kathmandu, 28 April 1960 (Extracts)**

*Question* (Kishore Raman Rana, chief editor of the Nepalese paper *Kalpana*): Has Your Excellency discussed Sagar Matha [name in Nepalese language] in your talks with Prime Minister Koirala? Has China laid claim to the mountain?

*Answer*: We have never laid any territorial claim to Mount Jolmo Lungma [name in Tibetan language] or Sagar Matha ever since the question was raised during the talks in Peking. During the talks in Peking the two parties just exchanged maps. The delineation on the maps of the two countries are different. The Chinese maps which were drawn on the basis of the Chinese historical situation show the mountain within Chinese territory, while the Nepalese maps which were drawn on the basis of the Nepalese historical situation show the mountain on the boundary line between the two countries. At that time, Prime Minister Koirala made the point that Nepal had always regarded this peak as Nepal's. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, when he received Prime Minister Koirala, expressed the view that we could follow the Nepalese delineation which shows the mountain on the boundary line, that is to say, with the northern half of the peak belonging to China and the southern half of the peak belonging to Nepal. Since Chairman Mao Tse-tung's talk with Prime Minister Koirala, our Government has all along maintained this attitude.

On my present visit to Nepal, I held talks with Prime Minister Koirala to seek a friendly solution. Prime Minister Koirala told us that historically anyone who climbed Mt. Jolmo Lungma from the south had to secure a visa from His Majesty's Government of Nepal while anyone who climbed the mountain from the north had to secure a visa from the Chinese Government. This is a fact, and we agreed to what he said. At the time, we expressed acceptance of the delineation on Nepalese maps, namely, to draw Mt. Jolmo Lungma on the boundary line. I discovered during my stay in India that the latest Indian maps likewise follow this delineation, making the so-called

“Mt. Everest” [name in English language] north of the boundary line and the elevation of the peak south of the boundary line. I also discovered that maps of the other foreign countries all follow this delineation. However, I would like to tell you that we do not like the name “Everest” as it was imposed on the mountain by Britain.

*Question* (Kishore Raman Rana): One of the six points put forth by Your Excellency Mr. Prime Minister in the written statement you issued to pressmen in India was that the feelings of the Chinese and Indian peoples for the Himalayas should be taken into account. What does that mean specifically? For Sagar Matha stands on the China-Nepal boundary line.

*Answer:* My written statement issued in India dealt exclusively with Sino-Indian relations and did not refer to other aspects. As a matter of fact, I referred to a much broader scope in my talks with Prime Minister Nehru and with the pressmen. Prime Minister Nehru said that the Indian people had feelings towards the Himalayas. I said in reply that this was true not only of the Indian people, the Chinese people also had feelings for the Himalayas, and the peoples of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim all had feelings for the Himalayas, too. . . .

*Question* (Ramesh Nath Pandey, correspondent of *Janata*, *Commoner* and *Nepal Times*): In 1956 China and Nepal already signed a treaty on the basis of the Five Principles, and now they are going to sign a new one. Does this mean that the previous treaty is no longer valid?

*Answer:* In 1956 China and Nepal only concluded an agreement on trade and intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal. It has not become outdated but will continue to play its part. The treaty of peace and friendship to be signed now is a political treaty of a broader scope between the two countries. It will bring the relations of friendly co-operation between China and Nepal to a new phase.

*Question* (Don Connery, correspondent of the U.S. periodicals *Time* and *Life* in Delhi): Concerning the question of Mt. Everest, have you taken a decision in the present talks? What you said just now implies that it should be evenly divided between China and Nepal. Does Nepal agree to this?

*Answer:* There is no question of dividing. We shall continue to conduct friendly consultations. The mountain links up our two

countries, and will not separate our two countries as you imply.

*Question* (Don Connery): I am asking how your talks are going.

*Answer:* We will continue our discussions. If peaceful coexistence is desired among nations, negotiations must be conducted to settle questions between them.

*Question* (S. de Roy, P.T.I. correspondent in Kathmandu): You said that China is prepared to accept the Nepalese map. What is the attitude taken by Prime Minister Koirala? . . .

*Answer:* My answer to you is that we can accept the location of Mt. Jolmo Lungma as drawn on Nepalese maps. You know that the delineation on Indian maps is also the same.

*Question* (A.T. Chandramohan of *Indian Express* in Kathmandu): Is there no contradiction in your statement? You said earlier that you accept the Nepalese map but now you say negotiations will continue.

*Answer:* As far as I am concerned, there is no contradiction. As to why there still should be negotiations, that is a matter of diplomatic relations between the two countries which I am not prepared to disclose. Prime Minister Koirala will answer you day after tomorrow.

*Question* (P. Chakravarti of the *Hindustan Times*): In the Sino-Nepalese boundary agreement, there is a clause which says that disputed questions will be referred to the joint committee. Will Mt. Everest be referred to that committee?

*Answer:* No, my Indian friend. You cannot find any loophole on this question.

*Question* (Ramesh Nath Pandey): What do you mean when you said at the state banquet that for the past several thousand years the boundary between Nepal and China has never been formally surveyed and demarcated?

*Answer:* That is precisely what the agreement says, our boundary needs to be scientifically delineated and demarcated. Actually, there is not much discrepancy between the delineations of the boundary by the two countries. I believe that a satisfactory solution will be certainly arrived at through discussions in the joint committee of the two countries. If you are interested, you can go along to watch the work of demarcating the boundary. . . .

*Question* (Henry Bradsher of A.P. in New Delhi) : Could you tell us approximately the total number of square miles of discrepancy which are involved in the Nepalese and Chinese maps?

*Answer*: Very small. It is very difficult for me to tell you exactly now. Nepal is friendly with China and there is not much actual discrepancy between the two parties. If Nepal lays claim to these areas, China could give it consideration. You can not find any loophole here.

*Question* (S. de Roy): When you referred to Nepalese maps, do you mean maps drawn by Nepal or presented by Nepal?

*Answer*: Presented by Nepal.

*Question* (A. T. Chandramohan): How will the Sino-Nepalese boundary be specifically delineated?

*Answer*: This question is easy to settle because it is basically a question of delineating scientifically and demarcating the boundary.

*Question* (P. Chakravarti): Do you mean that China is not opposed to turning over to Nepal those areas in which there is a discrepancy between the Chinese and Nepalese maps?

*Answer*: I said that consideration could be given to it. For the divergences are on the maps and not necessarily divergences in actuality. Moreover, actual divergences are very small and easy to settle.

*Question* (P. Chakravarti): Does this mean that China is prepared to accept the delineation on Nepalese maps?

*Answer*: Since there are no latitude and longitude, so surveys must be done before the boundary line can be delineated.

*Question* (Jim Robinson of N.B.C.): It is reported that there is a section of the boundary between China and the Soviet Union which is also not delimited. Is this true?

*Answer*: There is a very small discrepancy on maps and it is very easy to settle. This gentleman doesn't have to worry. . . .

### **278 China-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 28 April 1960**

The Chairman of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Nepal, desiring to maintain and further develop peace and friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal,

Convinced that the strengthening of good-neighbourly

relations and friendly cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal is in accordance with the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries and conducive to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world,

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty in accordance with the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence jointly affirmed by the two countries, and have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries:

The Chairman of the People's Republic of China: Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council,

His Majesty the King of Nepal: Prime Minister Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala.

The above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries, having examined each other's credentials and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

#### *Article I*

The Contracting Parties recognize and respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other.

#### *Article II*

The Contracting Parties will maintain and develop peaceful and friendly relations between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal. They undertake to settle all disputes between them by means of peaceful negotiation.

#### *Article III*

The Contracting Parties agree to develop and further strengthen the economic and cultural ties between the two countries in a spirit of friendship and cooperation, in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

#### *Article IV*

Any difference or dispute arising out of the interpretation or application of the present Treaty shall be settled by negotiation through normal diplomatic channels.



*Article V*

This present Treaty is subject to ratification and the instruments of ratification will be exchanged in Peking as soon as possible.

The present Treaty will come into force immediately on the exchange of the instruments of ratification and will remain in force for a period of ten years.

Unless either of the Contracting Parties gives to the other notice in writing to terminate the Treaty at least one year before the expiration of this period, it will remain in force without any specified time limit, subject to the right of either of the Contracting Parties to terminate it by giving to the other in writing a year's notice of its intention to do so.

Done in duplicate in Kathmandu on the twenty-eighth day of April 1960, in the Chinese, Nepali and English languages, all texts being equally authentic.

**279 China-Nepal joint communique on Chou En-lai's visit to Nepal, 29 April 1960**

Through friendly consultations, the two parties obtained further results in developing friendly relations between the two countries. They signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal and exchanged instruments of ratification of the Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty's Government of Nepal on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries.

The Chinese Premier and the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Nepal pointed out with satisfaction that the visit not long ago by His Excellency Prime Minister B. P. Koirala to China and the present visit by Premier Chou En-lai to the Kingdom of Nepal served to further enhance the mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples. The treaty and agreements signed between the two sides during their mutual visits marked the entrance of Sino-Nepalese friendly relations into a new phase.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Asian-African Conference, the Chinese Premier and the Prime Minister

of the Kingdom of Nepal noted with pleasure that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung' spirit were playing a more and more important role in guiding the relations among nations. The two parties agreed that continued development of these principles and spirit would have an important bearing on the promotion of solidarity of Asian and African countries and the defence of peace in Asia and the world. The two parties also availed themselves of this happy occasion to further express their conviction that in order to build up a better atmosphere for mutual co-operation in the world, all outstanding issues between nations should be settled through peaceful negotiations and all nations must refrain from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other's country.

The Chinese Premier and the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Nepal expressed deep sympathy for the struggles of the Asian, African and other peoples against colonialism and for winning and safeguarding national independence, and pledged firm support to the South African people in their just struggle against racial discrimination. The two parties welcomed the forthcoming conference of government heads of the big powers and expressed the hope that agreement will be reached speedily by countries concerned on general disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons, so as to promote a further relaxation of the international situation.

**280 "New examples of peaceful coexistence," editorial in *People's Daily*, 30 April 1960 (Extracts)**

The agreements on the boundary question between China and Nepal and between China and Burma show that it is necessary and entirely possible to achieve a reasonable solution to complicated boundary questions left over by history. As a result of imperialist aggression in the past, there do exist some boundary questions between China and its southwest neighbours. The attitude adopted towards the settlement of the boundary question is a test of whether or not the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are adhered to. There can be two different attitudes. One is not for friendly consultation, the attitude of

imposing a unilateral, unfair and unreasonable stand on the other side and even arrogantly resorting to slander and defamation to exert pressure on the other side. This attitude obviously violates the Five Principles and cannot of course achieve a reasonable solution to the boundary question. The other attitude is for friendly consultation, the attitude of achieving a fair and reasonable solution to the boundary question acceptable to both sides in accordance with the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. This is the attitude that conforms with the Five Principles. The Chinese Government has consistently taken the latter attitude. We are happy to note that the Burmese and Nepalese Governments also take the same attitude. Between China and Nepal, and between China and Burma, there is no deliberate intention to exaggerate the boundary question, still less is there any intention to use this question to impair their mutual amity.

The boundary between China and Nepal has never been surveyed and demarcated. That is why there exist between the two sides certain differences on the boundary question. This is very natural. Recognition of these differences does not impair friendly relations between the two sides. On the contrary, only by doing so can friendly consultations be held to arrive at a reasonable solution to the boundary question on a realistic basis. It was precisely by first recognizing the fact that there exist disputes between the two sides on the boundary question and on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, that China and Nepal held sincere and friendly consultations and signed the agreement on the boundary question. According to the Sino-Nepalese agreement on the boundary question, the two sides have agreed that the entire boundary between the two countries shall be scientifically delineated and formally demarcated on the basis of the existing traditional customary line; as to certain disputed sections, the two sides have agreed that they shall be adjusted in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, friendship and mutual accommodation. To ensure tranquillity and amity along the border, the two sides have agreed that neither will any longer send armed personnel to patrol the area on its side within 20 kilometres of the border. This has paved the way for a just, reasonable and overall solution to the Sino-Nepalese boundary question. . . .

The conclusion of the Sino-Nepalese and Sino-Burmese agreements on their boundary questions shows clearly that a solution can readily be found to these questions, however complicated they may be, provided both parties adopt a friendly attitude and entertain the desire to have the questions settled. As Premier Chou En-lai put it when he was in Nepal: "As long as there is firm adherence to the Five Principles and the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation which is fair to oneself and to others, a fair and reasonable settlement can be found to any question existing between us." This is applicable to the Sino-Nepalese boundary question as well as the Sino-Burmese boundary question and it should also be applicable to the boundary questions between China and other countries. The responsibility for the failure to reach an agreement providing reasonable solution to the Sino-Indian boundary question during Premier Chou En-lai's recent visit in India does not in any way rest with the Chinese side. This can be fully seen from the written statement issued by Premier Chou En-lai and his replies to questions asked by pressmen on the eve of his departure from India.

The conclusion of the Sino-Nepalese Treaty of Peace and Friendship, like the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression concluded not long ago, is a new achievement of the foreign policy of peace consistently pursued by the Chinese Government. It is also a new achievement of the policy of peace and neutrality on the part of His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Burmese Government. These two treaties of peace not only provide a fresh guarantee for friendship and cooperation between China and Nepal and between China and Burma but also make a great contribution to the cause of solidarity and co-operation among the Asian and African countries. . . .

The Sino-Nepalese Treaty of Peace and Friendship and the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression have set down the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in treaty form and have made them into something concrete. This once again testifies to the great vitality of the Five Principles and the Bandung spirit. Those who clamour that the Five Principles are "outdated" are merely trying deliberately to provoke disputes or showing themselves up as wanting to

negate the Five Principles.

The further development of China's friendly relations and co-operation with Nepal and Burma has heartened and inspired all those who cherish peace, particularly the peoples of the countries of Asia and Africa. This development, however, is hated by the imperialists and the reactionaries in various countries. The imperialists and the reactionaries in some countries have, of late, shouted themselves hoarse, slandering China with such lies as "aggression" and "expansion," in an attempt to spoil China's friendly relations with Nepal and other neighbouring countries. But their calumnies and slanders will not be able to deceive anyone. Just public opinion in many Asian countries has roundly repudiated these imperialist provocateurs.

**281 Vice-Premier Chen Yi's remarks at a reception given by the Nepal-China Friendship Association in Kathmandu, April 1960 (Extracts)**

China holds that no big nation in the world should bully other nations, big or small, and no small nation should bully big nations either. . . . Nepal pursues a friendly policy towards all countries. "For many years you have carried on valiant struggles to preserve your independence and have defeated the invaders. The Chinese people are greatly impressed by this and express their admiration for it. You have persistently adhered to the policy of peace and neutrality. Your policy is a correct one. Although yours is a small country, you are powerful."

**282 Premier B.P. Koirala's interview to Wilson, correspondent of *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 26 May 1960 (Extract)**

*Wilson:* The recent worsening of relations between India and China has brought Nepal's foreign policy very much into the limelight. Would you sum up your Government's attitude towards these two large neighbours?

*Koirala:* Nepal looks upon both India and China as her great friends, and her policy has always been directed towards promoting and strengthening her friendship with both. Nepal pursues a policy of neutrality *vis-a-vis* the controversies between the two power blocs and does not align herself with either of

them. This policy of neutrality, however, does not mean that we keep a neutral attitude and remain silent on all matters. Our policy is to express our view independently on every issue as the merit of the case demands. Active friendship and not passive neutrality is the keynote of our policy towards India and China.

*Wilson:* During Mr. Chou En-lai's recent visit to Kathmandu he remarked at a reception given by the Nepalese Chamber of Commerce in Lhasa that although high mountains lay between Nepal and the Tibet region of China, he hoped that "there were yet possibilities to establish direct traffic contact". This was taken to mean a road link, and at a subsequent press conference you seemed to give a cool reception to this proposal on economic grounds. Could you explain this?

*Koirala:* I have on various occasions explained that road building projects are undertaken with reference to the economic benefit that each project may produce. We have not yet received any proposal from China to build a road from Nepal to Tibet. Such a project will be initiated when our trade with Tibet grows to such an extent as would justify a road. The question of reacting coolly to the Chinese proposal does not arise in this context.

*Wilson:* Finally, Mr. Koirala, the world's headlines have been concerned recently with the Everest question and your northern borders. Could you sum up for us the present position of the Chinese frontier question?

*Koirala:* During my recent visit to China I have had discussions with the Chinese Premier about our northern border, and both of us were agreed that the existing traditional customary boundary will be respected by both sides as in the past. In order to give a scientific shape to our peaceful border with China, an agreement was signed during my visit to Peking and it was ratified in Kathmandu during the Chinese Premier's visit to Nepal.

This Agreement provides for the formation of a Boundary Commission consisting of members of our two Governments which will scientifically delimit and formally demarcate the existing traditional customary boundary between Nepal and China. Such scientific demarcation of our boundary in the north will further strengthen the cordial relations between our

two countries.

**283 B. P. Koirala's statement at a press conference in Kathmandu,  
28 May 1960 (Extracts)**

B.P. Koirala, told a news conference in Kathmandu. . .that the Chinese climb to the Everest<sup>1</sup> had not affected Nepal's stand on the mountain.

At the same time, he said, he did not see any ground to protest to Peking against the Chinese climbing Everest in view of the tradition established of climbing it from the north also.

There had been seven attempts from the north since 1921 and Nepal had never protested against them. A protest now would not mean anything. "It is too late now."

He revealed that he was in correspondence with the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, regarding the Everest controversy.

He, however, thought that Peking was not obliged nor was expected to inform Nepal of its expedition to Everest. He had not received any communication from Peking informing him of the Chinese success.

Nepal had not been informed of this at any stage before or now.

He reiterated Nepal's stand on Everest that it belonged to Nepal and Nepal alone. But, viewed against a long-standing tradition, the Chinese climbing to the summit of Everest without any reference to Nepal did not "limit, hinder or affect our stand with regard to Everest."

He had no information if the Chinese had planted the Nepali flag on the peak.<sup>2</sup>

**284 Statement by the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry,  
30 June 1960**

According to foreign news agency reports of June 29, an inci-

<sup>1</sup>NCNA reported on 27 May 1960 that three Chinese mountaineers had reached the summit of Mount Everest on 25 May.

<sup>2</sup>Koirala told the Nepalese Parliament on 2 June that if the Chinese had planted their flag on Everest considering it to be the highest peak of their Fatherland, he would consider protesting to Peking.

dent took place on the Sino-Nepalese border on June 28, in which Chinese troops killed and captured personnel of the Nepalese side.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese Government is deeply surprised at the news and extremely concerned over it. It has immediately instructed the authorities concerned to find out what actually happened.

Earlier, on June 26, the Chinese Government through Chinese Ambassador to India and Nepal Pan Tzu-li and the Tibet Bureau of Foreign Affairs, had notified the Nepalese Ambassador to India and China, Lieutenant General Daman Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana and Nepalese Consul General in Lhasa U. B. Basnyat respectively the following:

“A batch of rebel bandits are making harassment within our territory close on the Sino-Nepalese border. This not only affects local public security, but also hampers the implementation of the Sino-Nepalese Agreement on the Boundary Question. We have decided to send troops to suppress them so as to ensure tranquillity on the border between the two countries and so that Sino-Nepalese friendly relations will not be affected thereby. In the course of the suppression, our troops will strictly confine their operations within our territory and will in no case go beyond our own territory. Our side would not cross the border to pursue the rebel bandits if they should flee into Nepalese territory. When the suppression comes to an end, our troops sent for the purpose will at once withdraw from the areas within twenty kilometres on the Chinese side of the boundary. Strictly observing the stipulations of the Sino-Nepalese Boundary Agreement, our side will neither station troops nor send armed personnel for patrol in these areas.”

The Nepalese Government announced on June 28 that it had received the above notification from the Chinese Government.

On learning reports about the occurrence of an unexpected incident at the Sino-Nepalese border, instructions were at once cabled by the Chinese Government at four O'clock in the morning of June 30 to our Ambassador to India and Nepal Pan Tzu-li and the Tibet Bureau of Foreign Affairs that they respectively convey to Nepalese Ambassador to India and

<sup>1</sup>According to a Nepalese Foreign Office statement, 17 of the Nepal's civil personnel had been missing after the Chinese raid on Mustang which an official spokesman described as “unprovoked.”



China Lieutenant General Rana and Nepalese Consul General in Lhasa U. B. Basnyat the following:

The Chinese Government was greatly concerned over this report and had immediately inquired local authorities about what actually happened and would inform the Nepalese Government as soon as a report is received.

At ten O'clock on June 30, Premier Chou En-lai received a message from Nepalese Prime Minister B. P. Koirala which was forwarded to him through Ambassador Pan Tzu-li by Nara Pratap Thapa, Foreign Secretary of the Nepalese Government. In the message, Prime Minister Koirala lodged a protest against the reported killing and capturing of Nepalese personnel by Chinese armed forces at the Chinese-Nepalese border, and demanded immediate release of the captured Nepalese personnel and so on.

Premier Chou En-lai at twenty-one hours on the same day sent a reply to Prime Minister Koirala, saying that the Chinese Government was greatly concerned over this news and was inquiring local authorities about what actually happened. He also indicated that if there had actually happened an unfortunate case of Nepalese being killed as mentioned in the Nepalese Prime Minister's message, the Chinese Government would express extreme regret and if any Nepalese were indeed detained, they would of course be released speedily.

There is traditional friendship between China and Nepal. This year, through the mutual visits between the Prime Ministers of the two countries and the signing of the Sino-Nepalese Treaty of Peace and Friendship and the Sino-Nepalese Agreement on the Boundary Question, friendly relations between the two countries have entered a new stage. The Chinese Government is confident that when the truth is revealed after investigation is made of this unexpected incident on the Sino-Nepalese border, it will certainly be settled appropriately on the basis of the facts and in the spirit of friendship between the two countries. The scheme of the imperialists and foreign reactionaries to make use of this incident to spread slanders, sow discord between China and Nepal and whip up once more an anti-Chinese campaign will never succeed.

**285 Chou En-lai's letter to B.P. Koirala, 30 June 1960**

Your Excellency's letter of June 29, 1960 reached me at 10 a.m. on June 30. Before I received Your Excellency's letter, we had already learnt from foreign despatches the news that there had occurred on Sino-Nepalese border the killing of a Nepalese national by Chinese troops.

The Chinese Government is much concerned about this and has immediately contacted the local authorities for finding out the truth of this matter.

The Government of Nepal will be immediately informed as soon as a report is received.

If the unfortunate incident of the killing of a Nepalese national referred to in Your Excellency's letter is true, the Chinese Government will express its deep regret. If it has actually happened that any Nepalese nationals have been detained, they will of course be released expeditiously.

**286 Statement of Nepalese Home Minister S. P. Upadhyaya in the Nepalese Senate, 1 July 1960 (Extract)**

The Government had received a report that the Chief of Mustang had fled the territory after the Chinese attack on June 28 and that the people, in panic, were fleeing to the south.

He said that the Government had decided to strengthen the border defences as it felt that no friendship was greater than "our independence and for the sake of friendship we cannot sacrifice our independence". The firing on and killing of Nepalese and violation of Nepalese territory had been the Chinese reply to "our Friendship and Peace Treaty".

He added that Nepal had known about the Chinese military build-up on her border and near it. The Government had received reports about it from time to time and was all the time taking the necessary steps and had drawn China's attention to these reports. "Every time we did that, the Chinese assured us that the Chinese troops would never cross into Nepal and always stressed their friendship for Nepal. When the Prime Minister, Mr. B. P. Koirala, visited earlier this year, he had also talked about this build-up with Mr. Chou En-lai and the latter had given the same assurance. Then, Mr. Chou En-lai

came to Kathmandu in April, 1960, and again this issue was discussed with him, and again the same assurance was given. And so, foreign bullets were fired upon unarmed Nepalese and killed one of them”.

He refuted the propaganda that the reports of the Chinese attack had come from “Indian check-posts”.

He made it “absolutely clear once more” that there were no Indian check-posts in Nepal; all the check-posts were Nepalese and reports of the incident came from Nepalese check-posts in Nepalese code. There might be Indian technicians working on the radio-communication system at the check-posts, just as there were foreign technicians and experts in other departments of the Government of Nepal.

He warned “certain elements in the country” against acts “that might be treason”. There might be some elements in the country who would under-rate the incident but he would warn them that his Government would not tolerate such “treason”.

He declared that Nepal demanded every satisfaction and reserved the right to claim compensation, the return of the body of the Nepalese official killed and those captured by Chinese.

He said that his report was that the 17 captured Nepalese and their horses had been taken to the Brahmaputra Headquarters of the Chinese Army. The body of the Subedar (officer) killed had been dragged to the Tibetan side of the border.

### **287 Chou En-lai's letter to B. P. Koirala, 2 July 1960**

I suppose Your Excellency has received my reply message of June 30. The Chinese Government has now received a report from the frontier guards in the ARI district of China's Tibet Region on the recent incident on the Sino-Nepal border. The course of the incident was as follows:

At 16.45 hours on June 28 a unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army suppressing Tibetan rebel bandits within our territory near the Sino-Nepal boundary discovered, at about one kilometre north of the Kore Pass, a group of men with horses advancing towards it. Mistaking them for Tibetan rebel bandits, the Chinese troops fired, killing one man, and captur-

ed ten<sup>1</sup> (one of whom was wounded). It was then found that they were not Tibet's rebel bandits but were Nepalese. It can be seen from the above factual account that was an unfortunate incident resulting entirely from misunderstanding.

This incident occurred at a point north of the Kore Pass, but not in the Mustang Area. According to the maps, exchanged between the Chinese and Nepal side in March this year, the Kore Pass lies to the north of the Sino-Nepal traditional boundary line. Therefore, the place of the incident is clearly within Chinese territory, and Chinese troops have not entered territory of the Kingdom of Nepal. Nevertheless this unexpected, unfortunate incident was due to carelessness on the part of certain low ranking personnel of Chinese troops. The Chinese Government expresses deep regret at this, apologizes to His Majesty's Government of Nepal and condoles on the unfortunate death. The Chinese Government has already instructed the troops in the locality to look at once into responsibility for the incident and to escort the 10 Nepalese personnel detained and send the dead body, together with the horses of these Nepalese personnel and all the articles taken along by them to Manipuri, 150 metres south-east of the Kore Pass at 1200 hours, Peking time on July 4. It is requested that the Nepalese side will send responsible personnel there at that time to take them back. The Chinese Government is also willing to accept compensation demand made by the Nepalese side.

Your Excellency, Mr. Prime Minister, this incident is indeed unfortunate. Yet I am deeply convinced that the profound friendship between China and Nepal will by no means be affected by this unexpected incident. In view of the occurrence of this unexpected incident and in order to avoid the recurrence of misunderstanding on the Sino-Nepalese border, the Chinese Government has ordered Chinese troops in suppressing Tibet rebel bandits not to enter areas within ten kilometres on the Chinese side of the boundary.<sup>2</sup> And the Chinese troops will withdraw on the areas within 20 kilometres on the Chinese

<sup>1</sup>Other members of the 17-man Nepalese Party having fled from Mustang reported back to border outposts.

<sup>2</sup>Chou En-lai informed B. P. Koirala on 3 July that the Chinese troops engaged in suppressing Tibetan rebels along the Nepal-Tibet border "have all pulled out to beyond ten kilometres from the border line."

side of boundary as soon as the task of suppressing the bandits has concluded. Should the Tibetan rebel bandits flee into Nepalese territory during this period of time, the Chinese Government hope that the Nepalese side will send troops to disarm them. This would greatly conduce to ensuring tranquillity along the border between the two countries.

Before concluding this letter I would like to assure Your Excellency that China holds very dear its friendship with Nepal and will continue to make incessant efforts, as it did before, to maintain and develop the traditional friendly relations between our two countries.

**288 B. P. Koirala's letter to Chou En-lai, 6 July 1960**

(summary)

In his reply to Mr. Chou En-lai Mr. Koirala strongly protested against Chinese violation of the Sino-Nepal Border Agreement concluded in March 1960 and demanded that Chinese troops should immediately withdraw from the demilitarized zone.

The letter referred to Nepal Government's serious concern over the reported Chinese military build-up in the demilitarized zone in contravention of the Border Agreement, where it was clearly laid down that no armed forces would be deployed within 20 kilometres of the Nepal-Tibet frontier and that no military patrols would be undertaken.

While appreciating the tone of the letters from Mr. Chou En-lai offering apologies for the Mustang incident, the letter said that there was absolutely no justification for the Chinese entry into the demilitarized zone without prior consent.

It re-affirmed Nepal's strict adherence to the Border Agreement and asked China also to scrupulously comply with its terms.

It rejected once again China's contention that the incident of June 28 resulting in the death of one Nepali and capture of ten others, took place within Chinese territory. This, it said, happened well within Nepal territory.

**289 Chou En-lai's letter to B.P. Koirala, 12 July 1960**

Your Excellency's two messages dated July 7 have been receiv-

ed. In your message, Your Excellency made a demand for compensation to the value of Rs. 50,000 for the losses incurred by the Nepalese side in the recent incident on the Sino-Nepalese border. The Chinese Government accepts this demand, and will remit the sum to His Majesty's Government of Nepal in the immediate future.

The Chinese Government is glad to note that, because both sides have taken an attitude of friendship and understanding, this unfortunate incident has been dealt with promptly and satisfactorily, and those who by every means sought a chance to undermine friendship between our two countries have failed to attain their sinister objective.

Your Excellency has in your message once again referred to the question of the place where this unfortunate incident occurred. I would like to reiterate to Your Excellency that the Chinese Government has confirmed, through repeated investigations, including on-the-spot investigations, that the Chinese troops engaged in suppressing rebel bandits operated in Chinese territory north of the Sino-Nepalese boundary and that this unfortunate incident in fact occurred at a place about one kilometre north of the Kore Pass within Chinese territory. Now, since the matter has concluded and Chinese Government has borne its due responsibility for the incident, I believe Your Excellency will surely agree that it would be meaningless and unprofitable for the two sides to continue to argue over the place of the incident.

As regards the entry of Chinese in areas close to the Sino-Nepalese boundary to suppress Tibetan rebel bandits, it was notified to His Majesty's Government of Nepal beforehand on June 26 by the Chinese Government. In the notification, the Chinese Government specially emphasized that the Chinese troops would by no means cross the boundary to pursue the rebel bandits and that as soon as the task of suppressing them was completed, the Chinese troops would withdraw from the areas within twenty kilometres on the Chinese side of the boundary. This fully shows that the Chinese Government respects the Agreement on the Boundary Question and attaches great importance to Sino-Nepalese friendship. His Majesty's Government of Nepal announced on June 28 that it had received the above-mentioned

notification of the Chinese Government which was given rather late, only one day remove from the day the Chinese troops began their suppressing operations. His Majesty's Government of Nepal was faced with difficulties and could not in time issue orders to make necessary arrangements in the areas on the Nepalese side of the boundary. This should be deemed a shortcoming.

In messages of July 2 and 4, I informed Your Excellency that in order to avoid the recurrence of misunderstandings on the Sino-Nepalese border, the Chinese Government had ordered Chinese troops, in suppressing Tibetan rebel bandits, not to enter areas within ten kilometres on the Chinese side of the boundary. It is estimated that the work of suppressing the bandits would conclude at the end of July when all Chinese troops would be withdrawn from the areas within twenty kilometres on the Chinese side of the boundary. I note with pleasure that Your Excellency assured me in your message that armed Tibetan rebel bandits entering Nepalese territory had been and would always be dealt with according to international law. I am convinced that, with the elimination of Tibetan rebel bandits along the Sino-Nepalese border, tranquillity along the border between our two countries will be ensured and the Agreement between our two countries on the boundary question smoothly implemented.

In the course of dealing with this unfortunate incident, I have felt deeply the urgent necessity of establishing quick means of communication between our two countries and finally determining and demarcating the boundary between our two countries.

I therefore propose that our two Governments establish embassies in each other's capital at an early date and set up direct telecommunication contact between our two countries through the reciprocal installation of wireless stations. I further propose that the Sino-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee start its work at an early date so as to effect the final determination of the boundary between our two countries in accordance with the Agreement on the Boundary Question. I sincerely hope that the recent unfortunate incident will be mere episode in the relations between our two countries and soon become a thing of the past, and that the two Governments will find positive way to safeguard and strengthen friendly relations between the two countries. Your Excellency can

rest assure that every effort made by His Majesty's Government of Nepal in this regard will obtain the full co-operation of the Chinese Government.

### **290 B. P. Koirala's reply to Chou-En-lai, 24 July 1960**

It gives me much pleasure to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's letter of July 12, 1960, the contents of which have had my thorough and careful perusal.

In the first place I want to express my thanks for the promptitude of the Chinese Government in remitting a sum of Rs. 50,000 which we demanded as a token compensation for the material damages caused by the border accident (sic) in the Mustang Area. His Majesty's Government of Nepal appreciates this readiness in paying reparation as evidence of your desire to maintain and further consolidate the friendship between our two countries.

As regards the place of incident it appears that the view of our two sides are at variance. But when I consider that the Chinese Government have stated that the incident has taken place on account of the carelessness of low ranking personnel of the Chinese Army and that Chinese Government have borne their responsibility, I agree with your view that it would not serve any gainful purpose to continue arguing over the incident. I want to place on record however that nothing has given His Majesty's Government reason to change their stand that the incident took place on Nepalese territory<sup>1</sup>.

In Your Excellency's letter reference is made to the notification to His Majesty's Government of June 26th concerning the entry of Chinese troops within an area of 20 kilometres from the border.

Your Excellency has admitted as a shortcoming that the notification took place only one day before the military actions started. In this connection I would recall that immediately upon the receipt of the notification of June 26 His Majesty's

<sup>1</sup>In August 1961, after an on-the-spot investigation of the border by the joint teams sent out in April 1961 by the Sino-Nepalese Joint Boundary Commission, the Chinese conceded an area measuring 3 miles by half a mile, adjacent to Mustang thus clearly accepting the Nepalese charge that the Mustang incident took place in the Nepalese territory.



Government have expressed the view that this unilateral decision on the part of the Chinese Government amounted to the violation of the Agreement on Boundary Question. While, therefore appreciating your frank admission of the shortcoming of the Chinese Government in regard to the short notice at which the action was taken, I would also emphasize that the unilateral action has in itself been a shortcoming on the part of the Chinese Government. Your Excellency will certainly agree with me that any unilateral action from either Government is definitely against not only the words but also the spirit of the Agreement.

I have noted that the suppression work is estimated to be concluded towards the end of July and that the Chinese troops would then be immediately removed away from the 20-kilometre demilitarized zone. In this context also I would again state that in future whenever circumstances arise which would necessitate the dispatch of troops to the demilitarized zone such despatch should be made only upon obtainment of the consent of His Majesty's Government. Two countries like ours which are situated so close together and which have such deep friendship should always work together for mutual benefit.

Concerning the various friendship I would like to express my satisfaction of the progress being made towards the establishment of a Chinese Embassy in Kathmandu. Establishment of Nepalese Embassy in Peking is also being actively considered by His Majesty's Government. When we have diplomatic mission(s) in each other's capital, details, e.g., installation of telecommunication contacts could easily be worked out.

Your Excellency may have already been informed by the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi that we have approved the Chinese members of the Nepal-China Boundary Committee and also that we have suggested that the Committee could meet in Kathmandu during the first week of August. It is my earnest hope that the Committee will soon be able to formally delineate and scientifically demarcate the boundary between our two countries along the customary traditional border.

In the end I must reiterate that Nepal-China friendship is of paramount importance for the peace in Asia in the first instance and world peace in the last analysis. I would therefore assure you that His Majesty's Government would spare no effort to make our relations closer and stronger every day.

**291 Statement by the Nepalese representative Shaha in the UN General Assembly, 3 October 1960 (Extracts)**

We believe it is essential to world peace and political settlement in the Far East and South-East Asia that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China be represented here. . . .the representation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China will strengthen the United Nations to achieve some of its important purposes, such as disarmament and collective security. . . .

The exclusion of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China from participation in the work of the United Nations has not only hindered the achievement of lasting political settlements in the Far East and in South-East Asia, but has also prevented the United Nations from being effective in the performance of some of its vital functions.

Everybody seems to agree that disarmament is one of the primary functions of the United Nations, and also that there can be no agreement on disarmament without associating China with the negotiations of the agreement itself.

**292 Statement by Nepalese representative Rishikesh Shaha in the UN General Assembly, 8 October 1960 (Extracts)**

I listened very attentively to the representative of Australia. I agree with him that the question is not a question of two Chinas. I do not think that there is a place for two Chinas in the world outside, any more than there is a place for them in this house. The question is whether the China that is seated here is the China that represents the 650 millions of the people, whether the China that is represented here is obeyed by the bulk of that population.

These, as I have already said, are questions that affect the vitality and the growth and the future of the organization, and their consideration cannot be postponed except at a grave risk to the peace of the world and except at the risk of undermining the prestige of the Organization. . . .

Some representatives have tried to show that the People's Republic of China is the only country that seems to believe in force as an instrument of policy. For my part, I would not

accept that criticism, because no state in the world can be said to renounce force or violence as a part of its policy as long as it has a standing army, navy or air force.

In his intervention a little while ago, Mr. Wadsworth said that, after all, the regime in China had not been established by the method of free elections. I should like to ask all my fellow representatives: If we are to establish free elections as a criterion for the representation of a Government here, how many of us that are Members of this body would be able to fulfil that criterion? . . .

A concerted attempt has been made to establish that China's record over the past ten years has been far from peaceful. In this connection, the really unfortunate difficulties that have developed between India and China on the border question have been cited as examples of China's record of violence and misbehaviour. My country is deeply perturbed by the deterioration in the relations between India and China. But, as the representative of India, Mr. Krishna Menon, has said with really admirable and statesmanlike clarity, we should separate these two issues, namely, India's difficulties with China on the borders and similar problems, on the one hand, and the question of China's representation in the United Nations, on the other. . .

We should also remember that some twenty-nine Asian and African States, including China, have placed themselves solemnly on record, in the Final Communiqué which they issued at the end of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955, as adhering to peaceful methods for settling their problems. The political settlement of the Indo-Chinese problem, for example, came as a result of negotiations with China. Therefore, when dealing with the question of the peace-loving or violent character of China, we should take a more comprehensive view of the matter and decide the question in a really objective and constructive manner. . . .

If, we still continue to exclude this reality, this fact of China, with a quarter of the world's population and with its new dynamism of growth, I am afraid we shall only aggravate the world's problems and China's entry will be far less graceful and far less pleasing than it could be now.

**293 China-Nepal Joint Boundary Committee communique,  
26 October 1960 (Extracts)**

The Chinese-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee, established in accordance with the Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty's Government of Nepal on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries, held its first session in Kathmandu from August 12 to October 26, 1960. . . .

Sincere and friendly atmosphere prevailed throughout the session and friendly consultations were conducted between the two sides in the spirit of equality, mutual benefit, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and unanimous agreement was reached on the following questions :

- (1) Tasks and working procedure of the Joint Committee;
- (2) General arrangement for the settlement of the entire boundary question;
- (3) Agreement satisfactory to both sides was reached on the settlement of the question of ownership of those sections of the boundary as listed in Clause (3), Article III of the Agreement on the Question of Boundary Between the Two Countries;
- (4) Sending out the joint teams to the above-mentioned sections to carry out investigation and survey and settling the questions of the tasks, composition, time of dispatch and working methods of the joint teams;
- (5) Fixing the location of survey points along the entire boundary line.

Both delegations were satisfied with the smooth progress and fruitful results of this session.

The Joint Committee agreed to hold its second session in the third week of December 1960 in Peking, during which it will discuss the investigation and survey work along the entire boundary.

**294 China-Nepal Joint Boundary Committee communique,  
15 February 1961**

The Chinese-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee held its second session in Peking from January 18 to February 15, 1961. During the period of the session, Chairman of the People's

Republic of China Liu Shao-chi, Premier of the State Council Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chen Yi at different times received all the members of the Nepalese Delegation and held cordial and friendly conversations with them.

During this session, both sides fully displayed a spirit of friendly co-operation, mutual understanding, mutual accommodation, equality and mutual benefit, and through sincere and frank consultations, smoothly reached agreement on many important questions:

1. They affirmed a series of common points on the boundary line and arrived at a common understanding of the general alignment of the boundary on the map.
2. Through friendly consultations, they achieved solutions satisfactory to both sides concerning certain sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is not identical and the two sides differ in their understanding of the state of actual jurisdiction.
3. They studied the report of the joint team which was sent in November 1960 to the Chinese-Nepalese border for investigation and survey, expressed satisfaction with the achievements of the work of the joint team and reached agreement on the recommendations submitted by the joint team.
4. They decided to send joint teams and joint survey teams in April 1961 for the investigation and survey of key points along the entire Chinese-Nepalese boundary line and agreed through consultations upon the duties, the composition and the methods of work of the joint teams and joint survey teams and other related matters.

Moreover, the two sides had a preliminary exchange of views on the drafting of a boundary treaty and agreed to speed up various preparations with a view to signing a boundary treaty in the near future.

The two sides decided to hold the third session of the Joint Committee in Kathmandu in July 1961.

**295 Speech by King Mahendra at the Non-aligned Conference,  
Belgrade, 2 September 1961 (Extract)**

Another difficulty in the United Nations is on the question of proper representation of China. It has been our view that by refusing to accept China in the United Nations the World Organisation has lost much of its effectiveness. Whether in the United Nations or outside, China remains a world power. And not to have this power in the United Nations is harmful to it, and irritating to China.

**296 Protocol to the Agreement on Economic Aid, Kathmandu,  
5 September 1961**

His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Government of the People's Republic of China have, in accordance with the Agreement on Economic Aid signed between the two Parties on the 21st March, 1960 in Peking, concluded the present Protocol, the articles of which are as follows:

*Article I*

The name, capacity, design and delivery time of the equipments of the items of economic construction to be provided by the Government of the People's Republic of China to His Majesty's Government, of Nepal shall be as per the Annexe hereto, which forms a part of this Protocol.

*Article II*

The expenditures for the designs, equipments, machinery, materials and technique etc. to be provided by the Chinese side under the items of economic construction as specified in the Annexe to this Protocol shall be paid from the amount of aid stipulated in Article I of the Agreement on Economic Aid.

*Article III*

In accordance with this Protocol, the scope of aid given by China to Nepal in respect of designs, equipments, machinery, materials and technique is as follows:

1. To make the civil engineering and technological designs

for various items of economic construction as per the designing and projecting orders approved and the basic data for designing given by the Nepalese side;

2. To supply complete plants (inclusive of both main and auxiliary equipments) of various items and those special installation machines and instruments, building machines and materials, which cannot be procured in the Kingdom of Nepal.
3. To dispatch a necessary number of experts and technical personnel as agreed by both Parties to the Kingdom of Nepal to carry out, for the relevant item, the works of surveying and prospecting, collecting basic data for design, selecting site, and conducting civil engineering construction, installation of equipments and trial operation; and
4. To accept a necessary number of technical personnel and workers to be dispatched by the Kingdom of Nepal to China for practical [and] technical training in production in the relevant enterprises. Details of the dispatch of trainees and training matters shall be stipulated in a contract to be signed by the organs concerned of both Parties.

#### *Article IV*

The delivery terms of the equipments, machinery, materials and general commodities to be supplied by the People's Republic of China to the Kingdom of Nepal in accordance with this Protocol shall be *C.I.F.* Calcutta, India.

All the taxes and duties leviable on the above-mentioned equipments, machinery and materials within the territories of India and Nepal shall be paid by the Nepalese side. The prices of complete plants, machinery, materials and general commodities to be supplied by the People's Republic of China to the Kingdom of Nepal shall be fixed in contracts to be signed between the organs concerned of both parties and shall be calculated in Indian Rupees.

#### *Article V*

The dispatch of Chinese experts and technical personnel, and the working conditions during their stay in the Kingdom of Nepal shall be arranged in accordance with the Letters relating to the working conditions for experts and technical person-

nel exchanged between the two Parties on the 5th September, 1961 in Kathmandu.

*Article VI*

The entering of account in respect to the utilization of economic aid shall be discussed and fixed separately by the People's Bank of China and the Nepal Rastra Bank.

*Article VII*

The present Protocol shall come into force from the date of its signing.

Done in duplicate in Kathmandu on the 5th day of September 1961 in the Nepalese, Chinese and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic.

RISHIKESH SHAHA

CHANG SHI-CHIEH

ANNEXE TO THE PROTOCOL

*ITEMS OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION*

I. CEMENT FACTORY

(Including the mine, transport line from the mine to the factory site and the houses for staffs and workers)

Capacity: 50,000 tons of cement per annum.

Product: Ordinary silicate cement.

Location: Hetaura.

Designing period: Period for enlarged preliminary design: 8 months from the date of receipt of the designing and projecting order and all the basic data for designing from the Nepalese side.

Period for Design of Working Drawings: 18 months from the date of receipt of the written approval by the Nepalese side on the enlarged preliminary design.

Delivery time of equipments: 12 to 18 months in lots.

II. POWER

The electric power required for the cement factory at Hetaura shall be supplied by His Majesty's Government of Nepal.



### III. PULP AND PAPER FACTORY

(Including houses for staffs and workers)

Capacity: 20 tons of paper per day.

Products: Writing paper, printing paper and newsprint.

Location: Napalgunj.

Designing Period: Period for enlarged preliminary design: 8 months from the date of receipt of the designing and projecting order and all the basic data for designing from the Nepalese side.

Period for Design of Working Drawings: 12 months from the date of receipt of the written approval by the Nepalese side on the enlarged preliminary design.

Delivery time of equipments: 12 to 24 months in lots.

### IV. POWER PLANT FOR PAPER FACTORY

Whether a thermo-power plant or a hydraulic power plant is to be set up shall be determined according to practical conditions after survey and investigation.

### V. SMALL-SCALE LEATHER AND SHOE FACTORY

The location and capacity, etc. shall be decided upon after investigation.

- Note:* 1. In case the period for examination and approval of the above-mentioned items are prolonged, the periods for other designs and delivery time of equipments shall be postponed accordingly.
2. The various works of the items mentioned above shall be executed in stages according to actual conditions.

### **297 King Mahendra's message to the nation on the eve of his departure on a State-visit to China and Outer Mongolia, 25 September 1961 (Extract)**

As with other friendly neighbouring countries, our relations with our friendly country the People's Republic of China are also very deep and intimate. Today both of our friendly countries, India and China, are marching on the paths of

progress each in her own way. The progress achieved by India in the different fields within eight or nine years, which we saw in the year 2012 of the Bikrama era, had given us valuable inspirations.

We hope and believe that in our task of building the country in our own way, we shall derive still more valuable inspiration from this our forthcoming visit to China.

**298 Chairman Liu Shao-chi's speech at the banquet given in honour of King Mahendra, 29 September 1961 (Extracts)**

His Majesty King Mahendra is an outstanding statesman of Nepal, and also an esteemed friend of the Chinese people. As a sincere patriot, he has all along fought in defence of the national independence and state sovereignty of Nepal. In the face of foreign aggression and pressure, the heroic Nepalese people have remained firm and unyielding and always maintained their independence and dignity; this calls for great admiration. Under His Majesty's leadership, the Nepalese people are now overcoming various resistance to take a road of independent development. . . . In international affairs, His Majesty's Government of Nepal has persevered in an independent policy of peace and neutrality, and devoted itself to the cause of promoting Asian-African solidarity and safeguarding world peace. At the recent conference of the heads of non-aligned countries, Nepal made contributions together with many other participants, thus enabling the conference to achieve positive results. We have always held that each country, whether big or small, can play a useful role in international affairs provided it adopts a correct policy and a just stand. This is borne out by the very fact that the international status of the Kingdom of Nepal has been rising in recent years.

China and Nepal are contiguous to each other and have all along lived together amicably. Since the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between our two countries, the traditional friendship between us has undergone a great development on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, thus setting a good example of peaceful co-existence between nations with different social systems. This is inseparably linked with

His Majesty King Mahendra's solicitous concern and positive efforts for the development of Sino-Nepalese friendly relations. Under His Majesty's leadership, the Kingdom of Nepal has all along been most friendly towards China. His Majesty's Government of Nepal recognises a single China, that is, the People's Republic of China which represents the 650 million Chinese people; it has always stood for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations. When the handful of reactionaries in China's Tibet staged their rebellion, Nepal firmly adhered to a correct stand of non-interference in China's internal affairs. The Chinese Government is sincerely grateful for this. Now, the Western powers headed by the United States of America are continuing to obstruct the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations and coercing the United Nations into discussing unlawfully the so-called "Tibet Question", crudely interfering in China's internal affairs. This is what the Chinese people cannot tolerate. We hope that all those countries which wish to maintain friendly relations with China will take a just stand.

Both China and Nepal are peace-loving countries. Both our countries are striving to build themselves and lift themselves from poverty and backwardness. Both of us need peace and need friends; and peace and friendship have linked our two countries. China has always striven for the realization of peaceful co-existence with countries of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles. We firmly maintain that all countries, big and small, should treat each other equally and respect and help each other; that any foreign infringement on sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country and any foreign interference in its internal affairs are absolutely impermissible; and that no political strings should be attached to mutual economic aid. The Chinese Government has unswervingly and faithfully abided by these principles. This stand of ours is firm and unshakable, and can stand the test of time and practice. China's socialist system determines that it cannot, should not and need not commit aggression against any country. We wish to develop our own country, likewise we wish other countries to develop themselves. We wish to attain a life of well-being, and we wish the same to others. We believe

that any country, no matter how powerful it may seem, will eventually meet with defeat, if it pursues policies of aggression, intervention and expansion; whereas countries subjected to aggression and oppression will triumph in the end. The Chinese Government and people will work in close co-operation with His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Nepalese people in opposing colonialism, strengthening Asian-African solidarity and safeguarding world peace.

**299 King Mahendra's speech at the banquet, 29 September  
1961**

The relations between our two countries are very ancient. We hope and believe that, with new China piloted by her seasoned leaders, the ties of friendship between our two peoples will grow stronger from day to day, that there will be no chance for any unfriendly behaviour calculated to spoil our good relations. In the present-day world; international amity cannot be maintained on the basis of the strength of arms and the pride of power alone. Friendliness, goodwill, non-aggression, sovereign independence, identity of moral values, non-interference in internal affairs, peace and other allied attitudes are the needs of the day. Conformity between profession and practice is called for.

Nepal aims at the maintenance and cementation of relations with all countries, on the basis of peace, friendship and equality. She would heartily welcome the co-operation of neighbouring big countries in this task. She does not want that there should be any bitterness or misunderstanding between countries. It is also a matter of common knowledge that Nepal has made her best possible contribution to the cause of world peace. We have no intention of following any particular country or power bloc. It is our conviction that a small nation can make contribution in world affairs only by adopting such a policy.

**300 King Mahendra's speech at a Peking mass rally, 5 October  
1961 (Extract)**

The People's Republic of China has extended a friendly helping hand in our programmes of economic development at a

time of great stress and strain in your own economy. And we appreciate this very much. We are grateful for this and we further hope that in spite of our different social and political systems this kind of friendly relations will continue to be developed extensively in many spheres and fields. We are also grateful to you for the opportunities you have extended to our students for studying in your institutions of learning.

In the course of the past few days we have had the pleasure and the opportunity to meet your great leaders, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and other leaders, and we have been much impressed by their wisdom and statesmanship. I take the liberty of recalling a part of the conversation we had with Chairman Liu Shao-chi in which he frankly stated that like all big powers the People's Republic of China might have the tendency to ignore the just and rightful claims and respect the rights and susceptibilities of small neighbours and nations, that China in the past oppressed other peoples and had in turn been severely oppressed by others and that the present government led by the Communist Party of China have learnt the lesson of history very well and will never take the road of aggression and invasion against the territorial sovereignty and political independence of its neighbours and for that matter any other countries, that China will take meticulous care to avoid the repetition of such blunders. We have taken note of this assurance made by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and we deeply appreciate the sentiments which led to the expression of this statement. And it is at the same time a significant message to the world at large. This shows the wisdom and statesman-like spirit of your leaders.

Perhaps you are aware of the fact that we have been all along advocating the necessity and prime importance of having the just and rightful representation of more than 600 million people of China in the United Nations. We do not believe in the theory of two Chinas and we have made this point sufficiently clear on all appropriate occasions and places.

For nearly a year the Joint Boundary Commission has been working in a spirit of mutual co-operation, sympathy and accommodation and have held meetings in the capitals of the two countries in a very cordial atmosphere. We are glad to tell you that with the conclusion of the Boundary Treaty signed

this afternoon between our two countries, the work of this Commission is now almost over. According to the Treaty of the Boundary which has been signed, the entire boundary line between the two countries has been formally delimited on the basis of the traditional, customary boundary in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefits, friendship and mutual accommodation. All outstanding problems regarding the boundary between the two countries have been solved to the satisfaction of both the parties. This is a cause for happiness for our two nations.

The conclusion of the Treaty is another milestone in our growing friendly relations. Throughout our negotiations with the great friendly neighbouring country of China, we have been guided by the principles of peace and friendship and respect for each other's rights, territorial integrity and sovereignty, and political independence. We are happy to tell you that your leaders have fully responded and reciprocated our feelings.

### **301 China-Nepal Boundary Treaty, 5 October 1961**

The Chairman of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Nepal,

Being of the agreed opinion that a formal settlement of the question of the boundary between China and Nepal is of fundamental interest to the peoples of the two countries;

Noting with satisfaction that the friendly relations of long standing between the two countries have undergone further development since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries and that the two parties have, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and in a spirit of fairness, reasonableness, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, smoothly achieved an overall settlement of the boundary question between the two countries through friendly consultations;

Firmly believing that the formal delimitation of the entire boundary between the two countries and its consolidation as a boundary of peace and friendship not only constitute a milestone in the further development of the friendly relations between China and Nepal, but also are a contribution towards strengthening peace in Asia and the world;

Have resolved for this purpose to conclude the present treaty on the basis of the Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty's Government of Nepal on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries of March 21, 1960 and have agreed upon the following:

### *Article I*

The Contracting Parties, basing themselves on the traditional customary boundary line and having jointly conducted necessary on-the-spot investigations and surveys and made certain adjustments in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, friendship and mutual accommodation, hereby agree on the following alignment of the entire boundary line from west to east, Chinese territory being north of the line and Nepalese territory south thereof:

(1) The Chinese-Nepalese boundary line starts from the point where the watershed between the Kali River and the Tinkar River meets the watershed between the tributaries of the Mapchu (Karnali) River on the one hand and the Tinkar River on the other hand, thence it runs southeastwards along the watershed between the tributaries of the Mapchu (Karnali) River on the one hand and the Tinkar River and the Seti River on the other hand, passing through Niumachisa (Lipudhura) snowy mountain ridge and Tinkarlipu (Lipudhura) pass to Pehlin (Urai) pass.

(2) From Pehlin (Urai) pass, the boundary line runs along the mountain ridge southeastwards for about 500 meters, then northeastwards to height 5655 meters, thence continues to run along the mountain ridge northwestwards to Tojang (Tharodhunga Tuppa), then northeastwards passing through height 5580.6 meters to Chimala pass, thence it runs generally northwestwards, passing through Chimala to Lungmochiehkuo (Numoche Tuppa); thence the boundary line runs generally eastwards, passing through Paimowotunkuo (Kitko Tuppa) and then runs along Chokartung (Kitko) mountain spur down to the Chilungpa (Yadangre) stream, then it follows the Chilungpa (Yadangre) stream northwards to its junction with the Mapchu (Karnali) River, then it follows the Mapchu (Karnali) River generally eastwards to Yusa (Hilsa). At Yusa (Hilsa),

the boundary line departs from the Mapchu (Karnali) River and runs northeastwards along the mountain spur up to Chia-losa (Takule), then along the mountain ridge, passing through Kumalatse (Kumalapche), Kangpaochekuo (Ghanbochheko) and Mainipaimikuo (Manepamango) to Kangkuona (Kangarje), then northwards passing through Kangchupeng (Kandumbu) and height 6550 meters to Nalakankar.

(3) From Nalakankar, the boundary line runs generally northeastwards along the watershed between the tributaries flowing into the Manasarowar Lake and the tributaries of the Humla Karnali River passing through Nalakankar pass to Latsela (Lapche) pass; thence it runs generally southeastwards along the watershed between the tributaries flowing into the Manasarowar Lake and the tributaries of the Machuan River on the one hand and the tributaries of the Humla Karnali River, the Mugu Karnali River and the Panjang Khola on the other hand, passing through Changla Mountain, Namja Pass, Khung (Thau) Pass and Marem Pass to Pindu Pass, then it continues to run southeastwards along the watershed between the tributaries of the Machuan River on the one hand and the tributaries of the Barbung River and the Kali Gandaki River on the other hand gradually turning northeastwards to height 6214.1 metres.

(4) From height 6214.1 meters, the boundary line runs northeastwards along the mountain spur, passing through height 5025 meters and crossing the Angarchubo (Angarchhu) stream to height 5029 meters; thence it runs generally eastwards along Tuchu (Thukchu) mountain spur, passing through height 4730 meters and Bungla (Panglham) to the foot of Tingli Bhodho spur at its northwestern end, then turns northeastwards and runs along the southern bank of the Roumachushui (Rhamarchhushu) seasonal stream to the foot of Tingli Bhodho spur at its northeastern end; thence turns southeastwards, crosses the junction of two seasonal streams flowing northwards, and runs to the junction of three seasonal streams flowing northwards, and then up the eastern stream of the above three seasonal streams to height 4697.9 meters, then turns southwestwards crossing a seasonal stream to height 4605.8 meters; thence it runs generally southeastwards passing through Pengpengla (Phumphula) and then along Chukomaburi (Chhukomapoj) mountain ridge, passing through height



4676.6 meters and height 4754.9 meters to height 4798.6 meters, thence along the mountain ridge northeastwards passing through Hsiabala, then generally eastwards passing through height 5044.1 meters to Chaulo.

(5) From Chaklo, the boundary line runs generally southwards along the watershed between the tributaries of the Yalu Tsangpo River and the tributaries of the Kali Gandaki River, passing through height 6724 meters to Lugula Pass, thence it runs generally eastwards along Lugula snowy mountain and the watershed between the tributaries of the Yalu Tsangpo River and the tributaries of the Marshiyangdi River to Gya (Gyala) Pass.

(6) From Gya (Gyala) Pass, the boundary line runs along the mountain ridge eastwards to height 5782 meters, then southeastwards to Lajing Pass, then it runs along Lajing mountain ridge, passing through height 5442 meters and Lachong (Lajung) Pass to height 5236 meters, then turns southwestwards to Sangmudo snowy mountain; thence generally southeastwards and continues to run along Lajing mountain ridge, passing through height 6139 meters to height 5494 meters, and then in a straight line crosses the Dougar (Tom) River to height 5724 meters; thence the boundary line runs generally northeastwards along the snowy mountain ridge, passing through height 6010 meters, height 5360 meters and height 5672 meters to Thaple Pass.

(7) From Thaple Pass, the boundary line runs generally northeastwards along the snowy mountain ridge, passing through Tsariyangkang snowy mountain to Khojan; thence it continues to run generally southwards along the snowy mountain ridge, passing through Mailatsaching Pass, Pashuo snowy mountain and Langpo snowy mountain to Yangrenkangri (Yangra) snowy mountain.

(8) From Yangrenkangri (Yangra) snowy mountain, the boundary line runs along the mountain ridge southwards to Tsalasungkuo and then generally eastwards and then northeastwards along a day stream bed and passes through Jirapo (Kerabas) to reach the Sangching (Sanjen) River, then follows that river southeastwards, passes through its junction with the Changchieh (Bhryange) River and continues to follow the Sangching (Sanjen) River to a point where a small mountain spur

south of Genjungma (Pangshung) pasture ground and north of Chhaharey pasture ground meets with the Sangching (Sanjen) River; then it runs along the above small mountain spur eastwards and then southeastwards to height 4656.4 meters, then runs eastwards to the black top; thence it runs along a mountain spur to the junction of the Bhurlung River and the Tangsiaka (Khesadhang) Stream, then runs eastwards along the Bhurlung River to its junction with the Kyerong River; thence follows the Kyerong River southwards and then eastwards to its junction with the Tungling Tsangpo (Lende) River; then runs northeastwards up the Tungling Tsangpo (Lende) River, passing through Rasua Bridge to the junction of the Tungling Tsangpo (Lende) River and the Guobashiachu (Jambu) Stream; thence turns eastwards up the Guobashiachu (Jambu) Stream, passing through the junction of the Chusumdo Tsangpo River and the Phuriphu Tsangpo River, both the tributaries of the upper Guobashiachu (Jambu) Stream, to reach the boundary marker point at Chusumdo.

(9) From the boundary marker point at Chusumdo, the boundary line runs generally southeastwards along the ridge of Tsogakangri (Seto Pokhari) snowy mountain, Langtang snowy mountain, Dorley mountain and Gulinchin (Phurbo Chyachu) Mountain to Chakesumu (Kharaney) Mountain; thence runs down to reach the Changnibachu (Kharaney) River and then follows that river southwards to its junction with the Bhochu (Bhote Kosi) River; then follows the Bhochu (Bhote Kosi) River southwards, passing through Dalaima (Bhaise) Bridge to the junction of the Bhochu (Bhote Kosi) River and the Junchu (Jum) River; thence eastwards up the Junchu (Jum) River to its source at Tsaje Mountain (Jum Khola Ko Sir Ko Tappa); thence the boundary line runs generally northwards along the mountain ridge to Chomo Pamari (height 6208.8 meters).

(10) From Chomo Pamari (height 6208.8 meters), the boundary line runs generally northwards along the mountain ridge to height 5914.8 meters, then generally northeastwards along Shondemo Kangri (Sudemo) snowy mountain passing through height 5148 meters, and then crosses two tributaries of the Shondemo Chu (Shongdemo) Stream, passing through Shondemo (Sudemo) which lies between the above two tributaries

to Gyanbayan, then it runs along Gyanbayan mountain spur downwards, crosses the Pinbhu Tsangpo River (the western tributary of the Lapche River), and then along the mountain spur up to height 5370.5 meters at Seborori (Korlang Pari Ko Tippa); thence the boundary line turns southeastwards along the mountain spur downwards, crosses the Lapche Khung Tsangpo River (the eastern tributary of the Lapche River), then it runs along Bidin Kangri (Piding) snowy mountain to height 5397.2 meters; thence the boundary line turns westwards along the mountain ridge to height 5444.2 meters at Kabobori (Raling), then generally southwards along Rasumkungpo (Rishingumbo) mountain ridge to Niehlu (Niule) Bridge.

(11) From Niehlu (Niule) Bridge, the boundary line runs generally eastwards to Chejenma (Gauri Shankar), and then eastwards along the mountain ridge and then northwards along the watershed between the Rongshar River and the Rongbuk River on the one hand and the tributaries of the Dudhkosi River on the other hand to Nangpa Pass, and then runs generally southeastwards along the mountain ridge, passing through Cho Oyu Mountain, Pumoli Mountain (Gnire Langur), Mount Jolmo Lungma (Sagar Matha) and Lhotse, to Makalu Mountain runs southeastwards and then eastwards along the mountain ridge to Popti Pass.

(12) From Popti Pass, the boundary line runs along the mountain ridge eastwards passing through Tsagala (Kepu Dada) to Kharala (Khade Dada), and then generally northeastwards passing through Lanapo (Lhanakpu) and Chebum (Chhipung) to the source of the Sunchunchu (Shumjung) River; then it follows the Sunchunchu (Shumjung) River to its junction with the track leading from Kimathangka to Chentang, then it runs along the track to the bridge on the Karma Tsangpo (Kama) River; thence it runs generally southeastwards along the Karma Tsangpo (Kama) River passing through its junction with the Pengchu (Arun) River, and then along the Pengchu (Arun) River to its junction with the Nadang River, then continues to follow the Pengchu (Arun) River westwards to its junction with the Tsokangchingpo (Chhokang) River; thence the boundary line departs from the Pengchu (Arun) River and runs generally eastwards along a mountain spur passing through Angde and Dalai (Tale) Pass to Dalaila (Tale),

and then runs along the mountain ridge passing through Jungkan (Dukan), Kaijungkan (Khachunkha), Renlangbu (Relinbu) and Sulula to reach Ragla (Rakha) Pass.

(13) From Ragla (Rakha) Pass, the boundary line runs generally eastwards along the watershed between the tributaries of the Nadang River and the tributaries of the Yaru River on the one hand and the tributaries of the Tamur River on the other hand, passing through Ombola (Ombak) Pass, Theputala (Tiptala) Pass, Yangmakhangla (Kangla) Pass and Chabukla to the terminal point where the watershed between the Khar River and the Chabuk River meets the watershed between the Khar River and the Lhonak River.

The entire boundary line between the two countries as described in the present article is shown on the 1:500,000 maps of the entire boundary attached to the present treaty; the location of the temporary boundary markers erected by both sides and the detailed alignment of certain sections of the boundary are shown on the 1:50,000 maps of those sections attached to the present treaty.

### *Article II*

The Contracting Parties have agreed that wherever the boundary follows a river, the midstream line shall be the boundary. In case a boundary river changes its course, the original line of the boundary shall remain unchanged in the absence of other agreements between the two parties.

### *Article III*

After the signing of the present treaty, the Chinese-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee constituted in pursuance of the agreement of March 21, 1960 between the two parties on the question of the boundary between the two countries shall set up permanent boundary markers as necessary on the boundary line between the two countries, and then draft a protocol setting forth in detail the alignment of the entire boundary line and the location of the permanent boundary markers, with detailed maps attached thereto showing the boundary line and the location of the permanent boundary markers. The above-mentioned protocol, upon being signed by the governments of the two countries, shall become an annex to the present treaty

and the detailed maps shall replace the maps now attached to the present treaty.

Upon the signing of the above-mentioned protocol, the tasks of the Chinese-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee shall be terminated, and the agreement of March 21, 1960 between the two parties on the question of the boundary between the two countries shall cease to be in force.

#### *Article IV*

The Contracting Parties have agreed that any dispute concerning the boundary which may arise after the formal delimitation of the boundary between the two countries shall be settled by the two parties through friendly consultations.

#### *Article V*

The present treaty shall come into force on the day of the signing of the treaty.

Done in duplicate in Peking on October 5, 1961, in the Chinese, Nepalese and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic.

(Signed)

LIU SHAO-CHI  
Chairman of the  
People's Republic  
of China

(Signed)

MAHENDRA BIR BIKRAM  
SHAH DEVA  
His Majesty the  
King of Nepal

### 302 "Hail the birth of Sino-Nepalese boundary of peace and friendship," editorial in *People's Daily*, 13 October 1961 (Extracts)

The signing of the Chinese-Nepalese Boundary Treaty has brought about a permanent and over-all settlement to the problems between the two countries left over by history. This is a new achievement in the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Nepal and also a new victory of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. . . .

The swift and successful solution of the Chinese-Nepalese boundary question has set a new excellent example of the settlement of the international questions by means of peaceful

consultation. China and Nepal share a common boundary of more than 1,000 kilometres which had never been scientifically delineated and formally delimited. But our two countries have always respected the existing traditional customary line and lived in amity. . . .

Following the conclusion of the Boundary Treaty between China and the Union of Burma last year, China and Nepal have now also successfully settled their boundary questions left over by history. This is powerful evidence that any question between the Asian countries can be settled and the unity and friendly relations between them can be continually consolidated and developed, if they abide by the Five Principles of respecting each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, attach importance to peace and friendship, adopt an attitude of mutual understanding and mutual trust and conduct friendly consultations.

The imperialists have always taken advantage of the boundary questions existing between the Asian countries to sow discord among them and achieve their own sordid aims. . . . But the smooth settlement of the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese boundary question one after the other provides indisputable evidence that China has always faithfully abided by the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence and that these principles are not only not "outmoded" but full of vitality. . . .

### **303 China-Nepal joint communique on King Mahendra's visit to China, 15 October 1961 (Extract)**

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai on the one hand, and His Majesty on the other, made a frank and friendly exchange of views on matters of common interest.

They agreed that to maintain international peace was the urgent demand of the peoples throughout the world, and for this, it was necessary to end colonialism, to oppose wars of aggression and to have mutual respect among nations for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The two parties reaffirmed their faith in the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of

the Bandung Conference. The Nepalese side stated that it supported the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Chinese side reaffirmed that it fully respected and supported the independent policy of peace and non-alignment pursued by His Majesty's Government of Nepal and solemnly declared that all nations, big and small, must treat each other as equals and that China would never adopt an attitude of great nation chauvinism towards Nepal.

The two parties expressed their satisfaction at the way in which the friendly relations existing between the two countries were being strengthened and consolidated. They agreed that personal contacts between the leaders of the two countries help to further strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two peoples.

During the visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and His Majesty King Mahendra signed the Boundary Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal on October 5, 1961. According to the boundary treaty which has been signed the entire boundary line between the two countries has been formally delimited on the basis of the traditional customary boundary in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, friendship and mutual accommodation. All outstanding problems regarding the boundary between the two countries have been solved to the satisfaction of both the parties.

Premier Chou En-lai and King Mahendra held preliminary talks with a view to exploring the possibilities of further economic cooperation between the two countries. They have agreed to the extension of economic cooperation, particularly in industries, road-building and communications.

His Majesty has extended an invitation to Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to visit Nepal at any time convenient to them and they have accepted the invitation with pleasure.

**304 China-Nepal highway construction agreement,  
15 October 1961**

The Government of the People's Republic of China and His

Majesty's Government of Nepal, in pursuance of the treaty of peace and friendship between the two countries and for the purpose of further developing the friendly relations and economic intercourse between them, have agreed to construct a highway from the Tibet region of the People's Republic of China to Kathmandu of the Kingdom of Nepal and have concluded the present agreement, the articles of which are as follows:

#### *Article I*

The Government of the People's Republic of China shall be responsible for constructing the section of the highway from the Tibet region of the People's Republic of China to Kathmandu of the Kingdom of Nepal, which is within Chinese territory, and His Majesty's Government of Nepal shall be responsible for constructing the section which is within Nepalese territory.

At the request of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Government of the People's Republic of China shall, within the period from July 1, 1962 to June 30th, 1966, grant economic aid in instalments to His Majesty's Government of Nepal without compensation and without any conditions or privileges attached for use in constructing the section of the highway which is within Nepalese territory. The amount of the aid is 3,500,000 pounds sterling.

#### *Article II*

Within the amount of the above aid, the Government of the People's Republic of China shall supply His Majesty's Government of Nepal with assistance including the following:

1. sending of experts and technicians, and the supply of technical assistance;
2. supply of the necessary machines and materials for the construction of the highway;
3. assistance in the training of technicians and skilled workers of the Kingdom of Nepal.

#### *Article III*

The arrangements accorded to the experts and technicians dispatched by the People's Republic of China to the Kingdom of Nepal and of the trainees sent by the Kingdom of Nepal to



the People's Republic of China shall be made in accordance with article four of the Agreement on Economic Aid Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty's Government of Nepal signed in Peking on March 21, 1960.

*Article IV*

After on-the-spot surveys have been conducted by experts dispatched by the People's Republic of China, the two Governments shall designate representatives to discuss and decide on the route of the above highway, its construction programme and method of concrete implementation, and the instalment drawings on the aid, and sign a relevant protocol.

*Article V*

This agreement shall come into force on the date of its signing.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the 15th day of October, 1961, in the Chinese, Nepalese and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic.

Signed  
CHEN YI

Signed  
TULSI GIRI

**305 King Mahendra's speech at a Kathmandu civic reception,  
27 October 1961 (Extract)**

The Boundary Treaty with China has delimited the boundary between the two countries in a definite manner, thus bringing to a happy conclusion the exchange of views and controversies which had been going on eighteen months since. The boundary markers will be now erected at the convenience of the two countries. This too has helped consolidate the friendly good relations existing between the two countries.

By the northern boundary treaty, the Kingdom of Nepal has gained three hundred sq. miles and I feel that all the Nepalese will experience a sense of glory when I state that Sagarmatha, on which the eyes of the world seem to be focused, continues to be as it has been ours and within our territory. It may also be mentioned in connection with the border area

and Sagarmatha that the northern boundary area dispute, which had been going on without settlement since the time of Bhimsen Thapa's premiership, has been solved in such a manner as to benefit Nepal. Our thanks are due, therefore, to all those who served on the Joint Boundary Committee headed by the Defence Secretary Mr. Padma Bahadur Khatri for having honestly performed their duties regarding the boundary.

It is also a matter of pleasure that China is to give three aircrafts suited to our terrain. The Agreement on the Construction of Nepal-China road has in definite manner provided for the building up of a road linking Nepal and the Chinese border in accordance with the demands of the modern times and in the interest of the commercial traffic subsisting since ancient times. I take this opportunity to express once again cordial thanks on behalf of Nepal and the Nepalese and on my own for the reciprocal goodwill and friendship displayed by China.

**306 Statement by Nepalese representative, Koirala, in the UN General Assembly, 12 December 1961 (Extracts)**

China has virtually been denied the rights and privileges which have been granted to other Member States whose names or governments have changed since they were first admitted. How can we accept two totally different interpretations of the principles of the Charter and two conflicting applications of the rules of procedure? . . .

In order to solve any of the problems which confront Asia, China must be properly seated at the respective conferences. Representing the largest land area and the largest population, no effective solutions can be expected without the active co-operation of the People's Republic of China. This is true despite whatever isolationist policy might be followed on a bilateral basis between China and another nation, for on problems affecting the whole of Asia, China must be included . . .

We cannot solve the world's problems in general and Asia's problems in particular by ignoring a Power that exercises great influence on world public opinion and international relations. Any lasting settlement for peace and the relaxation of international tensions, and any hope for strengthening the United Nations and enhancing its international character, will have to

include the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and my delegation hopes that we can look forward to the early recognition of this fact by the Assembly.

**307 Statement by Rishikesh Shaha at a press conference on Kathmandu-Kodari Road, 17 July 1962 (Extract)**

We have always had physical link between our two neighbours not only in the domain of thought, but also in that of trade and communications. Considered in this light and perspective, the furore over the Kathmandu-Kodari Road in a section of the Indian Press appears to be meaningless. Let us not forget that Nepal had in the past served as a sort of entrepot for trade between Hindustan on the one hand and Central Asia on the other. The proposed Kathmandu-Kodari Road is no more than the revival of the old trade-route between Kathmandu and Lhasa, which trade and commerce had been deserted after the opening of Kalimpong-Lhasa route in the wake of Col. Younghusband's military expedition to Lhasa in 1904. This road will not and cannot deflect the age-old pattern of trade between India and Nepal and can only serve to facilitate the existing local trade and transit between Nepal and Tibet, in addition to giving us an outlet to the North also. Roads, in our simple understanding, are always economic measures and we cannot certainly view, them as military measures conducive to one party only. Growing points of contact with the outside world in response to the demand of the time should be well understood and appreciated. We are merely establishing a relationship which, in actual practice, conforms more to the standard of equality and freedom for every sovereign nation within the framework of increased international co-operation and harmony envisaged in the principles of the United Nations.

**308 Exchange of notes on agreed points on China-Nepal boundary, 14 August 1962 (Extracts)**

The Chief Chinese delegate on the Chinese-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee Chang Shih-chieh and his Nepalese counterpart P. B. Khatri exchanged notes in Kathmandu on August

14 on the choice of nationality, trans-frontier cultivation of lands and trans-frontier pasturing by the inhabitants of certain border areas. The points stated in the exchanged notes became Agreement between the Governments of the two countries and came into force on the day of the exchange of notes.

In his reply to Khatri, Chang Shih-chieh, on behalf of the Chinese Government, expressed agreement to the note sent him by Khatri.

Khatri said in his note that after the signing of the Boundary treaty between the Kingdom of Nepal and the People's Republic of China, the two parties, in the spirit of equality, mutual benefit, friendship and mutual understanding, held talks on the questions left over after the delimitation of the boundary and reached an understanding on the choice of nationality, trans-frontier cultivation of lands and trans-frontier pasturing by the inhabitants of certain border areas. He listed in his note the points of mutual understanding and suggested that as soon as these points received the Chief Chinese delegate's confirmation, his note and the Chief Chinese delegate's reply shall form an agreement between the Nepalese and Chinese Governments, and shall come into force on the day of the exchange of notes.

On the choice of nationality by inhabitants of certain border areas, Khatri's note said:

“The inhabitants of the areas to be transferred by one party to the other in pursuance of the provisions of Article I of the Nepalese-Chinese Boundary Treaty shall, after the transference of the areas to the other party, be definitely considered citizens of the country to which the areas belong. Any inhabitants of these areas who do not wish to become citizens of the country to which the areas belong may retain their previous nationality by making declaration to that effect within one year of the coming into force of the agreement contained in the exchanged notes. Persons who make such declarations may either stay where they are as foreign residents or at any time move into the territory of their country of nationality.”

It then laid down concrete rules regarding choice of nationality, the legitimate rights of those who decide to retain their

previous nationality and protection and disposal of their property.

It went on to say:

“In accordance with the principle of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and in order to facilitate administration by each party and to avoid disputes between border inhabitants of the two sides, so as to promote development of the friendly and amicable relations between the border inhabitants of the two countries, the two parties are of the agreed opinion that the questions of trans-frontier cultivation of lands and trans-frontier pasturing, which now exist in the Nepalese-Chinese border areas and may arise from the present delimitation of the boundary should be settled.”

On trans-frontier cultivation of lands, the note said:

“The two parties agree that within one year of the coming into force of the agreement contained in the exchanged notes, both governments shall adopt measures to abolish any trans-frontier cultivation which now exists or may arise from the delimitation of the boundary.”

On the trans-frontier pasturing, the note stipulated that:

“each party shall see to it that no new cases of trans-frontier pasturing shall be allowed for its border inhabitants, nor shall the trans-frontier pasturing which has been given up be resumed in the territory of the other party.”

Both governments, it said, shall adopt measures to abolish the existing practice of trans-frontier pasturing by border inhabitants of both countries. It laid down concrete rules regarding abolition of trans-frontier pasturing or problems arising from the continued practice.

It proposed for the abolition of existing practices of trans-frontier firewood-collecting, bamboo-felling, herb-collecting, honey-gathering, lumbering and hunting by border inhabitants.

In conclusion, it proposed that in order to implement the agreement local officials of the two parties meet as soon as possible to solve the problems involved through consultations.

**309 Vice Premier Chen Yi's message to Tulsi Giri, Foreign Minister of Nepal, on the first anniversary of the Boundary Treaty, 5 October 1962**

The conclusion of the Sino-Nepalese Boundary Treaty is a great event of historic significance in the friendly relations between our two countries and contributes greatly to the promotion of solidarity and cooperation among Asian countries. We are glad that with the combined efforts of the two sides the task of jointly setting up permanent boundary markers on the boundary between the two countries is about to be successfully accomplished and a permanent boundary of peace and friendship between these two friendly neighbours will be finally established. This eloquently shows that any international question, provided the two parties concerned have the sincerity, can be fairly and reasonably settled on the basis of the Five Principles of the Peaceful Co-Existence. The conclusion of the Sino-Nepalese Boundary Treaty is a very good example in this connection.

May the Sino-Nepalese friendship grow for ever.

**310 Chen Yi's speech at a Nepalese Embassy reception to mark the first anniversary of the signing of the Boundary Treaty, 6 October 1962 (Extracts)**

“The boundary question between China and Nepal was a complicated question left over by history. There were people who tried to make use of the boundary disputes to achieve their ulterior aims. They expressed the hope and asserted that China and Nepal could not settle the question.”

“The Chinese Government has always held that the five principles of peaceful co-existence should be adopted as the common principles of handling relations between nations.”

“It is our consistent belief that any question between nations, however big and complicated, can be settled equitably and reasonably through friendly consultations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, provided the two parties concerned

have the sincerity.”

“The Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty is a good example and the Sino-Nepalese Boundary Treaty is another.”

Speaking on the Sino-Indian boundary question, Vice-Premier Chen Yi protested against the slander by British Foreign Secretary in his recent speech at the U.N. General Assembly accusing China of “invasion” of India. “This exactly proves that the Indian reactionaries and the British imperialists are jackals of the same lair.”

Vice-Premier Chen Yi praised His Majesty King Mahendra of Nepal as an outstanding statesman and the Nepalese people a brave and unbending people who had defeated imperialist invasions on three occasions and safeguarded their independence. He added that the Chinese Government and people sincerely admired and energetically supported the unremitting struggles waged by King Mahendra and His Majesty’s Government in adhering to the policy of independence, peace and neutrality and in leading the Nepalese people to safeguard their state sovereignty and independence and develop their national economy, as well as their great successes.

He added, “The Chinese Government and people have always held that all countries, big and small, should treat each other equally and respect each other. China is firmly opposed to great-nation chauvinism and to interference in other countries’ internal affairs.”

“We are now in the sixties of the 20th century, in an era in which the national independence movement is surging forward; all manifestations of great-nation chauvinism and all activities of interference and subversion against other countries go against the current of the times and will surely end in failure.”

The Chinese people regard the Nepalese people’s struggle against foreign interference and subversion and for equality and friendship with all neighbouring countries as a struggle for principle. The Nepalese people can rest fully assured that should any foreign power dare to attack Nepal, the Chinese government and people, together with all other countries and people who uphold justice, will forever stand by Nepal.

**311 Statement by Nepalese representative Rishikesh Shaha in the UN General Assembly, 26 October 1962 (Extracts)**

In demanding the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, we do not ask the United Nations to practise a magnanimous act of charity; we simply ask the United Nations to face the political reality obtaining in the world and to act accordingly, to render unto Caesar the things that have been and are Caesar's, a course of action which should have been followed normally thirteen years ago. . . .

The theory of two Chinas, which some delegations seem to uphold, is entirely wrong in conception, and dangerous in implications. We are past the age when the principle of divide and rule obtains. We, on our part, have no doubt that the island of Formosa forms an integral and inalienable part of China. . . .

It has often been contended that membership in the United Nations is open only to peace-loving States, as is stated in Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter; and it has been alleged that the People's Republic of China is not qualified for membership because it is not peace-loving.

The most recent example cited in support of the contention is the so-called Chinese aggression on Tibet and the Sino-Indian border dispute. As for the case of Tibet, we have merely to state that China could not possibly have committed aggression on a territory which had long been, historically and geographically, recognized as hers. We do not want to pass on the merits of the Sino-Indian border dispute. As a country friendly to both, our own hope and prayer has been that the dispute be settled without resort to force and through negotiations, in a spirit of understanding. But whatever the merits of the case, the argument loses all its weight because India itself is one of the greatest champions of the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations. We must praise that attitude of the Government of India, because it has, even under stress, endeavoured to look at this question from an objective point of view. We, on our part, are solidly behind the stand taken by the Indian delegation in the fifteenth session (882nd meeting), that the two issues—namely, the Sino-Indian border dispute and the question of the representation of the People's



Republic of China here—must not necessarily be linked together . . . .

We cannot neglect a political reality. Whether we recognize it here or not, the existence of the People's Republic of China is a fact of international life; the sooner the United Nations recognizes it the better because the United Nations, in order to be able to fulfil the functions assigned to it by the Charter, must reflect the realities obtaining in the outside world. The United Nations was certainly not intended to be a club composed of like-minded nations. It has been described as a centre for harmonizing the actions of the nations of the world. We may dislike the social and political systems prevailing in other countries; we may differ with them in our views of international development; we may not establish diplomatic or any other kind of relations with them, these are our privileges . . .

**312 Statement by King Mahendra at a press interview to the representatives of the Rashtriya Sambad Samiti, Kathmandu, 10 November 1962 (Extracts)**

Surely, it is a grievous and fearful matter, and China and India should expeditiously settle it through mutual negotiations. . . Nepal longs to maintain cordial relations with all friendly countries. . . So this being a dispute between India and China, Nepal deems it most appropriate that they should resolve it through mutual understanding.

**313 Chen Yi's speech at the banquet given in honour of Rishikesh Shaha, 23 November 1962 (Extracts)**

“We are particularly glad and proud that through friendly discussions we have satisfactorily resolved our boundary question, which is a legacy of the past.”

A Sino-Nepalese boundary of friendship and ever-lasting peace came into being following the Sino-Burmese boundary of friendship and ever-lasting peace.

“The friendly and good neighbourly relations between China and Nepal have set a new model for peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems and for solidarity and co-operation between Asian and African

countries . . . .

With the passage of time, Sino-Nepalese friendship will show ever greater vitality.”

China had always supported the policy of independence, peace and neutrality persevered in by the Nepalese Government. The Chinese people entertained a profound respect for the unremitting struggle of the Nepalese people to safeguarding their sovereignty and develop their national economy. “The Nepalese people can always count on the resolute support of the 650,000,000 Chinese people.”

The Nepalese Government has always stood for the restoration of China’s legitimate rights in the United Nations, and opposed the plot to create “two Chinas”. When a handful of reactionaries in China’s Tibet region launched a rebellion in 1959, Nepal persevered in its correct stand of non-interference in China’s internal affairs. “All this constitutes important support for China.”

Vice Premier Chen Yi thanked King Mahendra and many other Asian and African leaders for the efforts they made in promoting a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

### **314 Rishikesh Shaha’s speech at the banquet, 23 November 1962** (Extracts)

“The Chinese Government has rendered us most generous assistance in building a road that would connect Kathmandu and Lhasa eventually. This road as far as we are concerned has a good deal of significance.”

“Now this road has been misunderstood by some people. But as far as we are concerned it is nothing but a revival of an ancient trade road which should be taken just as a recognition of the growing desire of the Nepalese people for greater contact with a country beyond the Himalayas, and nothing more and nothing less.”

Rishikesh Shaha thanked the Chinese Government for helping Nepal to set up a cement factory, a paper mill and a leather factory. “I am sure that very soon these factories will start functioning and will start giving the people of Nepal an idea of the benefit of their friendship with the great neighbour—

China in concrete terms”.

Referring to the fighting on the Sino-Indian border, Rishikesh Shaha welcomed the initiative shown by the Chinese Government in ordering a cease-fire unilaterally and in deciding to withdraw its troops to positions 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control which existed between China and India on November 7, 1959.

“I hope that this gesture of peace, friendship and goodwill of the Chinese Government will be reciprocated in a fitting manner.”

“We have viewed with great concern the deterioration of the border dispute between our two great neighbours—China and India. We have always hoped that they should settle this question of the boundary between themselves without resorting to force and through negotiations in the spirit of mutual understanding.”

“The deterioration in the relations between India and China has come as a shock to all countries in this region that have over these years begun to acquire freedom in the course of securing unity and solidarity. Neither India nor China will win if Asia loses.”

“We have nothing but friendship and goodwill towards our two great neighbours—China and India. We have never thought to play one neighbour against the other, because we know full well the danger involved in this kind of policy. On the other hand, we have always thought to contribute in our own humble way to the growth of mutual understanding and cordiality between our two great neighbours.”

### **315 China-Nepal Boundary Protocol, 20 January 1963 (summary)**

The “Protocol between the Government of the People’s Republic of China and His Majesty’s Government of Nepal relating to the boundary between the two countries,” declares that the Sino-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee has successfully completed the task conferred upon it by the Sino-Nepalese Boundary Treaty of October 5, 1961 with regard to establishing permanent boundary markers and has thereby clearly and formally demarcated the boundary line between China and Nepal.

The protocol says that the Chinese and Nepalese Governments are “deeply convinced that this will help strengthen the traditional friendship between the two peoples and further consolidate and promote the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries established on the basis of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence.”

The Protocol was signed by Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and the Vice Chairman of the Nepalese Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister, Dr. Tulsī Giri as an annex to the boundary treaty between China and Nepal. It is a document which finally stipulates in concrete terms the boundary line between the two countries. It comes into force on the day of its signing.

The protocol is divided into five parts as follows:

Part one — general provisions (articles 1-5);

Part two — alignment of the boundary line (articles 6-19);

Part three—locations of boundary markers (articles 20 and 21);

Part four — maintenance of the boundary line and the boundary markers (articles 22-31);

Part five—final clauses (articles 32 and 33).

The Protocol states that “the boundary line between China and Nepal has been further surveyed on-the-spot and formally demarcated by the two parties in pursuance of Article III of the Boundary Treaty between the two countries. The alignment of the boundary line as surveyed and demarcated by the two parties follows entirely the alignment as described in the treaty and is set out more in detail in the present Protocol than in the treaty. Hereafter, the specific alignment of the boundary line between the two countries shall be as provided for in the present Protocol.”

The protocol describes in detail the alignment of the boundary line. The length of the boundary between China and Nepal is, 1,111.47 kilometres. The boundary markers erected by the two parties along the boundary line between the two countries are numbered 1 to 79 in serial order from west to east. The protocol gives the detailed locations of all the boundary markers, The alignment of the boundary line and the locations of the boundary markers are shown in the “detailed maps attach-

ed to the Chinese-Nepalese Boundary Treaty” which are attached to the Protocol.<sup>1</sup>

The document stipulates that “the Contracting Parties shall maintain the boundary markers and adopt necessary measures to prevent their removal, damage or destruction. Neither party shall unilaterally set up new boundary markers.” It says that the Contracting Parties shall, as far as possible, prevent the boundary rivers from changing their courses, neither party shall deliberately change the course of any boundary river.

The protocol stipulates that after the coming into the force of the Protocol, the Contracting Parties shall make a joint inspection of the entire boundary between the two countries every five years, but the inspection may be postponed or be made only in certain sections of the boundary whenever agreed upon by both parties. The two parties shall make interim joint inspections of certain sections of the boundary when requested by one party and agreed to by the other party. After the inspection, the two parties shall, in pursuance of the provisions of the Protocol, take such measures as they deem necessary.

### **316 *People's Daily* editorial on the Boundary Protocol, 21 January 1963 (Extract)**

The Sino-Nepalese boundary protocol is hailed by the *Jen-min-Jih-pao* as marking the final and complete settlement of the boundary question between the two countries. Its signing is great news for both the Chinese and the Nepalese peoples and is a major landmark in the age-old and ever stronger bond of friendship between China and Nepal.

The Sino-Nepalese boundary covers some most complex terrains. “However, a traditional customary boundary line had come into being in the far distant past as the peoples of the two nations lived in peace and friendship, in accordance with the limits of their administrative jurisdiction. In 1960, the Governments of the two countries concluded an agreement on the boundary question, affirming their respect for the traditional customary boundary line and taking it as the basis for the formal delimitation of the boundary line.”

<sup>1</sup>Maps not reproduced in this volume.

Under the Agreement “adjustments were to be made through friendly consultation and in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, friendship and mutual accommodation, in such sectors where the boundary lines as shown in the maps of the two sides did not coincide and where divergences occurred as to the appraisal of the conditions under which jurisdiction was actually exercised.”

The chief reason for the smooth and satisfactory settlement of the Sino-Nepalese boundary question, which was effected in less than three years, is the sincere desire of both parties for a peaceful settlement of the question. “Prior to a general settlement of the boundary question, both sides agreed to maintain temporarily the *status quo* of the boundary and not to lay territorial claims as pre-conditions. It was also established that each side would apart from maintaining its own administrative personnel and civil police, refrain from sending its armed personnel to patrol in the areas within twenty kilometres on its side of the boundary. Both sides had faithfully honoured the agreement, and had thus insured tranquillity in the border areas and reciprocal cordial relations.

“In the course of settling the specific issues, consultations were conducted in a fair and reasonable manner and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and of seeking truth from facts. In addition, each side gave due consideration to the national feelings of the other side and in no case imposed its own views on the other.”

“In consequence, the friendship between the two countries grew steadily throughout the period when a settlement of the boundary question was being sought. Around the conference table as well as in the actual survey of the boundary, the Chinese and Nepalese friends worked in cordial and sincere co-operation, each leaving with the other heart-warming memories.”

Following the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question, the completion of the work to create permanent boundary of peace and friendship between China and Nepal is another example for the settlement through friendly consultation of boundary disputes left over by history. “This is a major victory for the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence and has vital bearing on the consolidation of peace in Asia and Afro-Asian solidarity. All peace-loving countries and peoples of the

world will cheer and acclaim this achievement on the part of our two countries.”

“The peoples of China and Nepal have always lived in amity. Since the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the traditional friendship between them has registered even greater development. The economic and cultural ties between the two countries have, in particular, become increasingly closer after King Mahendra personally took over the helm of the state. Now, Lhasa-Kathmandu highway is being constructed at an accelerated pace in accordance with an Agreement between the two Governments. The towering Himalayas will serve as the seal of friendship which would bring the peoples of our two countries still closer and the future is full of promise for Sino-Nepalese friendship and co-operation.”

**317 Mao Tun's article in *Peking Review* on Foreign Minister  
Tulsi Giri's visit to China, 25 January 1963 (Extract)**

China has always held that all countries, whether big or small, are equal and should treat each other as such, that they should respect and help each other, and that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal affairs of a country should not be infringed upon or meddled with by a foreign power. These principles are fully applied in China's relations with Nepal.

Under the leadership of King Mahendra, Nepal has consistently carried out a policy of independence, peace, neutrality and worked for friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equality. In the face of coercion, intimidation and slander by imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, she pursues a policy of friendship with China. Nepal recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China. When a handful of Tibetan reactionaries staged a rebellion in 1959, Nepal adhered to her correct stand of non-interference in China's internal affairs.

The Chinese people greatly admire this stand of Nepal in international affairs and highly value Sino-Nepalese friendship. They look forward to seeing Sino-Nepalese co-operation make a still greater contribution to the common struggle against imperialism. In paying tribute to Dr. Giri and the other distinguished Nepalese guests, the Chinese people are honouring

the people of Nepal and its leaders; they are expressing their aspirations for the further consolidation of the fruitful good-neighbourly relations between China and Nepal.

**318 Message of greetings from Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to King Mahendra on the 12th anniversary of Nepal's Democratic Day, 18 February 1963**

The Chinese people are glad to see that the Kingdom of Nepal, under Your Majesty's leadership, has achieved great successes in perserving national independence and building up your country. The firm pursuance by Your Majesty's Government of Nepal of an independent policy of peace and neutrality and of friendship to all peoples has won the applause of the Chinese people and the peace-loving people of the world.

The peoples of China and Nepal have lived together in amity for generations. In recent years, the friendly and co-operative relations between China and Nepal have undergone an inspiring development on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. The recent conclusion of the Sino-Nepalese boundary protocol has set another good example of settling questions in the relations between countries through friendly consultations.

**319 Statement by Nepalese representative M.P. Koirala in the UN General Assembly, 16 October 1963 (Extracts)**

It is not only in the interest of justice alone but also in the interest of our Organization, in the interest of making it a more effective instrument for international peace and security, that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China should be restored in our Organization. The United Nations, I submit, is not a selective club of what some of us may consider to be good and desirable Members only, leaving ont those whom these gentlemen may consider as undesirables. The United Nations is a universal Organization where independent States with different ideologies and socio-economic systems co-exist with one another as equal Members, all owing allegiance to the principles of the Charter and committed to working together for international peace and prosperity. . . .



The Chinese people are a great and peace-loving people. Their achievements in culture and science and their contributions to the evolution of civilization can hardly be over-estimated. . . .

The ultimate goal of our Organization is the maintenance of peace and security in the world. To secure that goal the total resources in the world of human energy and genius are needed. We have all recognized that complete and general disarmament is the only effective means of realizing that objective. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is currently busy working out an acceptable formula towards that objective. The Eighteen-Nation Committee, however, suffers from one great shortcoming. One of the great Powers has refused to co-operate with it, and another potential nuclear Power, that is the People's Republic of China, has been refused the opportunity to co-operate. We are of the view that so long as the great Powers—the nuclear as well as the potentially nuclear Powers—are kept away from the negotiating table on matters of disarmament our goal of complete and general disarmament may not be fulfilled as early and effectively as we should like. Even if some sort of agreement is reached by the Powers that are in the Disarmament Committee, such an agreement would not be highly workable in the absence of co-operation from those great Powers. For the sake of the success of the disarmament talks, therefore, if not for anything else, let us now admit China's right to its original place in this Organization and invite it to participate in the Geneva negotiations.

The recent Moscow Treaty on a partial nuclear test ban has partially eased the tension that hitherto prevailed in the world. This is the time to seize the opportunity afforded by the creation of a better climate in the world situation to cast aside our narrow political interests and, in the name of world peace, to restore the People's Republic of China to its original place in the family of nations. In this connexion, my delegation has already expressed, during the general debate (1218th meeting), our high appreciation for the Indian statesmanship which has refused to allow India's border troubles with China to prejudice in any way its attitude towards this totally different question.

**320 Chairman Chu Teh's speech at the banquet given in honour of Nepalese National Panchayat delegation led by Vishwa Bandhu Thapa, 23 October 1963 (Extracts)**

The Chinese Government has consistently held that countries, big or small, should be equal and that they will make positive contributions to the progress of mankind so long as they pursue a just policy in the interest of world peace.

Chairman Chu Teh thanked the Kingdom of Nepal for its firm stand of friendliness to China and its consistent advocacy of restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations, in spite of imperialist and reactionary threats.

With the Nepalese people the Chinese people will, devote their efforts to strengthening friendship and solidarity with the people of the whole world in the common struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard Asian and world peace.

**321 China-Nepal Trade Agreement, 9 May 1964**

His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Government of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the Contracting Parties) for the purpose of further developing the friendship between the two countries and strengthening the economic and trade relations between the two countries, especially the traditional trade relations between Nepal and the Tibet Region of China, have on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, agreed as follows:

*Article I*

The two Contracting Parties shall take all appropriate measures to develop the trade between their two countries, and agree to promote the exchange of goods between them.

*Article II*

The trade between the two countries may be conducted through the state trading organisations in Nepal and China, as well as through other importers and exporters of the two countries.

### *Article III*

The exchange of goods between the two countries shall be conducted in accordance with their respective laws, regulations and procedures regarding import and export and foreign exchange regulations in force from time to time in the two countries.

### *Article IV*

The trade between the two countries shall be based, as far as possible, on the principle of equilibrium between the total values of imports and exports.

The two Contracting Parties shall, through periodical consultations, determine what goods one country can make available to the other; and they shall mutually accord to each other as favourable treatment as possible in respect of the issuance of import and export licences for such goods.

### *Article V*

The two Contracting Parties shall grant to each other the most-favoured nation treatment in all matters relating to customs duties and other taxes, fees and charges of any kind to be levied on exportation and importation of commodities, and to the rules, formalities and charges of customs management. These provisions, however, shall not apply to:

1. Advantages resulting from any customs union or other agreement on customs-free trade to which either Contracting Party is or may become in the future a party; and
2. Advantages accorded by multilateral economic agreements relating to international commerce.

### *Article VI*

Payment in connection with the importation and exportation of commodities and goods as well as other payments between the two countries shall be made in convertible Pounds Sterling or any other mutually agreed currency.

### *Article VII*

Border inhabitants of the two countries may, within an area

of 30 kilometres from the border, carry on the petty traditional trade on barter basis, which shall not be subjected to the limitations of the above-mentioned provisions.

*Article VIII*

Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to derogate from any obligations of either of the Contracting Parties under any international convention or agreement entered into before or after the conclusion of this Agreement.

*Article IX*

Any dispute arising out of the implementation of this Agreement shall be settled through peaceful and friendly consultations between the Contracting Parties.

*Article X*

This Agreement replaces the Paragraph II of Article IV of the Agreement to Maintain Friendly Relations between the Kingdom of Nepal and the People's Republic of China and on Trade and Intercourse between Nepal and the Tibet Region of China concluded between the two Contracting Parties on September 20, 1956.

This Agreement shall come into force on and from the date of signing and its validity is for two years. If neither party notifies the other in writing to terminate this Agreement at least six months before its expiration, the validity shall be automatically extended for another two years.

After the expiration of this Agreement, all obligations arising therefrom shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

The present Agreement is concluded in Kathmandu on 19th May 1964, Done in duplicate in the Nepalese, Chinese and English languages, all the three texts being equally authentic. In case there should arise any difference in interpretation between the Nepalese and the Chinese texts, the English text shall be taken as final.

**322 Chen Yi's speech at Kathmandu banquet, 30 March 1965  
(Extract)**

“We have always been happy to have a good neighbour in Nepal. The Nepalese people are very industrious and courageous. They have never bowed their heads before foreign oppressors and interventionists. His Majesty King Mahendra is an outstanding statesman. He is filled with lofty aspirations to bring prosperity to his country and the determination to safeguard independence and sovereignty. . . .

Conquering the enormous natural barriers of the Himalayas in a dauntless spirit and working in close co-operation, our two governments and peoples have succeeded in preliminarily opening to traffic a highway connecting our two countries. It can be said without exaggeration that in the interest of our friendship both countries have done a lot of things which are of historic significance. The best evidence can be found in the existence of a peaceful boundary, a highway of friendship and a treaty of peace and friendship.”

Referring to China's economic aid to Nepal, the Vice Premier expressed his gratitude to Vice Chairman Bista for his high appraisal of China's economic aid. He said, “In our view aid is always something mutual. China helps Nepal, and Nepal in turn helps China. In the international affairs, Nepal upholds justice, firmly stands for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations, and opposes the scheme of ‘two Chinas’. Nepal firmly maintains her friendship toward China; she informs the world of the truth about China and opposes distortions and slanders against China. This constitutes a great support to us.”

“It is by no means accidental that the friendly relations between China and Nepal have developed so smoothly. Both of us are new emerging states. Moreover, we are close neighbours. We both adhere to the five principles of peaceful co-existence and oppose imperialism and big-nation chauvinism. Consequently, we find it easy to share each other's feelings and acquire a common language. We support each other in times of difficulty and help each other in national construction. We always respect each other and treat each other as equals; at no time does any of us impose his will on the other or regard

himself as superior to the other. Such friendship as existing between our two peoples can stand the test of time.”

Chen Yi expressed the hope that his visit could be able to make a new contribution to friendship between China and Nepal.

### **323 China-Nepal joint press communique on Chen Yi's visit to Nepal, 3 April 1965 (Extract)**

His Excellency Marshal Ch'en Yi had talks with the Chairman and the Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers on the further development of the friendly relations between the two countries and on questions of mutual interest.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality. Both parties reaffirmed their faith in the five principles of peaceful co-existence which govern the relations happily existing between the two countries and expressed satisfaction that the friendly relations between the two countries had continuously developed and strengthened since the establishment of their diplomatic relations.

Both parties expressed satisfaction at the smooth progress of the projects of economic co-operation between the two countries. His Majesty's Government of Nepal expressed gratitude to the Government of the People's Republic of China for its economic aid. The two parties also studied the question of further strengthening the economic co-operation between the two countries. Both parties agreed that the current unallocated balance of the Chinese assistance will be utilized for the development of transport in Nepal. Marshal Ch'en Yi indicated that the Chinese Government would provide additional economic and technical assistance to the best of its ability for Nepal's Second Five-Year Plan. Both parties have agreed that Chinese expert teams to arrive in Kathmandu in the near future would study and survey the possibilities of such assistance. Marshal Ch'en Yi showed interest in the various reform projects of His Majesty's Government and expressed the hope that these reforms would help promote the economic development of Nepal and raise the living standards of the Nepalese people.

The two parties exchanged views on the current inter-

national situation. They showed the gravest concern over the recent happenings in Vietnam. They reaffirmed their respect for the unity, integrity and sovereignty of Vietnam and the inviolable right of the Vietnamese people to settle their own problems and chart their own future in accordance with their own will and aspirations and without foreign interference. The two parties also discussed the progress made toward the preparations of the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference and expressed belief that the ensuing 10th anniversary of the Bandung Conference in Djakarta and the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers will make an enormous contribution to the final elimination of colonialism and imperialism, to the consolidation of Asian-African solidarity and unity as well as to the preservation of world peace and security. . . .

**324 China-Nepal joint press communique on Kirti Nidhi Bista's visit to China, 8 September 1965 (Extract)**

Vice Premier Ch'en Yi and Vice Chairman Bista held talks about the further development of friendly relations and matters of mutual interest. The two parties were satisfied that the relations of friendship and co-operation which were based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence and the ten principles of Bandung declaration have been greatly strengthened by the exchange of visits of the leaders and various delegations of both countries and by the mutual support and co-operation between the two countries in the common cause of upholding Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace.

The two parties reviewed matters related to economic co-operation between the two countries and expressed satisfaction at the progress being made since their last meeting during the visit of Vice Premier Ch'en Yi in Nepal. The two parties exchanged views on the further strengthening of the economic and technical co-operation between the two countries. The Chinese Government agreed to help Nepal in building new highways<sup>1</sup> and a corresponding protocol was signed by the two parties. The Chinese Government also expressed its readiness

<sup>1</sup>A 220-km road from Kathmandu to Pokhara costing \$45 million as a gift from China.

to provide new items of aid for the new 5-year plan designed to expedite the pace of development of Nepal under the leadership of His Majesty the King. It was agreed that an economic investigation group from China would be sent to Nepal as soon as possible to examine the possibilities of helping Nepal to build hydro-electric station as well as other projects. His Excellency Mr. Kirti Nidhi Bista expressed gratitude for the various forms of economic assistance given so far by China to His Majesty's Government in the implementation of the latter's development plans.

The Vice Premier and the Vice Chairman had a free and frank exchange of views on various international issues. They showed their concern over the increasingly serious situation in Vietnam. They reaffirmed their respect for the unity, integrity and sovereignty of Vietnam and the inalienable right of the Vietnamese people to settle their own problem and chart their own future in accordance with their own will and aspirations and without foreign interference.

The Vice Premier and the Vice Chairman, among other things, also discussed the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference to be held in Algiers on November 5 and agreed that the success of the conference would make positive contributions to the cause of world peace, to the consolidation of Afro-Asian solidarity and to the elimination of imperialism and colonialism.

### **325 Statement by Foreign Minister Bista in the UN General Assembly, 5 October 1965 (Extracts)**

The continued absence of the Government of People's Republic of China gives an air of unreality to all decisions and deliberations of the United Nations. . . .

There is one China and that is the People's Republic of China; and a refusal of its rightful claim to be within the United Nations today is completely contrary to the realities of the present-day world. Whether in the question of general and complete disarmament or in the political settlement of the South East Asia problem, the participation of the People's Republic of China is one of the prime necessities for attaining peace in the world. . . .

The People's Republic of China, which has recently entered



the group of nuclear Powers, has so far not been invited to participate in any disarmament conferences. It is difficult to conceive of general and complete disarmament, or of any meaningful step towards it, without the participation of all nuclear Powers in the negotiations.

**326 Statement by Nepalese representative Maj. Gen. Padma Bahadur Khatri in the UN General Assembly, 10 November 1965 (Extracts)**

When we talk of Vietnam or of disarmament issues such as the complete prohibition of nuclear tests, general and complete disarmament or, even, of a world disarmament conference, circumstances have impelled us to see the imperative need of the participation of the People's Republic of China in our deliberations in the United Nations. This is a fact. I think nobody would disagree with me on this question. . . .

Nobody can ignore the fact that China is a nuclear Power, a country with a large military potential. China is one of the biggest land masses of the earth having 700 million inhabitants who constitute one-fourth of the world's population. By keeping such an enormous world Power outside the United Nations, the problem of disarmament and other fundamental problems of our time cannot be solved. . . .

It is the Government of that People's Republic of China which is the legal Government—and the only legal one—and not Kuomintang China. . . .

As we consider the participation of the People's Republic of China to be of vital concern to all for the cause of world peace and also for the maintenance of the balance of power within the United Nations as envisaged by the San Francisco Conference, we should take it as a simple procedural question of substitution which should be decided by a simple majority.

Nepal has a common border of more than 1,000 kilometres with the Tibet region of China, a border which was under dispute for 150 years. We have amicably settled this border problem to the entire satisfaction of both Nepal and the People's Republic of China. This convinces us that until now we have found their international code of conduct with us most correct. . . .

**327 Agreement on Trade, Intercourse and Related Questions  
between Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal,  
Peking, 2 May 1966\***

The Government of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty's Government of Nepal,

Being desirous of further developing the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries, reaffirming the five principles, i.e.

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
  2. Mutual non-aggression,
  3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character,
  4. Equality and mutual benefit, and
  5. Peaceful co-existence,
- as the fundamental principles guiding the relations between the two countries,

Desiring to develop on the basis of these principles the traditional friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries and particularly between the inhabitants of the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and the people of Nepal.

Have agreed to conclude the present Agreement on the basis of the "Agreement to Maintain the Friendly Relations between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal and on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal" signed by the two Governments on September 20, 1956.

After friendly consultations, the two Governments have agreed upon the following:

*Article I*

The two Governments agree that the movement of persons between the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal shall be governed by the following provisions:

\*This Agreement was extended for a further period of ten years by the exchange of letters in April 1976.

1. Diplomatic personnel, civil servants and other nationals (except those covered by paragraphs 2, 3, 4, and 5 of this Article) of either country shall hold passports issued by their own country and visaed by the other country. Nationals of either country entering the Tibet Autonomous Region of China or Nepal *via* a third country shall also hold passports issued by their own country and visaed by the other country.
2. Traders of either country known to be customarily and specially engaged in trade between the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal (not being those persons covered by paragraph 3 of this Article), their wives and children dependent upon them for livelihood and their attendants shall hold passports issued by their own country and visaed by the other country or other certificates issued by their own Government or its duly authorised agency.
3. Inhabitants of the border districts of either country who proceed to the border districts of the other country to carry on petty trade, to visit friends or relatives, or for seasonal change of residence, need not have passports, visas or other certificates, but shall register at the border checkpost or the first encountered duly authorised government agency of the other country.
4. Religious believers of either country who travel for the purpose of pilgrimage need not have passports, visas or other certificates, but shall register at the border checkpost or the first encountered duly authorised government agency of the other country and obtain permits for pilgrimage.
5. Porters and muleteers of either country shall only hold certificates valid for a period of not more than one year issued by the local government of their own country or by its duly authorized agency and register at the border checkpost of the other country and need not have passports or visas.
6. Border inhabitants of both countries while travelling across the border shall use the customary routes.
7. Government officials, pilgrims and traders of both countries shall have the facility of engaging the means of transport at normal and reasonable rates.
8. Notwithstanding the provisions of the foregoing paragraphs of this Article, either Government may refuse entry in its

territory to any particular person, should it deem this necessary.

9. Nationals of either country who enter the territory of the other country in accordance with the foregoing paragraphs of this Article may stay within the territory of the other country only after complying with the procedures specified by the other country.

### *Article II*

The two Governments agree that pilgrimage between the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal shall be maintained, and for this purpose have agreed on the following provisions:

1. The local authorities concerned of either country shall suitably facilitate the entry into or departure from its territory of pilgrims from the other country.
2. Pilgrims of either country entering or leaving the territory of the other country shall comply with procedures specified in Article 1 paragraph 4 of the present Agreement.
3. The personal luggage and articles used for pilgrimage carried by pilgrims shall be exempted from duties by both Governments.

### *Article III*

Subject to the procedures to be mutually agreed upon, the two Governments agree to make full use on a reciprocal basis of the Lhasa-Kodari and Kathmandu-Kodari Highways to develop friendly intercourse between the two countries in respect of official and trade purposes.

### *Article IV*

In order to ensure the peaceful living and normal pursuits of either country's nationals in the territory of the other and promote the development of friendship between the two countries, the two Governments have agreed on the following:

1. The respective Governments shall protect the life, property and legitimate interests of the nationals of the other country in its territory.

2. Nationals of one country in the territory of the other shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Government of the host country and abide by its laws and regulations, pay taxes and respect the local customs.
3. All civil and criminal cases or disputes in the territory of either country involving nationals of the other country shall be handled by the Government of the host country.

#### *Article V*

The two Governments shall encourage and support the development of trade relations between the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal. The authorities concerned of either country shall protect the legitimate interests of the traders of the other country in its territory and facilitate their business activities. The traders of either country in the territory of the other must abide by the relevant laws and regulations and shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the host country.

The two Governments should promote traditional petty trade across the border between the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal. The local authorities concerned should give facility and protection to the border inhabitants of the other country engaged in such normal petty trade based on barter.

#### *Article VI*

The Government of the People's Republic of China agrees to the establishment of a consulate-general in Lhasa by His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

His Majesty's Government of Nepal agrees to the establishment of a consulate-general in Kathmandu by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

#### *Article VII*

In order to strengthen the friendship between the local officials of the two Governments and settle in time problems arising in the intercourse between the border inhabitants of the two countries, the local officials of the border districts of the two Governments may hold meetings as and when necessary.

The rank, time, place and other matters concerning each meeting shall be decided through consultation between the local

officials concerned of the two Governments themselves.

*Article VIII*

The present Agreement abrogates the “Agreement to Maintain the Friendly Relations between the People’s Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal and on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal” of September 20, 1956 and also the letters exchanged on the same date in relation to the same Agreement.

The present Agreement shall come into force on the date of its signing and shall remain in force for a period of ten years. Amendment or extension of the present Agreement may be negotiated by the two Governments six months before its expiration, if either Government proposes to amend or extend the present Agreement and obtains the consent of the other Government.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the 2nd day of May, 1966, in the Chinese, Nepali and English languages, all texts being equally authentic.

**328 Vice-Premier Chen Yi’s speech at the banquet given in honour of Crown Prince Birendra of Nepal, 26 June 1966 (Extracts)**

Nepal is a friendly neighbour of ours. China and Nepal have always lived in harmony and there is between the two peoples a traditional friendship of more than a thousand years. Today, the relations between our two countries, based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, have become still closer and more friendly than before. We are convinced that the present visit of His Royal Highness Crown Prince Birendra Shah and the other distinguished Nepalese guests to our country will surely enhance the mutual understanding between our two countries and further promote our friendship.

**329 Speech by Crown Prince Birendra at the banquet, 26 June 1966 (Extracts)**

Old and time-tested as the relations between our two countries are, they have their base in history and traditions. Since the

establishment of diplomatic relations in 1955, they have grown stronger with the passage of time each day. Peace and friendship between Nepal and China and trade and intercourse between Nepal and Tibet Region of China were forged into reality on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence are the guidelines of our relations with each other, and the history of the past decade forms a most happy chronology of events between our two countries. One such event—and by far the most significant—is the Nepal-China Boundary Treaty. . . .

This agreement not only helped put Nepal-China relations in true perspective, but also showed that, given goodwill and understanding there is no such dispute, however big, however deeprooted and however complicated that cannot be resolved to the satisfaction of the interested parties. The agreement is a unique example of mutual accommodation, of respect for each other's sovereignty, of equality between states, of mutual benefit, and of peaceful settlement of disputes. . . .

The extent and scope of our friendship are by no means exhausted by the factors enumerated above. Economic and cultural relations are also the sustaining pillars of the friendship between the two countries. The 1964 trade agreement and the recently concluded agreement of friendly relations and trade with the Autonomous Tibet Region of China have opened up new possibilities of trade between the two countries. These agreements have positively added to the immeasurable fund of friendship existing between Nepal and China. The Kathmandu-Kodari Highway linking Kathmandu and Lhasa is the greatest single factor which has broadened the traditional trade routes between Nepal and China and revolutionized the whole system of border trade. A few days ago, a bridge over the river Bhote Kosi was commissioned. This bridge on the Kathmandu-Kodari Highway is most appropriately named the Friendship Bridge. The Chinese technicians, who worked on the highway have put not only their labour on the job but also their heart and soul in it. His Majesty's Government is particularly appreciative of the fact that the Chinese technicians have called into the closest collaboration their Nepalese co-workers on the job. These workers, we hope, would find this experience of much use in other developmental projects in Nepal.

We have also highly valued Chinese assistance and co-operation in other economic projects that we are undertaking in Nepal for the development and progress of our country. We value this co-operation, because it comes from a friendly country and is responsive to our need. . . .

Today, China-Nepal relations have hit the high water-mark of friendship. We necessarily differ in our systems and in our policies on many questions, but as neighbouring countries which come in daily contact with each other, we have developed a sense of good neighbourliness, and of tolerance and peaceful co-existence. Both of our countries are dedicated to the preservation of world peace. We in Nepal believe that without the active collaboration of the People's Republic of China with her vast resources, man-power and potentialities, the great questions of the day such as disarmament and world peace would never be resolved. That is why we find the two-China doctrine ridiculous.

We value our friendship with China greatly. We understand each other's viewpoints well, and refrain from interfering in any way in matters of each other's domestic concern. We, however, are particularly grateful to the Government and the people of China for the interest they have shown in the Panchayat system of democracy, which we have developed in Nepal in accordance with the traditions, temperament and genius of our people.

**330 *Peking Review* report on the conversion of Chinese aid to Nepal from Indian rupees to pound sterling, 28 October 1966**

The Nepalese Government has decided that the Nepalese rupee is the only legal tender in Nepal as of October 17, 1966. According to the decision, the Act to Regulate Foreign Exchange has been extended to cover the whole of Nepal and the circulation of Indian rupees is prohibited in the country. On October 18, Chinese Ambassador to Nepal Yang Kung-su and secretary of the Nepalese Ministry for Economic Planning Yadav Prasad Pant exchanged documents on behalf of their respective Governments with respect to Chinese aid to Nepal. The documents stated that in view of the friendly relations between



China and Nepal and for the purpose of preventing India's rupee devaluation from adversely affecting the independent economic development of the Nepalese Government, the Chinese Government agreed to convert the total sum of 160 million Indian rupees of economic aid provided by China in the October 1956 and March 1960 agreements into 12 million pounds sterling. The conversion was made at the gold standard value of the two currencies prior to India's rupee devaluation. The Chinese and Nepalese banks concerned will change the Indian rupee account into a pound sterling account. This will include both the utilized and unutilized portions of the aid funds.

In a press note on October 18, the Nepalese Government said: "His Majesty's Government extends thanks to the Government of the People's Republic of China for the liberality thus shown."

**331 Statement by Nepalese representative Major-General Padma Bahadur Khatri in the UN General Assembly, 28 November 1966 (Extract)**

There is no doubt, however, that the position of the countries which oppose restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is weakening each day with the passage of time. It is a matter of history that these Powers were successful in blocking the discussion of this question in the General Assembly from 1951 to 1960. Because discussion of the question in the Assembly could no longer be blocked, these Powers have since then changed their tactics and introduced procedural wrangling to make the question one of importance within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2, which would require a two-thirds voting majority in the Assembly in order to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. We have time and again rejected this contention as being only a manoeuvre designed to keep the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations. We know that these countries would not hesitate to resort to other manoeuvres to gain further time if they had to.

So far as my delegation is concerned, the six-Power draft resolution contained in document A/L, 500 falls into the cate-

gory of such futile procedural manoeuvres. However good may be the intention of the co-sponsors—although, I regret to say, these good intentions seem to be decidedly misguided in this case—the proposal contained in the draft resolution is bound to meet with a fate similar to the one that confronted the Canadian proposal in 1950. As several delegations have recalled, the study committee formed under that proposal met only once and reported failure.

The six-Power draft resolution seeks to form a committee to study and inquire into the question of participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In our view, there is nothing to be studied and inquired into about this question. This proposal militates against common sense and is nothing but a procedural manoeuvre calculated to shelve the question for one year at the minimum. It is a retrograde step which, if adopted, would take us back to the days of 1950, when similar attempts were made by interested countries which do not want the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The draft resolution containing this proposal is complementary to the one submitted by fifteen Powers in document A/L.494, declaring this question one of importance within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2. The question is simply the question of recognizing the representatives of a State which is already a Member and enabling them to occupy their seats in the United Nations to which they are entitled. This being so, I think it is incumbent upon me to let the Assembly know that my delegation would oppose the "study committee" resolution with as much vehemence as it would reject the "important issue" resolution.

### **332 China-Nepal Agreement on Economic Cooperation, 21 December 1966**

His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Government of the People's Republic of China, being motivated by the desire of further promoting and strengthening the friendly relations and the economic and technical co-operation between the two countries have, through friendly discussions, reached an agreement as follows:

*Article I*

With a view to helping His Majesty's Government of Nepal to develop its economy, the Government of the People's Republic of China agrees to provide His Majesty's Government of Nepal, within the period from December 21, 1966 to December 31, 1970, a free grant of aid without any conditions attached. The amount of the aid shall be 150,000,000 (one hundred and fifty million) Nepali Rupees.<sup>1</sup>

*Article II*

The aid amount mentioned in Article I shall be provided in instalments in the form of complete sets of equipment according to the capability of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the requirements of His Majesty's Government of Nepal. The specific items shall be discussed and decided upon separately by the respective representatives to be appointed by the two Governments.

*Article III*

At the invitation of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Government of the People's Republic of China shall dispatch experts and technical personnel to the Kingdom of Nepal to render technical assistance. Their living expenses and facilities and working conditions shall be covered by the related notes exchanged on September 5, 1961 between the two Governments.

*Article IV*

The People's Bank of China and the Nepal Rastra Bank shall make an arrangement to establish the technical procedure for the smooth implementation of this Agreement.

*Article V*

This Agreement shall come into force from the date of its signing.

Done in duplicate in Kathmandu on December 21, 1966 in the Nepalese, Chinese and English languages, all the text being equally authentic.

<sup>1</sup>The offer of aid was made on 7 July 1966, towards the end of Crown Prince Birendra's visit to China.

**333 Letter of Y.P. Pant, Secretary of Nepalese Government, to  
the Chinese Ambassador in Nepal, Yang kung-su,  
21 December 1966**

I have the honour to refer to the following agreement reached through friendly consultation between our two sides:

1. "In the light of the proposal made by His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Government of the People's Republic of China agrees to provide to His Majesty's Government of Nepal 150,000,000 (one hundred and fifty million) Nepali Rupees in cash out of the aid amount as stipulated in Article I of the Sino-Nepalese Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation signed on the 21st day of December 1966. The cash mentioned above shall be given by the People's Bank of China in four instalments, one-fourth of the amount each, within the period from January 1, 1967 to December 31, 1968.
2. The Government of the People's Republic of China agrees to provide to His Majesty's Government of Nepal 27,000,000 (twenty seven million) Nepali Rupees in commodities, out of the amount as stipulated in the aforesaid Agreement, to meet the local expenses necessary for the items of economic construction under aid from China to Nepal, and transportation charges, within the Indian and Nepalese territories, of the equipments, machinery and materials to be supplied by China to Nepal. The said commodities shall be supplied year by year, in lots and instalments in accordance with the amount of local expenses required in the progress of the construction of items under aid from China and shall be sold by the Nepalese side who shall arrange the payment for the above mentioned local expenses. The annually required kinds of commodities, their specifications, quantities and prices shall be discussed and decided upon year by year by both parties."

I wish to request your Excellency to kindly confirm the above.

**334 Peking Review commentary on Nepalese Government  
connivance at anti-China outrage, 14 July 1967 (Extracts)**

On the evening of July 1, a group of Nepalese hooligans, instigated and directed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the Indian reactionaries, and with the connivance of the Nepalese Government, carried out anti-China activities in front of the Chinese photo exhibition hall in Kathmandu. They made several attempts to break into the exhibition hall, clamouring hysterically for removal of the portrait of the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao and of the Chinese national flag. They shouted anti-China slogans and viciously insulted Chairman Mao. . . .

The Nepalese Government approved and supported this anti-China outrage. In the past six months, the reactionary Nepalese press has continually carried articles slandering China. Reactionary forces in Nepal forbade Nepalese students to wear badges with a profile of Chairman Mao or carry *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. At the time of the outrage, the Chinese side repeatedly demanded that the Nepalese Government stop it. However, this demand was ignored. When the hooligans were committing the outrage, the Nepalese Commissioner in Bagmati was right on the spot.

On instructions from the Chinese Government, Chinese Ambassador in Nepal Yang Kung-su lodged a serious protest with the Nepalese Government on July 5 against this anti-China outrage. The Ambassador stressed that the Great socialist China was not to be bullied. In conducting anti-China activities, imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries would break their own skulls. Those who follow them in their anti-China campaign would suffer the consequences of their own actions.

**335 China's protest note to Nepal, 21 July 1967**

In its note of July 10, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of His Majesty's Government of Nepal made no mention of the truth of the recent anti-Chinese outrages in Nepal in an attempt to evade its responsibility and deny that the Nepalese Government has approved and supported this anti-Chinese incident. But facts

are undeniable.

For a long time the Nepalese Government has allowed US imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indian reaction to indulge in wilful anti-Chinese activities on Nepalese soil. Since the beginning of China's great proletarian Cultural Revolution, imperialism, revisionism, reaction and the reactionary forces in Nepal have become even more frantic and unbridled in their anti-Chinese activities. Large quantities of foreign publications containing anti-Chinese materials have been circulated in Nepal. The Nepalese press has also carried large number of anti-Chinese articles viciously attacking China's great Cultural Revolution and even brazenly insulting Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people. Despite the representations made by the Chinese Embassy on many occasions, the Nepalese Government has failed to take any effective measures to stop these anti-Chinese activities. The Nepalese Government's assertion about not allowing any country to oppose a third country in Nepal actually means allowing blatant attacks on China by imperialism, revisionism and reaction and by reactionary forces in Nepal while forbidding the Chinese side from making necessary and justified exposure and rebuttal.

The US imperialists and the Indian reactionaries openly planned and directly took a hand in the anti-Chinese outrage on the evening of July 1, and the Nepalese Government was not unaware of it in advance. Before this outrage took place, the Chinese Embassy had repeatedly given warning and made representations to the Nepalese Government, asking it to take prompt measures to prevent such anti-Chinese outrages, but it did not adopt any measure at all. What is particularly intolerable is that when diplomats and members of the Chinese Embassy repeatedly made representations, and protested to the responsible person in charge of the exhibition, and the Bagmati Commissioner after hooligans had assembled and started to make troubles in front of the Chinese exhibition hall, the Commissioner made utterly unwarranted charges against the Chinese side instead of taking firm measures to stop the outrage. It was with such open connivance and encouragement that the hooligans not only insulted the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao, tore up the decorative banners of the Chinese exhibition hall, injured members of the Chinese

Embassy, and damaged cars of the Chinese Embassy, *Hsinhua* News Agency and the Chinese experts, thereby committing the unprecedentedly grave anti-Chinese outrage of insulting the Chinese people and violating the diplomatic privileges of the Chinese Embassy. From this series of facts, the Chinese Government has good reason to view this anti-Chinese incident as having been engineered by US imperialism and Indian reaction with the approval and support of the Nepalese Government. The Chinese Ambassador had solemnly pointed out this when he lodged protests with the Nepalese Government on July 2 and 5. The *Hsinhua* correspondent also solemnly pointed out this on July 8 in his truthful report of the facts of this anti-Chinese outrage. In its note, the Nepalese Government refused to admit the fact that it had supported this outrage and vigorously protested against the report of the *Hsinhua* News Agency, considering this to be damaging to the reputation of the Nepalese Government. The Chinese Government categorically rejects this unwarranted protest. In fact, it is the Nepalese Government's own words and deeds and not the report of the *Hsinhua* News Agency, that have damaged the reputation of the Nepalese Government. Can it be that the Nepalese Government could permit the mass circulation of anti-Chinese foreign newspapers in Nepal and connive at the slanderous attacks against China by the Nepalese press culminating in the anti-Chinese outrage of July 1, while the *Hsinhua* News Agency was not entitled to keep the public correctly informed by reporting the truth of the above facts? It must be pointed out that today the Nepalese press is continuing to spread rumours about China and to vilify and attack China, and the *Hsinhua* News Agency in particular, is made the target of such attacks. What is more, the Nepalese Government has intervened directly by restricting the sale of Chinese publications, confiscating copies of quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other writings of Chairman Mao, intimidating book shops dealing in Chinese publications and the Nepal-China Friendship Association which has been championing Sino-Nepalese friendship, and conniving at hooligans' tearing up pictures about China exhibited by the Nepal-China Friendship Association. The Chinese people cannot but express extreme indignation at the above mentioned deliberately undermining Sino-Nepalese friendship. The Chinese Government

hereby lodges the most serious protest with the Nepalese Government. The Chinese Embassy wants to solemnly point out once again that the great socialist China is not to be bullied, that imperialism, revisionism and reaction will certainly have themselves badly battered in opposing China and that whoever tails after them in opposing China will surely eat the bitter fruit of their own making, too.

Recently the Nepalese Government has repeatedly told the Chinese Ambassador that it wishes to safeguard the friendship between China and Nepal. If the Nepalese Government is really sincere about this, then it must promptly annul all measures discriminating against China and stop all anti-Chinese utterance and deeds on Nepalese territory. If the Nepalese side does not care for the friendship which has taken long time to build between China and Nepal but allows imperialism, revisionism and reaction to indulge in their evil ways in Nepal or even tails after them in opposing China, then the Nepalese Government must bear full responsibility for all the serious consequences arising therefrom.

**336 Address by King Mahendra in the UN General Assembly,  
6 November 1967 (Extract)**

The world's most populous country, China, has not yet been properly represented in the United Nations in spite of the efforts made by many countries and for many years. The correction is necessary as much to do justice to the great Chinese people as to make the world body effective. My country has worked actively to remove this imbalance with a full sense of responsibility.

**337 Statement by Nepalese representative Khanal in the  
UN General Assembly, 23 November 1967 (Extracts)**

The absence of the Pople's Republic of China from the United Nations has weakened the Organization morally, structurally and politically. . . .

No lasting solution to the vexing problems of the world, particularly those of Asia, South-East Asia and the Far East, is possible without the co-operation of this Government. It is



equally understandable that its co-operation and participation would be vital to the success of any disarmament talks. . . .

The absence of the People's Republic of China has weakened the moral and political effectiveness of the United Nations. We believe that the United Nations should be universal in its membership. For most of us, particularly the small developing countries, who look upon the United Nations as the sentinel of our sovereign existence, this lack of universality cuts at the root of our faith in the system of collective peace and security established under the Charter. If this system is to be workable, it is necessary, indeed imperative, that the rights of the People's Republic of China should be restored in the United Nations.

**338 "Nepal and the world today," article by Foreign Secretary Y. N. Khanal in *Nepal: Monograph on Nepalese Culture*, 1968 (Extracts)**

So far as Nepal is concerned, peaceful co-existence when applied to practical conditions and short of extraneous forces means co-existence between India and China and our own co-existence with both of them. So we have tried to cultivate friendship with them as best as we can. We know that in the present atmosphere of tension between them, ours is an unenviable position, but we are fortified in our belief through the realisation that peaceful co-existence is bound to prevail sooner or later, in spite of the complexities of the Sino-Indian differences, because the alternative to it is disaster. Afro-Asian unity within the framework of continuing tension between India and China is in our opinion a mirage. . . . It is difficult to envisage a world or even less an Afro-Asian community in which India or China is completely isolated.

**339 China-Nepal trade agreement, 28 May 1968**

His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Government of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the Contracting Parties) for the purpose of further developing the friendship between the two countries and strengthening the economic and trade relations between the two countries, especially the traditional trade relations between Nepal and the

Tibet Autonomous Region of China, have, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, agreed as follows:

*Article I*

The two Contracting Parties shall take all appropriate measures to develop the trade between their two countries, and agree to promote the exchange of goods between them.

*Article II*

The trade between the two countries may be conducted through the state trading organizations of Nepal and China, as well as other importers and exporters of the two countries.

*Article III*

The exchange of goods between the two countries shall be conducted in accordance with their respective laws, regulations and procedures regarding import and export and foreign exchange regulations in force from time to time in the two countries.

*Article IV*

The trade between the two countries shall be based, as far as possible, on the principle of equilibrium between the total values of imports and exports.

The two Contracting Parties shall, through periodical consultations, determine what goods one country can make available to the other; and they shall mutually accord to each other as favourable treatment as possible in respect of the issuance of import and export licences for such goods.

*Article V*

The two Contracting Parties shall grant to each other the most favoured nation treatment in all matters relating to customs duties and other taxes, fees and charges of any kind to be levied on exportation and importation of commodities, and to the rules, formalities and charges of customs management.

These provisions, however, shall not apply to:

- a. Advantages resulting from any customs union or other agreement on customs-free trade to which either Contr-

- acting Party is or may become in the future a party; and  
b. Advantages accorded by multilateral economic agreement relating to international commerce.

#### *Article VI*

Payments in connection with the importation and exportation of commodities and goods as well as other payments between the two countries shall be made in accordance with the relevant regulations stipulated in the Protocol to this Agreement.

#### *Article VII*

Border inhabitants of the two countries may, within an area of 30 kilometres from the border, carry on the petty traditional trade on barter basis, which shall not be subjected to the limitation of the above mentioned provisions.

#### *Article VIII*

Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to derogate from any obligations of either of the Contracting Parties under any international convention or agreement entered into before or after the conclusion of this Agreement.

#### *Article IX*

Any dispute arising out of the implementation of this Agreement shall be settled through peaceful and friendly consultations between the two Contracting Parties.

#### *Article X*

This Agreement shall remain in force for a period of two years starting retrospectively from 19th May 1968. If neither Party notifies the other in writing to terminate this Agreement at least six months before its expiration, the validity shall be automatically extended for another two years and further extensions shall be effected in a similar manner.

After the expiration of this Agreement all the obligations arising therefrom shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

The present Agreement is concluded in Peking on the 28 day of May, 1968, in duplicate in the Nepalese, Chinese and

English languages, all the three texts being equally authentic.

KIRTINIDHI BISTA

CHEN YI

### **340 China-Nepal joint communique, 1 June 1968**

At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Kirti Nidhi Bista, Deputy Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Nepal, paid a friendly visit to the People's Republic of China from May 23 to June 1, 1968. He was accorded a warm welcome and hospitable reception by the Chinese Government and people.

His Excellency Kirti Nidhi Bista toured Peking, Shanghai, Nanking and Tsinan and visited factories, a people's commune, construction projects, an institute, places of historical interest, etc. The Deputy Prime Minister was greatly impressed by the tremendous achievements of the Chinese people in all fields.

The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao received Deputy Prime Minister Bista and his entourage and had a friendly and cordial conversation with them. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, met and had a conversation with the Deputy Prime Minister and his entourage.

Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and Deputy Prime Minister Bista held talks in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship,

The two sides reviewed the relations between the two countries and expressed their satisfaction at the continued fruitful development of the friendly relations between the two countries in recent years. These relations are based on mutual respect and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The two sides indicated that they would make joint efforts to further strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries.

The two sides agreed that the exchange of visits between the leaders of the two countries was a positive contribution to the promotion of mutual understanding and friendship.

The two sides held talks on the development of the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. The Deputy Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Nepal expressed

his sincere gratitude to the Government of the People's Republic of China for their generous help and assistance in the development of Nepal. The two sides expressed satisfaction at the conclusion of a trade agreement to further promote trade and commerce between the two countries. The two sides agreed that the economic co-operation between China and Nepal should be strengthened and developed constantly. The Chinese side expressed its readiness to provide, through consultation, continued and increased assistance, both material and technical, in the economic development of Nepal.

The two sides had a full exchange of views on international questions of common interest.

His Excellency Deputy Prime-Minister Bista extended a most cordial invitation to Vice Premier Chen Yi to visit Nepal at a time convenient to him. The Chinese Government has accepted the invitation.

### **341 Speech by Vice Premier Chen Yi at a Peking reception to celebrate King Mahendra's birthday, 11 June 1968 (Extracts)**

Under the leadership of King Mahendra, the Kingdom of Nepal has carried out unremitting struggles to safeguard state sovereignty and national independence and oppose outside interference and subversion, and has achieved progress in national construction. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, actively support the policy of peace, neutrality and independence pursued by Nepal and the efforts by the Nepalese people in safeguarding their national independence and developing their national economy. . . .

We are fully convinced that the continued development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Nepal on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence conforms to the interests of our two peoples and is conducive to the common cause of the Afro-Asian people's unity against imperialism. . . .

Certain people are now feverishly tailing after imperialism and modern revisionism in going all out to slander and vilify China and are carrying out sinister activities everywhere in an attempt to knock together a new anti-China alliance. As a matter of fact, they long ago wrecked the Five Principles of

Peaceful Co-existence they themselves once supported, and have all along indulged in big-nation chauvinism and expansionism. But they will never succeed in their anti-China conspiracy.

### **342 Protocol to the China-Nepal trade agreement, 28 May 1969**

In accordance with the provisions of Article VI of the Trade Agreement between His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Government of the People's Republic of China concluded on the 28 day of May, 1968, the two Governments have agreed as follows:

1. The trade over land between the two countries shall be on the basis on the C & F at the point of transfer of the goods over the border between Nepal and the Tibet Autonomous Region of China or such other places in the vicinity of the border as may be determined by the local authorities concerned.
2. The trade over seas between the two countries shall be, in the case of export from Nepal on the basis of F.O.B. and, in the case of export from China, on the basis of C.I.F. Calcutta or other port through which the goods may be shipped in transit.
3. The method of payments between the two countries shall be as follows:
  - A. (i) The two Governments shall open in a bank of the opposite side an interest-free and charge-free Pound Sterling clearing account, the balance of which shall be settled at the end of each calendar year with convertible Pound Sterling.
  - (ii) In the event of any change in the gold content of the Pound Sterling, one Pound Sterling containing 2.13281 grams of fine gold at present, the balance of account as prescribed in A(i) above, and the amounts of outstanding contracts and letter of credit expressed in Pound Sterling under the Trade Agreement between Nepal and China shall all be adjusted according to the proportion of the change, so that their gold

equivalents shall remain unchanged as before.

- B. The under-noted payment shall be channelled through the account as prescribed in. A(i) above:
- (i) Payments relating to the proceeds of the purchase and sale of commodities between the two countries and their incidental charges:
  - (ii) Payments for local expenses of Embassies, Consulates and Commercial Counsellor's Offices of both countries;
  - (iii) Payments for expenses incurred by governmental, commercial, cultural and social organizations and delegations or other representatives of each country in the territory of the other country;
  - (iv) Payments for expenses of students and trainees as well as overseas remittances and travelling expenses of tourists of both countries; and
  - (v) Such other payments as agreed upon by and between the Nepal Rastra Bank and the People's Bank of China.
- C. The Nepal Rastra Bank and the People's Bank of China shall work out the technical details necessary for the implementation of this Payment Arrangement.
4. This Protocol shall remain in force for a period of two years starting retrospectively from 19th May, 1968, and its validity is the same as that of the Trade Agreement between His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Government of the People's Republic of China.

This Protocol is signed in Peking on the 28 day of May, 1969, in duplicate in the Nepalese, Chinese and English languages, all the three texts being equally authentic.

(SD) KIRTI NIDHI BISTA

(SD) CHEN YI

**343 Peking Review report on Nepalese condemnation of Indian "expansionist" policy, 11 July 1969 (Extracts)**

Nepalese Prime Minister Kiriti Nidhi Bista, in an interview with the correspondent of *Rising Nepal* on the evening of June 24, spoke on questions concerning relations between Nepal and

**India.**

On the question of the “special relations” between India and Nepal often mentioned by Indian External Affairs Minister Dinesh Singh, Bista said that the relations between Nepal and India have benefited both sides. “The impression that Nepal alone has benefited from this is not correct. But to our way of thinking, it is not possible that Nepal should compromise its sovereignty or accept what may be called limited sovereignty for India’s so-called security. The theory of special relations with Nepal outside geographical, social, and economic realities is out of step with modern developments in our relations.”

In the interview, Bista pointed out that Indian personnel in the checkpoints at the northern border and the Indian military group in Nepal should all be withdrawn. . . .

Public opinion in Nepal expressed support for Bista in denouncing India’s expansionist policy towards Nepal.

Nepalese paper reported that at a mass meeting in Bhaktapur city in protest against India’s expansionist policy speakers denounced the reactionary Indian authorities for impairing Nepal’s independence and sovereignty. India, they pointed out, has created disturbances not only in the Susta area of Nepal, but also along the 500-mile-long open border in the south. It has all along been encroaching upon Nepalese territory. They called on the people to remain alert and vigilant against India’s expansionist policy so as to safeguard Nepal’s independence and sovereignty. The mass meeting was attended by local youth, students, peasants, and other residents.

**344 Chou En-lai’s speech at the banquet given by Nepalese  
Charge d’Affaires in Peking to celebrate the wedding of  
Crown Prince, 27 February 1970 (Extract)**

China and Nepal are intimate neighbours, and there exists a profound traditional friendship between the two peoples. Since he personally assumed control of state affairs, His Majesty King Mahendra has firmly adhered to a policy of friendship with China and has made important contributions to the development of Sino-Nepalese friendship and the relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries. In their relations, China and Nepal have always shown mutual respect and



mutual understanding and treated each other as equals, thus setting a fine example for the development of friendly relations between countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The friendship between China and Nepal is in accord with the interests of our two peoples and conducive to the defence of peace in Asia and the world. We are deeply convinced that with the joint efforts of both sides our friendship will further develop and grow stronger.

The Nepalese people have a glorious tradition of resisting foreign aggression. Under the leadership of His Majesty King Mahendra, the Nepalese Government and people have firmly upheld their national dignity and state sovereignty and firmly adhered to a foreign policy of independence and are making endeavours to carry out national construction. The international prestige of the Kingdom of Nepal is daily rising. We express deep admiration for all this. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Nepalese Government and people in their just struggle against foreign interference and for the defence of national independence. We sincerely wish the Kingdom of Nepal continued new successes in their national construction and in international affairs.

**345 Speech by Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of NPC Standing Committee, at a meeting organised by Nepal-China Friendship Association, 7 March 1970 (Extract)**

Under the leadership of His Majesty King Mahendra, the Nepalese Government and people are upholding their independence and opposing foreign interference and are resolutely safeguarding their state sovereignty and opposing foreign aggression. This fully demonstrates the just stand and strong determination of the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal and the Nepalese people. The Chinese people admire all this highly. Our Nepalese friends can rest assured that in your just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty the Chinese people will for ever remain your reliable friends.

**346 Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's speech at a Peking reception given in celebration of King Mahendra's 50th birthday by the Nepalese Ambassador, 11 June 1970 (Extracts)**

The Nepalese people have a glorious tradition of defying brute force, daring to struggle and resisting imperialist aggression. Since King Mahendra assumed control of state affairs in person, the Nepalese Government and people have waged unremitting struggles against foreign interference and expansionists in order to safeguard their state sovereignty and national dignity, and have won marked successes. In international affairs, the Nepalese Government has adhered to a foreign policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment and is playing an important role in international life. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just struggle of the Nepalese Government and people to safeguard national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to oppose imperialism and expansionism."

China and Nepal are friendly neighbours. There exists a profound traditional friendship between our two peoples. Since our two countries won independence and established formal diplomatic relations, the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have steadily developed and grown stronger.

**347 "India's big-nation chauvinism resisted," *Peking Review* commentary, 15 January 1971 (Extracts)**

The talks between Nepal and India for concluding a new trade and transit treaty have ended in a deadlock. The existing treaty signed in 1960 expired last October, and repeated talks were held between the two governments during 1970. But no agreement has been reached because the Indian Government played power politics and utterly disregarded Nepal's independence and sovereignty. After the failure of the latest round of talks, the Indian Government went so far as to take unilateral action. It held up the goods en route to Nepal to exert pressure on that country. This preposterous act on the part of the Indian Government has met with strong resistance from the Government and people of Nepal.

Nepal is a landlocked country. In its trade with a third

country, goods have to go through Indian territory. According to international conventions, India should provide Nepal with transit facilities. . . .

During the talks, the Indian Government put on big-nation chauvinistic airs and repeatedly exerted pressure on Nepal. It flagrantly increased its troops in areas bordering Nepal and closed the trade passage between the two countries in Raxaul, denying transit to Nepalese goods destined for a third country. After the deadlock in the latest talk, the Indian Government unjustifiably rejected the Nepalese Government's proposal on extending the 1960 trade and transit treaty for one year and continuing the talks between the two sides. Moreover, it took unilateral action by suspending the transportation of goods to Nepal on January 1 without prior consultation with Nepal or giving advance notice of such a move. In so doing, the Indian Government has once again revealed its big-nation chauvinism in habitually bullying small countries.

**348 Chou En-lai's speech at the banquet given in honour of  
Nepalese Premier Kirti Nidhi Bista, 15 November 1972  
(Extracts)**

Under the leadership of His Majesty King Birendra, the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal and the Nepalese people have persisted in the policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment laid down by his Majesty the late King Mahendra, withstood foreign pressures and safeguarded their national independence and state dignity. The Chinese Government and people greatly admire and appreciate Nepal's spirit of defying brute force and daring to struggle. . . .

Great changes have taken place in the present world situation. The Asian, African and Latin American peoples have won a series of new victories in their struggles to win national independence and safeguard state sovereignty. The countries of the third world are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. China and Nepal are both developing countries and both belong to the third world. The Chinese Government consistently holds that countries, big or small, should treat each other as equals and that it is absolutely impermissible to carry out aggression, control, interference or

subversion against other countries under any pretext. We are firmly opposed to big-nation power politics and hegemonism of the big bullying the small and the strong bullying the weak. We resolutely support the people of Nepal and the other peoples of the world in their just struggle against foreign interference and in defence of national independence and state sovereignty.

**349 Kirti Nidhi Bista's speech at the banquet, 15 November 1972 (Extracts)**

The boundary treaty signed by our two countries has set a historic example as to how the two countries, having different economic, political and social systems, can live together as good neighbours. It is our firm belief that peaceful co-existence should be the guiding factor in the determination of relations among nations. . . .

We thankfully appreciate the technical and economic co-operation extended to us by China in building the important infrastructure for the development such as roads, hydro power station, etc. and for providing us with some of the much needed industries and technical advice. While believing that this kind of economic cooperation can grow further I suggest that there is more scope for the improvement of trade and commerce between Nepal and China generally and Nepal and the Tibetan region of China in particular.

**350 Peking Review report on Nepal, 26 January 1973 (Extracts)**

The Nepalese journal *Weekly Mirror* in an editorial in its latest issue demanded that the Indian Government change its unequal attitude towards Nepal. . . .

The editorial added: "India has always tried to take undue advantage of the geopolitical situation of Nepal. Even commitments it has made in existing Nepal-India treaty of trade and transit are not being followed sincerely. Due transit facilities are not being provided for both exports and imports of Nepal."

"These facts reveal that India, even though it offers co-operation, does not like Nepal to attain economic self-reliance. The same is the case in other fields too," it added.

In conclusion, the editorial pointed out: "Indian leaders have always looked upon our internal affairs as if Nepal were a part of Indian territory."

Condemning India for obstructing Nepal from developing relations with other countries, an article in the same issue of *Weekly Mirror* noted: "India still wants to retain Nepal as a monopoly market for its manufactures."

**351 Chou En-lai's message of greetings to Nagendra Prasad Rijal on his assumption of office of Prime Minister of Nepal, 23 July 1973**

May the Government and people of the Kingdom of Nepal win new successes in opposing foreign interference, safeguarding national independence and building their own country. May the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries grow stronger and develop continuously.

**352 Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei's speech at the banquet given in honour of Minister Karki of Nepal, 19 September 1973 (Extract)**

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei spoke highly of Nepal under the leadership of King Birendra for persevering in the foreign and domestic policies laid down by the late King Mahendra and for having stood up to foreign pressure and victoriously defended national independence and state sovereignty.

Recently King Birendra made an important speech calling on the Nepalese people to unite and rise in struggle to safeguard the independence of Nepal. This "has fully shown the courage and determination of the Nepalese Government and people to defy brute force and dare to struggle. We admire this very much."

The Chinese Government and people greatly value their friendship with the Nepalese people and that the Chinese people will for ever remain the reliable friends of the Nepalese people in their just struggle against foreign interference and for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty.

### **353 Chou En-lai's speech at the banquet welcoming King Birendra, 8 December 1973 (Extracts)**

Nepal has a long history and a splendid culture. In modern times, the great Nepalese people waged protracted heroic struggles against imperialist aggression. Under the leadership of His Majesty King Birendra, the Government of Kingdom of Nepal has, in recent years, resolutely carried out the domestic and foreign policies of safeguarding national independence and developing national economy. . . . In external affairs, the Nepalese Government pursues a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, opposes power politics and spheres of influence, condemns racism and colonialism and supports the national liberation movements, thus making valuable contributions to the Afro-Asian cause of unity against imperialism. The international prestige of Nepal has risen steadily. In his important speech made last July, His Majesty the King called on the Nepalese people to unite and brace themselves for the defence of the country's independence. It gave full expression to the just stand and bold heroism of the Nepalese people, who defying duress and daring to resist outside pressure are determined to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty. The Chinese Government expresses its high appreciation and admiration for this. . . .

We believe that so long as all countries and peoples who are subjected to superpower aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle, they will certainly frustrate the schemes of imperialism and expansionism, safeguard their national independence and security and bring about an improvement of the international situation.

China is a developing socialist country and belongs to the Third World. . . .

The Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Government and people of Nepal in their just struggle against foreign interference and in defence of national independence and state sovereignty.

China and Nepal have been friendly neighbours since ancient times. The lofty Himalayas, which link us closely, have always symbolized the eternal and noble friendship between

Chinese and Nepalese peoples. We have all along sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. We are pleased by the fact that the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have been constantly consolidated and strengthened since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries.

**354 King Birendra's speech at the banquet, 8 December 1973**  
(Extracts)

We feel pleased to be in the company of our friends in this great land for whom we bring greetings and warm goodwill from all the Nepalese people. I also welcome this opportunity to renew acquaintance with the leaders and people of China and to make new friends. The happy memories of your hospitality during my last visit give me ample cause to hope that this visit of ours will be no less successful and no less fruitful.

Close understanding and friendship have marked the relations between our two countries since ancient times. The atmosphere of complete trust emanating from close co-operation following the establishment of diplomatic ties has further developed those relations to the mutual benefit of both of us, adding new dimensions to our friendship. In Nepal, we cherish with deep affection the memory of our revered father, the late King Mahendra. Imbued with a sense of realism, it was he, who took a personal interest in cultivating friendship with an adjacent country like China whose people and government, to the satisfaction of the people of Nepal, have extended not only co-operation but an understanding of the Nepalese urge to maintain its own identity and way of life. On this occasion, we reaffirm our faith in the continuation of this policy of good-neighbourliness.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Bandung spirit, so dear to all the Afro-Asian countries, have been articles of faith with both of us. Believing as we do in those principles, we express our abiding faith in the independent policy of non-alignment, which we firmly hold to be conducive to the cause of world peace. In pursuing this policy, Nepal has been guid-

ed by facts of geography, together with her historical traditions and the deepest, urge of our people for our independent identity.

The idea of one country exerting pressure on other or being put under pressure by others is both alien and unacceptable to us. We, therefore, believe that all countries of the world, both big and small, have a right to adopt and develop a system best suited to its national genius without outside interference. Your understanding and appreciation of this principle to which we adhere are matters of deep satisfaction to us.

The history of friendship between Nepal and China has demonstrated that harmonious relationship between two countries can exist and thrive provided there is genuine understanding, trust and recognition of each other's aspirations, urges and values which they hold dear for themselves. An honest appreciation of this fact of international life should, we believe, give no cause for any misunderstanding. We are confident that this realization will lead all nations to the establishment of peace, friendship and co-operation.

The Nepalese, like the Chinese, are proud of their sovereignty and national independence. Both peoples in the past have made sacrifices to thwart encroachments upon them. . . .

Despite pre-occupation with your own development you have come to Nepal's assistance with magnanimity, for which we express our deep appreciation. The selfless support of the Government and people of the People's Republic of China has made significant contribution to our economic development. We believe that this provides the true measure of the depth of our friendship.

For a healthy and balanced economic development, co-operation in matters of trade can be beneficial to both of us. To reinforce the sense of self-reliance, Nepal is determined to explore the channels of trade expansion with a view to meet its developmental needs. We are grateful to the Government and the leaders of China for their understanding and support in this regard.

**355 China-Nepal joint communique on King Birendra's visit to China, 14 December 1973**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung met Their Majesties King Birendra and



the Queen and had a cordial and friendly conversation with them.

The Premier and His Majesty were very glad to have the opportunity of renewing their friendly contacts. They held friendly and sincere talks on further developing the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries and on international issues of common interest. Both sides agreed that contacts between the leaders of the two countries would help to further strengthen the ties of friendship between the two peoples.

The Chinese Government warmly praised the active efforts made by the Government and people of Nepal under the leadership of His Majesty King Birendra in upholding national dignity, defending state sovereignty and developing the national economy. The Chinese Government reaffirmed that it will, as always, resolutely support the policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment pursued by His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

His Majesty made a high appraisal of the achievements scored by the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Chairman Mao in the fields of industry, agriculture, science and culture. His Majesty expressed the hope that the Chinese people will score still greater successes in building their great country. His Majesty's Government thanked the Government of the People's Republic of China for the co-operation extended to Nepal in her development efforts.

The two sides held that at present the international situation is undergoing significant changes. The Third World is playing an ever greater role in international affairs and has become a mighty force opposing imperialism and hegemonism. The two sides expressed firm support for the people of Asian and African countries in their just movements for national liberation and in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism, racism and expansionism. Both sides maintained that the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference should be the tenets guiding relations between nations.

Both sides were of the opinion that every nation, big or small, has an inherent right to exist without committing itself

to any power bloc. They agreed that the idea of creating spheres of influence contravenes the fundamental interests of the peoples and is, in itself, a manifestation of hegemonism.

Both sides were glad to note that the friendship between China and Nepal has been consolidated and developed steadily. They are determined to continue their efforts to strengthen the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries and take measures for further development of trade and economic co-operation between the two countries. To this end, the Chinese Government will send a delegation to Nepal for consultations.

His Majesty thanked the Government and people of the People's Republic of China for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to Their Majesties and the members of the royal entourage.

Both sides note with satisfaction that Their Majesties' visit to the People's Republic of China has made a positive contribution to further enhancing the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Nepal and the friendship between the two peoples.

**356 *Peking Review* report on India's anti-Nepal activities,  
17 May 1974 (Extracts)**

Many Nepalese papers in recent editorials have condemned the Indian Government for conniving at Nepalese anti-national elements who have used Indian territory to carry out anti-Nepal activities.

An explosion incident took place on March 16 during King Birendra's visit to Biratnagar, a town near the Nepal-India border. . . .

About 100,000 people from all walks of life held a mammoth demonstration and rally in Kathmandu on March 25 to denounce the anti-national elements for engineering the incident.

**357 "Tibetan rebels disarmed," *Peking Review* commentary on  
Nepal, 6 September 1974 (Extracts)**

In order to safeguard its national independence, sovereignty

and security, the Government of Nepal has recently taken measures to disarm the Tibetan rebels who fled to Nepal. These measures are welcomed and supported by the Nepalese people and public opinion.

After the failure of the armed rebellion in Tibet by the self-owner reactionaries headed by Dalai Lama in 1959, these rebels fled to India and from there, armed with weapons and other equipment, they infiltrated into Mustang and other places in the northern part of Nepal. . . .

In his recent statement on disarming the rebels, Nepalese Home Minister Bahadur Shrestha pointed out that these Tibetan rebels have openly violated the laws of Nepal and plundered the local people, thus causing insecurity among them. He noted that "among the rich and powerful countries, those who had interests in that area were aiding" the armed rebels.

According to an AFP report datelined Kathmandu, July 20, a Nepalese Foreign Ministry spokesman also stated: The Nepalese Government wants to solve this problem. Nepal finds it impermissible that Tibetan rebels "should make our border their bases for launching hostile activities against our friendly neighbour China."

### **358 Peking Review commentary denouncing India for stopping oil supply to Nepal, 6 December 1974 (Extracts)**

The Indian Government has decided to stop supplying petroleum products to Nepal as from January 1, 1975 in violation of the trade and transit treaty between the two countries. This unilateral action has aroused strong resentment from Nepalese public opinion and political circles. . . .

The weekly *Matribhumi* said in an editorial on November 26: "Observers think that the Indian conspiracy to bring Nepal within the sphere of its influence is intensifying." India had tried to put an end to Nepal's sovereignty and independent existence.

**359 Message of Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Premier Chou En-lai to King Birendra on his coronation, 22 February 1975**

Your Majesty is an esteemed and well-acquainted friend of the Chinese people and an outstanding statesman of Nepal. Under Your Majesty's leadership, the Nepalese Government and people have carried on an unremitting struggle to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop the national economy. The Chinese Government and people greatly admire Nepal's valiant spirit of defying duress and daring to fight and will, as always, firmly support the Nepalese Government and people in their just struggle.

Your Majesty firmly pursues a policy of friendship towards China and has made important contributions towards developing China-Nepal" friendship and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. The Chinese Government and people highly appraise the valuable efforts Your Majesty has made in this regard and are convinced that the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples will certainly further grow in strength and develop.

**360 Speech of King Birendra at the farewell reception hosted at the conclusion of his coronation at Narayanbity Royal Palace, 25 February 1975 (Extract)**

Nepal harbours no ill-will or any unfriendly feeling towards any country in the world. We take pride in the fact that we have close and cordial ties of understanding with our neighbours. If our relations with India have been deep and extensive, our relations with China have been equally close and friendly, consistently marked by undertsanding of each other's problems and aspirations.

We adhere to the policy of non-alignment because we believe that it brightens the prospects of peace. We need peace for our security, we need peace for our independence, and we need peace for development. As a matter of fact, Nepal in the past had signed formal peace and friendship treaties with both our friendly neighbours.

**361 *People's Daily* article on the 20th anniversary of China-Nepal diplomatic relations, 1 August 1975 (Extract)**

For years Nepal had given China a powerful backing in international affairs, and the Chinese in turn supported the Nepalese government and people "in their just struggle against foreign interference and for safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty". China firmly supported King Birendra's proposal for declaring Nepal a zone of peace.

**362 Speech by Vice Premier Chen Hsi-lien at the banquet given in honour of Nepalese Princes, 23 October 1975 (Extracts)**

Under the leadership of His Majesty King Birendra, the Nepalese Government and people, in defiance of pressure, have in recent years carried on an unremitting struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty. Their spirit of defying duress and daring to fight has always been appreciated and admired by the Chinese people. . . .

In the 20 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Nepal, the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries have developed steadily and the friendship between the two peoples grown with each passing day. . . . The friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries are a good example of relations between nations based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Sino-Nepalese friendship has stood the test of time and is in conformity with the fundamental interests of our two peoples. Our Nepalese friends can rest assured that the Chinese people will for ever remain your reliable friends in your just struggle in the future. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Nepalese Government's policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, firmly support the just struggle of the Nepalese Government and people to oppose foreign interference and safeguard national independence and state sovereignty, and firmly support His Majesty King Birendra's just position of declaring Nepal a zone of peace.

**363 Prince Gyanendra's speech at the banquet, 23 October 1975  
(Extracts)**

The relations between Nepal and China have been close and friendly. . . . The present state of Nepal-China relations has proved that countries with different ideologies, economic and political systems can co-exist in peace and friendship for each other's benefit. . . . It is a matter of satisfaction to us that both Nepal and China have always shared the view that there should not be any outside interference or pressure, political, economic or otherwise, in this regard.

**364 Prime Minister Tulsī Giri's speech at the Nepal Council of  
World Affairs, February 1976 (Extract)**

In our immediate vicinity, the prime goal of our foreign policy will be to have the friendliest of relations with the adjacent countries. Being especially close many differences are bound to arise with our neighbours. But, differences from our perspective need not lead to durable misunderstanding and vexing problems; they can, we believe, be resolved through negotiation to the mutual satisfaction of the involved states. This has been our understanding in the long and historic association with both India and China.

Nepal's relations with China has been an example of friendship between the two countries. The many areas of co-operation between China and Nepal, mark the bonds of friendship which stems from the understanding and respect of each other's views. We hope to continue this relationship into the future.

**365 King Birendra's farewell message to the nation prior to his  
departure to Chengtu, 2 June 1976 (Extract)**

China is one of our closest neighbours. Since time immemorial, a number of Nepalese nationals have been living in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China engaging themselves in trade. Culturally too, there exists a close link between Nepal and that region. We are confident that the present visit will further strengthen our traditional friendship with China thereby

extending the field of mutual cooperation.

**366 Premier Hua Kuo-feng's speech at the banquet given in honour of King Birendra, 2 June 1976 (Extracts)**

Nepal is a country with a long history and a splendid culture. The industrious and courageous Nepalese people have a glorious tradition of resisting imperialist aggression. The Chinese Government and people highly admire and appreciate the heroic mettle and firm determination of the Nepalese Government and people in defending national independence and state sovereignty and developing the national economy under the leadership of His Majesty King Birendra. His Majesty the King gives special importance and priority to the development of agriculture and has declared this fiscal year the agricultural year. We are glad to see that Nepal has achieved marked success in grain production. Nepal has adhered to a foreign policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment and supported the just struggle of the people of all countries, thus playing a positive role in international affairs. Nepal is establishing diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries, and her international prestige is daily rising. The proposal put forward by His Majesty King Birendra to declare Nepal a zone of peace reflects the strong desire of the people of Nepal to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty. The Chinese Government firmly supports this just proposition. The Chinese people will, as always, stand together with you for ever in the struggle against hegemonism and expansionism.

The current international situation is excellent and most encouraging. The world is advancing amidst turmoil, and the people are increasingly awakening. The numerous Third World countries and people, in particular, are advancing in unity and playing ever more energetically the role of the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The intensified rivalry between the two superpowers for hegemony is the cause of world intranquility. But lacking popular support for their unjust cause and beset with difficulties at home and abroad, the two superpowers find the going very tough. In recent years, the situation in South Asia has undergone deep changes. The struggle of the South Asian peoples

in defence of national independence and state sovereignty against hegemonism and expansionism has developed further. It is gratifying that of late the relations among some South Asian countries have begun to improve. We earnestly hope that the South Asian countries will truly treat each other with equality and live together in friendship on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Chinese Government, on its part, will continue to strengthen and develop friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the South Asian countries on the basis of these principles. . . .

The friendship and contacts between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples have a long history and an unbroken tradition. The grand Himalayas have since ancient times been a symbol of the friendly ties between China and Nepal. Our two peoples have lived in harmony from generation to generation and have always sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and expansionism. We note with satisfaction that, since the establishment of diplomatic relations the traditional friendly relations between China and Nepal have grown from strength to strength. Recently, our two sides have decided to renew for another period of ten years the Agreement on Trade, Intercourse and Related Questions Between the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal. All this shows that the friendly and good-neighbourly relationship between China and Nepal is a brilliant example in the development of relations between nations. Chairman Mao has said: "There are true and false friends. But through practice one can tell the true from the false." The history of the twenty odd years of Sino-Nepalese relations since the establishment of diplomatic relations fully proves that the relations between China and Nepal are very close and friendly. There are no issues whatever between us, and we are true friends. His Majesty King Birendra has always been devoted to the development of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Nepal. He visited China twice before and has made valuable contributions to further enhancing the friendship between our two countries. In 1974 His Majesty the King took resolute and forceful measures of disarming the handful of Dalai rebel bandits who had fled from Tibet to Nepal thus brought this problem to a satisfactory solution and thoroughly



smashed their plot for sabotaging Sino-Nepalese friendship. The Chinese Government and people highly appreciate and are most grateful for this resolute decision of His Majesty the King. We are now especially glad that His Majesty the King has flown over the Himalayas for this visit to China, thus opening direct air passage between China and Nepal, building an air-bridge of China-Nepal friendship over "the Roof of the World" for the first time in history and adding a new page to the history of China-Nepal friendship. His Majesty King Birendra will be the first foreign head of state to visit the Tibet Autonomous Region of China, and this is a special honour and pleasure for the Chinese people, and particularly those in the Tibet Autonomous Region. Here I sincerely wish His Majesty the King a completely successful visit.

**367 King Birendra's speech at the banquet, 2 June 1976**  
(Extracts)

The relations between Nepal and China go back to antiquity, and throughout history, these relations have been conducted mainly through China's Tibetan Region. The extensive two-way flow of people, culture and goods has not only consolidated our mutual ties, but also enriched the lives of our peoples. As neighbours with common border, we have also had times of some misunderstanding but the centuries of ties have firmly demonstrated that friendship, understanding and mutual cooperation transcend the whims of history. . . .

We are determined to continue our policy of peace, non-alignment, friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world. We will not allow the use of our soil for any activity hostile to any country, and we expect reciprocity in this matter. My proposal that Nepal be declared a Zone of Peace aims, in its essence, to institutionalise this basic thrust of our foreign policy. Your prompt support for this proposal is deeply appreciated by the people of my country.

Growing economic cooperation characterises relations between our two countries. Although China's own needs are great, you have extended generous assistance in the development of our national economy for which we are most grateful. Since my last visit to this country two and a half years ago,

the demand for a new international economic order is becoming daily more precise and meeting with the approval of, not only the governments and people of the Third World, but also that of other governments. In the struggle for a new international economic order, Nepal and China have a common purpose. Such a new order must do away with all kinds of exploitative relations, and must take into account the just and legitimate interests of all countries of the world, big and small, rich and poor, strong and weak. Among the countries of the world, not only must the traditional economic and trade relations be strengthened, but they must also be further expanded to reflect new expectations of our peoples.

Our two countries recognise that each country has the right to choose its own destiny. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which form the basis of our relations, ensure the independent development of each country. Gone are the days when a country, or a group of countries, guided the destinies of the peoples of other countries. The worldwide tide of nationalism has swept away colonial empires, and nationalist forces everywhere are stronger than ever before. In such a situation, wisdom lies in a policy of strict non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Nepal and China hold firmly to these ideals. I am confident that in the context of this mutual understanding our friendly relations will grow from strength to strength in the years to come.

Mr. Premier, we are aware that, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, along with the rest of China, the Autonomous Region of Tibet has also witnessed much progress. It is natural for us to wish to see for ourselves the developments that have taken place in a region of China contiguous with Nepal, I look forward to visiting the Tibetan Region and wish your people greater success under the leadership of Chairman Mao.

**368 Prime Minister Tulsī Giri's speech on "The roots of Nepal's foreign policy" to the Nepal Council of World Affairs, 21 March 1977 (Extract)**

The roots of foreign policy is much in consonance with the justice and peace concept of the United Nations. Our strict adherence to the idea of sovereign equality of nations as

proclaimed in the Charter of the World body, serves as the basic foundation of friendship with all nations. And within our region, the nature of this policy has helped to build strong and amiable ties with both our neighbours, India and China.

The history of our friendship with China is cordial indeed. Co-operation between us has always underlined the theme of mutual respect between our two countries. And the new leadership in China today, we are confident that this kind of relationship will continue into the future.

**369 *Nepal and Non-Alignment*, pamphlet by Dibya Dev Bhatt published by Ministry of Communications, Nepal, 1977 (Extract)**

It is indeed heartening that a host of countries, including China, have given warm support to the Zone of peace proposal of His Majesty King Birendra. Nepal has assured both her neighbours, China and India, that she will not allow the use of her territory for any activity hostile to them.

**370 Premier Hua Kuo-feng's message congratulating Kirti Nidhi Bista on his assumption of office of Prime Minister of Nepal, 18 September 1977**

I wish to extend warm congratulations to Your Excellency on your assumption of the office of Prime Minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal. May the Nepalese Government and people achieve continuous new successes in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and developing the national economy. I am convinced that the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples and the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries will grow in strength and develop further.

**371 Speech by Nepalese Premier K.N. Bista at the banquet given in honour of Chinese Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, 3 February 1978 (Extracts)**

I am happy to note with great satisfaction that both Nepal

and China have adhered to these basic postulates of inter-state relationship [Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence], thus making it a model of relations between big and small countries with different political values. . . .

Nepal is determined to design her own destiny. . . .

We condemn all forms of discrimination and injustices, and support the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. We have been equally concerned with the situation prevailing in the Middle East. The problems of the Middle East are such that unless a satisfactory solution acceptable to all is reached, the situation may deteriorate and endanger the peace of the world.

**372 Teng Hsiao-ping's speech at the banquet, 3 February 1978  
(Extract)**

The present international situation is excellent. The world is advancing amidst turmoil, and the people are awakening in struggle. The anti-hegemonist united front against superpower policies of aggression and war is steadily expanding. The situation in South Asia has also developed in a direction favourable to the people of all countries there and unfavourable to hegemonism. The people of South Asia have come to see more clearly that the rivalry between the two hegemonist powers is the main cause of the prolonged turmoil and unrest in the region. There is an ever stronger desire and determination on the part of the South Asian countries and peoples to oppose hegemonist control and interference and take the road of independent development. We are happy to note that relations between South Asian countries have gradually improved. As a close neighbour of South Asia, we earnestly hope that the South Asian countries will live in amity on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We, the Chinese Government and people, will, as in the past, firmly support the South Asian countries and peoples in their just struggles to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and oppose foreign interference and control. We firmly support HM King Mahendra's proposal on declaring Nepal a zone of peace and are ready to assume appropriate commitments arising therefrom. We firmly support the proposal of the Pakistan Government

for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia. And we firmly support the positive proposal of the Sri Lanka Government for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

**373 Premier Hua Kuo-feng's speech at the banquet given in honour of King Birendra, 14 May 1978 (Extracts)**

Both China and Nepal were subjected in the past to imperialist and colonialist aggression, against which our people waged protracted heroic struggles to safeguard our independence and national dignity. Today, both China and Nepal are developing countries belonging to the third world, and both our peoples are working tirelessly for national construction. Under the leadership of His Majesty King Birendra, the Nepalese Government and people have paid great attention to utilizing their own national resources and developing agriculture and small and medium-scale industrial enterprises suited to their national needs, and have achieved gratifying successes. On our part, we Chinese people, united and in a joyous mood after overthrowing the 'gang of four', are working hard to develop our country into a modern and powerful socialist country. Our two countries have always sympathized with, supported and helped each other. We are very grateful to Nepal for the cooperation and support rendered to our country in international affairs over many years. Our two countries are genuine and trusted friends to each other.

Sino-Nepalese friendship was forged and nurtured by the late Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai and His Majesty the late King Mahendra. We are convinced that with the joint efforts of the leaders of our two countries, and of our two governments and two peoples, there are broad prospects for Sino-Nepalese friendship and amicable cooperation.

We are particularly happy at the constant increase of friendly contacts between the leaders and peoples of China and Nepal. Attaching great importance to the development of the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Nepal, His Majesty King Birendra has visited China several times and made important contributions to the enhancement of Sino-Nepalese friendship. . . . We believe that every meeting between leaders of our two countries is a new contribution in the poli-

tical support, economic cooperation and better understanding between our two sides.”

### **374 King Birendra's speech at the banquet, 14 May 1978**

**(Extracts)**

I recall with particular satisfaction, Your Excellency, the wide and cordial exchange of views with you at Chengtu in 1976 and the recent discussions and exchanges with His Excellency Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping when he paid a visit to Nepal, earlier this year. I believe these exchanges have gone a long way to deepen friendship between our two countries, a friendship which has its roots in history as well as in the great efforts that the late Chairman Mao, the late Premier Chou En-lai and, my august father, the late King Mahendra made with far-sighted statesmanship. . . .

I feel happy to be able to say that the relations between our two countries are good and marked by growing spirit of understanding and cooperation. I appreciate the wise guidance that Your Excellency has given, and the enlightened leadership that you have exercised towards the consummation of this happy state of affairs.

### **375 Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's speech at the banquet given in honour of Nepalese Prime Minister K.N. Bista, 27 September 1978 (Extract)**

Both China and Nepal are developing countries which need a peaceful international environment in which to achieve their development. But the intensified imperialist and hegemonist rivalry everywhere has rendered the present world most tranquil.

The peoples of South Asian countries have taken the road of independence with determination and persisted in opposing outside subversion, control and interference. It is in the fundamental interests of the people of South Asian countries for these countries to live in amity and strengthen their cooperation on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. Anybody who attempts to disrupt the peace and stability of this region will only end up by crushing his own toes with the

rock he picks up to throw at others. So long as the people of all countries heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle, they will certainly frustrate the aggressive and expansionist schemes of the superpowers.

**376 K.N. Bista's speech at the banquet, 27 September 1978**  
(Extract)

Our policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity is actively directed towards the promotion of friendship with all countries and particularly with our neighbours. The reality of our total position including the geographical has led us to believe that friendship with one neighbour should reinforce friendship with another. His Majesty King Birendra who is firmly committed to development has realised the vital connection between development and peace for a small country like Nepal. For this reason, we have supported the idea of peace zones in critical areas and have ourselves suggested that Nepal be declared a zone of peace. We appreciate your understanding and support of this basic policy of ours.

**377 *People's Daily* editorial welcoming King Birendra of Nepal, 26 August 1979 (Extracts)**

China and Nepal have long been good friends and neighbours. The friendly and good neighbourly relations between China and Nepal set an example for what may be achieved in the relations between countries. . . .

His Majesty King Birendra himself has visited China on many occasions.

Now, His Majesty King Birendra is again coming to visit China. . . . We are convinced that the two countries' mutual political support and cooperation in the economic and cultural spheres will be further strengthened. . . .

The editorial praises the government and people of Nepal for their adherence to the principle of maintaining independence and state sovereignty and for the successes they have achieved under the leadership of King Birendra in developing

agriculture and small and medium scale industry.

In international affairs the government of Nepal pursues an independent policy of non-alignment. Nepal has gained a worldwide reputation for her constant contribution to the non-aligned movement and to unity among third world countries.

China and Nepal face the same arduous task of building up their economies and both need a peaceful international environment and that the Chinese people firmly support the proposition put forward by King Birendra that Nepal should be a zone of peace. The friendly contacts and the furthering of relations between the South Asian countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence are in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people in this region and in other parts of Asia.

### **378 Premier Hua Guofeng's speech at the banquet given in honour of King Birendra, 27 August 1979 (Extracts)**

We highly evaluate the non-aligned movement for upholding the principles of independence and of not joining any bloc and firmly support the just struggles waged by the non-aligned countries in all parts of the world. . . .

It is our hope that the coming sixth non-aligned Summit Conference will eliminate interferences and work in concert so that the movement may forge ahead victoriously along the course already chartered.

The development of the movement is by no means all plain sailing. Some countries have brought the dictates of a super-power into the movement in violation of the wishes and interests of the numerous non-aligned countries; naturally, this line of action has met with the latter's opposition.

Hua Guofeng praised Nepal for the positive contribution she had made to the non-aligned movement as a founding member of the movement. He said: "We are happy to note that persisting in opposing imperialism, colonialism, racism and all forms of foreign domination and hegemony and supporting the efforts of the small and weak nations to take their destiny into their own hands, the non-aligned movement has played an important role in international affairs and its ranks have kept expanding. . . .



“Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, our traditional friendship has grown further in strength. There is no problem but friendship, goodwill, understanding and cooperation between China and Nepal. Sino-Nepalese friendly relations and cooperation have become a model of good-neighbourly relations based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Over the past few years in particular, the exchange of visits between the leaders and peoples of our two countries has further increased. It is most useful for us to meet and exchange views with each other regularly.

“We are most appreciative to His Majesty King Birendra for the important contributions he has made to promote Sino-Nepalese friendship. Over the past year or so, our two countries have completed the joint inspection and have thus further consolidated our common boundary of peace and friendship. The border inhabitants on both sides of the boundary line have lived in amity for generations with frequent contacts between them. We are sure that through the joint efforts of our two sides, Sino-Nepalese friendship will grow stronger and develop steadily.”

“In recent years, under the far-sighted leadership of King Birendra, the Nepalese people have made great efforts in safeguarding their national independence and building up their country and are advancing steadily along the road to progress. Nepal has all along pursued a policy of peace and non-alignment and supports the just struggle of people of all countries; it plays an active role in world affairs.

Premier Hua wished that the friendship between the two peoples and friendly cooperation between both countries would constantly be consolidated and developed.

### **379 King Mahendra's speech at the banquet, 27 August 1979**

**(Extract)**

I am happy to say that our relations with China have continued to flourish on the basis of mutual understanding and mutual co-operation. These relations based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence have been developed through national desire and consolidated through the test of time. They are characterized by large economic co-operation which we

highly appreciate. We believe that such friendship as we have defined is mutually beneficial, is harmonious with the best interest of the region and serves in however small a way, the cause of world peace.

**380 Statements by Foreign Minister Huang Hua after signing the China-Nepal border protocol, 20-21 November 1979**  
(Extracts)

In reply to a question whether the Nepal-China boundary had been settled "finally", Huang Hua said that "in fact the boundary question was settled long ago. But now the joint boundary inspection committee had perfected the understanding of the line so that it is the more accurate basis."

The signing of the boundary protocol further proved that there existed peace on the boundary and friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

Hua described the border protocol as "adding something new to the annals of Sino-Nepalese friendship and setting once again a good example of how bilateral ties could be developed through friendly consultations on the basis of equality and co-operation."

"Protocol is a significant document achieving accurate demarcation of the boundary line between Nepal and China."

He said China would support just causes of the people of all countries in safeguarding their national independence and sovereignty, in opposing foreign interference, domination and hegemonism and in defending world peace. China appreciated and supported "all efforts of the government of Nepal in upholding the cause of peace."

The visiting dignitary said that under King Birendra's leadership the Nepalese government and people were now vigilantly defending their independence and sovereignty and steadily building up self-reliance. In international affairs Nepal had played an important role in the common cause of all countries to defend their independence, sovereignty and world peace.

China and Nepal were close neighbours "linked by common rivers and mountains." In recent years, frequent visits by the leaders of two countries had strengthened relations and "we enjoy mutual confidence and support."

**381 Xinhua report on national referendum in Nepal, 2 May 1980  
(Extract)**

A national referendum, the first of its kind ever in the history of the Kingdom of Nepal, is held today throughout the country to determine the country's future political system.

This is done under a decree from his Majesty King Birendra on May 24 last year.

In the one-day polling the voters are to choose between the present panchayat system undergoing certain reforms and a multi-party system. In a message to the nation prior to the referendum, King Birendra called on "every adult Nepali to consider it a patriotic obligation to cast one's vote with maximum participation possible."

**382 Xinhua report on Nepal-Bangladesh direct tele-communication link, 8 May 1980 (Extracts)**

Nepal and Bangladesh will have direct tele-communication link by November this year.

Tele-communication stations will be established at Bhadrapur, Nepal, and Atwari in Bangladesh. Bangladesh will provide manpower, technical assistance and latest equipment for installing the station at Bhadrapur.

The new link will be very useful in providing quick communication channels to Nepal especially for import and export transactions through the Chalna and Chittagong ports in Bangladesh.

**383 Xinhua report on Nepalese Foreign Secretary J. S. Rana's visit to Bangladesh, 9 July 1980 (Extracts)**

Nepal and Bangladesh had very cordial and friendly relations which would be further strengthened, said. . . . J. S. Rana. . . . Asked about the possibility of Nepal's inclusion in an effort to solve the problem of augmenting the flow of the Ganges, the international river, he said the development of water resources in this region for the collective of interests of countries concerned was his country's avowed policy.



# Sri Lanka, 1951-1980



**384 Ceylon after three years," commentary in *China Monthly Review*, April 1951 (Extracts)**

Three years after gaining its "independence" from Britain Ceylon was neither independent nor stable. Ever rising costs of living, wage cuts and red hunts for civil servants, and British and American military and political activities were the chief contributions of the United National Party's government. . . . [It was] announced that government jobs may be denied to communists and their "sympathizers" . . . Trinco air base [exists]. . . .

America held control over the news service, supplied to Ceylon daily papers. . . .

**385 China-Ceylon trade agreement, 4 October 1952**

Moved by the desire to promote and enlarge to the greatest possible extent commerce and trade between the two countries the Government of Ceylon and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China have agreed as follows:

*Article I*

The trade between the two countries is expected to reach the annual volume of approximately 250 million Ceylon Rupees of exportation on each side.

*Article II*

The annexed Schedules A and B show the commodities and the estimated quantities of them available for export by each country, but the quantities in respect of rubber and rice will form the subject matter of special proposals.

*Article III*

For the export and import of those commodities listed in the above-mentioned schedules and any other commodities not mentioned in these schedules, the Contracting parties shall render all facilities including the issue wherever necessary of export and import licenses in accordance with the laws and regulations in force in each country.

*Article IV*

This Agreement aims at fixing targets for imports and exports whether by private traders or by Government and is not a contractual agreement binding either party to supply the stated quantities of commodities mentioned in schedules A and B. The Contracting Parties intend however that the flow of trade between the two countries shall be stimulated to the greatest possible extent.

*Article V*

All the payments for the trade between the two countries shall be conducted in Ceylon Rupees. On the balancing of the account at the end of each year, the surplus, if any, accumulating to the credit of either party shall be settled by merchandise or by conversion into a third currency or carried forward to the succeeding year, as may be agreed between the two parties.

*Article VI*

This Agreement shall become effective from the date it is ratified by the two Governments for a period of one year and may be extended for such further periods as may be agreed upon between the two parties.

Done in Peking on October 4th, 1952, in two copies each in the English and Chinese languages, both texts being equally valid.

(SD)  
YEH CHI-CHUANG  
CHINA

(SD)  
B.G. SENANAYAKE  
CEYLON



## SCHEDULE "A"

## LIST OF COMMODITIES EXPORTABLE FROM CHINA TO CEYLON

<i>Name of Commodity</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Rice	—
Green Peas (small)	5,000 metric tons
Wheat flour	10,000 „
Green Beans (large)	1,000 „
Dry ginger	50 „
Preserved foods (dry foods and canned foods)	—
Porcelain wares	—
Coal	300,000 „
Garlic	500 „
Sesame seeds	1,000 „
Sulphur	2,000 „
Newsprint	10,000 „
Paper, miscellaneous	—
Tobacco leaf	500 „
Resins	500 „
Cotton piece goods and cotton goods	—
Silk piece goods and silk goods	—
Glass and glasswares	—
Toys	—
Torch lights	—
Dry cells and batteries	—
Thermos flasks	—
Carpets	—
Floor tiles	—

## SCHEDULE "B"

## LIST OF COMMODITIES EXPORTABLE FROM CEYLON TO CHINA

<i>Name of Commodity</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Rubber	—
Coconut oil	10,000 metric tons
Cocoa	1,000 „
Cloves	—
Mace	—
Cardamoms	30 „
Cow and buffalo skins and hides	750 „
Pepper	—
Beche-de-mer	20 „
Arecanuts	50 „
Citronella oil	—
Cinnamon leaf oil	60 „
Coir yarns	—

**386 Statement by Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake in the  
Ceylonese House of Representatives on trade with China,  
13 November 1952**

On an invitation from the Government of the People's Republic of China through their Ambassador in Rangoon, a Trade Mission led by the Hon. Mr. R. G. Senanayake, Minister of Commerce and Trade proceeded to Peking in September to conduct negotiations for the purchase of rice and discuss other trade matters.

The Mission returned to Ceylon in October after negotiations with the following results:

- (1) a short-term contract for the delivery by the Government of China to Ceylon of 80,000 metric tons of rice, between October 1952 and January 1953 at a price of Rs. 720 or £54 per ton f. o. b. China ports;
- (2) a long-term agreement between the two Governments under which the two Governments agreed to facilitate trade in certain commodities not including rubber and

rice.

This Agreement did not contain commitments regarding either purchases or supplies but only an undertaking by the two Governments to issue necessary permits and licences for facilitating the offer of trade. This Agreement would be effective for one year, in the first instance, but may be extended subsequently.

- (3) Certain proposals regarding the supply of rice to Ceylon by the Government of China and the purchase by them of rubber in this country.

The Government of China was prepared to agree to sell 200,000 metric tons of rice per year for a period of five years, the price being settled between the two Governments for one year at a time immediately before the commencement of that year. The price suggested for the first year is £56 per ton f.o.b. China ports. This price is open to negotiation.

The Government of China agreed to purchase 50,000 tons of sheet rubber every year for a period of five years agreeing to pay a price in excess of the average Singapore price. The price for the first year would be 32d. per pound f.o.b. Colombo and price for subsequent years will be negotiated every year.

The Government of Ceylon has approved the contract for the purchase of 80,000 tons of rice and has approved in principle the long-term trade agreement. The Government has also approved in principle the proposals regarding rubber and rice subject to the settlement of certain outstanding issues in regard to this trade; it is proposed to send an official delegation to Peking within the next two weeks to discuss and settle the outstanding issues and conclude an agreement.

The first consignments of rice under the short-term contract have already left China ports and are expected in Colombo about the 17th of this month.

### **387 China-Ceylon rubber-rice five-year trade agreement, 18 December 1952**

For the purpose of strengthening the friendship between the Governments and the peoples of Ceylon and China and of promoting long-term collaboration in trade between the two

countries, the government of Ceylon and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China (here-inafter referred to as the Government of China) have, on a basis of equality and mutual benefits, reached agreement as follows:

*Article I*

(1) The Government of Ceylon agrees to sell and the Government of China agrees to purchase sheet rubber in Ceylon for exportation to China during the period of five years commencing on the date of ratification of this Agreement by both Governments at the rate of 50,000 (Fifty Thousand) metric tons each year.

(2) The Government of China agrees to sell and the Government of Ceylon agrees to purchase rice in China for exportation to Ceylon during the period of five years commencing on the date of ratification of this Agreement by both Governments at the rate of 270,000 (Two Hundred Seventy Thousand) metric tons each year.

*Article II*

(1) (a) The price per pound for all purchases of sheet rubber of Grades 1, 2 and 3 and the price per pound for all purchases of sheet rubber of Grades 4 and 5 made by the Government of China in terms of this Agreement shall be fixed respectively by mutual agreement between the Government of Ceylon and the Government of China, having regard to paragraph (2) of this Article, and shall be applicable to all purchases of sheet rubber made during the period of one year commencing on a date to be determined at the time of fixation.

(b) The price per metric ton for all purchases of rice made by the Government of Ceylon in terms of this Agreement shall be fixed by mutual agreement between the Government of Ceylon and the Government of China at the same time that the aforementioned prices of sheet rubber are fixed and shall be applicable for the same period of one year.

(c) The prices for sheet rubber and rice shall be fixed, in accordance with sub-paragraph (a) and (b) of this paragraph, once each year for a period of one year during validity of this agreement, and shall be fixed at least one month before the

end of the preceding period of one year referred to in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) of this paragraph.

(2) The Government of China agrees to pay for Grades 1, 2 and 3 and for Grades 4 and 5 of sheet rubber, purchased in Ceylon in terms of this Agreement, a price in excess of the average Singapore F.O.B. market price for Grade 1, 2 and 3 and for Grades 4 and 5 of sheet rubber respectively.

(3) The average Singapore F.O.B. market price for Grades 1, 2 and 3 sheet rubber referred to throughout this Article shall be the weighted average over one calendar month, using as weights the percentages of Grades 1, 2 and 3 sheet rubber to be supplied under the rubber contract which is signed under Article V and which is in force at the time. The average Singapore F.O.B. market price for Grades 4 and 5 sheet rubber shall be calculated in the same way.

(4) (a) Whenever the average Singapore F.O.B. market price for sheet rubber of Grades 1, 2 and 3 over any one calendar month in the period of one year for which the price has been fixed under sub-paragraphs (a) and (c) of paragraph (1) of this Article, exceeds the current price for sheet rubber of Grades 1, 2 and 3 fixed under the provisions of this Article, the Government of China agrees that new prices for Grades 1, 2 and 3 sheet rubber and Grades 4 and 5 sheet rubber shall be negotiated, having regard to paragraph (2) of this Article, if a request for the revision of prices is made by the Government of Ceylon in the month following the calendar month in which the average Singapore F.O.B. market price for sheet rubber of Grades 1, 2 and 3 exceeds the current price for sheet rubber of Grades 1, 2 and 3 fixed under the provisions of this Article.

(b) If the Government of Ceylon makes a request as provided for in sub-paragraph (a) of this paragraph for revision of the prices fixed for sheet rubber, the Government of China is entitled at the same time to make a request for the revision of the price of rice, whereupon the Government of Ceylon agrees that new prices for rice shall be negotiated simultaneously.

(c) Any new prices fixed under sub-paragraph (a) and (b) of this paragraph shall be applicable to all purchases of sheet rubber and rice made in terms of this Agreement during the period commencing from a date to be determined at the time

of fixation of the new prices to the end of the period of one year for which the prices were originally fixed under paragraph (1) of this Article. Any such new prices may also be revised under the preceding provisions of this paragraphs. Any prices for sheet rubber and rice fixed under paragraph (1) of this Article, or any revised prices for sheet rubber and rice fixed under paragraph (4) of this Article, shall remain in force at least for a period of three months. Within such period of three months, both Governments have the right under paragraph (4) of this Article to seek negotiations will not be effective until the expiry of the period of three months from the date on which the prices last fixed became effective.

(d) Until any new price that might be fixed under the preceding provisions of this paragraph becomes effective, purchase and sale of sheet rubber and rice under this Agreement shall be carried out by the two Governments in compliance with all provisions of the contracts signed under Article V which are in force at the time.

(5) (a) In terms of paragraph (1) of this Article and having regard to paragraph (2) of this Article, the Government of Ceylon and the Government of China agree, subject to paragraph (4) of this Article, that the price per pound for all sheet rubber of Grades 1, 2 and 3 purchased under this Agreement shall be 32d (Thirty-two pence) F.O.B. Colombo and the price per pound for all sheet rubber of Grades 4 and 5 shall be 29d (Twenty-nine pence) F.O.B. Colombo during the first one year period commencing from the date of ratification of this Agreement.

(b) In terms of paragraph (1), of this Article, the Government of Ceylon and the Government of China agree, subject to paragraph (4) of this Article, that the price fixed for all rice purchased under this Agreement shall be £54 (Pounds Sterling Fifty-four) per metric ton F.O.B. China ports, during the same period of one year referred to in sub-paragraph (a) of this paragraph.

### *Article III*

(1) The sale of sheet rubber under this Agreement by the Government of Ceylon shall be made on a F.O.B. basis, and the Government of China shall be responsible for making all

arrangements with respect to ocean freight for the exportation of all sheet rubber purchased in terms of this Agreement.

(2) The sale of rice under this Agreement by the Government of China shall be made on a F.O.B. basis and the Government of Ceylon shall be responsible for making all arrangements with respect to ocean freight for the exportation of all rice purchased in terms of this Agreement.

#### *Article IV*

(1) The Government of Ceylon will open an account in the Bank of China, Peking, and the Government of China will open an account in the Bank of Ceylon, Colombo, both accounts to be used solely for the purpose of financing the trade in sheet rubber and rice provided for in this Agreement.

(2) Notwithstanding that the price for sheet rubber is fixed under this Agreement in terms of Sterling, the full value of every shipment of sheet rubber exported from Ceylon to China in pursuance of this Agreement shall, upon presentation of the shipping and other necessary documents, be paid by the Government of China into the account of the Government of Ceylon, in the Bank of China, Peking, in Ceylon Rupees at the exchange rate current for the time being. The Bank of Ceylon, Colombo, will thereupon debit the account of the Government of China, in the Bank of Ceylon, Colombo, by the same amount.

(3) Notwithstanding that the price for rice is fixed under this Agreement in terms of Sterling, the full value of every shipment of rice exported from China to Ceylon in pursuance of this Agreement shall, upon presentation of the shipping and other necessary documents, be paid by the Government of Ceylon into the account of the Government of China, in the Bank of Ceylon, Colombo, in Ceylon Rupees at the exchange rate current for the time being. The Bank of China, Peking, will thereupon debit the account of the Government of Ceylon in the Bank of China, Peking, by the same amount.

(4) The exchange rate referred to in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this Article shall be the average of the official buying and selling rates of exchange of the Ceylon Rupee as against the Pound Sterling at the time of presentation of shipping and other necessary documents referred to in paragraphs (2) and (3).

(5) The accounts established respectively by the Government of Ceylon and the Government of China under paragraph (1) of this Article, shall be settled once every three months by the Bank of China, Peking, and the Bank of Ceylon, Colombo, who shall also arrange between themselves all procedural matters arising therefrom. Any credit balance then outstanding may be carried forward or settled by payment in sterling, or in any other manner as may be mutually agreed upon between the two Governments.

#### *Article V*

(1) For the implementation of the trade in sheet rubber and rice in terms of this Agreement, contracts for sheet rubber and rice each covering a period of one year and including such items as specifications, unit prices, shipping, time of delivery, ports of delivery, arbitration, method of payment, quality and weight inspection, shipping documents, and any other necessary terms and conditions, shall be signed by the two Governments each year.

(2) In order to assure the implementation of this Agreement, the annual contracts for sheet rubber and rice shall be negotiated and signed simultaneously. During the period of validity of the contracts, if one of the two Government shall be automatically released from all its obligations under the other contracts.

#### *Article VI*

The contract for the first year for sheet rubber and rice signed between the Government for Ceylon and the Government of China under Article of this Agreement shall be regarded as the execution of a part of the General Trade Agreement signed between the Government of Ceylon and the Government of China in Peking, on 4th October, 1952.

#### *Article VII*

During the period of validity of this Agreement, any revision, if proposed by either of the two Governments, shall be made only upon agreement by the other Government.



*Article VIII*

This Agreement may be extended through further negotiations, if a suggestion to that effect is made at least two months prior to the date of its expiry by either Government and is agreed to by the other Government.

*Article IX*

This Agreement shall become effective for a period of five years upon ratification by both Government.

Signed in Peking on December 18th, 1952, in two copies, each copy written in the English and Chinese languages both texts being equally valid.

(SD) SUSANTA DE FONSEKA (Ceylon) (SD) LEI JENMIN (China)

**388 Statement by Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake in the Ceylonese House of Representatives on trade agreement between Ceylon and China, 20 January 1953 (Extract)**

The General Trade Agreement, operates for a period of one-year from 1st January, 1953, and is renewable for such further periods thereafter as may be agreed upon between the two parties. It aims at fixing targets for imports and exports which are listed in the Schedule to the Agreement and which are estimated to reach an annual volume of approximately 250 million Ceylon Rupees of exportation on each side. This Agreement needs no further comment because the advantages that would accrue to Ceylon by the opening of new avenues of trade would be obvious.

The second agreement, which is effective for a period of five years, provides for the sale to China of 50,000 tons (metric) per year of Ceylon rubber, and for the sale to Ceylon of 270,000 tons (metric) per year of Chinese rice. Hon. Members will be aware of the serious difficulties we have had in recent years in obtaining our requirements of rice from traditional sources of supply like Burma, Thailand and Indo-China, and from this point of view alone, the Agreement, which will ensure the supply of 270,000 tons of our annual import requirements, is a matter of great satisfaction. Hon. Members will

also be aware of the great importance to our economy of securing a steady and dependable market for our rubber at a fair price. The Agreement achieves this and guarantees a market, for the next five years, for a substantial part of our production, in the face of world conditions which are proving to be unsteady for the rubber trade.

I know that hon. Members would wish me to comment on the more important provisions of the Agreement, and I propose to do this briefly.

- (a) The first point that calls for comment is, of course, price. As regards rubber, the Agreement provides that the price shall be fixed by mutual agreement, for specific periods, and shall, in any event, be in excess of the average Singapore market price. For the first year of the Agreement, the price of Grades 1, 2 and 3 of sheet rubber has been fixed at 32 pence per pound F.O.B. Colombo, and that of Grades 4 and 5 at 29 pence per pound F.O.B. Colombo. The price of rice will be determined in a similar manner, and for the first year the price has been set at £54 per metric ton.
- (b) The Agreement also provides for revision of any of the terms at the request of one Government, but only with the consent of the other.
- (c) All sales of rubber and rice under the Agreement are to be on an F.O.B. basis, and the buyer in each case, is responsible for arranging for shipping.
- (d) All payments for rubber as well as rice are to be in Ceylon rupees, the accounts of each Government in their respective Bank being settled quarterly, and any credit balances being disposed of by mutual agreement.

These Agreements have been ratified by both Governments and came into operation on 1st January, 1953, Hon. Members will, I know, welcome these Agreements, which bring Ceylon into a new sphere of trade relations hitherto unexplored.

**389 Statement by Minister of Commerce and Trade,  
R.G. Senanayake, in the Ceylonese House of Representatives  
on the trade agreement between Ceylon and China,  
22 January 1953 (Extracts)**

When I say I believe in democracy, it does not necessarily mean that I am fighting for an international political label. I disagree with my Communist friends because, according to their particular creed, when they fight for Communism, it does not necessarily mean that they are fighting for better conditions, for the people of Lanka, but for international Communism, for an international label. If we too, on our side, look upon democracy in the same way and forget our own people and, calling ourselves democrats, completely subordinate our own national interests to fight for international democracy; or if the champions of democracy in other countries forget the vital needs of our own country, then, I think, Mr. Speaker, we have lost the meaning of democracy. I feel that under the democratic form of Government we should serve our people. That being so, irrespective of the nature of the sources of supply of the people's essential requirements we must obtain those requirements for the people. Our system of government does not place a bar on our getting the people's requirements from wherever they are available. It is on that basis that we concluded this Agreement.

Mr. Speaker, we could have got rice at eighty or ninety pounds a ton, but we could not afford to pay that price. If we could not afford to pay that price and no other rice was available, what else could we do? Rather than go to China were we to starve?

Our rubber was fetching Rs. 1.10 a pound. That was the world price. On that basis the Wages Board for rubber workers ordered a cut in wages. Were we to reject this offer of Rs. 1.75 a pound, take the world price of Rs. 1.10 and throw 300,000 labourers out of employment?

This contract has resulted in a gain of Rs. 98 million to this country. That will definitely help us to overcome our present financial difficulties. Are we to throw this aside for the sake of democracy and face bankruptcy?

We waited for foreign aid, foreign assistance. As you know,

Sir, over and over again we made appeals for Point Four Aid. We waited four long years. We have got, in the form of assistance only a cook for the Kundasale Girls' School.

Therefore, in the circumstances it was necessary that we should go where it was possible to get our requirements. . . . The impossible position that we were in as a result of the slump in the price of rubber and the shortage of rice made us seek outside aid.

The hon. First Member for Colombo Central tries to make out that China through compassion for the Ceylonese gave us these favourable terms. If there is any generosity shown in this particular Trade Agreement, it was Ceylon's generosity towards China and not China's towards Ceylon.

Let us examine the position. We were the first to recognize China and what did we get in return? We were the only country in the world to ship rubber to China. What did we get from her? Nothing. And we were denied our supplies of sulphur. We sacrificed our position to get aid from foreign countries and all that we did in order to see that our country was free, and China was in a position.

*Mr. Keuneman:* When you went without an agreement she gave you 80,000 tons of rice.

*The Hon. Mr. R. G. Senanayake:* It is no use making political propaganda of this. The main thing is that China matched our own generosity. The way we treated her she treated us in return by giving us rice. . . .

There has been criticism of the Pact, that the prices indicate that this is not a pure trade pact. We were in dire need of rice just as much as China was in dire need of rubber. That is our position. So that, we were the only suppliers of rubber. True, rice may not have been available at the price we wanted it and we could not pay for it. It is no use pointing to the fact that our friends did not help us in this particular instance. May I point out that China was in a worse position? All the rubber in the world was available to Russia. There was no ban against Russia buying her rubber in world markets. Did Russia go to the aid of China? Why did she not buy rubber in world markets and deliver it to China?. . . .

If China and Russia are so closely tied up, one always standing by the other, why did they wait for Ceylon to supply rubber to China? Why did not Russia buy rubber in the world markets? . . .

She did not. We have showed her that she may have such profits that China thought it better to deal with Ceylon direct. The other camp has amazing friends just as much as we too. . . .

With regard to rubber, only 50 per cent of our produce is pledged under the contract with China. What about the other 50 per cent. Crepe rubber for which we are getting very good prices? A boom is not dependent on China trade but is dependent on international prices. I always said so. I said that boom conditions are dependent on the prices of raw materials. There has been a vast expansion in industrialization and that industrialisation needs raw material which is a scarce commodity today. That is not dependent on the China Pact. I do hope hon. Members will not make use of that for political purposes.

One other point is the question of a diplomatic mission. The Chinese Government has always the right to have a diplomatic mission because the giving of recognition to a particular country is an invitation to establish a diplomatic mission. So whether we have a trade pact or not, there is the invitation, and there is a complete right, to have a diplomatic mission.

**390 Statement by Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake in the Ceylonese House of Representatives on the trade agreement between Ceylon and China, 22 January 1953 (Extracts)**

It should be in our interests to get the best possible price for our commodities from any part of the world. . . .

That is why we have ventured out to trade with China and we have received certain proposals which we have found to be acceptable as far as this country is concerned.

Now consider this position. This country did not for the first time start exporting rubber to China only after this Agreement. In fact, 18 months before this Agreement was entered into, rubber was being exported from Ceylon to China. But we did not get anything in exchange from China for that

rubber. . . .

Except cash we did not get any commodity in exchange. So, what has happened as a result of this Agreement? Our rubber is sent there and in exchange for it we get an essential commodity, namely, rice at a fair and reasonable price. . . .

The question that was before us was whether democracy can be better preserved by refusing or by accepting the Agreement. If we were not able to make rice available to our people at reasonable prices, what, I ask, would have been the consequences of refusal? Just because China is a Communist country were we to have turned our back on this offer and made our people starve? If that were to be the case, then I wish to know how democracy is to be preserved. If the rubber industry was in a perilous condition and if it was contemplated that estates may have to close down, that wages may have to be lowered and vast numbers thrown out of work, I ask you, can democracy be preserved?

It is in the pursuit of that very objective that this Government has welcomed this Agreement and I do hope that this Agreement will contribute considerably to the preservation of democracy in this country.

There were certain minor matters raised as regards the difference in prices. I want to impress on hon. Members this fact. Although 32 pence per pound is the price for Grades 1, 2 and 3, it is 32 pence per pound for a consignment containing Grades 1, 2 and 3 in particular proportions. A particular consignment must contain a certain percentage of No. 1, a certain percentage of No. 2 and a certain percentage of No. 3 and for the total weight of the consignment the price will be at the rate of 32 pence per pound.

### **391 Statement by Ceylonese Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala, 28 December 1954**

Foremost among these, I think, is the role of China in the world of the future. For our part, we in Ceylon, have a Trade Pact with China and both parties have honoured their obligations under the Pact. But, we cannot shut our eyes to the internal nature of communist doctrines, nor can we afford to assume that the aims and objectives of Communism have under-

gone any radical change. Of course, we hear that Communism is not for export, but from reports I receive of Communist Organizations in Ceylon, their activities, and their connections with Communist countries, I cannot accept this at its face value. Two of our own group, Shri Nehru and U Nu, have recently visited China and, I am sure that what they could tell us of their impressions of the Chinese leaders and their outlook would help us considerably in making up our own minds on what our attitude towards China should be. If China desires to be friendly with us, I think, it is up to her to demonstrate that her intentions are genuine, just as other nations in the free world, with whom we have close friendships, have proved themselves beyond any doubt.

Recently, there has been much emotion excited by the reported imprisonment of American flyers in China. I do not know the facts of the case and I would not therefore venture to make any comment upon it. I am glad that the Secretary General of the United Nations has undertaken to use his good offices in mediating between the parties concerned and I do hope that a peaceful solution will prove possible. As this issue was of concern to us in Asia, as a possible threat to peace, it was my intention to suggest that we should do something about it. But now that the matter has already been taken up by the U.N. and the Secretary General has been directed to discuss it with China, I think it best for us to await the results.

**392 Chou En-lai's message of greeting to Premier John Kotelawala on Ceylon's National Day, 2 February 1955**

On the occasion of the National Day of Ceylon, I extend Congratulations to you and to the Government and people of Ceylon, and wish the Sino-Ceylonese relations to grow increasingly in the cause of maintaining peace in Asia and the world.

**393 Statement by Premier John Kotelawala on the Bandung Conference in the Ceylonese House of Representatives, 26 April 1955 (Extracts)**

Twenty-nine countries participated in the Conference and the

majority of them were represented by their Prime Ministers. It was the first time that many of these national leaders had met one another and, for this reason if for no other, the Asian-African Conference was an outstanding achievement. It was also the first time that Communists and non-Communist leaders in Asia and Africa had come together to seek ways and means of cooperation with one another. The experience was, I think, the most valuable to us all. Many of us met Premier Chou En-lai for the first time, and I must say that although we do not share his political views, he discovered himself to be a reasonable man who was prepared to respect the views of others. . . .

Everyone was agreed that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations must be respected, that disputes must be settled by peaceful means and not by force, that no one must engage in power politics and that no one must interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

It is on such a basis that "co-existence" is possible and China has subscribed to the ten principles laid down in the joint declaration. Another significant point is that recognition was given to the right of nations to defend themselves through collective pacts. . . .

A very great achievement of the Conference was the mutual understanding of viewpoints reached between Communist China and the non-communist countries. This is a notable contribution to peace, and I feel that both sides can now get along amicably together without treading on each other's toes. Of course, the sincerity of purpose of both sides has yet to be seen in action. . . .

A most interesting feature of the Conference was the eagerness shown by everybody, including China, to uphold the authority and prestige of the United Nations. This again is a very healthy sign for peace.

### **394 China-Ceylon trade communique, 16 October 1955**

In accordance with the provisions of the Five-Year Trade Agreement Relating to Rubber and Rice between the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Ceylon concluded in December, 1952, between the two governments, representatives of the Government



of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Ceylon, after negotiations conducted in Peking, have revised the prices of rubber for the period from 1st June to 31st December, 1955 and have signed contracts for the purchase of 50,000 metric tons of rubber by the Government of the People's Republic of China from the Government of Ceylon and for the purchase of 270,000 metric tons of rice by the Government of Ceylon from the Government of the People's Republic of China for 1956. This is the fourth time that the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Ceylon have signed contracts for the purchase and sale of rubber and rice. Both Governments expressed their great satisfaction with the manner in which the contracts have been implemented during the past three years.

The discussions were conducted in an atmosphere of utmost goodwill and cordiality, and the agreements reached mark a further step forward in the development and consolidation of trade and friendly relations between China and Ceylon.

**395 Chou En-lai's address to the third session of the First National People's Congress, 28 June 1956 (Extract)**

The temporary absence of diplomatic relations between two countries is no hindrance to contacts between their governments. There are as yet no diplomatic relations between China and Ceylon, but a trade agreement was signed by their governments as early as in 1952, and a new trade agreement has been concluded every year since then. Recently, the Ceylonese Government has expressed the desire to establish diplomatic relations with China. We welcome this expression and propose that the two countries exchange diplomatic envoys.

**396 Chou En-lai's message to Ceylonese Premier S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, 5 October 1956**

The Chinese Government and people and I myself are very glad that the Ceylon Government Delegation headed by Sir Claude Corea was able to come to China to conduct negotiations on questions relating to the establishment of diplomatic relations and the development of economic and cultural ties

between China and Ceylon and that satisfactory results have been achieved. We sincerely hope that the traditional friendship between China and Ceylon will be further developed on the basis of the joint communique issued by the two government delegations.

### **397 China-Ceylon joint statement, 5 February 1957**

We, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China and of Ceylon have taken the opportunity, on the occasion of the visit of the Prime Minister of China to Ceylon, to discuss many matters of mutual interest to our two countries. Our talks were full and frank and conducted in an atmosphere of greatest cordiality and friendship.

We reaffirm our adherence to the principles accepted by the Asian-African nations that met in conference at Bandung in 1955, which were an extension of the Five Principles of international co-existence and cooperation, popularly known as Panch Shila. We are of the opinion that active steps should be taken to further the implementation of these principles and that another Asian-African conference should be convened at the earliest opportune moment for this purpose.

This is a transitional period of world history. In eras such as this it is not unusual to find divergent outlooks and varying conceptions of society. But we believe that nations can live in peace with each other despite these divergences and different social systems. A world war or the creation or continuance of conditions leading to the occurrence of such a war cannot be permitted. International disputes should be settled by mutual understanding and peaceful negotiation. We, therefore, record our disapproval of antagonistic military blocs, and our support of disarmament and we stress the need for the prohibition of the nuclear weapon and the cessation of the tests of such weapons.

At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the solidarity of the Asian-African nations to oppose in this area the aggression and the expansion of the imperialist and colonial forces that are still trying desperately to thwart freedom and progress which the peoples of the world are striving to achieve in keeping with the spirit of the new age.

With regard to the situation in Egypt, Western Asia, we are of the opinion that the continuance of power politics or the substitution of one power for some other in the name of filling up the so-called vacuum will not help to solve the problems of this area, whose people must be free to work out their own destiny in accordance with their own wishes. Only in this way can a collective peace be ensured and international disputes be settled peacefully in this area.

We are deeply distressed by the unfortunate situation that has arisen in dispute between Pakistan and India in regard to Kashmir. We appeal to both parties concerned, in their own as well as the wider interests of Asian-African solidarity, to strive further for a peaceful settlement of this problem.

Our two countries have been bound by ties of friendship for many centuries. While recognizing and respecting the differences of outlook that may exist between us, we are determined to strengthen those ties, develop our economic cooperation and cultural exchanges and foster cooperation to our mutual benefit and in the cause of Asian-African solidarity and world peace.

**398 Chou En lai's report on visits to eleven countries in Asia and Europe given to the third session of the CPPCC, 5 March 1957 (Extracts)**

At the end of our trip we visited Ceylon whose contacts with us go back to the earliest days. In the past few years, the rice and rubber trade between our two countries has had a very favourable influence on the economies of our two countries, and thus has made a deep impression on our two peoples. . . .

We have noted with satisfaction that the Ceylonese Government and people are pursuing an independent policy of upholding peace. The talks held between us and Prime Minister Bandaranaike reached fully satisfactory results. We stand for facilitating the realization of the Five Principles; for strengthening the unity among Asian-African countries; for the peaceful co-existence of nations with different social systems; for the peaceful settlement of international disputes; for disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons; and we are against the establishment of antagonistic military blocs, against

the theory of filling the so-called "vacuum," and against power politics. It is our belief that the realization of these views will be instrumental in strengthening world peace.

We are specially gratified that normal diplomatic relations have been established between China and Ceylon. Prime Minister Bandaranaike has agreed to visit China this year. We are looking forward to the pleasure of meeting him again in Peking.

**399 China-Ceylon economic aid agreement, 19 September 1957  
(came into force on 1 January 1958)**

For the purpose of promoting friendly co-operation between Ceylon and China and of strengthening the friendship between the two peoples, on the basis of the Resolution on Economic Co-operation adopted at the Bandung Conference, and the five principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence, and animated by the lofty desire of the two countries to give each other mutual support and assistance, the Government of the People's Republic of China has decided, after negotiations between the two Contracting Parties, to grant economic aid without repayment and without any attached conditions to the Government of Ceylon for its Rubber Re-planting Subsidy Programme. For this purpose, the two Parties have reached agreement as follows:

*Article I*

The Government of the People's Republic of China agrees to grant economic aid to the Government of Ceylon for a period of five years from the date on which this Agreement comes into force of 15,000,000 Ceylon Rupees annually, and with a total value of 75,000,000 Ceylon Rupees for the period of five years.

*Article II*

The assistance granted to the Government of Ceylon by the Government of China in accordance with the provisions of Article I of this Agreement shall be made in commodities; the

specific commodities shall be negotiated separately by representatives of the two Governments.

*Article III*

The prices of all commodities supplied to Ceylon by China under this Agreement shall be quoted in Ceylon Rupees at international market price levels (F.O.B. prices).

*Article IV*

The organs to carry out this Agreement shall be the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the People's Republic of China and the Ministry of Finance of Ceylon.

*Article V*

Technical details regarding the maintenance of accounts in connection with the implementation of this Agreement shall be worked out by the People's Bank of China and the Central Bank of Ceylon.

*Article VI*

This Agreement shall come into force on 1st January, 1958, and remain effective for a period of five years.

Done and signed in Peking this 19th day of September, 1957, in two copies, each in the Chinese and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

(SD) WILMOT A. PERERA  
(Ceylon)

(SD) YEH CHI-CHUANG  
(China)

**400 China-Ceylon trade and payments agreement, 19 September 1957 (came into force on 1 January 1958)**

The Government of Ceylon and the Government of the People's Republic of China, for the purpose of further developing the friendship between the Governments and the peoples of the two countries and of strengthening the economic and trade relations between the two countries have, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, reached agreement as follows:

*Article I*

The two Contracting Parties will take all appropriate measures to develop trade between their two countries and agree to facilitate the exchange of goods between the two countries.

*Article II*

The trade between the two countries shall be based on the principle of a balance between the values of imports and exports.

*Article III*

The two annexed Schedules A and B [not printed] which constitute an integral part of this Agreement show the export commodities of each country. This Agreement shall not preclude trade in commodities not mentioned in the annexed Schedules A and B.

*Article IV*

The two Contracting Parties shall, before the end of October each year, conclude a protocol of the commodities to be exchanged between the two parties in the following calendar year. This protocol shall specify:

- (1) The aggregate value together with the names and approximate quantities of the commodities which the two Contracting Parties will undertake to import and export during the year covered by the protocol and,
- (2) The aggregate value together with the names and approximate quantities of the commodities which the two Contracting Parties will endeavour to import and export during the year covered by the protocol.

*Article V*

The prices of commodities to be imported and exported under this Agreement shall be fixed at international market price levels.

*Article VI*

The exchange of goods between the two countries shall be carried out in accordance with the import and export and foreign exchange regulations in force from time to time in each country.

*Article VII*

The two Contracting Parties agree that trade under this Agreement, including trade under the protocols signed in terms of Article IV, may be conducted through the state trading organizations of China and Ceylon as well as through other importers and exporters in the two countries.

*Article VIII*

The two Contracting Parties will grant to each other most-favoured nation treatment in respect of the issue of import and export licences, and the levy of customs duties, taxes, and any other charges imposed on or in connection with the importation, exportation and transshipment of commodities, subject to the following exceptions:

- (1) Any special advantages which are accorded or may be accorded in the future by either of the Contracting Parties to contiguous countries in order to facilitate frontier trade and,
- (2) Any special advantages which are accorded or may be accorded in the future under any preferential system of which either of the Contracting Parties is or may become a member.

*Article IX*

The two Contracting Parties agree that the payment arrangements between the two countries under this Agreement shall be in accordance with the following terms:

1. The Government of China shall open two accounts in the Central Bank of Ceylon, Colombo, styled Government of China Account "A" and Government of China Account "B".

The Government of Ceylon shall open two accounts in the People's Bank of China, Peking, styled Government of Ceylon

Account "A" and Government of Ceylon Account "B".

The above accounts shall bear no interest and shall be free of charges.

2. Payments for the purchase of commodities which the two Contracting Parties have undertaken to import and export in terms of the yearly protocol referred to in Article IV of this Agreement, and payments for the relative incidental expenses, shall be made through the "A" accounts mentioned in paragraph (1) above.

Payments for other purchases and the relative incidental expenses as well as other payments approved by the Foreign Exchange Control authorities of both countries shall be made through the "B" accounts mentioned in paragraph (1) above.

The phrase "relative incidental expenses" shall mean the expenses of services in connection with the exchange of goods such as transport charges including charter hire of ships and connected expenses, insurance, arbitration awards, warehousing and customs fees, agents' commissions, advertising, brokerage and other such charges.

3. The accounts specified in paragraph (1) above shall be maintained in Ceylon Rupees.

4. Any residual balances in the "A" accounts specified in paragraph (1) above, outstanding on 31st March of the succeeding year, shall be settled by payment in Pound Sterling or any other currency mutually acceptable immediately after the accounts have been reconciled.

Payments in respect of contracts entered into under the annual protocol of any year, which are made after 31st March of the succeeding year shall be brought to account under the "A" account of the succeeding year.

5. The balances in the "B" accounts specified in paragraph (1) above shall be reviewed once every quarter by the two Contracting Parties for the purpose of ensuring that trade between the two countries progresses in balance.

Any balances in the "B" accounts remaining outstanding at the end of each calendar year, shall be settled as far as possible by delivery of goods during the first three months of the succeeding year. Any residual balances in the "B" accounts still remaining outstanding on 31st March of the succeeding year, shall be settled by payment in Pound Sterling or any



other currency mutually acceptable immediately after the accounts have been reconciled.

6. The exchange rate for settlement of balances contemplated in paragraphs (4) and (5) above shall be the middle of the Central Bank of Ceylon's buying and selling rates for Pound Sterling or other currency at the time of payment.

7. The People's Bank of China and the Central Bank of Ceylon shall work out the technical details necessary for the implementation of this Article.

### *Article X*

This Agreement shall come into force on 1st January, 1958, and shall remain in force for a period of five years. This Agreement may be extended by negotiation of both parties three months before its expiration.

This Agreement is signed in Peking, this 19th day of September, 1957, in two copies, each written in the Chinese and English languages, and both texts being equally authentic.

(SD) WILMOT A. PERERA  
(Ceylon)

(SD) YEH CHI-CHUANG  
(China)

*Note:* By exchange of letters it was agreed that trade under this Agreement would not exclude:

- (i) the supply of commodities by either country to the other country for sale to a third country, and
- (ii) the supply by either country to the other country of commodities purchased from a third country.

### **401 Protocol relating to the exchange of commodities between Ceylon and China in 1958, signed at Peking, 19 September 1957<sup>1</sup>**

In accordance with the provisions of the "Trade and Payments Agreement between the Government of Ceylon and the Government of the People's Republic of China" signed on the 19th September, 1957, representatives of the Government of Ceylon and the Government of the People's Republic of China after negotiations in Peking on the exchange of commodities bet-

<sup>1</sup>Yearly protocols on a similar pattern were signed subsequently.

ween Ceylon and China in 1958 have reached agreements as follows:

#### *Article I*

The Government of the People's Republic of China undertakes to buy and the Government of Ceylon undertakes to sell Ceylonese commodities of the guaranteed value set out in Schedule "A 1" of this Protocol; and the Government of Ceylon undertakes to buy and the Government of the People's Republic of China undertakes to sell Chinese commodities of the guaranteed value set out in Schedule "A 2" of this Protocol. A variation of 5 per cent, more or less in the guaranteed values specified in Schedule "A 1" and "A 2" is permissible under this Protocol.

#### *Article II*

The Government of Ceylon and the Government of the People's Republic of China will endeavour to expand trade between their two countries on the basis of maintaining a balance between the values of imports and exports, and do their utmost to increase their respective imports and exports to the extent of the values set out in Schedules "B 1" and "B 2" attached to this Protocol.

#### *Article III*

In order to facilitate the implementation of this Protocol, the state trading organizations of Ceylon and China as well as other importers and exporters in the two countries may conclude contracts for the commodities listed in Schedules "A 1", "A 2", "B 1" and "B 2" of this Protocol.

#### *Article IV*

This Protocol shall come into force on the 1st January, 1958, and remain valid for a period of one year.

It is mutually agreed that the contracts concluded in accordance with Article III of this Protocol may continue to be in force until the expiry of their respective terms of validity even after the termination of this Protocol.

This Protocol is signed in Peking this 19th day of September, 1957, in two copies, each written in the Chinese and

English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

### SCHEDULE "A 1"

Aggregate value of commodities which Ceylon undertakes to export to China and China undertakes to import from Ceylon: Rs. 95,000,000 (Ninety-Five Million Ceylon Rupees).

<i>Name of commodity</i>	<i>Approximate quantity</i>
Rubber	30,000 metric tons
Other commodities	unspecified

### SCHEDULE "A 2"

Aggregate value of commodities which China undertakes to export to Ceylon and Ceylon undertakes to import from China: Rs. 95,000,000 (Ninety-Five Million Ceylon Rupees).

<i>Name of commodity</i>	<i>Approximate quantity</i>
Rice	200,000 metric tons
Steel	
Coal	
Cement	
Dried chillies	
Garlic	
Potatoes	
Onions	
Other commodities	unspecified

### SCHEDULE "B 1"

Aggregate value of commodities which Ceylon will endeavour to export to China and China will endeavour to import from Ceylon: Rs. 165,000,000 (One Hundred Sixty-Five Million Ceylon Rupees). (This figure includes the value of commodities listed in Schedule "A 1").

<i>Name of commodity</i>	<i>Approximate quantity</i>
Rubber	50,000 metric tons
Coconut oil	5,000 metric tons
Cocoa	200 metric tons
Other commodities	unspecified

## SCHEDULE "B 2"

Aggregate value of commodities which China will endeavour to export to Ceylon and Ceylon will endeavour to import from China: Rs. 165,000,000 (One Hundred Sixty-Five Million Ceylon Rupees). (This figure includes the value of commodities listed in Schedule "A 2").

<i>Name of commodity</i>	<i>Approximate quantity</i>
Rice	270,000 metric tons
Cotton textiles	15,000,000 yards
Tea chests	1,000,000 sets
Steel	20,000 metric tons
Cement	40,000 metric tons
Automobile tyres	10,000 sets
Dried chillies	5,000 metric tons
Newsprint and paper	4,000 metric tons
Garlic	1,500 metric tons
Potatoes	10,000 metric tons
Green gram	4,000 metric tons
Onions	4,000 metric tons
Machinery and equipment	
Chemicals	
Coal	
Other commodities	Unspecified

**402 Peking Review report on Chinese loan to Ceylon,  
30 September 1958**

China will provide Ceylon with a 50-million rupee loan. This was decided upon in notes exchanged on September 17 in Colombo between Ambassador Chang Tsan-ming on behalf of the Chinese Government and the Ceylonese Premier Solomon Bandarnaike.

The loan was made at the request of the Ceylonese Government for rehabilitation work following the recent floods. It will be given in the form of equipment, supplies and facilities. The loan extends over a four-year period beginning this year, at an interest of 2.5 per cent per annum. A joint committee will be formed by delegates from the two countries to decide on the amount by goods to be delivered each year.

**403 Paper by Yi Li-yu, Member of Editorial Board of *World Culture* (*Shih Chieh Chih Shih*) at a joint conference of the Editorial Boards of *International Affairs* (Moscow) and *World Culture*, January 1959 (Extract)**

In trading with friendly countries in Asia and Africa China does not pursue a competitive policy and does not strive to capture their markets. One can cite as an example the agreement with Ceylon in 1952 on the exchange of rice and rubber. This helped Ceylon overcome her economic difficulties resulting from U.S.-imposed cuts in the world market prices of natural rubber. Furthermore, it helped Ceylon import the rice she needed and simultaneously enabled China to break the U.S. "embargo" and to get the rubber which she needs.

Another characteristic feature of China's economic relations with Asian and African countries is the constant endeavour to assist them in developing their industry and achieving economic independence. She does this without seeking unequal conditions and special privileges in return. Despite the fact that China must mobilize all her forces to build up her own economy and cannot completely satisfy her own financial and industrial requirements, she strives to give as much economic and technical assistance as possible to the "nationalistic" states. Such aid, for example, was received by Cambodia. China also granted low-interest credits and gratuitous assistance to Nepal, Ceylon, Egypt, the Yemen and Indonesia.

**404 Statement by Premier S.W.R.D Bandaranaike on the situation in Tibet, 22 April 1959 (Extracts)**

The first point is to have fairly in one's own mind the precise status of Tibet vis-a-vis China. It would appear that for some centuries now, from about the year 1700, China has asserted and has exercised, sometimes to a greater and sometimes lesser degree, suzerainty over Tibet. The degree depended upon the actual difficulties and problems of China itself, which arose from time to time, and the strength of the particular government which at the time happened to be ruling over China. But there is no question at all that Tibet has been looked upon as a part of China. I will come in a moment to the question of

autonomy or degree of autonomy that Tibet has claimed or has exercised; but it was not, at least during the period that I mentioned—roughly about 1700 A.D.—looked upon as an independent country; it has been looked upon as part of China with a certain amount of autonomy. The Chinese Government exercised, as I said, sometimes more, sometimes less according to their own difficulties in China, authority over this region. That is important to be borne in mind because subsequent happenings must of course be viewed against this status of Tibet. . . .

In the British period this suzerainty which China had over Tibet was admitted by the British. . . .

After India became independent—that is somewhere about 1947-48, the same time we got our independence—even then the Indian Government recognized and admitted China's suzerainty over Tibet. . . .

I now come to 1914 when there was a conference at Simla between British India and China in respect of Tibet. Out of those discussions seem to have arisen this position. First, an area known as Outer Tibet was granted autonomous status under Chinese suzerainty; second there was Inner Tibet roughly comprising the Chando area in the east, inhabited by the nomadic warlike Kambas. The Kambas have come into this picture here where the Chinese had the right of government, not autonomy, for a certain region, but the Dalai Lama enjoyed some measure of spiritual jurisdiction. In the Simla Conference of 1914, that would appear to be the position that emerged. This area of Outer Tibet had a certain autonomous status under the Chinese Government, and Inner Tibet, the area which I just mentioned, where the Chinese had the right of Government, the Dalai Lama exercised and enjoyed a certain measure of spiritual jurisdiction there. Although Chiang Kai-shek did not sign the Convention drawn up at the Simla Conference they would appear to have accepted the principle of this position. . . .

In 1951 the Chinese Peoples' Government and the Tibetan Government, led of course by the Dalai Lama, the Panchan Lama and the other dignitaries of the Tibetan Government, after discussion, came to an agreement, I do not want to use the word "treaty" here. It was really in a sense an agreement, because

the world “treaty” connotes a transaction between two independent countries. . . .

This Agreement was signed by the delegates who were vested with full powers on behalf of China and on behalf of the Government of Tibet—that is, on behalf of the Dalai Lama; delegates who had full powers—signed this Agreement on behalf of China as well as on behalf of Tibet.

What is to be noted from this is a recognition that Tibet is part of the motherland of a big family, the motherland being the People’s Republic of China. . . .

It also says that the Tibetan people have the right to exercise national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the People’s Republic of China.

Then with regard to army administration certain machinery was set up for the purpose. . . .

In 1956 the Chinese Government set up what was known as a preparatory committee for the autonomous region of Tibet. This body was designed to develop Tibet economically, politically and culturally, the Chairman of which was the Dalai Lama, the Vice Chairman the Panchan Lama, and it contained personnel both Chinese and Tibetan. There were various purposes contemplated by them. That was in 1956.

Now we get some sort of picture of the status of Tibet vis-a-vis China as well as the terms of this Agreement of 1951. These terms are really of importance.

Then of course this revolt broke out. We do not know yet, even from the statement made by the Dalai Lama recently at Tezpur as to at least what happened except that the Chinese apparently did not follow the terms of this Agreement. Certainly opinion differs. On the Tibetan side, they say the Chinese were not following the spirit or letter apparently of this Agreement. On the side of the Chinese they say that certain interests of a vital nature, vested interests are there. These interests were being eroded naturally by steps apparently being taken to modernize the State in various ways—culturally, industrially, motor transport and so on. This has caused these elements, with prompting from others—that is the Chinese version—promptings from outside, to start off a revolt against the existing situation. These are divergent stories on which, the House will understand, I am not capable of passing any judgement, I just

do not know what exactly happened there. . . .

We do not know then whether a breach of this Agreement, as alleged by the Dalai Lama has in fact taken place and if so what the break was; or, whether as the Chinese say, it was really some of these old feudal interests and so on who were going to suffer under certain modernizing that was taking place there, who started the revolt. We just do not know. . . .

It is a domestic affair fundamentally, in the sense that it is an internal affair of China. It is difficult to resist that conclusion, and that is the reason why the Prime Minister of India instructed his Permanent Representative in the United Nations at New York to say that India accepted the position that it is an internal affair of China. . . .

It would appear, at least on these documents—we are not familiar with all these detailed arrangements—as far as they are available to us, that the position adopted by the Prime Minister of India, who knows all these facts much more intimately than we do here, is not unjustified, namely, that it is in fact an internal affair of China. That is the position.

Naturally, we in this country as well as in India other countries, particularly those who are Buddhists and a large number who are not have viewed with perturbation the fact that a country that is looked upon as one devoted to the spiritual life, in a sense that no other nation has devoted itself through the centuries, in the almost inaccessible mountain recesses—if I may use the phrase—of Tibet, should find itself in this position, that the way of life they had been following in that way particularly devoted to a certain type of Buddhism which may not necessarily be ours, should suffer; and that, in the course of that suffering, a person in the very holy position of the Dalai Lama has had to leave the country and seek refuge elsewhere and so on. These are naturally matters that cause a certain amount of feeling and a certain amount of perturbation in our minds. Those are the facts of the matter. . . .

I do not use the word “domestic” but I cannot resist the conclusion—I have explained is—that it must be looked upon fundamentally as an internal question of China. . . .

The reason why I say so is that position of Tibet, with this degree of autonomy contemplated, as a part of China has been admitted by the Tibetans themselves in this Agreement that



they concluded with the Chinese Government in 1951, and it would appear to be the position accepted and followed for at least the last three centuries. That is the only reason why I say so. Juridically it is so. . .

This is the position as Dalai Lama claims, on which we have no details, or whether in fact they did not so exceed is not a matter in respect of which I am in possession of sufficient data to answer. Though we do not like, I repeat we naturally do not like any set of people, shall I say, suffering under what in the circumstances—whatever precisely they were that arose—of this case these people have suffered. That is the position.

Now it is certainly, I think, the hope and wish of a good many of us in Asia as well as outside that some satisfactory solution of this problem will be found whereby, with the continuance of the suzerainty of China over Tibet. The Tibetans are allowed to follow reasonably their own way of life. The Prime Minister of India who is intimately connected with this matter expressed views more or less on those lines. Even a very pious Buddhist, U Nu—who was Prime Minister of Burma and who has also, I think, perhaps many of us here have—seems to have made a statement in New York—as I said he was the ex-Prime Minister of Burma and indeed is a very pious Buddhist—that there was no question in his mind—if I remember his statement correctly—of China's suzerainty over Tibet. He made a suggestion of his own that a committee or a commission be appointed by the Chinese Government consisting of suitable Chinese personnel to go to Tibet, discuss those matters, go into the question and come to some suitable and satisfactory solution of this problem. That is his suggestion. . . .

That is the position about Tibet. So that all we—from our point of view naturally our sympathies go out to the Tibetans, particularly as Buddhists—and, may I say, a large number of those who are not Buddhists can do is to wish that some satisfactory settlement should arise permitting the Tibetans to follow their own way of life, what they conceive to be their way of life under the suzerainty of China, which does not appear to be seriously disputed by anybody. That is the position as far as I can see it. I do not think it is possible for me to say any more on this question at this stage except to say this, that, if in our own small way—as one of the chief countries particularly

a country where there are so many Buddhists and therefore perhaps having a greater interest in Tibet than others who may not share that particular community of interests—as far as we are able, certainly if or when the need for it arises or the occasion for it arises, I shall be quite ready on behalf of the people and the Government of Ceylon to lend whatever good offices we can in every way to bring about a satisfactory settlement of this trouble and thereby enhance what we as well as so many others stand for, namely greater understanding amongst the peoples of the world, particularly peoples in this region in Asia.

**405 Vice Premier Chen Yi's speech at the Ceylonese National Day reception in Peking, 4 February 1960 (Extracts)**

Ceylon's policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment. . . was the source of Ceylon's helpful contributions in the cause of Asian-African solidarity and safeguarding world peace.

Chen Yi pointed out that China and Ceylon had always maintained friendly relations since establishing diplomatic ties and that Sino-Ceylonese trade, based on equality and mutual benefit, had benefited both sides. He cited the continuous exchange of government and civilian delegations, the scheduled signing of the 1960 Sino-Ceylonese trade protocol and the conclusion of the Sino-Ceylonese air transport agreement last year to demonstrate that friendship between the two countries would grow and be further consolidated in the future.

**406 Vice Premier Chen Yi's speech at the Ceylonese National Day reception in Peking, 4 February 1961 (Extracts)**

The Chinese Government has always respected and supported the foreign policy of independence, sovereignty, peace and neutrality adhered to by the Ceylonese Government.

“The Chinese Government has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace and has firmly adhered to peaceful co-existence with states having different social systems. In the past year, our Government, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, has satisfactorily solved his-

torical disputes with a number of friendly Asian countries, and at the same time has greatly strengthened and developed relations of friendship and co-operation with many Asian and African countries. . . .The slanders directed against China by imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and by those who harbour ulterior motives merely reflect their own weakness and plight and cannot stand the test of facts. The Chinese Government and people are willing to make efforts, together with the Ceylonese Government and people, to expand the area of peace in Asia, uphold the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, give full play to the Bandung spirit and safeguard world peace.”

**407 Joint communique of China-Ceylon trade negotiations,  
4 April 1961**

In accordance with the provisions of the “Trade and Payments Agreement between the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Government of Ceylon”, concluded on September 19, 1957, between the two Governments, representatives of the Chinese Government and the Government of Ceylon, after negotiations conducted in Colombo, have signed the “Protocol Relating to the Exchange of Commodities between China and Ceylon in 1961”, as well as the contracts for the purchase of 31,000 metric tons of rubber by China from Ceylon and for the purchase of 200,000 long tons of rice by Ceylonese from China for 1961.

The protocol for the exchange of commodities between the two countries in 1961 envisages exports by China to Ceylon to a total value of 100 million rupees and exports by Ceylon to China up to an equivalent value.

The discussions were conducted in an atmosphere of utmost goodwill and cordiality, and the agreements reached mark a further step forward in the development and consolidation of trade and friendly relations between China and Ceylon.

**408 Chou En-lai's message of greetings to Ceylonese Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the independence of Ceylon, 3 February 1962**

On the happy occasion of the 14th anniversary of the independence of your country, I have the honour, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China and in my own name, to extend to Your Excellency and the Government of Ceylon cordial congratulations.

The Chinese people are glad to see that under the guidance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles adopted at the Bandung Conference, the profound friendship between China and Ceylon has developed smoothly and their relations of friendly cooperation in all fields have become daily closer. I firmly believe that this friendship and friendly cooperation will be continuously strengthened and promoted through the joint efforts of the governments and peoples of the two countries.

I wish Your Excellency and the Ceylonese people further successes in the cause of developing your national economy and culture, opposing colonialism, promoting friendship and solidarity among Asian and African countries and safeguarding Asian and world peace.

**409 Vice-Premier Chen Yi's speech at the Ceylonese Independence Day reception in Peking, 3 February 1962 (summary)**

Under the leadership of the Government of Ceylon headed by Prime Minister Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Ceylonese people are continuing their advance along the lines of independence, sovereignty, peace and neutrality formulated by the late Prime Minister Mr. Bandaranaike. To this end they have had to wage repeated struggles against certain forces which are hostile to the national interests of Ceylon, and have won successive victories.

As shown by facts the destructive and disruptive acts of the imperialists and reactionaries against the cause of national independence of various countries will only stimulate the fighting will of the people of the countries involved, and the

imperialists and reactionaries are bound to end in failure.

Chen Yi declared that the Chinese Government and people resolutely supported all the oppressed nations in their struggles to win and safeguard national independence and to oppose imperialist aggression and intervention. He censured U.S. imperialism for its new acts of aggression and intervention in the Congo, Cuba and Laos. . . .

China and Ceylon have always friendly cooperated with each other on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and under the Bandung spirit. This cooperation has made new advances in the past year.

The Chinese Vice-Premier thanked the Ceylonese Government for its firm support for China in the struggle for the restoration of its legitimate rights in the United Nations and against the "two Chinas" scheme.

"In the present session of the United Nations General Assembly the Ceylonese delegates have persisted in a righteous stand and repudiated justly and solemnly the imperialist bloc hostile to China; this has received great international appreciation. The speeches made by the Ceylonese delegates not only expressed the profound friendship of the Ceylonese people for the Chinese people; but also demonstrated that any country, whether big or small, can play an important role in international affairs so long as it is dauntless in face of power and violence and dares to fight for the truth".

#### **410 Ceylonese Ambassador A.B. Perera's speech at the reception in Peking, 3 February 1962 (summary)**

Perfect harmony exists between our two countries. The relations between Ceylon and China in the past year "have been marked by great manifestations of goodwill, friendly cooperation and solidarity."

Ceylon's foreign policy which was first enunciated by the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike, has been defined as "dynamic neutralism, non-alignment and peaceful coexistence of states with different political and social systems."

Ambassador Perera referred to the joint statement between Premier Chou En-lai and the late Ceylonese Prime Minister Bandaranaike signed on February 5, 1957 as in conformity with

the fundamental principles of *Pancha Shila* and the declarations of Bandung.

The Government of the present Ceylonese Prime Minister, Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, he said, had done its utmost to put the principles embodied in the joint statement into practice.

“A cardinal feature of our foreign policy, since the assumption of power by the late Premier Bandaranaike, has been the consistent support we have given to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations,” the Ceylonese Ambassador stated.

The Ceylonese Government firmly believed that “only the representatives of the Government of the People’s Republic of China are competent to occupy China’s place in the United Nations and its organisations. We oppose and we still continue to oppose all attempts to create ‘two China’s’ or any other variation of the ‘two-China’ theory” . . . .

“Our admiration for the Government and people of China is heightened by the fact that in spite of certain natural calamities, the vast social experiment ushered in by the revolution of 1949 continues to advance.”

Many nations were now receiving aid from the people’s Republic of China. “We have no doubt that in the years to come, these benefits will flow in abundance.”

#### **411 China-Ceylon joint communique on trade and cooperation, 3 October 1962**

At the invitation of the Government of the People’s Republic of China, T.B. Ilangaratne, Minister for Trade, Commerce, Food and Shipping of Ceylon paid a friendly visit to the People’s Republic of China. During the visit, he held talks with Yeh Chi-chuang, Minister for Foreign Trade of the People’s Republic of China. In the talks, besides expressing their satisfaction at the Third Sino-Ceylonese Five-Year Trade Agreement, the protocol relating to the exchange of commodities in 1963, and rice and rubber contracts in 1963 on which agreement was reached in the trade discussion recently held in Colombo between the representatives of the two governments, both parties continued their talks and reached agreement on the economic

and technical cooperation between China and Ceylon.

The Third Five-Year Trade Agreement, the protocol relating to the exchange of commodities in 1963 and the agreement on economic and technical cooperation and rice and rubber contracts in 1963 between China and Ceylon were signed in Peking on 3rd October, 1962.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of the utmost cordiality and friendliness. The signing of the agreements, protocol and contracts mentioned above will further consolidate and develop the friendly, economic and trade relations between China and Ceylon.

**412 "10 Years of Sino-Ceylonese economic friendship and cooperation," article by Wang K'o in *World Culture*, 10 October 1962 (Extracts)**

Ceylon was one of the first countries to recognize the new China and also one of the first Asian and African nations to sign a trade agreement with our Government. 10 years ago, China and Ceylon signed their first trade agreement and first 5-year agreement on rubber and rice trade. In this way, a new page was turned in the history of Sino-Ceylonese relations of friendship and cooperation. Since then, the economic and trade connections and the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries have improved steadily.

Trade relations between China and Ceylon can be traced back to more than 1,000 years ago. Even before Fa Hsien visited Ceylon, the people of the two countries began to trade with each other, exchanging what they had for what they wanted, and formed a close friendship. After that, records of such exchange during the Tsin, T'ang, Sung, Yuan, and Ming dynasties are found in both Chinese and foreign documents. . . . It was only in the recent centuries when both countries were encroached upon and oppressed by colonialism that the relations of trade and cooperation between them were obstructed. However since the liberation of China and since Ceylon embarked on the road of independence, the traditional friendship and relations of trade and cooperation between the people of these two countries have been restored and developed on a new foundation.

The economy of Ceylon basically depends on three major agricultural products, namely, tea, rubber, and coconuts. They account for 90-95 per cent of the total value of Ceylon's exports. On the other hand, she has to import about half of the grain it needs. In and before 1952, she exported the bulk of her agricultural products, including almost all of her rubber, to West Europe and the United States. The fluctuation of the international market usually affected the stability of Ceylon's economy. Exploiting her control of the world price of rubber, the United States kept this price low for a long time and thus snatched huge profit from Ceylon. In June, 1951 and afterward, seizing the opportunity offered by Ceylon's urgent need for rice, the United States suddenly cut down her rubber purchases by large amounts and insisted on selling rice to Ceylon at a high price and buying rubber from her at a low price, thus openly squeezing her. This act of making a high profit through inequitable exchange completely exposed the predatory nature of imperialism and aroused the extreme dissatisfaction of Ceylon's public opinion. It was under such circumstances that the Ceylonese Government sent a trade delegation to China. On October 4 and December 18, 1952, respectively, this delegation signed the first trade agreement and the first 5-year agreement on trade of rice and rubber with our country. The agreements provided that in each of the five years beginning 1953, our country was to sell 270,000 tons of rice to Ceylon, and Ceylon was to sell 50,000 tons of rubber to our country. As everybody knows, rubber was at the time a material covered by the embargo of U.S. imperialism against our country. At our moment of difficulty, Ceylon bravely broke the policies of "blockade" and "embargo" enforced by U.S. imperialism against us and supplied rubber to us. We shall never forget this. On the other hand, the rice we supplied to Ceylon solved her needs at the time. Such trade relations of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual support between China and Ceylon symbolize the deep friendship between the people of the two countries and are cherished by both.

Following the development of trade relations between China and Ceylon, the friendship between the two countries has increased steadily. Since April, 1956, especially when Bandaranaike became Ceylon's prime minister, the friendship and co-



operation between the two countries have increased further, thanks to the common effort of their Governments. In September in the same year, the Ceylonese Government sent a delegation to Peking to hold friendly talks with our Government. On the Basis of mutual preference, the two sides arrived at agreements between the two countries concerning the appointment of diplomatic representatives, the increase of trade, economic development, and technical cooperation. Toward the end of January, 1957, at the invitation of Prime Minister Bandaranaike, Premier Chou En-lai paid a friendly visit to Ceylon. He was warmly welcomed by the Ceylonese Government and people. The two premiers published a historic joint declaration, both affirming the five principles of peaceful co-existence and deciding to increase the time-honored friendship between the two countries and to unfold economic cooperation and cultural exchange. In February in the same year, the Governments of China and Ceylon formally established diplomatic relations and exchanged ambassadors. This paved the road for the further increase of cooperation between the two countries.

In September, 1957, before the first 5-year trade agreement expired, the Governments of the two countries concluded the second Sino-Ceylonese 5-year agreement on trade of rice and rubber. This agreement had great significance for the development and increase of trade between the two countries on the original foundation. It first of all affirmed the principle of balanced trade between the two countries. At the same time, it increased the varieties of products to be exchanged between them. Apart from rubber, other products such as coconut oil, dried coconut and cocoa were added to the commodities our country was to import from Ceylon. As for Ceylon, she added machines, cotton cloth, silk, cement, tires, coal, and dried fish to rice as imports from our country. In addition, the agreement provided for the possibility of trade between the two countries through other importers and exporters than State-operated trade agencies, and for the treatment by the two countries of each other as the most favored country in respect of imports and exports and passage through the country. This fully reflected the sincere wish of the two countries for increased cooperation and trade and for equality and mutual

preference.

China and Ceylon always cooperate with and help each other in their respective effort of construction and economic development at home. Apart from trade, the two countries also practice sincere cooperation in respect of techniques. In September 1957, the Governments of China and Ceylon concluded an economic aid agreement. In the five years beginning September 1957, our Government was to provide, in the form of commodity and without compensation or any condition attached, 75,000,000 Ceylonese rupees to the rubber replanting subsidy plan of the Ceylonese Government. In accordance with this agreement, the Governments of the two countries next arrived at agreements whereby our country undertook to supply railway rolling stock to Ceylon and to provide her with equipment and supplementary installations for spinning and weaving factories capable of turning out 10,000,000 yards of cotton cloth and 1,000,000 pounds of cotton yarns a year. The first lot of railway rolling stock supplied by our country to Ceylon arrived at Colombo in September this year. Toward the end of 1957, Ceylon was afflicted with the severest flood in 50 years, which brought about great economic difficulties. The Chinese people conveyed deep sympathy and concern for her affliction. At the request of the Ceylonese Government, the Chinese Government granted it a low-interest loan of 50,000,000 rupees as assistance to it in the work of rehabilitation after the flood. The Chinese Government was to provide the loan in four years beginning September, 1958 in the form of complete sets of equipment, materials, and other kinds of supplies which the Ceylonese Government needed and the Chinese Government could provide. The annual interest rate was only 2.5 per cent.

The economic and trade cooperation between China and Ceylon is in the interests not only of the development of the domestic economies of the people of the two countries, but also of the people of Asia and Africa in general. It fully represents the spirit of the Bandung Conference about the increase of economic cooperation among Asian and African countries and is a good example of sincere cooperation among such countries. Such relations of economic cooperation also provide forceful proof that our country's assistance to other Asian and African countries is really based on equality and mutual bene-

fit. Such economic cooperation is aimed at bringing about the common economic and cultural upsurge of all.

But what the people of Asia and Africa like is always disliked by imperialism. US imperialism always regards the Sino-Ceylonese trade with hostility and tries its best to wreck it. After China and Ceylon concluded their trade agreement, the United States openly declared the stoppage of her economic aid to Ceylon, thus trying to force her to stop trading with our country. More than this, the United States even interrupted her supply of sulphur to Ceylon, which was needed by the latter's rubber plantations, thus trying to strangle her rubber industry. The US press mongered rumors and threw mud with a view to wrecking the trade relations between our country and friendly countries. But the plot of US imperialism to undermine relations and its poor trick of interfering with the internal administration of other countries have been successively exposed by the Ceylonese people. They will never succeed.

Recently, T.P. Ilangaratne, the Ceylonese Minister of Commerce, Trade, Food, and Shipping, came to our country on a friendly visit. After he had had sincere and congenial talks with our Government, the Governments of the two countries concluded the third 5-year trade agreement, the Sino-Ceylonese Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement, and the 1963 Sino-Ceylonese Barter Protocol.

The relations of economic and trade cooperation between China and Ceylon have improved further on the sound foundation laid during the past 10 years. Now that such relations are about to enter into the third 5-year period, may the friendly and cooperative relations between China and Ceylon, which are founded on the five principles of peaceful co-existence, advance for ever on a broad path.

**413 Statement by the representative of Ceylon, Malalasekera,  
in the UN General Assembly on Sino-Indian conflict,  
23 October 1962 (Extract)**

Even as we speak here the armies of the Government of the People's Republic of China are now in clash with those of India. Needless to say, we of Ceylon are deeply distressed by

this turn of events, because it is a fight between two countries both of which we hold in affection and friendship. It is a clash which was not inevitable because obviously there are no differences of vital national interests involved, neither economic rivalry, nor questions of hegemony, nor ancient grudges, nor deep-rooted fears; not even ideological differences, for both have varying species of socialist societies. There are not even vital territorial differences, for this is a dispute over the rectification of the frontier involving territories which are of no life or death importance to either country.

Furthermore, the relationship between these two countries is that of two neighbouring States which together comprise one third of the world's population, along one of the longest borders of the globe, a relationship founded on ancient friendship and common views on the modern world. Let us recall that they were the two major architects of the historic Bandung Conference, a conference which has so greatly altered the very physiognomy of the United Nations. I repeat, their relationship was stabilized and strengthened by the five noble principles of coexistence, the "Pancha Shila", which have since become the accepted imperatives in our attempt to reverse the forces of nuclear war.

This dispute which has now developed into a clash of arms is purely a difference of the interpretation of what is known as the McMahon Line. What is significant about it is that both parties have repeatedly declared their willingness to try and reach an understanding through direct negotiations, even right up to the last days of the current shooting. And this quest for talks was altogether in harmony with the provisions of the United Nations Charter which enjoined nations in dispute first to try to arrive at a solution by direct negotiations. For this approach to pacific settlement operative membership in the United Nations is not a *sine qua non*. Any State, in or out of the world organization, resorting to negotiations instead of to force would be acting in accordance with the spirit of the Charter. And this the two parties, India and China, tried to do.

But they failed to unlock the door which separated them. They found that the most important channel for peaceful negotiations in the world today, the United Nations, also remained

closed to them because of the absence from this world community of the delegation of the People's Republic of China. By closing the door of the United Nations to the Government of the People's Republic of China, we in fact closed the door to one of the greatest areas of the world; we quarantined one quarter of the world's population and its Government from the most effective diplomatic channel which exists for the pursuit of peaceful negotiations.

As I have already said, war between India and China was not inevitable if the United Nations itself had lived up to its own Charter, of which China is not only a founding Member but also a permanent Member with special rights and responsibilities as a big power.

**414 Statement by Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and External Affairs F.R. Dias Bandaranaike on the Sino-Indian border conflict in the Ceylonese House of Representatives, 7 November 1962 (Extract)**

As the House is aware, the world is at the moment faced with two serious situations in Cuba and on the Sino Indian border. There is a grave possibility that unless suitable action is taken these situations could lead to a world conflagration which will be fatal to mankind. Ceylon has watched these situations with anxiety and the Government has taken all possible steps to contribute towards a peaceful settlement of these problems.

The Government considers that the present armed conflict between the two great nations of Asia—India and China—is a tragedy both for Asia and the world and therefore it is anxious that early action should be taken at least to put an end to the present fighting. With this in view the Hon. Prime Minister has been in communication with the Prime Ministers of India and China to whom she has offered her good offices to seek an end to the armed conflict. The present position is that the Prime Minister of India has proposed a withdrawal of forces to the line existing before the fighting, that is to say, on the 8th September 1962, as a condition for a cease fire. The Prime Minister of China has proposed withdrawal to the line which existed on the 7th November 1959. The Ceylon Government

shares the hopes of all countries that a satisfactory solution will be found which will restore peace to the area. The Ceylon Government is not unmindful of the serious implications to the economic development of the countries of Asia of the continuance of this conflict and indeed of the serious economic implications even so far as our own country is concerned.

**415 Chou En-lai's speech at the banquet given in honour of  
Ceylonese Premier Mrs. Bandaranaike, 31 December 1962  
(Extracts)**

At this happy juncture of bidding farewell to the old year and ushering in the new, we are especially glad to entertain here Her Excellency Mme Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the prime minister of our friendly neighbour Ceylon. Our gathering together to day is a symbol of the friendly unity of the Chinese and Ceylonese peoples, of the friendly unity of the Asian and African peoples, and of the great unity of the people of the whole world. . . .

The Ceylonese people carried out a long-term brave struggle against imperialist aggression and oppression. Having rid themselves of the colonialist rule of more than 400 years and embarked on the road of independent development, they have waged an unremitting struggle against foreign interventionist and subversive activities. The Ceylonese Government and people have devoted themselves to the cause of safeguarding national independence and developing the national economy and gained remarkable achievements under the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike and the current Prime Minister Mme. Bandaranaike.

Everybody can see that, in recent years, Ceylon has made useful contributions to the strengthening of Asian-African solidarity and the safeguarding of world peace by firmly adhering to a policy of independence, peace, and neutrality. We sincerely wish that in the new year the Ceylonese Government and people will score still greater achievements in all fields.

Her Excellency Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike is on a visit in our country as an envoy of friendship and as an envoy of peace. On the initiative of Mme. Bandaranaike, a conference of six friendly Asian and African countries was held not long ago in Colombo, which called for direct negotiations

between China and India to seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. Entrusted by the conference, Her Excellency the Prime Minister will hold discussions with the Chinese and Indian governments respectively. We express our heartfelt appreciation for the good wishes of the six-nation conference and the sincere efforts by Mme. Bandaranaike.

The Chinese Government and people have consistently strived to consolidate and develop China's friendly and good-neighborly relations, and we consistently stand for a friendly settlement of our boundary questions with all our neighbors through peaceful negotiations. All our friends here present know that China has satisfactorily settled its boundary questions with Burma and Nepal. A few days ago, a boundary treaty was signed between the CPR and the People's Republic of Mongolia, and an agreement in principle was reached between the governments of China and Pakistan on the location and alignment of the boundary actually existing between the two countries, thus laying the foundation for the signing by the two countries of the planned boundary agreement.

These facts cannot but cause one to ponder this question: since China has been able to settle peacefully complicated questions left over by history both with fraternal socialist countries and with friendly countries of differing social systems, in a spirit of equality, friendship, mutual understanding, and mutual accommodation, why is it that the Sino-Indian boundary dispute cannot be settled smoothly along the same line, but instead has led to armed conflict against the wishes of the two peoples? We believe that it will not be difficult for all those who respect the facts and can distinguish between right and wrong to draw a proper and impartial conclusion on this question.

At present, a cease-fire has in fact been effected along the entire Sino-Indian border and the situation has been eased. This is a result of the measures taken by China on its own initiative, and also a testimony to our utmost sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. However, owing to the failure of India to take corresponding measures in response to the peaceable efforts of the Chinese Government, the present state of cease-fire is still unstable.

The imperialists are intensifying their efforts to make use

of this situation to poison the Sino-Indian relations, to fan up war hysteria, and to undermine Asian-African solidarity. We have noted with pleasure that the six-nation conference was unanimously against imperialist interference in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and other Asian-African affairs, and for a consolidation of the cease-fire and for promoting direct negotiations between the two parties. This reflected the common desire of the Chinese and Indian peoples as well as the other Asian and African peoples. We sincerely support the efforts of the friendly Asian and African countries to reconcile China and India and earnestly hope that these efforts will be successful. . . .

China and Ceylon are friendly neighbors who have always lived together in amity. Since our countries attained independence, and especially with the Ceylonese Government being headed by the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike and the current Prime Minister Mme. Bandaranaike, friendly relations between our two countries have undergone a remarkable development. The economic cooperation, cultural exchange, and friendly intercourse between our two countries have steadily increased. Both countries are participants of the Bandung conference, firmly recognize the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the 10 principles of the Bandung conference as principles guiding their mutual relations, and have conducted good cooperation in international affairs.

The government and people of Ceylon have consistently stood for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the CPR in the United Nations and opposed the plot of creating "two Chinas." For this the Chinese Government is sincerely grateful. It can be said without exaggeration that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries based on mutual respect and equality constitute a good example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

**416 Mrs Bandaranaike's speech at the banquet,  
31 December 1962 (Extract)**

I come here not only as Prime Minister of Ceylon but as the representative of the six nonaligned countries who met in con-



ference in Colombo earlier this month.

The conferences which have been held in Colombo since our independence have always borne fruit. The commonwealth foreign ministers conference of 1950 gave birth to the Colombo Plan which has had beneficial results for several countries in Asia. Four years later in 1954 the Colombo powers conference paved the way for the historic Bandung conference which laid the foundations of Afro-Asian solidarity. Now when we are faced with a challenge, undoubtedly the greatest challenge so far to peaceful co-existence and Afro-Asian solidarity, we can only hope that the conference of six nonaligned countries held in Colombo will play as important a part in preserving Afro-Asian solidarity as the Colombo powers conference of 1954 did in giving it birth.

At the time I suggested this conference I had in mind that the immediate purpose of the six-power conference was to create an atmosphere in which the problems created by the border dispute could be discussed amicably in a spirit of friendship between China and India. We friends of both sides offered our good offices because we consider that any dispute, however serious, is never serious enough to justify a resort to arms. The conference was conceived in the sincere belief that the assistance of friendly countries could lead to a settlement of the boundary question between China and India and the restoration of the traditional friendship that has existed between these two peoples. To the rest of the peoples of Asia an unresolved area of conflict between two great and powerful Afro-Asian nations can only be a cause for sadness and deep concern.

It is not our purpose to attempt to solve the boundary question between China and India. Our immediate task at the conference as I saw it was to address our minds to evolving an equitable and just basis on which both sides could be persuaded to accept conditions which would lead to relaxation of tension and be a preliminary to the larger task of arriving at a solution to the border dispute itself. I hope, and it is a hope that is shared by many millions throughout the world, that success will be attained and with good will it will be possible to insure complete normalcy of relations between China and India.

The positions taken up by India and China on the question are well known to us. China's unilateral decision to call a cease-fire has been recognized as a positive step toward peace. India, too, by doing nothing to impede the observance of the cease-fire has also contributed to a relaxation of tension which will help to provide a suitable climate for negotiations. The proposals of the conference of six nonaligned Afro-Asian countries and which it is my honor to convey to the respective prime ministers are intended to assist China and India to find a basis for negotiations and peaceful settlement of the question.

To us in Asia the problem as it exist is a serious one and its peaceful settlement is of extreme urgency. Our responsibilities are twofold. First, any outbreak of war in Asia even on a limited scale will undoubtedly affect many progressive measures our countries have taken for the betterment of our peoples. Second, we should avoid the responsibility of providing the spark which could in all probability lead to a war, the consequences of which are too terrible to contemplate not only for Asia but also for all mankind. These are the factors which prompted me to take the initiative I have taken. I come on my mission at the end of one year and the beginning of a new one. I hope this might be taken as a good omen which augurs well for the peacefull settlement of the problem which is foremost in our minds.

Relations between our two countries have, in recent years and especially since 1957, when Your Excellency Prime Minister Chou En-lai visited Ceylon, grown closer than ever before. The establishment of diplomatic relations, cultural and religious exchanges, and the smooth operation of our trade and economic agreements have made certain that the ties between our two countries will be firm and enduring.

#### **417 China-Ceylon joint communique, 8 January 1963**

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike visited the People's Republic of China as Head of the Government of Ceylon and on behalf of the six Asian-African countries which met in Colombo from 10th to 12th December 1962, and was warmly welcomed by the Chinese Government and people.

During the visit, the Prime Minister of Ceylon was received by Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China by Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

### *One*

In fulfilment of the mandate entrusted to her by the Colombo conference, the Prime Minister of Ceylon who had earlier communicated the unanimous proposals of the conference by her special envoy, held talks with Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, with a view to bringing about negotiations between China and India for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. Marshal Chen Yi, Vice Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Foreign Minister, and Dr. Subandrio, Deputy First Minister and Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, took part in the talks between the two Prime Ministers.

The discussions which took place from 1st January to 4th January 1963 were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and it is the view of both Prime Ministers that these discussions will be helpful towards negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute.

The Prime Minister of Ceylon was of the opinion that the measure of cease-fire and withdrawal unilaterally taken by China indicated China's sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute.

The Chinese Premier expressed the gratitude of the Government of the People's Republic of China to Ceylon's Prime Minister for her initiative in convening the conference and thereby helping to promote a peaceful settlement. He also expressed the Chinese Government's appreciation of the joint efforts of the six Asian-African countries, which were indicative of the sincere desire of these countries to be of assistance to both parties and which were in the interests of Asian-African solidarity and in accordance with the spirit of Bandung. The Chinese Government gave a positive response to the proposals of the Colombo conference.

Both Prime Ministers agreed that in the interests of Asian-African solidarity it was imperative that a solution to the Sino-

Indian boundary question be found without delay in keeping with the spirit of the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. They agreed also that the application of these principles and the observance of the spirit of Bandung not only insofar as this problem was concerned but also in the case of all other problems which arose in this area, would assist in their expeditious and peaceful solution.

Since it had already been decided by the Colombo conference that its proposals should not be published for the time being, the reactions of the Government of the People's Republic of China to these proposals would also not be made public before the Prime Minister of Ceylon discusses the conference proposals with the Prime Minister of India and until the results of the talks in Peking and New Delhi are communicated to all six participating countries.

### *Two*

The Prime Minister of Ceylon took the opportunity to visit various places of historical and cultural interest and to see the economic, industrial and agricultural achievements of the People's Republic of China.

The Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the Prime Minister of Ceylon also exchanged views in a spirit of friendship and cordiality on current international problems of interest to the two countries and on bilateral relations between Ceylon and China.

They re-affirmed their adherence to the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference.

They are of the opinion that these principles are playing an increasingly important role in guiding the relations between nations and that the continued development of these principles would have an important bearing on the promotion of solidarity of Asian and African countries and the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

More than ever before, it is necessary to strengthen the solidarity of Asian-African nations and particularly in Asia to oppose the aggressive and expansionist aims of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist forces that are still seeking to thwart the freedom, independence and progress of the

peoples of Asia and Africa.

China and Ceylon are bound by many ties of friendship, economic cooperation and cultural and religious exchanges. The two Prime Ministers are determined to strengthen these ties, further develop economic cooperation between the two countries and to work together in international relations in the cause of Asian-African solidarity and world peace.

**418 Speech by Vice Premier Po I-po at the Ceylonese National Day reception in Peking, 4 February 1963 (Extracts)**

Vice-Premier Po I-Po paid tribute to the people of Ceylon, who, carrying on their glorious long-standing tradition of resistance to imperialism and colonialism and fighting for their country's independence and freedom, had during the past 15 years exerted continuous efforts and waged repeated struggles to preserve national independence and state sovereignty and build up their country.

The Government of Ceylon headed by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, firmly pursuing the independent foreign policy of peace and neutrality laid down by the late Prime Minister Mr. Bandaranaike, "is playing an increasingly important role in the cause of preserving world peace."

"There is a long-standing traditional friendship between China and Ceylon, and our two peoples have lived together amicably for generations. After our two countries respectively won their independence and liberation, this traditional friendship has been developed more extensively on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit. Our two countries have established good relations of mutual assistance and cooperation in the economic, trade and cultural spheres. The third five year trade agreement between China and Ceylon and the new agreement on economic and technical cooperation signed last October are a mark of the continued development of such friendly cooperation."

Recently Madame Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, had visited China, bringing with her the friendship of the Ceylonese people and the good wishes of promoting a reconciliation between China and India. "This has contributed toward the enhancement of mutual understanding between our

two peoples, the development of friendly relations between our two countries and the promotion of Asian-African solidarity.”

“The Chinese Government and people are willing to cooperate closely and advance together with the Ceylonese people in the cause of building up their respective countries, strengthening Asian-African solidarity and safeguarding world peace.”

**419 Chou En-lai’s speech at a banquet given by Prince Norodom Sihanouk in Peking, 15 February 1963 (Extract)**

We fully support the just stand taken by the Ceylonese Government and people in safeguarding their national sovereignty and national interests. . . .

We have always held that economic relations between countries should proceed on a basis of equality and mutual benefit and that no political conditions whatsoever or any demands for special privileges should be attached to such economic relations. The U.S. Government has of late openly resorted to suspending its “aid” in order to put pressure on the Ceylonese Government and interfere grossly in Ceylon’s internal affairs. This fact thoroughly exposes the real nature of the imperialists’ so-called foreign aid.

**420 “Ceylon Scotches U.S. Blackmail,” Article by Chung Ho in *Peking Review*, 22 February 1963 (Extracts)**

U.S. imperialism has always used its “foreign aid” schemes as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of the recipient countries. When it fails to get what it wants it waves the big stick and threatens to stop its “aid.” The latest example of this is its decision to cut off “aid” to Ceylon.

On February 8, David Bell, Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, announced that Washington had decided to suspend its “economic and technical aid” to Ceylon allegedly because the Ceylonese Government had not adopted “appropriate steps” to provide “equitable and speedy compensation” for the properties of two U.S. oil companies taken over by the stateowned Ceylon Petroleum Company. The Ceylonese Government replied to the U.S.

action by calling off its negotiations with the U.S. oil companies and proceeding "in strict accordance with the provisions of the Ceylon Petroleum Company Act."

In recent years, the Ceylonese Government has adopted a number of important measures to defend Ceylon's national interests and to restrict exploitation of the country's resources by foreign monopoly interests.

The firm stand taken by the Ceylonese Government has won the unqualified support of the Ceylonese people. Pieter Keuneman, M.P. and General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon, said in the House of Representatives: The Americans were trying to use their influence to protect the interests of the two private oil companies. This was a clear exposure of the fact that America would not give aid without strings. . . .

It is entirely within the province of Ceylon's sovereignty to take over the property of the two U.S. oil companies. It is outrageous that the U.S. Government should try to dictate its own terms on the compensation question to Ceylon.

The United States has constantly used foreign "aid" to protect its monopoly interests overseas, to hinder and disrupt the economic development of other countries, to dump U.S. commodities, to damage the industry and commerce of the recipient countries, to facilitate the penetration of U.S. capital into their economies and thus reap huge profits. The arrogance of U.S. imperialism in dealing with Ceylon fully exposes the nature of U.S. foreign "aid." In giving such "aid" the United States, despite its protestations to the contrary, cares nothing for the interests of recipient countries; "aid" is simply a means of achieving its expansionist aims.

U.S. imperialism's blackmail policy has failed in Ceylon. It is doomed to fail elsewhere too wherever it is firmly challenged.

**421 Joint Statement by the Chinese and Ceylonese Trade Union Organisations, 29 May 1963 (made public on 24 June 1963) (Extracts)**

At the invitation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Comrade N. Sanmugathan, General Secretary of the Ceylonese Trade Union Federation, made a friendly visit to China from May 24 to 30, 1963.

During his visit, comrade N. Sanmugathan on behalf of the Ceylonese Trade Union Federation held cordial and friendly talks with Comrade Liu Ning-yi, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

The results of the talks show that both sides hold unanimous views on a series of important questions concerning the present international trade union movement, and an agreement is reached on the question of strengthening the relations of friendly co-operations between the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the Ceylonese Trade Union Federation. . . .

The Ceylonese Trade Union Federation strongly condemns the forcible occupation of China's territory of Taiwan by U. S. imperialism and expresses firm support to the Chinese people's just struggle for the liberation of Taiwan and to the restoration of the rightful position of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Ceylonese Trade Union Federation supports the correct position of the People's Republic of China for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through peaceful negotiations and its important efforts to realize this desire. It appreciates China's important measures of unilateral ceasefire, withdrawal of frontier guards and release of all captured Indian military personnel. It expresses regret over the failure of the Indian side to adopt corresponding measures, and hopes that China and India will quickly hold direct negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

Both sides note with satisfaction that the relations of friendly cooperation between the workers of China and Ceylon and between the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the Ceylonese Trade Union Federation are developing continuously.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the Ceylonese Trade Union Federation have reached the following agreement on the further strengthening of their relations of friendly cooperation:

(1) To strengthen mutual contacts and conduct consultations, exchange of views and close cooperation on questions of common concern to the Chinese and Ceylonese working class as well as on important questions of the international trade union movement, in accordance with the principles of mutual respect, independence and equality;



(2) To exchange delegations in order to enhance mutual understanding and friendship;

(3) To exchange material, publications, experience and information.

Both sides firmly believe that this visit by Comrade N. Sanmugathan to China will further strengthen the unity between the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the Ceylonese Trade Union Federation and promote the friendship between the workers of the two countries. This unity and this friendship are in keeping with the interests of the peoples of China and Ceylon and will certainly grow stronger and develop with each passing day. . . .

**422 China-Ceylon joint communique on trade talks,  
10 October 1963**

In accordance with the provisions of the 'trade and payments agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Ceylon' concluded on the Oct. 3, 1962, between the two governments, representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Ceylon, after negotiations conducted in Peking, have signed the 'protocol relating to the exchange of commodities between the People's Republic of China and Ceylon for 1964'.

The protocol relating to the exchange of commodities for 1964 between the two governments indicates that the total value of China's exports to Ceylon will be over 100,000,000 rupees and Ceylon's exports to China will reach the same amount.

The discussions were conducted in an atmosphere of utmost goodwill and cordiality, and the agreement reached marks a further step forward in the development and consolidation of trade and friendly relations between China and Ceylon.

**423 Interview of S. D. Bandaranaike, Head of the Ceylonese  
Parliamentary Group, to Hsinhua, 31 October 1963  
(summary)**

"Eleven years ago, at the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions which was held in Peking, I made the state-

ment that China is the guiding star to the oppressed countries, now I want to reiterate this statement.”

He continued that his current visit to China had confirmed that in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed countries, the strength of China was also the strength of the oppressed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

“We expect China to be stronger and stronger... China is a peace-loving country and wants peace”. He said that the imperialists slandered China as warlike and so on and so forth, because they were afraid of China growing strong.

So far as the Ceylonese people were concerned, they wanted to march shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese people and liked China to be strong. The people of Ceylon and China should combine their efforts in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in building up their countries.

Warmly praising China’s recent achievements, S.D. Bandaranaike said that in 1952 when he made his first visit to China, the country had just gained its freedom, and now it had become a developed and strong country, forging ahead to socialism.

In spite of flood and drought in three successive years, the Chinese people had nevertheless increased their production by leaps and bounds, and food in China was now plentiful, he added. He pointed out that this was a result of the three banners of the general line of socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people’s commune.

S. D. Bandaranaike spoke favourably of the policy of self-reliance in socialist construction. Every country embarking on socialist construction should adopt it, he said.

China’s policy of relying mainly on its own efforts had nothing to do with closing doors. As a matter of fact, China had trade relations with many countries including Ceylon, he said.

**424 *Peking Review* commentary on the nationalization of oil industry and insurance firms by Ceylon, 10 January 1964 (Extracts)**

The Ceylonese Government on New Year’s Day wrote finis to foreign monopoly in two vital sectors of the country’s economy.

It took over the properties of American Caltex and Esso and British Shell and 106 foreign insurance firms operating in Ceylon.

These nationalization measures were no small achievement. All sorts of pressure were brought to bear. Finance Minister Ilangaratne told a meeting of the government parliamentary group recently. . . . the oil firms had even tried to sabotage machinery and installations.

According to figures released by the oil companies themselves, they made a profit of about 40 million rupees for the period 1956 to 1960—and this was from a capital investment of 31 million rupees. They were over charging Ceylon 20 million rupees annually, reported Colombo papers. . . .

The myth of “native inability” has now been exploded. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation, formed in April 1962 to handle 50 per cent of oil imports and their distribution, reported after its first year of operation a net profit of a 8 million rupees in spite of retail price reductions. It was also able to save foreign exchange to the tune of 3.8 million rupees. No wonder Ceylonese Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike declared, “Our political freedom has no meaning unless the stranglehold of foreign monopoly interests over our economy has been broken.”

**425 Address by Soong Ching Ling, Vice Chairman of the  
People's Republic of China, at Sri Palee Institute, Ceylon,  
28 February 1964 (Extracts)**

It is an honour to have been selected among those who take part in the Sri Palee lectures, and to be associated with the name of that great democrat and poet, that friend of the Chinese people, Tagore.

It is also an honour to add to the ties between the peoples of Ceylon and China, to express in this way the growing friendship between us.

I think we should make every effort to further develop this friendship through close economic and cultural exchange. More important, as members of the new emerging forces, we face a common enemy—imperialism—against whom we must unite, so as to protect our independence and afford ourselves the peaceful atmosphere we need in which to reconstruct our

two nations. It can be seen that although Ceylon and China are separated by vast oceans and high mountains, we have much that truly makes peoples brothers and sisters. . . .

Nominal independence might be granted to some nation, but economic shackles will make the bonds to the imperialists all the tighter. This may be done by the old colonialists or the neo-colonialists. Those patriots who attempt to break these shackles are murdered out of hand. We have the classic example of the brave Lumumba as an unforgettable reference. Democracy may be prated about, but the most reactionary placemen are put into power and kept there by imperialist arms. We have the classic examples of the out-and-out fascist regimes of south Viet Nam and south Korea. . . .

There are the facts. They are there for everyone to see. Yet, incredibly, there are those who decide not to see them, even to the point of repudiating their own words spoken in the past. These persons would have us believe that imperialism and colonialism are already finished. . . . The enemy is now pictured as "wise", "understanding" and "peaceful". These persons deplore action by the masses as "rashness", and would settle all the world's problems via the private "hot line" between several heads of states, regardless of what the rest of the earth's population might consider as the appropriate solution. In international affairs they are willing to accommodate the imperialists to reach agreements at the risk of other's sovereignty and security, to treat brothers as enemies and enemies as brothers. . . .

Were Tagore living with us today, the poet would vehemently protest against the present imperialist policy of divide and rule in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. . . .

In recent years a sharp controversy has grown up between those who defend the truths of our era and those who have thrown them away. The latter, in their haste to collaborate with the imperialists, have forsaken the interests of their own people, the interests of those still struggling against the oppression of the imperialists, the interests of all the peoples striving for peace. In their frantic flight before the nuclear threats of the imperialists, in the name of peace they have concocted deals that make war precipitously dangerous. . . .

They have tried to turn China's unwavering stand for peace

and its willingness to settle all problems by means of negotiation on the basis of principle, into a warlike stance. They have tried to twist China's earnest expressions of sympathy and support to all those struggling against oppression and exploitation into a psychotic wish to reduce the world to a cinder. They have tried to mutilate China's insistence on standing by principle as a blind dogmatic concept of the world. . . .

**426 Chou En-lai's speech at a mass rally in Colombo,  
28 February 1964 (Extracts)**

Ceylon is a country with an ancient cultural heritage. The Ceylonese people are a people with a glorious tradition of fighting imperialism and colonialism. After the independence of Ceylon, the Ceylonese people have maintained and brought this glorious tradition into fuller play, and waged unremitting struggles to safeguard and consolidate their national independence and oppose foreign intervention. The imperialists and colonialists are not reconciled to their defeat. Resorting to such means as political blackmail, economic sanctions, infiltration and subversion, they have interfered in Ceylon's internal affairs and infringed upon Ceylon's sovereignty in a vain attempt to continue their control of this new emerging state. However, the Ceylonese people, fearing no tyranny and pressure, have persisted in marching along the road of independence advocated by the late Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, thus winning one victory after another. Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has rightly said that Ceylon "was not prepared to barter away the independence and honour of the people". Recently, Madame Bandaranaike has solemnly declared that foreign warships or aircraft carrying nuclear weapons will not be allowed to enter Ceylon. The valour of the Ceylonese people in upholding independence and persevering in struggle has won the respect and praise of the Chinese people and the people all over the world.

We are glad to see that since the independence of Ceylon and especially in recent years, the Ceylonese people, on the basis laid by the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike and under the leadership of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, have achieved marked successes in safeguarding state sovereignty,

eliminating colonial forces and developing national economy and culture. Having forced the withdrawal of foreign military bases from Ceylon and taken over foreign educational institutions and some foreign enterprises, Ceylon has not long ago further taken over the insurance business and the distribution of petrol previously dominated by foreign monopoly capital. All these proper measures are of significance to the consolidation of national independence and the development of national economy and culture. In recent years, an increase has been registered in Ceylon's agricultural and industrial output, especially in the output of food grain. This is a result of the Ceylonese Government's call for self-sufficiency in consumer goods and for greater efforts to increase grain production. The Chinese people rejoice in each and every success achieved by the Ceylonese people along the road of independent development and wish you still greater successes in the days to come.

In international affairs, the government of Ceylon has consistently pursued a policy of independence, peace and neutrality, opposed imperialism and colonialism and made positive contributions to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of peace in Asia and the world. Ceylon is one of the sponsors and participants of the Bandung Conference. Ceylon has made fruitful efforts in preserving and developing the Bandung spirit. In order to promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike initiated the Colombo Conference of Six Asian-African countries and personally paid a visit to China and India. We admire Madame Bandaranaike for her spirit of working for the preservation of Asian-African solidarity and the promotion of Sino-Indian reconciliation. Ceylon is playing a daily enhancing role in international affairs and occupying a more and more important position in the international arena precisely because the Ceylonese Government has pursued a genuine policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment. Facts prove that nations, big or small, can play an important and positive role in international affairs so long as they uphold independence and justice. The Chinese Government and people fully respect and firmly support the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Ceylonese Government. We resolutely oppose any great-nation chauvinist

attitude of discriminating against or looking down upon small nations. . . .

Profound friendship has existed between the peoples of China and Ceylon since ancient times. Cultural exchanges and trade contacts between our two peoples started as early as the dawn of history. In modern times our two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in their struggles against imperialism. After China and Ceylon won victories, our traditional friendship has greatly developed on a new basis. Our two countries have jointly affirmed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference as the principles guiding the relations between the two countries. Our economic and cultural contacts are daily broadening and friendly exchanges between our two Governments and peoples have become ever more frequent. In international affairs, China and Ceylon have also worked in good co-operation. The Government and people of Ceylon have always stood for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and opposed the imperialist plot to create "two Chinas". On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I would like to take this opportunity to express once again our hearty thanks to the Government and people of Ceylon for their just stand.

An important aspect in the relations of friendly co-operation between China and Ceylon is the continuous development of economic and trade relations between the two countries. Ceylon is the first Asian country to conclude a long-term trade agreement with China. The Government of Ceylon took the lead to break through the imperialist "embargo" against New China and enter into rice-rubber trade with our country. Our two countries have also concluded an agreement on economic and technical co-operation, an agreement on air traffic and an agreement on maritime transport. The economic and trade relations between China and Ceylon were established in the course of struggles against imperialism. These relations are a brilliant example of mutual assistance and co-operation among Asian-African countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The relations of friendly co-operation between China and Ceylon not only conform to the fundamental interests of our two peoples but are also important to the promotion of

Asian-African solidarity and the defence of peace in Asia and the world. We are sure that with the joint efforts of our two countries the friendship between China and Ceylon will be continuously strengthened and developed. . . .

In order to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism, Asian countries have every reason to strengthen their solidarity and co-operation and support each other. It is entirely possible to settle the disputes left over by history among Asian countries fairly and reasonably through peaceful consultation on the basis of equality, mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. China has already settled peacefully her boundary questions with such neighbouring countries as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan. We also consistently stand for the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary questions and have made untiring efforts in this direction. China was reluctant to see the occurrence of armed conflict along the Sino-Indian border. Thanks to the measures taken by China on her own initiative and the efforts made by the Colombo Conference nations for reconciliation, the situation along the Sino-Indian border has now relaxed. We believe that the Sino-Indian boundary question will sooner or later be settled peacefully, and that the great friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples will be maintained and developed. . . .

Since the First Asian-African Conference held in 1955, the Bandung spirit has gone deep into the hearts of the people and there has been tremendous development in the Asian-African countries' cause of unity against imperialism. Now, it is acknowledged by the leaders of good number of Asian-African countries that the time is ripe for the convening of a second Asian-African conference and that active preparations should be undertaken for this purpose. We believe that the holding of such a conference will certainly make important contributions to the further strengthening of the Asian-African countries' cause of unity against imperialism, the promotion of economic co-operation between Asian-African countries and the defence of world peace. As for the second conference of non-aligned countries, the scope of its participants differs from that of the second Asian-African conference. However, we also hope that it will make useful contributions to the cause of opposing



imperialism and old and new colonialism, winning and safeguarding national independence and defending world peace.

**427 Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling's speech at the State banquet given by Ceylonese Governor-General William Gopallawa, 28 February 1964 (Extracts)**

I would like to point out with satisfaction that during the past decade or more, continuous development has taken place in the relations of friendly co-operation between China and Ceylon. Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Ceylon took the lead in breaking through the imperialist blockade and embargo against China and entered into rubber-rice trade with her. A friend in need is a friend indeed. The Chinese people look upon this action of Ceylon's as valuable support to China. Since then, and thanks particularly to the outstanding efforts made by the late Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, all-round developments have taken place in the relations of friendly co-operation between our two countries in the political, economic and cultural fields. The economic co-operation between us has set an example for economic co-operation between Asian-African countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. . . .

The Ceylonese people created a brilliant ancient culture. For centuries they have never ceased their valiant struggles to resist colonial domination and to strive for national independence, leaving behind many laudable epics of heroic deeds.

Since independence, the Ceylonese people have waged unremitting struggle to consolidate their national independence, safeguard their state sovereignty and develop their national economy and culture. Major victories have been achieved in these struggles one after another, particularly during the tenure of office of the late Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

Ceylon has forced the abolition of foreign military bases from her territory and has time and again smashed the interference and subversive schemes of the imperialists. Recently, Madame Bandaranaike has opposed the entry of the American fleet into the Indian Ocean, and solemnly declared that warships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons would not be allowed to

enter the territorial waters and air space of Ceylon.

Ceylon has taken over foreign educational institutions and some foreign enterprises, and in addition it has recently taken over foreign controlled insurance business and the distribution of petrol. During recent years, she has achieved marked successes in the development of agriculture and industry and in the building up of an independent economy.

The Government of Ceylon has pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, and made positive contributions to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace. Ceylon is playing an increasingly important role in international affairs and her international status rises with each passing day.

Fearing no tyranny or pressure, the Ceylonese Government and people are courageous enough to be independent and to dare to uphold justice. China expresses hearty admiration for this. We wish the Ceylonese people continuous new victories along the path of independent development.

The people of China and Ceylon have always supported and closely co-operated with each other in their common cause of the safeguarding of national independence, the strengthening of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace. The Government of Ceylon stands for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and opposes the imperialist plot to create "two Chinas". It initiated the six-nation Colombo Conference and made helpful efforts in mediating the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. The Chinese Government and people in turn have always shown full respect for the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Government of Ceylon, and firmly supported the Ceylonese Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and oppose outside interference.

Dear friends, the friendship between China and Ceylon has a deep and firm foundation and we can stand the test of time. There is no doubt that with the joint efforts of us both, this valuable friendship will be maintained and will grow from generation to generation.

**428 China-Ceylon joint communique, 29 February 1964**  
**(Extracts)**

At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike, Her Excellency Madame Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, paid on official visit to Ceylon from February 26 to 29, 1964. . . .

4. In the course of the visit, the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China had meetings and conversations with the Prime Minister of Ceylon. . . .

5. The talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship which characterise the relationship between the two countries. The two Parties exchanged opinions on a wide range of international problems of common interest as well as on the problems relating to the further strengthening and development of Sino-Ceylonese relations.

6. The two Prime Ministers noted with deep satisfaction the emergence into freedom and national independence of many countries in Asia and Africa. They expressed their firm opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and hoped that its last vestiges would soon be eradicated.

The two leaders agreed that the national governments of countries that have newly won national independence should be helped in their endeavours to attain full economic independence as rapidly as possible. They were of the view that aid so given without any political conditions or privileges, and on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, respect for the sovereignty of the recipient countries and non-interference in their internal affairs, would help to strengthen their national independence and serve the cause of world peace and security.

7. The Prime Ministers of Ceylon and China considered that disarmament is an important problem of our time. They expressed their determination to strive, in co-operation with other nations, for general disarmament and for complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

8. The Prime Minister of Ceylon declared her Government's continued support for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of her legitimate rights in the United

Nations. She also reaffirmed Ceylon's view that Taiwan is an integral part of China. The Chinese Prime Minister expressed his appreciation of Ceylon's stand.

9. The two leaders supported the establishment of nuclear free zones in various parts of the world and held that nuclear powers should undertake due obligations towards such zones. In this connection, the Chinese Prime Minister commended the initiative taken by the Ceylon Prime Minister to refuse entry into Ceylon's territorial waters, ports and air-fields of ships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons or equipped for nuclear warfare. They expressed the hope that other states would take appropriate action on these lines.

10. The Ceylon Prime Minister explained to the Chinese Prime Minister Ceylon's active interest in the holding of a second non-aligned conference. Both Prime Ministers hoped that a second non-aligned conference would contribute to the cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism, of supporting the national independence movement and safeguarding world peace.

The two Prime Ministers noted that since the First Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung in 1955 more than 30 new nations in Asia and Africa had attained freedom and independence, and that the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity had been greatly advanced. The Chinese Prime Minister was of the opinion that the time was right for convening a second Afro-Asian conference and that active preparations should be made for that purpose. The Ceylon Prime Minister agreed that such a conference would serve a useful purpose and indicated that Ceylon would participate in such a conference.

The two Prime Ministers also agreed that the second non-aligned conference and the second Afro-Asian conference were not mutually exclusive.

11. The two Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that the situation along the Sino-Indian border has eased. The Chinese Premier expressed thanks to Ceylon and the other Colombo Conference nations for their efforts of mediation between China and India, and expressed the readiness to continue to seek direct negotiations with India on the basis of the Colombo proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Ceylon Prime Minister indicat-

ed that, together with the other Colombo Conference nations, Ceylon would continue her efforts to promote Sino-Indian reconciliation.

12. The two Prime Ministers expressed great satisfaction that the friendly relations between Ceylon and China have continued to grow. They considered it a demonstration of the fact that countries with different political, economic and social systems can live together in peace and harmony and cooperate for their mutual benefit on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of Bandung.

13. Trade relations between the two countries were reviewed and the two leaders agreed that the trade between the two countries which had been based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit had expanded satisfactorily over the last ten years. They recognized the desirability of further development of trade between the two countries in new fields, particularly of processed and semi-processed materials to promote the growth of industrialisation.

14. The two delegations also reviewed the present position with regard to economic aid. They discussed and decided upon new items of economic aid by China to Ceylon including assistance for the construction of an international conference hall and related buildings and for the supply of textiles and rice. The Ceylon Prime Minister thanked the Chinese Prime Minister for these generous offers of assistance.

15. Both parties stressed the value of personal contacts between leaders of the two countries in contributing towards the strengthening of friendship and unity between Ceylon and China. The visit of Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling, Premier Chou En-lai and other distinguished members of the Chinese delegation has helped to bring the two countries and peoples closer together.

#### **429 Statement by Ceylonese representative Gunewardene in the UN General Assembly, 21 December 1964 (Extracts)**

In the solution of the problems concerning South East Asia, and indeed of all the major problems facing the world, the co-operation and active participation of the People's Republic of China is essential. Unfortunately, these realities are ignored by

certain Powers which, out of considerations arising from the politics of the cold war, prefer to ignore the existence of the People's Republic of China and to deny it its rightful place in the councils of the world. This brings me to the question of restoring to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the United Nations.

My Government recognizes the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government of China. Many other States Members of the United Nations have taken the same position and their number is steadily increasing. The People's Republic of China is physically in control of the great land mass of the mainland of China; it has behind it the overwhelming support of the Chinese people—700 million—who compose one-fourth of the human race.

How can the United Nations be fully representative of mankind if one-fourth of the human race has no voice in the councils of the world? Is this not a negation of the principle of universality to which this Organization is committed? Are we not shutting our eyes to the realities of the world situation as it exists if we impose barriers to just and equitable representation for a people who constitute a major segment of the human race, on grounds which appear to be based on Power politics and cold-war pressures? If we are interested in strengthening this Organization and in making it truly representative, I submit that we should without further delay accord the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations.

We know that the policies of the People's Republic of China are not palatable to certain Powers here and that its presence in this Organization might even be embarrassing to them. But this is not an Organization where some Members should be permitted to exclude others merely because they do not agree with their policies. This is an Organization which has been created to represent mankind, to represent all the countries of the world, irrespective of their political and social systems, so that they may collectively advance towards the common goal of peace and progress. We trust that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China will be viewed in this spirit.

**430 Chou En-lai's Report on the Work of the Government to the first session of the Third National People's Congress, 21-22 December 1964 (Extract)**

The Premier indicated that in their hostility to the independence of Ceylon, U. S. and British imperialism are intriguing with the reactionaries in an attempt to subvert the Ceylonese Government. He expressed his belief that the Ceylonese people will undoubtedly see through this plot and defeat it.

**431 Vice Premier Chen-Yi's speech at the reception given on the occasion of Ceylon's independence anniversary, 5 February 1965 (summary)**

Chen Yi, in his speech paid tribute to the great achievements of the Ceylonese people in their struggle to safeguard their sovereignty and uproot the colonialist forces. He condemned the imperialists for their recent attempt to subvert the Ceylonese Government by brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of Ceylon.

Referring to China's help to Ceylon, the Vice-Premier reiterated that the assistance given by Asian and African countries to each other was always mutual. He said that, by exporting rubber to China, Ceylon took the lead in breaking the US imperialist blockade and embargo against China, "This", he emphasized, "is a great support and help to China".

**432 Statement by Ceylonese representative Ponnambalam in the UN General Assembly on the question of Chinese representation in the UN, 10 November 1965 (Extracts)**

I am speaking on this subject for the first time on behalf of the new Government of my country, a Government that changed after a period of nine years, and I wish to make our position clear. I would not like to give a silent vote on this subject.

I think it will be conceded that hardly any country in the world, and certainly no country in Asia, today can afford to ignore the emergence of the People's Republic of China as a powerful and growing State in Asia. We maintain, as a non-aligned country, friendly relations and trade relations with the

People's Republic of China, and we should like therefore to make our position clear.

I should like to state that I approach this subject not with any partisan view, ... we as a body should view the question of the seating of the People's Republic of China as a possible means of increasing the strength of the United Nations and making it a more potent instrument for the establishment of international solidarity and peace. . . .

The reference in the Charter to the Republic of China, in my submission, is to the physical entity of the Republic of China rather than to those who are holding power over that geographical entity. There can therefore be no question that if membership is equated with a physical area, the particular authority that might exercise sovereignty at a particular time is irrelevant. What is relevant is the existence of such an authority, exercising power and control and commanding the allegiance and obedience of the people who inhabit that area. . . .

I do not think it would be seriously advanced or contended that we should achieve this objective of universality irrespective of the inclinations, of the principles and international policies of a State. My submission would be that if a country—and that a very powerful and growing Power in the world—is prepared to subscribe to the principles of the Charter, that it would be entirely outside our power—indeed, would be stultifying ourselves—to deny to that Power membership of the United Nations. . . .

The representative [of USA] actually referred to a number of dicta allegedly reported in newspapers and over the radios of various countries. I would submit that surely no one should be judged *in absentia*. However, we may, for a limited purpose, take cognizance of the fact that certain uncontradicted statements have been made by responsible leaders of the People's Republic of China. My submission would be that world opinion would be satisfied and we should have done our duty by the body to which we are all so proud to belong, if we gave China a chance to apply for membership in the United Nations. In so applying China would necessarily be implying that it would adhere to and be faithful to the principles of the Charter. If such an application were made, I do not think that we should go beyond the application and seek to inquire what motives



may possibly impel China to apply for membership.

If such an application is made, may I, on behalf of my Government, state that we would be pleased to vote for the admission of China to membership of the United Nations.

**433 Statement by Ceylonese representative Ponnambalam in the UN General Assembly, 16 November 1965 (Extract)**

The draft resolution submitted in favour of the restoration of the rights of China, in my submission, quite unnecessarily goes on to condemn those who have so far represented the entity of China. I consider that the draft resolution in that form is likely to embarrass, if not very many, at least quite a few of those who may feel strongly that China should immediately be restored to its lawful rights.

For that reason, I have ventured to submit an amendment moving the deletion of the two operative clauses and the insertion of one clause which merely says that this Assembly "Decides that the representatives of the People's Republic of China be seated in the United Nations and all its organs". I commend that amendment to the Assembly.

**434 Peking Review report on the article of N. Sanmugathasan, Political Bureau Member of the Communist Party of Ceylon, 18 February 1966 (Extracts)**

In an article published in a Ceylonese newspaper, the *Daily News*, on January 29, N. Sanmugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Ceylon, condemned the Soviet modern revisionists for having become more and more open agents of U.S. imperialism.

Sanmugathasan also denounced the Soviet revisionists for taking steps in restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union. . . .

It was because of this Soviet-U.S. understanding that the U.S.A. had dared to shift a part of its troops from the West Germany for aggression in Vietnam, Sanmugathasan said. . . .

It was not only in respect of Vietnam that the Soviet revisionists were acting as agents of imperialism. They performed the same role at Tashkent, trying to form a united front against China, Sanmugathasan said.

The Soviet Union did so “because its efforts were in the interests of the imperialist powers and that their interests coincided with those of the Soviet Union, namely that they all were anti-Chinese. Johnson from the beginning approved Kosygin’s efforts to get India and Pakistan together. It could not have escaped people’s notice and that when there was a conflict between India and China over a less complicated issue than Kashmir the Soviet Union never offered its services for mediation.”

**435 “Ceylon must stop anti-China provocations,” commentary  
in *Peking Review*, 25 August 1967**

*S. S. Ioannis*, a chartered ship sent by the China National Chartering Corporation, arrived at the port of Colombo on August 2 with Chinese exports for Ceylon and supplies for the Chinese Embassy there. During the unloading from August 3 to 5, a large number of ruffians continually looted the goods and supplies on the ship, creating a very serious situation. The captain of the ship demanded protection from the Colombo port police. When policemen were sent to the ship, however, these ruffians did not stop their robbery, but became even more rampant. Especially serious was the fact that they went so far as to tear up and destroy many copies of the works of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, as well as quotations from his works and his portraits.

The Chinese Embassy in Ceylon in a note to the Ceylonese Ministry of Defence and External Affairs on August 15, strongly protested against this incident. The note stressed: “Obviously, such acts of robbery and sabotage were perpetrated with the connivance and at the instruction of the Ceylon Government. This is serious provocation against the Chinese people and is absolutely intolerable.” The note said that this open robbery was a grave incident seldom known in the history of China-Ceylon trade and international trade. It added that it would be impossible in these circumstances to ensure normal trade between China and Ceylon, and the Ceylon Government must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

The note firmly demanded that the Ceylon Government

immediately take effective measures to stop provocative acts undermining relations and disrupting trade between China and Ceylon, put an immediate end to all sorts of extremely evil practices violating principles guiding international relations and discriminating against the Chinese Embassy, severely punish the culprits who had robbed the Chinese chartered ship and their instigators, and guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents in the future.

**436 Chinese protest note on Ceylon's policy of 'two Chinas',  
22 August 1967 (Extracts)**

The Chinese Embassy in Ceylon, in a note to the Ceylonese Ministry of Defence and External Affairs on August 22, lodged the strongest protest with the Ceylon Government against its grave step in following U.S. imperialism in creating "two Chinas" by continuously maintaining improper connections with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and deliberately undermining normal relations between China and Ceylon. The note sternly pointed out that the Ceylon Government must immediately sever all connections with the Chiang gang, stop elements of this gang from coming to Ceylon to carry out underhand activities, and guarantee that it would not participate in any criminal activities to create "two Chinas."

The Ceylon Association of Girl Guides invited the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang in Taiwan to attend the "Asian Trainers Conference" in Colombo on August 12. This gang had also been invited to take part in the "Third Asian Boxing Championships" to be held in December this year. The trainers conference and the boxing championships are either sponsored or organized by Ceylon and are under the auspices of and financed by official Ceylon authorities. The Chinese embassy note stressed that this was a serious incident and hostile towards the Chinese people, a crude interference in the internal affairs of China, and a grave step deliberately taken to undermine the normal relations between China and Ceylon. The Chinese people are extremely indignant at this.

The note pointed out that since it came to power, the present Ceylon Government headed by the United National Party had consistently co-ordinated with U.S. imperialism in creat-

ing "two Chinas" and had continually maintained improper connections with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang which has entrenched itself in China's territory of Taiwan. This is something which the Chinese people absolutely will not tolerate. The note said: "The Chiang Kai-shek clique is a political corpse cast aside long ago by the Chinese people, and is a running dog reared by the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialists and their accomplices are vainly attempting in a thousand and one ways to create "two Chinas". This is an important component part of the anti-China campaign of the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries, and is a counter-revolutionary act in a vain attempt to turn back the wheel of history. The Ceylon Government has taken an active part in this criminal activity. It has revealed its true colours in opposing China by toeing the U.S. imperialist line of keeping close clandestine connections with the Chiang bandit gang elements and in playing the role of a clown in the anti-China farce staged by the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries. Anyone who attacks China will meet resolute counter-attack from the Chinese people and will be resolutely opposed by the people of his own country. The present Ceylon Government headed by the United National Party can in no way be an exception."

The note pointed out in conclusion that if the Ceylon Government should refuse to come to its senses and persist in its errors, it must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences.

#### **437 Another Chinese protest note on Ceylon's 'two China' policy, 12 September 1967 (summary)**

In a note to the Ceylonese Ministry of Defence and External Affairs on September 13, the Chinese Embassy in Ceylon expressed great indignation and lodged a strong protest with the Ceylon Government for disregarding its repeated representations and protests, stubbornly, colluding with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and following U.S. imperialism in deliberately creating "two Chinas".

It said that after the Chinese Embassy had delivered a note to the Ceylon Ministry of Defence and External Affairs on

August 22 protesting against the Ceylon Government for colluding with the Chiang gang and working in co-ordination with U.S. imperialism in creating "two Chinas," another six elements of this gang, among them a "government official," came to Ceylon quite recently on invitation to examine a government-sponsored irrigation project.

Earlier, the note pointed out, C.E.L. Wickremesinghe, managing director of the Associated Newspaper of Ceylon Ltd., and two Ceylon United National Party M.P.s visited Taiwan. These M.P.s even invited Yang Hsi-kun, Vice-minister of the Chiang gang's bogus foreign ministry, to visit Ceylon. In addition, parliamentary secretaries to the Ceylonese Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the Ministry of Public Works, Posts and Telecommunications and the secretary of the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce have been invited to visit Taiwan.

The note pointed out that the Ceylon Government, headed by the United National Party, had always pursued counter-revolutionary dual tactics, saying one thing and doing another. After receiving the Chinese Embassy's August 22 protest note, the Ceylon Government hurriedly issued a communique, saying that its position was that "it recognizes only the People's Republic of China." But in fact, it has continued to maintain clandestine connections with the Chiang bandit gang.

The note warned the Ceylon Government once again that it must rein in on the brink of the precipice, immediately cut all connections with the Chiang gang and desist from participating in any criminal activities of creating "two Chinas." Otherwise, it must be held responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

**438 Peking Review report on the documents adopted by the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of Ceylon, 21 June 1968 (Extracts)**

The Communist Party of Ceylon held its 9th Congress in April this year. . . .

The documents pointed out that since the 8th Congress in July 1965, there had been a tremendous world-wide advance of the all-conquering truths of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The flowering of the great proletarian cultural

revolution in China is one of the greatest events in our epoch, even more far-reaching in its effects than the October Revolution. . . .

The documents said: During the time of Lenin, whoever attacked Leninism was fundamentally attacking Marxism. Similarly, today, whoever is attacking the thought of Mao Tse-tung is fundamentally attacking Marxism-Leninism. Immediately after the October Revolution, Lenin said that the test of a socialist was his attitude to the Soviet Union. Today, it is his attitude to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to People's China. . . .

The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania are two brilliant examples of Marxist-Leninist Parties for emulation by us. . . .

The documents strongly condemned Soviet modern revisionism and said that modern revisionism whose leading centre is in the Soviet Union is being exposed constantly. Events have completely borne out the analysis of the Marxist-Leninists that modern revisionism is nothing but an influence of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement. . . .

Referring to the domestic situation, the documents pointed out that the United National Party (UNP) had worsened the economic crisis by mortgaging Ceylon's economy to foreign imperialism. The people's discontent and anger against the UNP-led government have increased tremendously. The documents condemned the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Keuneman revisionist clique for having, by their class collaborationist policies become traitors to the working class and progressive movement. . . .

The Party must educate the people that only by forcible overthrow of the repressive imperialist-bourgeois state machinery can the working class and its allies ever hope to come to power. . . .

The Congress adopted a seven-point immediate programme which includes the realization of genuine independence of Ceylon by freeing it from domination by Anglo-American imperialism; the establishment of real democracy for the people by the abolishment of feudalism; the building of an independent national economy free from imperialist control and based on self-reliance; the establishment of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal unity of all nationalities in Ceylon; the resolute opposition to all imperialisms, particularly to American imperial-

ism, No. 1 enemy of the peoples of the world, and firm support to all movements of national liberation against imperialism.

**439 Speech by Fang Yi, Minister of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, at the banquet given in honour of Ceylonese Trade Minister T.B. Ilangaratne, 8 September 1970 (Extracts)**

Under the leadership of its Prime Minister Her Excellency Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Ceylonese Government is now continuing to pursue the policy of independence and neutrality formulated by the late Prime Minister His Excellency Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike; in the international field, it upholds a just stand and opposes the imperialist policies of aggression and war, thus winning favourable comments from the progressive public opinion of various countries.

As Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike said not long ago, this neutralist policy does not mean sitting on the fence with mouths shut. The Ceylonese Government sternly condemns U.S. imperialism and its accomplices for their acts of aggression and actively supports the Korean people, the Indo-Chinese peoples and the Arab peoples in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and win national liberation.

At home, the Ceylonese Government is working to eliminate the imperialist forces and promote the development of national economy. All this testifies to the noble spirit of the Ceylonese Government and people in defying brute force, upholding justice and safeguarding national dignity, and is an encouragement to the Afro-Asian peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The Chinese Government and people express deep admiration for such spirit on your part.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the relations between China and Ceylon have further developed on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. The two countries have carried out full mutual assistance, co-operation and exchanges in the economic, trade and cultural fields and supported and assisted each

other in international affairs. Ceylon has all along stood for the restoration of China's legitimate position in the United Nations and has made efforts to this end. The Chinese Government expresses thanks for this.

**440 *Peking Review* commentary on Ceylonese restrictions on foreign capital, 29 January 1971 (Extracts)**

The Government of Ceylon has taken a series of measures lately to protect the country from plundering by foreign monopoly capital and to defend and develop the national economy.

According to a decision of the Ceylonese Government, the marine bunkering trade operated by the U.S. oil firms Caltex and Esso and the British-Dutch Shell Oil Company in Ceylon was nationalized on last December 30. . . . By nationalizing the marine bunkering trade and now operating it itself, the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation will enable the country to save and increase foreign exchange revenue by more than 20 million rupees.

The struggle waged by the Government and people of Ceylon to recover its economic interests and rights from foreign oil companies has been a protracted one. When Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike first became Prime Minister in 1961, the Ceylonese Government took over imports and domestic sales of oil from foreign oil companies. Threats were hurled at Ceylon at that time by foreign monopoly capitalists, and U.S. imperialism even cut off its "aid." However, the Ceylonese Government and people defied brute force and thwarted the threats. More economic interests have thus been recovered from foreign monopoly capital with the implementation of Ceylon's decision to nationalize the marine bunkering trade.

In the first days of January, the Ceylonese Government set up a national shipping line to safeguard the country's interests. . . .

These measures by the Ceylonese Government to liquidate imperialist influence and defend national interests clash with the vested interests of foreign monopoly capital. . . .

On January 1, the Government of Ceylon decided to set up a state trading corporation in charge of the import of daily necessities, metals, textiles, automobile parts, tyres and tubes,



drugs and pharmaceuticals and raw materials for the industries. Ceylon's import and export trade used to be dominated by foreign businessmen. The establishment of the state trading corporation will break their domination over the market in Ceylon.

**441 Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's speech at Ceylonese National Day reception in Peking, 4 February 1971 (Extract)**

In defence of its national economy, the Ceylonese Government has taken over the sales from foreign oil companies in Ceylon and set up a national shipping line and a state trading corporation, thus dealing a crushing blow to the exploitation and control of Ceylon by foreign monopoly capital. In international affairs, the Ceylonese Government adheres to a policy of independence and neutrality, opposes the power politics of one or two superpowers and supports the people's struggle to safeguard national independence and win national liberation. Not long ago, at the British Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike spoke for justice and strongly denounced the one or two superpowers for their expansion of military strength in the Indian Ocean. All this has not only safeguarded the national independence and state sovereignty of Ceylon but also supported the Afro-Asian people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The heroic deeds of the Ceylonese Government and people in daring to struggle and daring to uphold justice have won the praise and admiration of the Chinese people, the people of Asia and Africa and the peoples throughout the world.

**442 Statement of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International espousing the cause of Ceylonese Revolution, 19 April 1971**

The Government of Ceylon has declared a state of emergency and imposed a curfew throughout the island; they have suspended all democratic rights, imposed a strict press censorship, and arrested hundreds of militants of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (the People's Liberation Front—JVP). They have proscribed the JVP and have started shooting prisoners with-

out trial.

The leaders of the coalition government have used their monopoly of the communication media to lie about the JVP, misrepresenting them as a 'fascist' and right-wing organization. At the same time the government has not dared to inform the public that it has sought and received aid from the imperialist governments of the United States and Britain; that it is using Indian and Pakistani gunboats and helicopters; that it has expelled the North Korean diplomats from Ceylon.

The Bandaranaike popular front government came to power in May 1970 by promising the masses that it would usher in a 'new era' and build a socialist Ceylon. One pro-Moscow Stalinist and three renegades of the reformist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP) were included in the cabinet in order to bolster up the 'socialist' image. However, despite all the rhetoric, the coalition government has demonstrated that its real role is to maintain capitalist property relations and preserve the imperialist stranglehold on the Ceylonese economy.

During its ten months in power, the coalition government increased the police force by 55 per cent and set up an anti-revolutionary committee in the army. 'Socialism' of the Bandaranaike variety means the denial of such basic democratic rights as joining or forming a trade union, as shown in the cases of the Velona factory, Dawasa Publishing House, and the Norwood Tea Estate. Workers who resort to strike action in struggling for union rights face bullets from the 'people's' police.

The first budget of the coalition government submitted by N.M. Perera offered precious little to the masses. The budget demonstrated to the local and foreign capitalists that they need not have any fears or anxieties about the Bandaranaike government or its 'Marxist' ministers. Of course they explained that they had not forgotten about socialism, but right now it was not 'practical' and socialism had to wait. Neither the 'save the country fund' nor the autumn budget could help the government avert the deep financial crisis it faced. Ceylon already owed the World Bank more than \$50,000,000 and has been unable even to pay the interest on it. And yet it desperately needed more hard currency to pay for even the most essential imports. The World Bank would not grant any further loans

until the government agreed to follow a course of 'austerity'. This meant the imposition of further burdens on the masses, such as withdrawal of the rice subsidy, pruning of social services, and the imposition of a wage freeze. The coalition government accepted the strictures. These developments have confirmed the position of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)] that the coalition led by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party [SLFP] is a capitalist government dependent on imperialism for its survival.

Under these conditions the government had no alternative but to impose more and more burdens on the masses. The masses rapidly became disillusioned with the coalition government. The government had failed even to project any solutions to the problems of rising prices and constant erosion of the masses' living standards. Unfortunately for the coalition leaders, they now had to contend with another factor: the emergence of a revolutionary united front between the JVP and the LSSP(R), the Ceylon section of the Fourth International, and the newly formed revolutionary nucleus in the tea plantations, the Young Socialist Front. This united front rapidly gathered momentum, and the disillusioned masses were attracted to it. The Bandaranaike regime realized that the movement stood in the way of their 'austerity' course.

On 6 February, 10,000 people held a rally in Colombo sponsored by the JVP, the LSSP(R), and the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU), the most important trade union of the Ceylonese urban working class. The gathering condemned setting up a US imperialist base in the Indian Ocean, called for Ceylon to immediately leave the British Commonwealth, demanded nationalization of the banks, plantations, and foreign trade, and appealed for defence of the masses' standard of living by an all-out war on unemployment and rising prices.

Faced with this situation, the government decided to try to isolate this political movement and to destroy it before the masses mobilized. The immediate aim was to destroy the JVP. After alerting the army and the police, the government staged a provocation on 6 March. This provocation was a petrol bomb attack on the US embassy by an unknown organization called the Mao Youth Front.' The government attributed this action to

the JVP despite its denial of responsibility, and invoked special powers under the Public Security Act. The government then imposed emergency regulations, and began to arrest all known militants and leaders of the JVP.

The JVP realized that they were faced with a critical situation. Rather than being decimated without a fight, they decided to resist the government repression. The clashes that followed between the JVP and the security forces were thus the direct consequence of the government action. The government miscalculated. They did not expect the JVP to resist. They did not realize that the JVP and its allies would have such solid mass support.

The Fourth International recognizes that the struggle broke out before all the sections of the oppressed masses, particularly the urban and plantation workers and the Tamil minority, had become politically united so that they were in a position to meet the bourgeois government's provocation adequately and settle accounts with the capitalist state and class.

The Fourth International calls upon revolutionists everywhere to break the conspiracy of silence covering the repression in Ceylon. It declares its full support to the repressed and persecuted Ceylon revolutionary militants. It calls upon the international working class, all working class and anti-imperialist organizations to do everything possible to block the shipment of military supplies, and all workers' states to immediately stop sending military aid and equipment to the Ceylon government, which is used only to murder and terrorize its own people. It calls upon the international working class not to be taken in by the 'left' pretences of the Bandaranaike government, and to recognize the basic capitalist nature of the regime and pro-imperialist nature of its repression. The state of emergency proclamation was approved by all parties in parliament, including the reactionary United National Party (UNP). The Bandaranaike government opened Ceylon's airfields to the use of the Pakistani government in transporting troops and supplies to suppress the rising of the peoples of East Bengal. Lieutenant Colonel Ranatunga of the Ceylon army, in a press conference 18 April, justified the execution of JVP prisoners without a trial by saying: 'We have learnt too many lessons from Vietnam and Malaysia. We must destroy them completely.' (*The London Times*, 19 April 1971.)

Indian workers and anti-imperialist militants: oppose Indira Gandhi's shameful pact with the butcher Yahya Khan and the British and US imperialists in support of the Bandaranaike regime's civil war against the Ceylon working class, peasant, and student youth.

Down with the traitorous Kenemans, N.M. Pereras, Colvin R. de Silvas, and Leslie Goonewardenes, who, like their fore-runner Noske, now arm reaction, let a bourgeois army murder revolutionists, support the murders or participate in the suppression of the masses of their country, and help suppress all democratic freedoms for the workers.

Freedom for Rohan Wijeweera and all the other arrested JVP and revolutionary leaders!

Not one dollar, not one gun to the bourgeois army and state of Ceylon!

Long live the Ceylon socialist revolution!

**443 Chou En-lai's letter to Premier Sirimavo Bandaranaike,  
26 April 1971\***

I am grateful to Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government for your trust in the Chinese Government and your friendly sentiments towards the Chinese people. The friendship between China and Ceylon is in the fundamental interests of the two people and can stand tests. The Chinese Government and people highly treasure the friendship between our two countries and no one with ulterior motives will ever succeed in trying to sow discord and sabotage our friendly relations.

Following Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching the Chinese people have all along opposed ultra 'left' and right opportunism in their protracted revolutionary struggles. We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of your Excellency and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control. We believe that as a result of Your Excellency's leadership and the cooperation and support of the Ceylonese people these acts of

\*This letter was officially published by the Ceylonese Government a month later. The Chinese Government has not questioned the version released in Colombo.

rebellion plotted by reactionaries at home and abroad for the purpose of undermining the interests of the Ceylonese people are bound to fail.

We fully agree to the correct position of defending state sovereignty and guarding against foreign interference as referred to by Your Excellency. The Chinese Government and people admire this and firmly support Ceylon in her just struggle towards this end. As Your Excellency is deeply aware the Chinese Government has consistently abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, has never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is also firmly opposed to any country interfering in other countries' internal affairs, and particularly to foreign reactionaries taking advantage of the opportunity to carry out armed intervention. I would like once again to reaffirm this unshakeable stand of the Chinese Government.

In the interests of the friendship between China and Ceylon and in consideration of the needs of the Ceylon Government, the Chinese Government in compliance with the request of the Ceylon Government, agrees to provide it with a long term interest-free loan of 150 million rupees in convertible foreign exchange. We would like to hear any views which Your Excellency might have on this matter. We are prepared to deliver a portion of the loan in May and sign a document on it. As for other material assistance, please let us know if it is needed.

**444 Chou En-lai's message to Mrs Bandaranaike, on the founding of the Republic of Sri Lanka and her assumption of the office of Prime Minister of the Republic, 24 May 1972**

The people of Sri Lanka are a great people with a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism. They have made positive contributions to the Afro-Asian cause of unity against imperialism and exerted great efforts for the development of their national economy. We wish that the Government and people of the Republic of Sri Lanka under Your Excellency's leadership will continuously achieve new successes in the cause of safeguarding national independence, unity and sovereignty and building their country.

May the traditional friendship between the peoples of China

and Sri Lanka and the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries grow stronger and develop daily.

**445 Chou En-lai's speech at the banquet given in honour of Mrs. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, 25 June 1972 (Extracts)**

The people of Sri Lanka are an industrious and valiant people, who have displayed a dauntless spirit in the prolonged struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Since the independence of Sri Lanka, and particularly during the tenures of office of the late Prime Minister Solomon Bandaranaike and of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Government and people of Sri Lanka have made unremitting efforts and achieved considerable successes in eliminating colonialist forces, safeguarding and consolidating national independence, opposing foreign control and interference and developing the national economy. Defying brute force and persevering in her policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment, Sri Lanka has made positive contributions to the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism. The Chinese Government and people heartily rejoice at every success achieved by Sri Lanka and admire and appreciate your just stand. We wish you continuous new successes in the cause of building your country. . . .

Her excellency the Prime Minister's proposal to declare the Indian ocean a zone of peace reflects the urgent desire of Afro-Asian countries to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and oppose the superpowers' aggression and expansion. The Chinese Government and people firmly support this just proposal and hold that the resolution on the "Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace" adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 26th session on December 16, 1971 should be respected. The Chinese Government and people are consistently opposed to the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

We have always maintained that all countries, big or small, should be equal, and that world affairs should be handled by all the countries of the world and the superpowers should not be allowed to manipulate and monopolize them. We are firmly opposed to the power politics and hegemony of big nations

bullying small ones or strong nations bringing pressure to bear on weak ones. China will forever stand together with the countries of the third world in the struggle against aggression, control, interference and subversion by the superpowers.

Since ancient times, there has existed a profound traditional friendship between the people of China and Sri Lanka. In the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, we have always sympathized with and supported each other. Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Sri Lanka bravely broke through the blockade and embargo imposed by imperialism and concluded a rice-rubber trade agreement with China, thus giving China valuable support. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Sri Lanka, the friendship between our two peoples has made new progress and the political, economic and cultural co-operation and exchanges between our two countries have steadily increased. . . .

The Government of Sri Lanka always stood for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. For this I would like to take this opportunity once again to express our thanks. Facts prove that the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries are based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence, and can stand tests. Just as Her Excellency the Prime Minister said not long ago, these relations "were examples of friendly co-operation and a model of inter-state relations". We are confident that Her Excellency's present visit to China will surely further increase the friendship between our two peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries.

**446 Mrs Bandaranaike's speech at the banquet,  
25 June 1972 (Extracts)**

One of the highlights of our history as an independent state has been the very friendly and cordial relations which we have maintained with the People's Republic of China and the friendship extended to us by her.

"In recent times these ties have been greatly strengthened and enlarged and Sri Lanka has been recipient of a large and



generous volume of economic assistance given on the most liberal terms which are outstanding in the annals of aid to developing countries. In this respect, the Government of China has been faithful to the Eight Principles which it has enunciated as the basis for the grant of aid to foreign countries. Your aid programme has taken the form of credits, outright gifts, participation in joint services and technical assistance. One of its highlights is the construction of the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall by which you Mr. Prime Minister intended to honour the memory of my late husband. . . .

The aid thus given to us by your country in so many ways and on such generous terms have been an invaluable contribution to our economy in the context of the difficult and stringent times which we have been experiencing.”

“Sri Lanka looks forward to continued co-operation with your country in fields in which it would be mutually beneficial and appropriate to us. We could, I am sure, benefit from the storehouse of your own unrivalled experience acquired in the process of emerging from a state of semi-feudal and colonial economy to that of a strong and self-reliant nation. . . .

The goodwill and friendship which you have shown is no doubt a reflection of the excellent relations and understanding existing between our two countries. This relationship, which is a source of much gratification to us, is also, in a sense, unique in that it is an instance of friendship and co-operation between two countries of very unequal size and power.

I wish to thank you for a further manifestation of your goodwill in the support which you gave to the proposal tabled by us at the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, for the declaration of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean. You were, in fact, the only permanent member of the Security Council to support our proposal. . . .

I wish to express our deep gratification for your support of the rights and dignity of small states in their resistance to hegemony, spheres of influence and to any vitiation of their sovereignty, independence and equality.

**447 China-Sri Lanka joint communique, 5 July 1972 (Extracts)**

The Prime Minister of the Republic of Sri Lanka Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike paid a state visit to the People's Republic of China from June 24 to July 5, 1972 at the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China. . . .

During the visit, Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike had talks in a friendly, cordial and candid atmosphere on a wide range of subjects covering important international issues, the further development of relations and co-operation between Sri Lanka and the People's Republic of China and other questions of mutual interest. Both the Prime Ministers expressed deep satisfaction with the talks.

In the review of bilateral relations, the two Prime Ministers felt that they had every reason for satisfaction over the steady and progressive strengthening of the relations between the Republic of Sri Lanka and the People's Republic of China. It was noted that co-operation between the two Governments and peoples had expanded and advanced over a wide spectrum of areas, including political, economic, trade as well as in the fields of culture and sports.

The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka expressed her deep personal appreciation and that of her own Government for the assistance China had rendered to Sri Lanka over the years, particularly after the forming of her Government in May 1970; she also expressed her deep appreciation of China's Eight Principles in providing aid to developing countries, including the principles of equality, friendship and mutual benefit.

In discussions on continuing economic co-operation between the two countries, Prime Minister Bandaranaike acquainted the Chinese Premier with the broad objective and strategy of the Five-Year Plan of her Government. She stressed the determination of the Government of the Republic of Sri Lanka to pursue the twin goals of economic independence and economic growth despite many obstacles and hardships. The Chinese Government expressed admiration for the active efforts made by the Government of Sri Lanka under the leadership of Prime Minister Bandaranaike in building the country. In order to support Sri Lanka in developing her national economy, the Chinese Government decided to provide the Government of

Sri Lanka with a long-term long free of interest.

The Chinese Government expressed its sincere thanks to the Government of Sri Lanka for its support for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Prime Minister Bandaranaike expressed, in particular, her gratification over the role the Republic of Sri Lanka in bringing about the historic vote in the United Nations General Assembly at the 26th Session.

The two leaders considered that the international situation is continuing to develop in a direction favourable to the people of the world. The countries of the third world are playing an increasingly great role in international affairs. Prime Minister Bandaranaike stated that, as a non-aligned country, Sri Lanka had consistently stood for peaceful co-existence on the basis of the Five Principles between countries of different social systems and ideologies. The Chinese Government reaffirmed its firm support for the policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment pursued by the Government of Sri Lanka.

The two leaders reviewed the problem of the constantly widening gap between developed and developing countries and agreed that developing countries should strive unitedly to achieve an equitable international trading system. They particularly considered the difficulties of small developing countries and jointly took the view that a special responsibility exists on the part of developed states to ensure that the economic weakness of these countries is not exploited to encroach on their sovereignty and territorial integrity and to undermine their political independence. They also stressed the duty of developed states to support the economic independence of these countries.

Referring to Sri Lanka's proposal for declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, Prime Minister Bandaranaike conveyed the thanks of her Government for the support of the People's Republic of China, and, in particular, for the assistance provided in ensuring the successful adoption of the Declaration at the United Nations General Assembly in December 1971. The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka acquainted the Chinese Premier with the further steps and initiatives that have been taken by her Government pursuant to this Resolution with a view to its speedy implementation. She expressed the hope that all nations concerned would take necessary

action as envisaged in the Resolution to bring about its early realization. The Chinese Government held that the proposal put forward by Sri Lanka reflects the urgent desire of Afro-Asian countries to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and to oppose the aggression and expansion of the superpowers. The Chinese Government and people expressed their resolute support for this just proposition. The Chinese Government complimented the Government of Sri Lanka and Prime Minister Bandaranaike, in particular for her personal initiative on behalf of this proposal and held that the Resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 16, 1971 at the 26th Session, entitled "Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace," should be respected.

The two sides expressed their firm support to the Indo-Chinese peoples in their just struggle for national liberation. They held that the Indochina question must be settled by the Indochinese peoples themselves in accordance with their own desires and free from foreign interference, and that all foreign armed forces should withdraw rapidly, completely and unconditionally from this region.

The two sides expressed their firm support to the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against Israeli aggression supported by imperialism.

The two sides expressed their concern over the present tension in the South Asian subcontinent and reiterated that the outstanding issues in the region should be settled through peaceful negotiations on the principled basis of complete equality, mutual respect for national independence and unity, territorial integrity, and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit and accommodation, and without resorting to the use or threat of force.

In a review of the developments in southern African, the two Prime Ministers reiterated their strong condemnation of colonialism and racism. They expressed firm support to the peoples of Asia and Africa in their national independence movements and the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and foreign aggression.

The two sides reiterated that China and Sri Lanka would, together with all peace-loving countries, continue to struggle

for the objective of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons on a worldwide scale.

The two sides deemed with satisfaction that the state visit to China paid by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of the Republic of Sri Lanka and the exchange of views between the leaders of the two countries had made an important contribution to the increase of the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries and the promotion of the Afro-Asian peoples' cause of unity against imperialism.

**448 Chinese Special Envoy Hsu Hsiang chien's speech at the inauguration of Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall, 17 May 1973 (Extract)**

Following the teachings of their great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have given friendly Afro-Asian countries a small amount of assistance. But as China is still a developing country, her assistance to friendly countries is limited. We have all along held that assistance is always mutual. Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Sri Lanka dared to defy imperialist obstruction and concluded the rice and rubber trade agreement with China, giving us valuable support. The Government of Sri Lanka consistently stood for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of her legitimate rights in the United Nations and made unremitting efforts to this end.

**449 Peking Review highlights Tolilali (Sri Lanka) commentary on Soviet plan to subjugate Asia, 15 March 1974**

A recent article in the Sri Lanka paper *Tolilali* entitled "Soviet Plan to Subjugate Asia" reveals that Soviet social-imperialism's aim in peddling the "Asian collective security system" is to establish hegemony in Asia and exploit and control countries there.

The article says: "Soviet social-imperialism in 1969 set forth the policy of establishing such a reactionary alliance with Asian countries. But this was rejected by many Asian countries."

It says the Soviet Union signed a treaty with India in the name of "peace, friendship and co-operation" on August 9,

1971. Article 9 of the treaty shows that this treaty is basically intended to rig up a military alliance.

Since 1968 Soviet warships have "visited" all nations in the Arab Gulf, the Gulf of Aden, the West Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Soviet social-imperialism has stationed a fleet in the Indian Ocean since 1969. These measures were further strengthened in 1971. Fierce contention is going on in this region between Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism.

Since most of the Asian nations do not welcome the "Asian collective security system," the Soviet revisionists have to give it a cover. Hence the "regional economic co-operation" plan for Asia, which means that Asian countries should "co-operate" in plunder and exploitation of themselves in the interests of the Soviet Union. Behind "regional economic co-operation", the Soviet Union cunningly presses its "Security system" scheme. The Soviet plan is nothing but a plot by Soviet social-imperialism to get Asian countries into a military alliance and to exploit and control them.

The article notes: "The 'Asian collective security system' of the Soviet Union, like the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization, a military alliance hatched by John Foster Dulles for the United States after World War II, is aimed at protecting and expanding the interests of imperialism at the expense of the interests of the people of other countries."

The article points out in conclusion that none of these tricks can succeed. The people of the world are bound to smash all schemes of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

**450 Statement by Chiao Hsiao-kuang, leader of the China-Sri Lanka Friendship Association delegation, at a Colombo reception, 24 November 1975 (Extract)**

China is always prepared to help Sri Lanka in her struggle to build up and maintain her national independence. The two countries who joined hands in their fight against imperialist invasion in the past are united in marching forward fighting against imperialist domination in the present too.

**451 Statement by Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, Deputy Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs and President of the Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association, at the reception, 24 November 1975 (Extract)**

Whenever Sri Lanka faced economic difficulties China always came to her assistance.

Chinese assistance had always been free from obligations and of interest. Economic assistance and commodity assistance by way of outright gifts of rice, clothes, machinery, etc. given to Sri Lanka by China amounted several millions of rupees.

It was with Chinese assistance that Sri Lanka was able to own nine ships.

**452 Statement by Felix R. Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, at the condolence meeting of Chou En-lai's death held at the New Town Hall, Colombo, 19 January 1976 (Extract)**

Chou En-lai was the first to contact this little country on a diplomatic relationship. It was the great country's great gesture. That country always wanted to hear the point of view of little nations like ours. There were no illusions where Chou En-lai was concerned. China never thought about us a communist country. They always thought that we were in the first stage of liberation facing upto the threats and pressures of a capitalist world.

**453 Sirimavo Bandaranaike's speech at the banquet given in honour of Mrs. Teng Ying-chao (Mrs-Chou En-lai) Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, 18 April 1977 (Extracts)**

"The relations between China and Sri Lanka have been tested by time and circumstance. Ours is a friendship which is firmly rooted in mutual good-will, understanding and support. I have every confidence that the friendship between our two countries will continue to flourish in the same spirit of amity and mutuality as at present."

She expressed the hope that the countries in Southeast

Asia will get together to build their relations anew, in a spirit of amity and mutual understanding, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

“I must say that Sri Lanka is greatly appreciative of the steady support which China has extended to the proposal to have the Indian Ocean maintained as a zone of peace, free from great power rivalry. In our view, the withdrawal of foreign military presence from the region is a necessary pre-condition for genuine peace and stability in this area as well as for promoting cooperation and solidarity among the various countries.”

**454 Madame Teng Ying-chao's speech at the banquet,  
18 April 1977 (Extracts)**

“In recent years, the Government and people of Sri Lanka, under the leadership of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, have made unremitting efforts and achieved gratifying successes in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and in developing the national economy and culture. Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike and the Sri Lanka Government are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs and enjoy wide-based respect. The Chinese Government and people heartily rejoice at all this and sincerely wish you continuous new successes on your road of advance” . . . .

“The Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held last August in Colombo, overcoming superpower interference and sabotage, kept to the orientation of unity against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and achieved positive results. The government and people of the host country Sri Lanka and Her Excellency Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike made important contributions to the success of that conference. The Sri Lanka Government consistently pursues a non-aligned policy of independence, peace and neutrality. Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's proposal for declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace reflects the common desire of the countries around the Indian Ocean to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and oppose foreign aggression and expansion; it has won extensive support among all peoples of the world. The Chinese Government and



people have always supported your just struggle, and we will continue to support it without fail.”

**455 Statement by Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, at a Colombo public rally to honour Madame Teng Ying-chao, 21 April 1977 (Extract)**

Agreements with the People's Republic of China have always had a strong element of assistance and have been positively weighted in favour of Sri Lanka.

The selfless nature of your aid programs is evident from the fact that the loan arrangements have always been without interest and spread over long periods of time for repayment.

Ever since the Rubber-Rice Pact was signed between our two countries, an arrangement which has brought mutual advantage to ourselves, your country has supported Sri Lanka's struggle to extricate itself from the imperialist stranglehold.

**456 Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Message to J. R. Jayewardene on his assumption of the Office of Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, 26 July 1977**

On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I congratulate you on your assumption of the post of Prime Minister of the Republic of Sri Lanka and wish you success in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and developing the economy. I am confident that the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Sri Lanka and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries will increase and develop.

**457 Statement by Vice Premier Keng Piao at a banquet given in his honour in Colombo, 21 June 1978 (Extract)**

The South Asian peoples ardently love peace and they need a peaceful and stable environment in which to develop their economies. We wish to see the South Asian countries get rid of interference by outside forces, treat one another as equals and live together in amity on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and maintain the stability of the region.

The Chinese Government firmly supports the Sri Lanka Government's proposal of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, and appreciates its active efforts in developing relations with neighbouring countries.

**458 *People's Daily* editorial welcoming Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, 13 August 1979**

The people of China and Sri Lanka have been linked by a profound traditional friendship since ancient times. They have always sympathized with and supported each other in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

"Since diplomatic relations were established between China and Sri Lanka, the friendship between the two peoples has made new advances and the political, economic and cultural cooperation and interchange between the two countries have been strengthened continuously. This friendly cooperation and traditional friendship have been further strengthened and developed in recent years.

"We are convinced that Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa's present visit to China will be a new contribution to the further consolidation and expansion of the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

"The Government of Sri Lanka has all along followed an external policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, opposed the imperialists' policy of aggression and war, and made valuable contributions to the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism. As a result, its role and status in international affairs is rising steadily.

"The recent ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned Countries held in Colombo, thanks to the joint efforts of the host country—Sri Lanka—and a majority of the participating countries, reiterated the basic principles and purposes of the non-aligned movement, stressed its internal unity, and thus made positive contributions to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State and Governments of Non-aligned Countries scheduled to take place in September."

**459 Vice Premier Li Xiannian's speech at the banquet given in honour of Sri Lanka Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa, 13 August 1979 (Extracts)**

We in China know that Sri Lanka was one of the earliest countries to give our country recognition, and we will not forget the invaluable support rendered to us by the Sri Lankan Government in the form of the famous agreement to barter rice for rubber, back in the difficult days when the imperialists enforced an embargo on us. And we still clearly remember the two occasions when our esteemed late Premier Zhou Enlai visited your beautiful country. We are pleased with the way our relations have developed. . . .

Prime Minister Premadasa visited China in 1957 with a delegation of the Municipal Council of Colombo, when he met the late Premier Zhou Enlai. That was the first Sri Lankan Delegation to visit China after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. It not only marked the beginning of friendly ties between the capitals of the two new-born states, but helped to promote bilateral contacts and exchanges in other fields, thus contributing to China-Sri Lanka friendship. . . .

“Under President Jayewardene’s leadership, the government and people of Sri Lanka have, in the last two years, scored gratifying successes in upholding the unity of the country and developing the national economy. Sri Lanka, which is the current Chairman of the Non-aligned Summit Conference, has worked positively to uphold the principles of the non-aligned movement and keep to its orientation.”

He added that the Chinese people knew a great deal about Sri Lanka, “because there is a profound friendship between our two peoples, forged in the course of amicable contacts dating back to ancient times and subsequently strengthened by their mutual sympathy and support in the long years of struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

“We are gladdened by the fact that our friendly relations and cooperation have witnessed further development of the last couple of years.” Prime Minister Premadasa’s visit would contribute afresh to deepening the friendship between the two peoples and the friendly relations and cooperation between the

two countries.”

“We will achieve modernization in our own way in the light of China’s specific conditions. In order to achieve this goal, we must learn from the beneficial experience of all other countries in the field of economic development, and above all, we must have an international environment of peace and stability. We will work hard and unswervingly to defend world peace, oppose hegemonism, develop friendly relations and cooperation with other peoples and promote the cause of human progress.”

**460 Ranasinghe Premadasa’s speech at the banquet,  
13 August 1979 (Extracts)**

“In bilateral relations China and Sri Lanka have no differences and problems. Our relations have always been based on mutual advantage and mutual respect flowing from the five principles of peaceful co-existence.” Sri Lanka would be ever grateful for the support and assistance China had given her. China dealt with other countries whether big or small, mighty or weak, as equals and worked out arrangements for mutual benefit”. . . .

A binding friendship and close ties existed between the Chinese people and the people of Sri Lanka.

Speaking of the rubber-rice agreement between Sri Lanka and China, Prime Minister Premadasa said that this trade agreement, which was signed 27 years ago, was based on the principles of mutual help and mutual advantage. Within the framework of this agreement, co-operation in many other fields between Sri Lanka and China had also blossomed. . . .

In international affairs China has helped us by the support it has extended to the non-aligned movement and the sustained support you have given for the policies on which the non-aligned movement is based. This support has been a great source of strength to us. We in Sri Lanka firmly believe that a strong China is a necessary stabilising force in Asia.

“Peace and stability to us is of vital importance, as we have embarked on our own ambitious economic programme of development.”

**461 Ranasinghe Premadasa's speech at the farewell banquet given by him in Peking, 15 August 1979 (Extracts)**

Premadasa said that during his talks with the Chinese leaders, both sides shared similar views on many international issues. He noted that the co-operation extended by China to Sri Lanka symbolizes the abiding trust and faith the two countries have for each other in building stronger links over and above those that already exist.... There exist between the people of China and Sri Lanka a binding friendship and close ties. The trade agreement signed between the two countries 27 years ago, he added, was based on the principles of mutual help and mutual benefit, and within the framework of this agreement, co-operation in many other fields had blossomed.

**462 Vice-Premier Li Xiannian's speech at the banquet, 15 August 1979 (Extract)**

"During the last three days, we have a full exchange of views on our bilateral relations and international issues of common concern, thus enhancing our mutual understanding." Prime Minister Premadasa's visit to China, has contributed to the strengthening of the ties of friendship between the people of China and Sri Lanka and promoted the development of amicable relations and co-operation between the two countries.

**463 Ranasinghe Premadasa's statement at a press conference, 20 August 1979 (Extracts)**

'We cordially exchanged views on mutual matters concerning both countries,' 'We appreciated each other's point of view'....

Recalling the growth of Sino-Sri Lankan friendship, he said that his country was one of the first to extend recognition to the People's Republic of China and to sign a rice-rubber barter agreement with China.

'At a time when Sri Lanka needed assistance, China came to our assistance.' 'On every such occasion there were no strings or conditions attached. China respected our territorial integrity and independence. We appreciate that spirit.'

Stressing his friendly feelings for China, the Prime Minister said that he had chosen China as the first country to visit following his assumption of the Prime Minister's office....

Although the two countries had different social systems, they both adhered to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and looked forward to a peaceful and stable international environment in which to build.

'We respect each other and we are both working to improve the wellbeing of our peoples.' 'Economically, we both attach primary importance to the expansion of agriculture, the full utilization of our human resources and the exploitation of our natural resources. We both hope to increase our trade.'

Internationally, 'China supports the principles of the non-aligned movement and Sri Lanka will take the responsibility as the Chairman to see that the movement does not go away from its principles.

'On many matters our two countries can speak with one voice.' 'I can see a very bright prospect for the relations between our two countries.'

#### **464 Xinhua report on China-Sri Lanka economic and technical cooperation agreement, 18 January 1980**

Under the agreement, China is to provide Sri Lanka with an interest-free loan of RMB 50 million Yuan within a period of seven years. The Chinese loan will be provided in the form of assisting Sri Lanka in building complete projects, providing it with individual equipment and conducting technical cooperation.

#### **465 "Sri Lanka's economy shows improvement in 1979," Xinhua report, 6 May 1980**

Sri Lanka's economy recorded a growth rate of 6.2 per cent in 1979, according to a report issued here by the country's Central Bank.

The report said, paddy production in 1979 is estimated at 91.9 million bushels, registering a marginal increase over the previous year. The major Maha season of 1979 yielded an all-time record paddy crop of 66.8 million bushels, 8 per cent

higher than the previous season's crop.

Coconut production in 1979 is estimated at 2,393 million nuts, an increase of 8 per cent over 1978. Tea production rose by 4 per cent in 1979 compared with the previous year reaching 206 million kilos. The tea production increase is mainly in the major tea growing areas where production rose by 7 per cent.

The country's export earnings for last year given in rupees increased by 16 per cent over the previous year.

According to the report, the real rate of industrial growth in 1979 is said to be four per cent higher than the previous year.





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454 Ibid., 3-4.  
455 *Ceylon Daily News*, 22 Apr 1977.  
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461 *Beijing Review*, 24 Aug 1979, 3.  
462 Ibid., 3-4.  
463 Xinhua News Agency, no. 7791, 20 Aug 1979, 12.  
464 Ibid., 19 Jan 1980, 23.  
465 Ibid., 7 May 1980, 11.

# Appendices



## Appendix 1

Exchange of Visits between China and Pakistan,  
1951-1980

(Note: C stands for Cultural, E for Economic, M for Military, and P for Political)

- 1 Iftikhar-ud-Din attends Asian Peace Conference in Peking Sep-Oct 1951 P
- 2 Pakistan Premier Bogra and Chou En-lai meet in Bandung 19-22 Apr 1955 P
- 3 Women's goodwill delegation led by Health Minister Li Teh-Chuan in Pakistan at the invitation of the All-Pakistan Women's Association Nov 1955 C
- 4 Trade delegation in East Pakistan Nov 1955 E
- 5 Vice-Chairman Madame Soong Ching-ling in Pakistan 24-31 Jan 1956 P
- 6 Vice-Chairman Marshal Ho Lung in Pakistan 23-25 Mar 1956 P
- 7 A 16-member newspaper editors delegation in China Jun 1956 C
- 8 An exhibition of Chinese arts and crafts opens in Dacca Sep 1956 C
- 9 Prime Minister H.S. Suhrawardy in China 18-29 Oct 1956 P
- 10 Chou En-lai and Vice-Chairman Ho Lung in Pakistan 20-30 Dec 1956 P
- 11 A 10-member parliamentary delegation in China Jun 1957 P
- 12 A 7-member labour leaders delegation in China Apr-May 1958 E
- 13 Survey experts in Pakistan to discuss boundary demarcation arrangement with the Surveyor-General of Pakistan Jun 1962 P
- 14 Border delegation in China Oct 1962 P
- 15 Trade delegation led by Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade in Pakistan 3-11 Jan 1963 E

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|---|------------------|
| 16 Foreign Minister Z.A. Bhutto in<br>China   | FebMar 1963 P    |
| 17 Chou En-lai and Foreign Minister Chen<br>Yi in Pakistan  | 18-26 Feb 1964 P |
| 18 Pakistan delegation in China to discuss<br>opening of direct air service between<br>China and Pakistan | Mar 1964 E       |
| 19 Air Commodore Nur Khan and others in<br>China  | Apr-May 1964 M   |
| 20 Businessmen's delegation led by Mohamed<br>Siddique Dawood in China                                    | Jul 1964 E       |
| 21 Minister of Commerce Wahiduzzaman in<br>China  | 10-18 Jul 1964 E |
| 22 Deputy Defence Minister in Pakistan  | Aug 1964 M       |
| 23 Economic study group led by Said Hasan,<br>Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commis-<br>sion, in China     | Oct 1964 E       |
| 24 Economic delegation in China to negotiate<br>utilisation of the \$60 million Chinese loan              | Oct 1964 E       |
| 25 Foreign Minister Chen Yi makes a stop-<br>over in Karachi  | 30 Oct 1964 P    |
| 26 President Ayub Khan in China   | 2-9 Mar 1965 P   |
| 27 Chen Yi in Pakistan  | 25-30 Mar 1965 P |
| 28 Chou-En-lai in Pakistan  | Apr 1965 P       |
| 29 Chou En-lai in Pakistan  | 2-3 Jun 1965 P   |
| 30 President Ayub meets Chou En-lai in Cairo  | 28 Jun 1965 P    |
| 31 Chen Yi stops over in Karachi  | 4 Sep 1965 P     |
| 32 A civil aviation team and a friendship<br>mission in China   | Sep-Oct 1965 E   |
| 33 Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Chen Yi in<br>Pakistan   | 26-31 Mar 1966 P |
| 34 Chairman Liu Shao-chi in East Pakistan   | 25-16 Apr 1966 P |
| 35 Chinese cultural delegation in Pakistan  | Jun 1966 C       |
| 36 Chou En-lai in Pakistan on an unofficial<br>visit  | 28-29 Jun 1966 P |
| 37 Minister of Commerce Ghulam Faruque<br>in Peking   | Jul 1966 E       |
| 38 Parliamentary delegation led by Abdul<br>Jaffar Khan, Speaker of National Assem-<br>bly, in Peking     | Aug 1966 P       |

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|----|---|-----------------|---|
| 39 | Education Secretary in China  | Sep 1966        | C |
| 40 | Friendship delegation led by Abdul Monem Khan, Governor of East Pakistan, in China  | Oct 1966        | C |
| 41 | Z.A. Bhutto in China  | Oct 1966        | P |
| 42 | Foreign Minister Sarifuddin Pirzada in China  | 22-26 Oct 1966  | P |
| 43 | Defence Minister Vice Admiral A.R. Khan in China  | May 1967        | M |
| 44 | Friendship delegation led by Khwaja Shahabuddin, Minister of Information and Broadcasting in China  | Sep 1967        | P |
| 45 | Trade delegation in Pakistan  | Oct 1967        | E |
| 46 | Economic delegation led by M.M. Ahmed, Vice-Chairman of Planning Commission, in China   | Dec 1967        | E |
| 47 | Visit of a 54-member Chinese cultural troupe to Peshawar, Lahore and Dacca  | Jan-Feb 1968    | C |
| 48 | Foreign Minister Arshad Hussain in China  | 3-7 Aug 1968    | P |
| 49 | Goodwill mission led by Fida Hasan, Adviser to President Ayub, in China   | 28 Sep-Oct 1968 | P |
| 50 | Chinese trade delegation in Kashgar to discuss exchange of goods between Sinkiang and the northern areas of Pakistan though the old caravan route | Nov 1968        | E |
| 51 | Goodwill military delegation led by General A.M. Yahya Khan in China  | 8-10 Nov 1968   | M |
| 52 | Economic delegation led by Minister of Trade Lin Hai-yun in Pakistan  | Dec 1968        | E |
| 53 | Air Marshal Nur Khan in China   | Jul 1969        | M |
| 54 | Government goodwill delegation led by Army Chief of Staff Gen. Abdul Hamid Khan in China for 20th anniversary celebrations                        | Sep-Oct 1969    | P |
| 55 | Mumtaz Ahmad Khan, President of Pak-China Friendship Association, in China  | Sep-Oct 1969    | P |
| 56 | Shakir Ullah Durrani, Managing Director of PIA, and his entourage in China  | Sep-Oct 1969    | E |
| 57 | Chinese trade delegation led by Acting  |                 |   |

- Minister of Foreign Trade Lin Hai-yun  
in Pakistan Dec 1969 E
- 58 Goodwill delegation in Pakistan Feb 1970 P
- 59 Friendship delegation led by Vice-Chairman of NPC Standing Committee, Kuo Mo-jo, in Pakistan Mar 1970 P
- 60 Economic and friendship delegation led by Fang Yi, Chairman of Commission of Economic-Relations with Foreign Countries, in Pakistan Apr 1970 E
- 61 Military delegation in Pakistan Apr 1970 M
- 62 Trade delegation led by Lien Chang-hsien, Member of the Revolutionary Committee of Sinkiang, in Gilgit (Pakistan) May 1970 E
- 63 Air Force delegation led by Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan, C-in-C of Pakistan's Air Force, in China 31 May-7 Jun 1970 M
- 64 Naval delegation led by Vice Admiral Muzaffar Hasan, C-in-C of Pakistan's Navy, in China Sep 1970 M
- 65 Agricultural delegation in China Sep 1970 E
- 66 Economic delegation in China Sep 1970 E
- 67 Friendship delegation led by Lt. Gen. M.A. Rehman, Governor of Punjab, in China Sep-Oct 1970 P
- 68 Lt. Gen. Mohammed Ayub Khan, Director of Medical Services of Pakistan Armed Forces, in China Oct 1970 M
- 69 President Yahya Khan in China 10-14 Nov 1970 P
- 70 Communications Minister Yang Chieh in Pakistan to participate in the opening of the Chinese-financed Karakoram highway linking Khunjerab Pass with Halleh-Gush Feb 1971 P
- 71 6-member delegation of China in Pakistan to discuss the possibility of setting up a sugar mill in Sind Feb 1971 E
- 72 Air Force delegation in China Apr-May 1971 M
- 73 Border trade delegation in China May-Jun 1971 E
- 74 Civil aviation delegation in China 31 Aug-4 Nov 1971 E
- 75 Athletics team in China Oct 1971 C



- 76 Pakistan People's Party Chairman Z.A. Bhutto in China as personal representative of President Yahya Khan heads a high-level delegation, which included three military service chiefs 5-8 Nov 1971 P
- 77 12-member delegation led by Li Shui-ching, Minister in the First Ministry of Machine-building, in Pakistan for the opening of the Taxila heavy engineering plant 23-30 Nov 1971 E
- 78 President Bhutto in China 31 Jan-2 Feb 1972 P
- 79 7-member technical delegation in Pakistan Mar 1972 E
- 80 Economic delegation in China 16-24 Mar 1972 E
- 81 Civil aviation delegation led by Ma Jen-hui, Deputy Director-General of the General Administration of Chinese Civil Aviation, in Pakistan Mar 1972 E
- 82 Education Minister and Special Envoy of President Bhutto, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, in China 27 Mar-Apr 1972 P
- 83 Table tennis team in Pakistan Apr 1972 C
- 84 A 5-member trade delegation led by Chao Yu-kun, a member of the Sinkiang Revolutionary Committee, in Pakistan to negotiate a new border trade agreement Apr-May 1972 E
- 85 Military delegation led by Maj-Gen A.B. Awan in China Apr-May 1972 M
- 86 Broadcasting delegation in China May 1972 E
- 87 Aziz Ahmed, General Secretary, Foreign Ministry, in China May 1972 P
- 88 Economic delegation led by Shao Tse-yu in Pakistan May-Jun 1972 E
- 89 Minister for Foreign Trade Pai Hsiang-kuo in Pakistan 22-28 Jun 1972 E
- 90 Bhutto's four children in China 20 Jul-4 Aug 1972 C
- 91 Insurance delegation in Pakistan Aug 1972 E
- 92 Vice Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua in Pakistan 28-31 Aug 1972 P

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|-----|--|--------------|---|
| 93  | Banking delegation in China  | Sep 1972     | E |
| 94  | Abdus Salim, Scientific Adviser to President Bhutto, in China  | 1-5 Sep 1972 | E |
| 95  | Navy Staff College delegation in China   | Oct 1972     | M |
| 96  | Volleyball team in Pakistan  | Nov 1972     | C |
| 97  | University delegation in Pakistan  | Nov 1972     | C |
| 98  | Banking delegation in Pakistan   | Dec 1972     | E |
| 99  | PIA delegation in China  | Dec 1972     | E |
| 100 | Textile delegation in Pakistan   | Dec 1972     | E |
| 101 | Basketball team in China   | Dec 1972     | C |
| 102 | Military goodwill delegation led by General Tikka Khan in China  | Jan 1973     | M |
| 103 | Begum Bhutto in China  | Feb 1973     | P |
| 104 | Wuhan acrobatic troupe in Pakistan   | Feb 1973     | C |
| 105 | Pakistan National Defence College study group led by Brig. Rahimuddin Khan in China                      | Mar 1973     | M |
| 106 | Chinese civil engineers in Pakistan to assist in the completion of sugar mill project at Larkana         | Mar 1973     | E |
| 107 | Dance ensemble in China  | Mar-Apr 1973 | C |
| 108 | A 14-member Pakistan National Defence College delegation led by Nasir Ahmed Chaudhri in China            | May 1973     | M |
| 109 | 3-member trade delegation led by Resident of Gilgit and Baltistan in China                               | May 1973     | E |
| 110 | Tennis team led by Shen Chia-lin in Pakistan   | May 1973     | C |
| 111 | Experts in Pakistan to study the setting up of a textile mill in Tarbela with Chinese assistance         | May 1973     | E |
| 112 | Football and badminton team in China   | Jun 1973     | C |
| 113 | A nine-man Chinese team discusses the setting up of a fertilizer factory in NWFP with Chinese assistance | Jun 1973     | E |
| 114 | Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei in Pakistan  | Jun 1973     | P |
| 115 | A 10-member border trade delegation in Gilgit, Pakistan  | Jul 1973     | E |
| 116 | Aziz Ahmed, Minister of State for Foreign  |              |   |

- Affairs and Defence, in China 30 Aug-1 Sep 1973 P
- 117 National Bank delegation led by A. Jamil Nishtar in China Oct 1973 E
- 118 Agha Hilaly and wife in China Oct 1973 P
- 119 A 4-member shipping delegation in Pakistan Nov 1973 E
- 120 Five-member economic delegation in Pakistan Dec 1973 E
- 121 Nur Khan, Chairman of PIA, in China 22-25 Dec 1973 E
- 122 Military goodwill delegation led by Chang Tsai-chien, Deputy Chief of General Staff of PLA, in Pakistan 6-17 Jan 1974 M
- 123 Scientists' delegation in China Mar-Apr 1974 E
- 124 A delegation of Pakistan Administrative Staff College in China Apr 1974 C
- 125 A delegation of National Defence College of Pakistan in China Apr 1974 M
- 126 Premier Bhutto in China 11-14 May 1974 P
- 127 Border delegation in Pakistan May 1974 E
- 128 Eight-member geological team in Karachi to discuss the setting up of a steel works in Pakistan with Chinese assistance Jun 1974 E
- 129 Nine-member team of engineers in Lahore to finalize design and construction schedule of the two double circuit transmission lines to carry power from the Tarabela dam station to the national grid Jun 1974 E
- 130 Educational delegation in China Jun 1974 C
- 131 Agha Shahi, Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in China 6-10 Jun 1974 P
- 132 Volleyball team in China Jul 1974 C
- 133 Delegation of development planners and manpower experts in China Jul-Aug 1974 E
- 134 A delegation of the Pakistani Water and Power Development Authority in China Jul-Aug 1974 E
- 135 Trade delegation in China 25 Jul-2 Aug 1974 E
- 136 Badminton team in Pakistan Aug 1974 C
- 137 Tourism delegation in China Sep 1974 C
- 138 Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice Foreign Minister, in Pakistan 25-26 Sep 1974 P

- 139 Meteorological delegation in Pakistan 28 Oct-7 Nov 1974 E
- 140 54-member goodwill delegation in Pakistan Nov 1974 C
- 141 10-member press delegation in China Nov 1974 C
- 142 60-member delegation led by Interior Minister Abdul Qayyum Khan in China 15-26 Nov 1974 P
- 143 6-member science delegation in Pakistan 9-29 Dec 1974 E
- 144 Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs Aziz Ahmed, in China 11-13 Dec 1974 P
- 145 Trade delegation led by Foreign Trade Minister Li Chiang in Pakistan 24-30 Jan 1975 E
- 146 National Defence College team in China Mar 1975 M
- 147 Athletics team in Pakistan to take part in the 15th National Athletics Championships 24 Mar-3 Apr 1975 C
- 148 Four-member agricultural delegation in Pakistan Apr 1975 E
- 149 Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien in Pakistan 20-26 Apr 1975 P
- 150 Six-member broadcasting and television delegation to study operations of Pakistan's radio and television network May 1975 C
- 151 Engineering delegation in Pakistan Jun 1975 E
- 152 Four-man trade delegation from Pakistan's northern areas led by Ataulah, President of Gilgit, in China 12-20 Jun 1975 E
- 153 Economic delegation in China Jul 1975 E
- 154 Engineering delegation in Pakistan Jul 1975 E
- 155 Four-member delegation of the Press Association of Pakistan in China Jul 1975 C
- 156 Science delegation led by Dr. Z.A. Hashmi, Chairman of the Pakistani Science Foundation, in China 17 Jul-11 Aug 1975 E
- 157 Medical delegation in China Aug 1975 C
- 158 Herbal medicine delegation in Pakistan Aug 1975 C
- 159 Federal Law Minister and President of Pakistan Olympic Association Meraj Khalid in China Sep 1975 C
- 160 4-member Chinese delegation in NWFP Sep 1975 P

- 161 6-member trade delegation led by Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, Chen Chieh, in Pakistan Oct 1975 E
- 162 6-member agricultural delegation led by Federal Minister for Food and Agriculture, Sheikh Mohammad Rashid, in China 3-10 Nov 1975 E
- 163 6-member friendship and cultural delegation in Pakistan 3-18 Nov 1975 C
- 164 Meteorological delegation in China 4-16 Dec 1975 E
- 165 Dance troupe in Pakistan 7-26 Dec 1975 C
- 166 A nine-member military delegation led by Cheng San-hang, Deputy Commander of the PLA units in Sinkiang, in Pakistan Feb 1976 M
- 167 Naval Staff College delegation in China Mar 1976 M
- 168 Administrative Staff College delegation in China Apr 1976 C
- 169 Industrial delegation in Pakistan Apr 1976 E
- 170 6-member education delegation led by Vice-Minister for Education Hsueh Yushan in Pakistan 20 Apr-5 May 1976 C
- 171 National Defence College delegation led by Air Vice-Marshal M.J.O'Brian in China 22 Apr-3 May 1976 M
- 172 Grain storage delegation in China 9-21 May 1976 E
- 173 Premier Bhutto in China 26-30 May 1976 P
- 174 Air Force delegation led by Air Chief Marshal Zulfikar Ali Khan, Chief-of-Staff of Air Force, in China 30 May-4 Jun 1976 M
- 175 Shipyard and engineering delegation in China Jun 1976 E
- 176 Border trade delegation in China Jun 1976 E
- 177 Foreign Minister Agha Shahi stops over in Peking on way back home from Tokyo Sep 1976 P
- 178 Banking delegation led by A. Jamil Nish-tar, Managing Director of National Bank of Pakistan, in China Oct 1976 E
- 179 Football and volleyball teams in Pakistan Oct 1976 C
- 180 Shipping delegation led by the Chairman

- of the Pakistan Shipping Corporation in  
China Nov 1976 E
- 181 Song and dance troupe in Pakistan 6-21 Nov 1976 C
- 182 Badminton team in Pakistan 23 Nov-1 Dec 1976 C
- 183 Broadcasting and T.V. delegation led by  
S.I. Hyder Zaidi, Director-General of the  
Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, in  
China 3-14 Jan 1977 C
- 184 10-member press delegation in Pakis-  
tan 10-20 Jan 1977 C
- 185 Economic delegation led by Vice-Minister  
of Economic Relations with Foreign  
Countries, in Pakistan 22-29 Jan 1977 E
- 186 Chinese government scientific and techni-  
cal cooperation delegation led by Vice-  
Minister Shih Lin in Pakistan 22 Jan-6 Feb 1977 E
- 187 Machine-building delegation in Pakistan Jan-Feb 1977 E
- 188 A Chinese government delegation led by  
Vice Minister Hsu Pin-chou in Pakistan  
to attend opening ceremony of Taxila  
heavy foundry and forge project 22-28 Feb 1977 E
- 189 14-member military delegation led by  
Deputy Chief of General Staff Yang  
Cheng-yu in Pakistan 25-30 Mar 1977 M
- 190 Air Force Staff College delegation led by  
its Commandant, Air Commodore Ayaz  
Ahmed Khan, in China Apr 1977 M
- 191 A 3-member delegation of Chinese Air-  
lines in Pakistan May 1977 E
- 192 A delegation of People's Insurance Com-  
pany of China in Pakistan May 1977 E
- 193 A delegation from the National Defence  
College in China May 1977 M
- 194 A delegation of Lahore Administrative  
Staff College in China May 1977 C
- 195 A Pakistan Army medical delegation in  
China May 1977 M
- 196 A delegation of University Vice-Chancel-  
lors in China 13-14 Jun 1977
- 197 A Chinese civil aviation delegation led by

- Chang Jung-ai in Pakistan 22-29 Jun 1977 E
- 198 A-5 member technology delegation in Pakistan Jul 1977 E
- 199 A Pakistani border trade delegation led by A.R. Siddiqui in China 27 Jul-5 Aug 1977 E
- 200 A 11-member border trade delegation in Gilgit Sep 1977 E
- 201 President Zia-ul-Haq, Chief Martial Law Administrator in China 14-19 Dec 1977 P
- 202 A delegation of the State Heavy Machinery and Machine Tools Corporation led by Jawaid Ahmed Mirza in China 22 Dec 1977-2 Jan 1978 E
- 203 Engineering delegation in Pakistan Jan 1978 E
- 204 Trade delegation led by Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce Mukhtar Masood in China Jan 1978 E
- 205 An 8-member delegation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries led by Wang Ping-nan in Pakistan 20-28 Feb 1978 P
- 206 Writers delegation led by Mrs. Yang Mo in Pakistan Jan 1978 C
- 207 21-member athletics team in Pakistan to participate in the National Games of Pakistan Apr 1978 C
- 208 Vice-Premier Keng Piao in Pakistan to attend opening of Karakoram Highway 16-20 Jun 1978 P
- 209 Border trade delegation led by Wen Fu-tang in Pakistan Jun 1978 E
- 210 Delegation for the study of medicinal herbs and pharmaceuticals in China Jul 1978 C
- 211 Air Marshal Asghar Khan, leader of the Pakistan Solidarity Movement Party, in China Aug 1978 P
- 212 Foreign Affairs Adviser Agha Shahi in China 6-8 Sep 1978 P
- 213 Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien in Pakistan 20-22 Jan 1979 P
- 214 A delegation of the China National Machinery Import and Export Corporation

- (Machimpex) in Pakistan Jan 1979 E
- 215 Military delegation led by Defence Secretary Lt. Gen. Jilani in China Feb 1979 M
- 216 PLA (Air Force) delegation led by Zhang Tingfa, Air Force Commander of the PLA, in Pakistan on a 10-day visit 25 Mar-Apr 1979 M
- 217 Trade delegation led by Chen Jie in Pakistan Apr 1979 E
- 218 Defence College delegation led by Syed Murad Ahmed Khairi in China Apr-May 1979 M
- 219 Foreign Affairs Adviser Agha Shahi in China 17-20 May 1979 P
- 220 A 8-member delegation led by Li Yuteng, Vice-Minister of Machine-building Ministry, in Pakistan to attend the inauguration of a new defence-related factory near Islamabad 19-27 May 1979 P
- 221 8-member delegation led by Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Rear Adm. Mohammad Fazil Janjua, in China May-Jun 1979 E
- 222 Labour delegation led by Federal Minister for Labour and Manpower Lt. Gen. F.A. Chisti in China Jun-Jul 1979 E
- 223 14-member labour delegation in China Jun-Jul 1979 E
- 224 Islamic delegation led by Haji Ilyas Shen Xinai in Pakistan Jul 1979 C
- 225 10-member trade delegation in Gilgit Aug 1979 E
- 226 A 12-member youth and students delegation led by Niaz, a Deputy Minister, in China Sep 1979 C
- 227 Air Force delegation led by Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Shamim, in China 7-18 Oct 1979 M
- 228 Army goodwill delegation led by Deputy Chief, of the General Staff of PLA, Zhang Caiqan, in Pakistan 19-28 Oct 1979 M
- 229 5-member Bank of China delegation led by its Chairman, Pu Ming, in Pakistan 8-16 Dec 1979 E
- 230 National football team in China Dec 1979 C
- 231 Foreign Minister Huang Hua in Pakistan 18-23 Jan 1980
- 232 Military delegation led by Vice Minister



- of Defence Xiao Ke in Pakistan 15-19 Mar 1980 M
- 233 A 26-member dance troupe in China Mar 1980 C
- 234 Delegations of Pakistan Administrative Staff College and Pakistan Defence College in China Apr 1980 M
- 235 Border trade delegation led by Heder Bai in Pakistan 28 Apr-8 May 1980 E
- 236 President Zia-ul-Haq in China 2-6 May 1980 P
- 237 5-member scientific and technical delegation led by Vice Minister for Economic Relations, Shi Lin in Pakistan 6-12 May 1980 E
- 238 Government trade delegation led by Commerce Secretary Izhar-ul-haque in China May 1980 E
- 239 A 6-member delegation led by Additional Chief Secretary of Sind in China for studying problems of water logging and flood protection measures May 1980 E
- 240 Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua stops over in Islamabad on his way to Scandinavian countries 6 Jun 1980 P
- 241 Mrs Deng Ying Chao (Mrs. Zhou En-lai) in Karachi en route to France Jun 1980 P
- 242 A 15-member delegation of Chinese technical experts in Pakistan for nine months to study the technical feasibility of setting up units in Nowshera and elsewhere Aug 1980 E
- 243 Islamic delegation led by Pir Mohammad Karan Shah Al-ajhari in China Sep 1980 C
- 244 A 7-member radio and TV team in Pakistan Oct 1980 E
- 245 Air Force delegation in Pakistan to inaugurate a Chinese F-6 fighter factory at Kamra, near Attock, in Punjab Oct-Nov 1980 M
- 246 Naval delegation led by First Deputy Commander of the Chinese Navy, Liu Daosheng, in Pakistan Nov-Dec 1980 M

*Appendix 2***Agreements between China and Pakistan, 1953-1980**

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 1 Agreement about cotton and a contract regarding coal  | 14 Mar 1953 |
| 2 Contract to purchase and sell 70,000 metric tons of Chinese coal  | 1954        |
| 3 Chinese Red Cross Society donates another 50,000 Yuan for Pakistan flood victims  | 3 Nov 1955  |
| 4 Contract to purchase and sell 300,000 long tons of China coal   | 19 Mar 1956 |
| 5 Contract to purchase and sell 300,000 long tons of Chinese coal   | 10 May 1956 |
| 6 Contract on barter of Chinese coal for Pakistani cotton   | 3 Jun 1958  |
| 7 Barter agreement on exchange of rice for cotton and jute  | 8 Aug 1958  |
| 8 Exchange of letters on granting reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment   | 4 Oct 1958  |
| 9 A parcel-post service between Pakistan and China is introduced  | Oct 1959    |
| 10 Agreement on setting up a joint border commission  | 2 Mar 1962  |
| 11 First trade agreement providing for the grant of most-favoured-nation treatment, initially valid for one year  | 5 Jan 1963  |
| 12 Boundary agreement   | 2 Mar 1963  |
| 13 Air service agreement  | 29 Aug 1963 |
| 14 Telecommunications agreement providing for a direct radio-photo telegraph service between Karachi and Peking   | 16 Sep 1963 |
| 15 Barter agreement for exchange of raw jute from Pakistan against import of 100,000 tons of Portland cement from China; total value of commodities to be exchanged on each side to be Rs. 7.5 mn | 30 Sep 1963 |
| 16 Protocol on Sino-Pakistan air service  | 8 Mar 1964  |
| 17 Inauguration of direct air service between China and Pakistan  | 29 Apr 1964 |

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|---|-------------|
| 18 Agreement about news agencies  | 23 Jul 1964 |
| 19 Agreement on a \$60 million interest-free loan to Pakistan   | 18 Feb 1965 |
| 20 Agreement on economic and technical cooperation  | 18 Feb 1965 |
| 21 Cultural agreement   | 26 Mar 1965 |
| 22 Boundary protocol  | 26 Mar 1965 |
| 23 Shipping agreement   | 11 Apr 1965 |
| 24 Agreement to grant free visas to each other's nationals  | May 1965    |
| 25 Protocol on use of Feb 1965 loan   | 15 Jun 1965 |
| 26 China promises interest-free loans for Pakistan's heavy engineering projects   | 3 Aug 1965  |
| 27 Protocol relating to 1965 agreement on economic and technical cooperation  | 14 Nov 1965 |
| 28 Agreement on scientific and cultural exchange  | 1 Jun 1966  |
| 29 Agreement for the establishment of a heavy engineering complex in West Pakistan with Chinese technical and financial aid     | 23 Jun 1966 |
| 30 Trade protocol: Pakistan to export cotton, jute, mica, etc. and import machine tools steel structures, etc.                  | 4 Jul 1966  |
| 31 Agreement on economic and technical cooperation  | 30 Jul 1966 |
| 32 Barter agreement for 100,000 tons of rice from China   | 2 Aug 1966  |
| 33 Maritime agreement   | 4 Oct 1966  |
| 34 Agreement for a joint shipping service   | 21 Oct 1966 |
| 35 Agreement for the supply of 100,000 tons of wheat and 50,000 tons of rice by China   | 27 Jan 1967 |
| 36 Agreement for the supply of Chinese machinery and equipment worth \$126,000 (Rs. 600,000) for a mechanical complex at Taxila | 3 Mar 1967  |
| 37 Announcement about Chinese Airlines starting a weekly air service between Kunming and Dacca                                  | 19 Apr 1967 |
| 38 Agreement on supply of 100,000 tons of rice by China to Pakistan   | 2 Aug 1967  |

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|--|-------------|
| 39 Chinese Red Cross donates 50,000 Yuans to Pakistani Red Cross for relief of the "rainstricken" people of Karachi                      | 12 Aug 1967 |
| 40 Agreement for training Pakistani design engineers and technical personnel in China signed by W.P.I.D.C.                               | 25 Aug 1967 |
| 41 Protocol on Taxila heavy machine project under Feb 1965 agreement on economic and technical cooperation                               | 28 Aug 1967 |
| 42 Agreement to facilitate trade between Gilgit and Sinkiang   | 21 Oct 1967 |
| 43 Agreement on economic and technical cooperation providing for a Chinese interest-free loan worth \$40 million to Pakistan             | 23 Dec 1967 |
| 44 Barter agreement for exchanging goods worth \$23.1 million both ways during 1968  | 4 Apr 1968  |
| 45 Barter agreement for exchange of Rs. 11 million worth of goods during 1968  | 27 Apr 1968 |
| 46 Agreement for the supply of building material and erection machinery to Pakistan  | 1 May 1968  |
| 47 Barter agreement for the import of 150,000 tons of cement for East Pakistan and export of raw cotton yarn and jute sacks              | 17 Jul 1968 |
| 48 Donation of \$21,000 to flood victims of East Pakistan by the Chinese Red Cross   | 18 Jul 1968 |
| 49 Agreement to supply machinery worth \$3.105 million (Rs 15 million) to W.P.I.D.C. for the mechanical complex at Taxila                | 26 Jul 1968 |
| 50 Agreement on economic and technical cooperation providing for \$42 mn (Rs 200 million or 100 million yuan) interest-free Chinese loan | 26 Dec 1968 |
| 51 Protocol about aid for four industrial projects under Feb 1965 and Dec 1968 agreement on economic and technical co-                   |             |

- operation 9 Apr 1970
- 52 Third general barter trade protocol envisaging exchange of goods worth Rs 116 million on a self-balancing basis 5 May 1970
- 53 Agreement on further development of trade among the border areas of Gilgit and Baltistan and Sinkiang during 1970-71 21 May 1970
- 54 Pakistan announces a plan to import 100,000 tons of Chinese rice in exchange for Pakistani commodities 6 Jun 1970
- 55 Chinese Red Cross donates 1 million yuan (500,000 yuan in cash, 1,000 tons of rice, 500,000 doses of serum as well as tinned food) for East Pakistan flood victims Aug 1970
- 56 Agreement on economic and technical cooperation providing for a Chinese interest-free loan worth \$210 million, payable in 20-years, with a 10-yyar grace period for Pakistan's 4th Five-year Plan 14 Nov 1970
- 57 Chinese Red Cross donates RMB three million yuan in cash and supplies in kind to help East Pakistan people in cyclone-stricken areas 17 Nov 1970
- 58 Barter trade agreement providing for import of 50,000 tons of rice worth Rs. 27 million Feb 1971
- 59 Contract for the import of 20,500 tons of coal from China 12 Mar 1971
- 60 Protocol on construction of Larkana sugar refinery 18 Apr 1971
- 61 Border trade agreement 29 May 1971
- 62 Trade agreement for exchange of goods between Gilgit and Sinkiang 12 Jul 1971
- 63 Agreement on transfer to Pakistan ownership of two branches of Bank of China in Karachi and Chittagong 5 Aug 1971
- 64 Agreement on supply of 100,000 metric tons of rice by China to East Pakistan 4 Sep 1971
- 65 Protocol on construction of a refractory

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|---|--------------|
| factory   | 2 Dec 1971   |
| 66 Agreement on promotion of mutual cooperation in civil aviation   | 20 Mar 1972  |
| 67 Exchange of letters on the supply of general commodities by China under a previously arranged loan agreement   | 24 Mar 1972  |
| 68 Border trade agreement   | 7 May 1972   |
| 69 Trade protocol for 1972-1973   | 23 Jun 1972  |
| 70 Memorandum on export of cotton yarn, textiles and hosiery goods worth Rs. 40mn to China  | 29 Dec 1972  |
| 71 Pakistan International Airlines starts bi-weekly service between Karachi and Shanghai  | 20 Jan 1973  |
| 72 A new border trade agreement   | May 1973     |
| 73 Agreement for the construction of a 200 km double circuit Tarbela-Wah transmission line to connect Tarbela power station with the national grid                                      | 22 May 1973  |
| 74 Validity of commodity exchange agreement extended upto 31 Dec 1973   | 10 Aug 1973  |
| 75 Chinese Red Cross donates RMB 1 million Yuan in cash and the same amount in supplies (2,500 tons of wheat and woolen blankets, clothing, and medicine) to help flood-affected people | 19 Aug 1973  |
| 76 Agreement for the setting up of a cotton spinning mill at Tarbela—China supplying machinery, equipment, and technical know-how for the plant   | 20 Sep 1973  |
| 77 Aviation agreement between PIA and Civil Aviation General Administration of China in sharing servicing facilities throughout the world   | Apr 1974     |
| 78 Revised border trade agreement signed in Gilgit  | 24 May 1974  |
| 79 Trade protocol   | 27 July 1974 |
| 80 Agreement on China providing \$55 million to build a paper mill and set up a 75,000-ton urea plant worth \$20 million  | Oct 1974     |

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 81 Chinese Red Cross Society contributes food, medicines, and blankets worth 200,000 yuan (RMB) to help earthquake affected people in Pakistan  | 2 Jan 1975  |
| 82 New border trade agreement   | 16 Jun 1975 |
| 83 Barter trade protocol for 1976   | 25 Oct 1975 |
| 84 Agreement on scientific and technical co-operation   | 30 May 1976 |
| 85 Protocol to the agreement on economic and technical cooperation  | 30 May 1976 |
| 86 Border trade agreement for 1976  | 9 Jun 1976  |
| 87 Protocol on scientific and technical cooperation for 1977  | 29 Jan 1977 |
| 88 Memorandum on opening up an air route to Africa via Karachi by the CAAC  | 29 Jun 1977 |
| 89 Exchange of letters on border trade  | 2 Aug 1977  |
| 90 Trade protocol   | 29 Dec 1977 |
| 91 Border trade agreement for 1978  | 10 Jun 1978 |
| 92 Protocol on the second meeting on scientific and technical cooperation   | 1 Jul 1978  |
| 93 Agreement on purchase and sale of ten ships to China   | 23 Sep 1978 |
| 94 Agreement on a \$20 million credit by the China National Machinery Import and Export Corporation (Machimpex) to the Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment corporation for financing import of cotton spinning machinery and equipment by textile mills in the private sector | 23 Jan 1979 |
| 95 Trade protocol   | 21 Apr 1979 |
| 96 New border trade agreement   | 19 Jun 1979 |
| 97 Agreement for the sale of the two Pakistani ships to China as part of the September 1978 protocol on sale of ten ships   | 15 Nov 1979 |
| 98 Border trade protocol for 1980-81 signed in Gilgit   | 4 May 1980  |
| 99 Protocol on Sino-Pak trade for 1980  | 6 May 1980  |
| 100 Third protocol on scientific and technical  |             |

cooperation for 1980-81. Under the protocol China would provide Pakistan assistance in the fields of fertilizer industry, building and construction technology, agriculture, cement, acupuncture and biogas while Pakistan would extend cooperation to China in the fields of livestock training and veterinary, study of fruit trees, production and equipment of glazed tiles, and sugar production

10 May 1980

101 Barter trade agreement

Jul 1980

102 Programme of cultural exchanges for 1980-81

18 Aug 1980



## Appendix 3

## Chinese Economic Aid to Pakistan, 1965-1979

<i>Date of agreement</i>	<i>Amount in million US dollars</i>	<i>Comments</i>
18 Feb 1965 <sup>1</sup>	60	one half in currency, the other half in goods; interest free; for importing commodities from China and financing projects in Pakistan; to be repaid entirely by export of goods from Pakistan to China after a period of 20 years, including 10 years grace period.
17 Jan 1967	6.9	for financing remainder of food shipments under 18 Feb 1965 loan
23 Dec 1967	40	interest-free; term: 20 years; repayable after 10 years grace period
26 Dec 1968	42	interest-free; term: 20 years; repayable after 10 years grace period
14 Nov 1970	210	interest-free; term: 20 years; repayable after 10 years grace period
Jan 1971?	3	interest-free
May 1971	90.7	extension of Nov 1970 loan— from \$210 mn to \$300.7 mn
Jun 1972		writes off two project-cum-commodity loans of about \$110 mn (probably the ones of 1965 and 1968); defers repayment of \$210 mn loan of 1970 for 20 years
Oct 1974	75	for \$55 mn paper mill and \$20 mn for urea plant
May 1976 <sup>a</sup>	Rs 15 mn	for glass sheet factory, Nosira, NWFP

23 Jan 1979

20

for financing import of cotton spinning machinery and equipment by textile mills in the private sector

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<sup>1</sup>“China started giving assistance to Pakistan in 1965 when under this agreement China made available an interest-free loan of \$60 million for the purpose of promoting economic and technical cooperation. The loan was utilized to finance Pakistan’s Third Five-Year Plan (1965-70). Half of this loan was made available for import of commodities and the other half for projects to be selected subsequently. The portion earmarked for commodities has been utilized mainly for import of coal and cement for East Pakistan, iron and steel, electrical and other equipment for East and West Pakistan. China has also provided 100,000 tons of wheat and 50,000 tons of rice. While part of these food shipments have been financed from the balance available in the commodity portion of the earlier loan, the remainder has been financed by an additional loan of \$6.9 million signed on 17 January 1967. In addition, two industrial projects—one in East Pakistan and the other in East Pakistan are being financed from the project portion of the Chinese loan. The cost of these two projects is \$18.78 million. For the balance of \$11.22 million a number of other projects are under negotiation between the two Governments.” Pakistan Finance Division, Economic Adviser’s Wing, *Pakistan: Economic Survey, 1966-67*(Rawalpindi, 1967)215, also Pakistan, Finance Division, Economic Adviser’s Wing, *Economy of Pakistan, 1948-68* (Islamabad, 1968) 330-1.

<sup>2</sup>Announced on Karachi Radio, 22 May 1976.

#### Note

According to Karachi Radio broadcast of 30 April 1980 China has to date provided economic assistance to Pakistan worth \$368 million. This has been in the form of four grants and one \$250 million interest-free credit. This assistance does not include aid given by China in building the Karakoram Highway.

## Appendix 4

**Grant Assistance Agreements signed and Credits/Loans  
received by Pakistan from China upto 1979-80  
(in million US dollars)**

<i>Period/Year</i>	<i>Grant</i>	<i>Loans/Credits</i>
Pre 1st Plan	—	—
1st Plan (1955-60)	—	—
2nd Plan (1960-65)	60.000	—
3rd Plan (1965-70)	46.363	—
1970-71	—	217.391
1971-72	—	—
1972-73	—	—
1973-74	—	—
1974-75	—	—
1975-76	—	4.293
1976-77	—	—
1977-78	—	5.718
1978-79	—	3.618
1979-80 (Jul to Mar)	—	—

*Source: Pakistan Economic Survey, 1979-80 (Islamabad, 1980) 160 and 162.*

*Appendix 5*

**Terms of Foreign Loans and Credits Contracted by  
Pakistan with China, 1970-71 to 1979-80**  
(in million dollars)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Interest rate</i>	<i>Amortization years</i>
1970-71	217.391	0	40
1971-72	—	—	—
1972-73	—	—	—
1973-74	—	—	—
1974-75	—	—	—
1975-76	4.293	4.5	7
1976-77	—	—	—
1977-78	5.718	4.5-5.0	6.5
1978-79	3.618	4.5	6
1979-80 (July to March)	—	—	—

*Source:* Pakistan, Finance Division, Economic Adviser's Wing, *Pakistan: Economic Survey, 1979-80* (Islamabad, 1980) 154, 156 and 158.

## Appendix 6

**Outstanding External Indebtedness of Pakistan to China**  
**as on 30 June 1979**  
 (payable in foreign exchange)  
 (in million dollars)

<i>Lending country</i>	<i>Disbursed and outstanding</i>	<i>Undisbursed</i>	<i>Total debt</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(2+3)
Loans	116.587	186.187	302.774
Export Credit	3.846	5.182	9.028
Guaranteed Credit	—	2.031	2.031
<b>Total</b>	<b>120.433</b>	<b>193.400</b>	<b>313.833</b>

*Source:* Pakistan, Finance Division, Economic Adviser's Wing,  
*Pakistan: Economic Survey, 1979-80* (Islamabad, 1980)  
 144.

Appendix 7

Chinese-aided Projects in Pakistan, 1966-1980

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commissi- oned/inaugur- ated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<b>Roads and Highways (1)</b>					
1. Karakoram Highway <sup>1</sup>	401 miles			became fully operative 18 Jun 1978	all-weather road—eleva- tion from 2,000 to over 15,000 feet
a) Khunjerab (15,800 above sea level) to Halegoush	100 miles (140 km)	—	1966	6 Feb 1971 dec- lared open with the new name of "Friendship High- way."	agreement signed in 1966; in 1968 Chinese offered to construct this portion, which they completed in 2½ years
b) Halegoush to Thakot	about 300 miles <sup>2</sup> (549.3 km)	—	1966	18 Jun 1978	agreement for Chinese assistance signed in Jun 1973; Chinese road builders arrived from Aug 1973 to undertake the survey and designing of the road construction in 1974; the total work force of 24,500 inclu- ded 9,500 Chinese

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commissi- oned/inaugur- ated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<b>Steel Industry (5)</b>					
1. Heavy machinery complex, Taxila	14,500 tons of machinery annually	Rs 460 mn	1968?	completed 25 Nov 1971, trial produc- tion began in Dec 1970	protocols signed 23 Jun 1966 and 28 Aug 1967
	60,000 tons of melted steel				complex consists of a cast-iron foundry, a steel foundry, and a mechanical forge
	5,000 tons of cast iron and steel castings for sugar and cement mills annually				agreement signed 3 Mar 1967 for supply of \$126,000 worth of machinery and equip- ment
					a training school and a workshop inaugurat- ed on 25 Jun 1968
					agreement signed on 26 Jul 1968 for supply of machinery worth \$3.105 mn

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commissi- oned/inaugur- ated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
2. Heavy foundry and forge, Taxila <sup>a</sup>	annual steel melting capacity of 60,000 tonnes to produce about 46,000 tonnes of castings and forgings	total fixed capital cost of the factory is Rs 616.36 mn, with a foreign exchange component of Rs 202.25 mn	end of 1971	23 Feb 1977 trial production	contains six major workshops, including a steel foundry and forgings, and pressing shops
3. Steel mill, Quetta, Chagai district, Baluchistan	2 mn tonnes	Rs270 mn			
4. Steel mill, Khalabat, near Haripura					
5. Small-sized steel mill, Kashmore, Baluchistan				planned/ongoing	
<b>Mining industry (1)</b>					
1. Iron ore project, Chilgazi, Baluchistan	100,000 tons of pig iron annually	Rs 270mn			foreign exchange component of Rs210 mn
<b>Engineering industry (2)</b>					
1. Refractory factory, Hazara	30,000 bricks per month			planned/under construction	protocols signed on 9 Apr 1970 and 2 Dec 1971



<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commissi- oned/inaugur- ated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
2. Magnetic refractory plant, near Haltar				planned/under construction	
<b>Textile mills (2)</b>					
1. Textile mili, Tarbela, Khalabat township	25,000 spin- dles 14 mn pounds of yarn	estimated Rs33mn with a foreign exchange component of Rs20 mn	scheduled for completion in Sep 1980		protocol signed 20 Sep 1973
2. Textile mill, Mirpur, "Azad Kashmir"	25,000 spin- dles 27 mn yards of cloth annually	estimated Rs45 mn	1978		
<b>Fertilizer plant (1)</b>					
1. Chemical fertilizer plant of urea, near Peshawar	75,000 tons of urea annually	estimated Rs170 mn (\$20 mn)			feasibility studies began in Apr 1973; notes exchanged on 10 Aug 1974; agreement sign- ed Oct 1974
<b>Thermal power station (1)</b>					
1. Thermal power station, Quetta, Baluchistan				planned	

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commis- sioned/inaugur- ated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<b>Transmission lines (3)</b>					
1. Tarbela to Burtan	220 kv			4 Nov 1976	
2. Tarbela to Wah	220 kv length 58 km	estimated Rs70 mn		completed	agreement signed on 22 May 1973; half of the cost to be met in foreign exchange under Nov 1970 technical and economic coop- eration agreement
3. Tarbela to Mardan	200 kw			planned	
<b>Educational and scientific establishments (1)</b>					
1. Technical institute in West Pakistan				1968	US \$9 mn of the 1965 loan was used to con- struct this institute as well as one institute in East Pakistan
<b>Miscellaneous</b>					
1. Sugar mill, Naudero, Larkana	18,000 tons of sugar	Rs111 mn	1970-71	14 Mar 1975	protocol signed 28 Apr 1971; machinery to be supplied partly by Heavy Mechanical Complex, Taxila and partly to be imported from China

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commis- sioned/inaugurated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
2. Sugar mill, Larkana		Rs65 mn			protocol signed on 9 Apr 1970; equipment to be produced at Taxila
3. Newsprint mill, Lower Sind		\$55 mn			agreement signed in Oct 1964
4. Cement plant					Chinese have agreed to finance this project
5. Glass sheet factory, Nosira, NWFP					Rs15 mn loan <sup>4</sup>
6. Sports complex and cultural centre, Islamabad		Rs350 mn	Dec 1976		notes exchanged on 10 Aug 1974; agreement signed 9 Oct 1974

#### **Defence projects (7)**

According to a Radio Pakistan report of 19 December 1977, China and Pakistan have launched seven defence projects under a mutual assistance programme signed in 1976. The aid has been attuned to making Pakistan self-sufficient in small arms and ammunition.<sup>5</sup>

China has built a heavy industrial complex, a weapons factory, and a tank and a MiG aircraft overhaul facility in Pakistan. In May 1979 Vice Minister of Machine-building Ministry, Lii Yu-tang, inaugurated a new, defence-related factory, 25 km. north of Islamabad.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Agreement on the reopening of the ancient overland route (Silk Road—Sinkiang-Gilgit link extending 163 miles) was signed 21 Oct 1967. See statement by Indian Minister B.R. Bhagat in Lok Sabha, 13 May 1968 (*China-South Asian Relations*, vol. I, Document 330).

<sup>2</sup>Work was stopped during 1965 war and again in Nov 1971. By 1965, Pakistan Army Engineers had completed 140 out of 155 miles (Thakot to Chilas) of Class 9 single lane road. By Nov 1971, a class 12 shingle road was completed; 100 miles of Halegoush to Khunjerab (done by Chinese) and 220 miles (done by Pakistan Army) out of 300 miles of Thakot Halegoush road (Thakot to Chilas, 155 miles; Chilas to Gilgit, 90 miles and Gilgit to Halegoush 53 miles) had been widened to full specifications. However, the bridges (70 bridges, 7 of them on the main rivers), the protective works and metalling remained to be completed. See Appendix 8 for further details.

<sup>3</sup>During 1977-78, the Taxila Heavy Foundry and Forge produced goods worth Rs62.3 million and during the first half of 1978-79, goods valuing Rs37.4 million. Sales of Taxila Heavy Foundry and Forge products during 1977-78 amounted to Rs 43 mn which rose to Rs46.3 mn during the first half of 1978-79. The unit incurred a loss of Rs5.2 million during the trial production year 1977-78. HFF achieved capacity utilization of 14 per cent during 1977-78 which was the first year of its production. The Taxila forge would act as an important link with Heavy Machinery Complex, Taxila, and would considerably meet Pakistan's requirements of foundry and forge in terms of weight and quality. *Pakistan Economic Survey, 1978-79* (Islamabad, 1979), 68.

<sup>4</sup>Announced on Karachi Radio, 25 May 1976.

<sup>5</sup>*Times of India*, 21 December 1977.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 21 May 1979.

## Appendix 8

**Karakoram Highway (KKH)**

*Editor's note:* This 401-mile long highway, whose elevation varies from 2,000 to over 15,000 feet above sea level, is of great strategic importance because in this area five countries, Afghanistan, China, India, Pakistan, and the Soviet Union meet. As in the case of the Kathmandu-Kodari road linking Tibet region of China with Nepal, China gave top priority to Karakoram Highway. Peking accelerated its assistance to KKH after the Indo-Pak conflict of 1965 and again after the Indo-Pak war of 1971.

- a) **“Karakoram Highway: a dream comes true,”** article by **Maj. Gen. G.S. Butt** in *New Era of Pak-China Friendship* (Islamabad, 1978) (Extracts)

KKH (Karakoram Highway). . .

KKH started as a modest project in 1959. One battalion of Army Engineers was to connect Swat with Chilas with a 155-mile long class 9 road along Indus River. It was called the Indus Valley Road. Chilas to Gilgit, 90 miles, was a jeep track which was given to P.W.D. to widen.

By 1965 War, when the work was stopped and the battalion moved to battlefield, the Army Engineers had completed 140 out of 155 miles of class 9 single lane road and the P.W.D. had widened their share of 90 miles.

After the 1965 War it was decided to extend the road to Pak-China border and to raise the road specification to two-lane heavy traffic. This was to be Karakoram Highway (KKH) or the Silk Route as our journalists prefer to call it.

The Chinese agreed to construct a similar highway on their side, joining ours at Khunjerab Pass and linking it to Tash-Kur-gan, Kashgar and then to Urumchi, which is the capital of Sinkiang and the rail-head on the Chinese side. They also offered material assistance in the form of road construction machinery and bridging equipment.

The two-lane heavy traffic road is 32 feet wide, the pavement which is 20 feet. The ruling gradient is 1 in 20 (5%) and

the class 70 bridges are all 24 feet wide. With these specifications two-lane heavy traffic can move at an average speed of 30 m.p.h.

Subsequent to Pak-China agreement in 1966 the Pakistan Government decided to entrust the project to the Army Engineers.

In November 1971 the work was abandoned and all the units moved out of the project area to take part in war. By then a class 12 shingle road was completed from Thakot to Hallegoush (300 miles) by Pakistan Army and Hallegoush to Khunjerab (100 miles) by the Chinese. 320 miles out of the 400 miles had been widened to full specifications. However, the bridges, the protective works and metalling remained to be completed.

After the war Chinese offered to help in the form of skilled labour force to work side by side with us from Thakot to Khunjerab to complete the remaining works including 70 bridges, 7 of them on the main rivers. The work started in 1974 and the target date for completion of the project was 1978. The total work force was 24,500. This included 9,500 Chinese and 5,000 Pakistanis between Thakot to Hunza, 5,000 Pakistanis between Havelian to Thakot and the rest of the Pakistani force (5,000) were employed on logistic duties—hospitals, workshops, warehouses, transportation fleet, administration personnel and headquarters. . . .

This mammoth project of 500-mile long road has now been completed after 20 years of hard labour through the sweat and blood of Chinese and Pakistanis. Some of the quantities involved are indicative of the magnitude of this undertaking:

Rock blasting and earth work (50-50)—27 million cubic yards

Explosive expended—8,000 tons

Cement—80,000 tons

POL—80,000 tons

Coal—35,000 tons

There was a transport fleet of 1,000 trucks, constantly plying to keep the project going.

Working with the Chinese road builders who have shed

their blood alongwith our men has been a very rewarding experience for our troops. Their selflessness, dedication, pride in their work, thrift and humility has impressed us all. In the engineering field we have learnt the technique of prefabricated concrete arch bridges which is simple, inexpensive and unique. We have also learnt how a developing country, without modern construction machinery, should organise work force to work as fast as the machines without sacrificing the quality of work. We are grateful to them for their help and for being a good example in technical, organisational and human field.

**b) Pakistan Ministry of Information and Broadcasting**  
**pamphlet *New Era of Pak-China Friendship on cooperation***  
**between China and Pakistan in the construction of**  
**Korakoram Highway, 1978**

The project of Karakoram Highway was approved in 1966 in consultation with the Chinese authorities. The project, which was commenced in 1958, was initially known as the "Indus Valley Road." In 1966, the Government of Pakistan entered into an agreement with China and it was planned to have a regular highway extending up to the border. It meant the extension of the road from Gilgit to Khunjerab (on the Chinese-Pakistan border)—a distance of about 63 miles. It was also decided that the Highway would conform to international standards and would be completed in a period of 3 to 5 years.

Since it was a gigantic project, posing innumerable hazards and difficulties, it was decided to construct the road in two phases. In phase I, the road was to be made 14 ft wide and small bridges were to be provided; whereas in phase II, the road was to be widened to full width and the surface was to be metalled. Work was taken in hand in right earnest in August 1967.

In the meanwhile, in 1968, the Chinese offered to construct 140 kilometres of the road from their border which they completed their portion within a period of 2½ years from Khunjerab to Halegoush. On February 16, 1971, the Highway, was declared opened with the new name of "Friendship Highway" to signify the fraternal bonds and goodwill between Pakistan and China. An eight-member delegation led by Chinese Minister of

Communications attended the inauguration ceremony.

The Chinese assistance for construction of further portion of road from Halegoush to Thakot 549.3 kilometres (about 300 miles) continued in accordance with the Agreement signed in June, 1973. The Chinese road builders arrived from August 1973 to undertake the survey and designing of the road construction in June 1974. This has been completed now in June 1978.

The Chinese road builders will now withdraw from the Southern portion to the Northern portion to undertake the construction and repairs of that portion which will take another two years.

The Karakoram Highway, known also as the "Friendship Highway" is the land route, linking Pakistan with China through the Northern Areas of Gilgit and Baltistan. Starting from Swat, it enters Nagar and Hunza States, from where it goes on to China at Khunjerab Top, at an elevation of 15,800 feet above sea level. The area is extremely important as it is here that the four countries, viz. China, USSR, Afghanistan and Pakistan meet. A number of passes, e.g. Kilik, Mintika and Khunjerab provide entry into Pakistan.

The Karakoram Highway commences from Thakot and, after traversing the tribal areas of Indus Kohistan and Chilas, goes on to Gilgit and China. The Highway, which is in all 401 miles long, criss-crosses the Indus River at several points and at least three major bridges have been built over it. The elevation of the road from mean sea level varies from 2,000 feet to 15,000 feet.

The terrain consists almost entirely of jagged mountains and the area is highly glaciated, with at least 8 peaks over 25,000 ft. in height, in Hunza alone. Temperatures vary from 114 F in summer to minus 30 F in winter.

The Karakoram Highway is a lasting symbol of Sino-Pakistan friendship and cooperation. Thousands of Chinese road builders worked in the most hazardous conditions to open this "Friendship Highway". Though one of the most difficult terrains on Earth, many of the Chinese road builders sacrificed their precious lives while engaged on the bonds of friendship between China and Pakistan with their blood.

The Vice-Premier of China, Mr. Keng Piao is arriving in



Islamabad on Friday at the invitation of the Government of Pakistan to lead his country's delegation at the opening of the Karakoram Highway scheduled for June 18, 1978. The visit is highly significant as it is the first at the Vice-Premier level since 1975 when the Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien visited this country. It is hoped that the visit will further strengthen understanding and consolidate mutual cooperation between the two countries.

*Source:*

- a) Pakistan, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, *New Era of Pak-China Friendship* (Islamabad, 1978), 30 and 32-3.
- b) *Ibid.*, 52-3.

*Appendix 9*

**China's Trade with Pakistan, 1948 to 1979-80**  
(in million US dollars)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Exports to Pakistan</i>	<i>Imports from Pakistan</i>
1948	20.8	9.9
1949	28.7	4.2
1950	18.5	7.8
1951	17.0	45.0
1952	2.2	83.8
1953	3.3	77.2
1954	1.6	26.1
1955	0.2	31.7
1956	0.5	15.9
1957	7.8	9.5
1958	10.3	7.6
1959	4.2	0.7
1960	4.0	14.7
1961	3.6	10.0
1962	4.2	1.6
1963	5.9	12.9
1964	16.3	14.8
1965	18.5	43.3
1966	28.3	30.1
1967	29.3	26.4
1968	29.2	25.4
1969	26.4	28.9
1970	27.7	39.2
1971	34.9	30.1
1972	26.8	17.2
1973	48.2	14.0
1974	54.2	11.3
1975	53.5	13.4
1976	62.6	n.a.
1977	54.1	n.a.
<b>(Year ending June—in million dollars)</b>		
1974-75	54.0	15.2
1975-46	55.5	17.7
1976-77	64.0	9.7

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<i>Year</i>	<i>Exports to Pakistan</i>	<i>Imports from Pakistan</i>
1977-78	63.6	37.1
1978-79	99.1	14.4
1979-80 (Jul-Mar)	104.3	112.9

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*Source: Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1977, 729; Pakistan, Finance Division, Economic Adviser's Wing, Pakistan Basic Facts, 1978-79 (Islamabad), 138; Pakistan Economic Survey, 1979-80 (Islamabad, n.d.), 141; 1977-78, 113 and 116.*

Appendix 10

Chinese Arms Supplies to Pakistan

<i>Year</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Comment</i>
<b>Aircraft</b>			
1965	4	MiG-15 UTI	
1966	4	Il-28	
1966	40	F-6 (MiG-19)	
1971	(50)	F-6 (MiG-19)	
1972	50	F-6 (MiG-19)	
1974 (late)	1 squad	Shenyang MiG-19	ordered in 1973 incl. spares; brings total to 120
1976	30	Shenyang F-6	
1977	30	Shenyang F-6	
1978	24	Shenyang F-4	MiG-17 version, to supplement T-33 trainers
<b>Naval vessels</b>			
1971-72	9	Motor gunboat, "Shanghai class"	Displ: 120 full load; 4 may be converted for missile firing in Pakistan
1976	...	Submarine	small number delivered; not known if gift or sale
1976	...	Destroyer	small number delivered; not known if gift or sale
1977	3	Fast patrol boat; "Hainan" class	—

<i>Year</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Comment</i>
1978	5	Patrol boat "Hainan" class	ordered in 1976; 2 delivered in 1976
<b>Armoured fighting vehicles</b>			
1965-66	80	T-59	
1970-71	110	T-59	
1972	100	T-59	
Aug 1974	159	T-59	ordered in 1973
<b>Missiles</b>			
1973	...	SAM-6	new production in China

**Sources:** Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *Arms, Trade Registers: The Arms Trade with the Third World*. (Stockholm, 1975) 37-40; SIPRI, *World Armaments and Disarmament Yearbook*, 1975, 231; 1977, 331; 1978, p. 272; 1980, 230-1; International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 1978-1979* (London, 1978), 107.

Under an agreement reached between China and Pakistan, during President Zia-ul-Haq's visit (2-6 May 1980) to Peking, China has agreed to equip Pakistan's armed forces with ground-to-air missiles, light tanks, M1-4 Hound helicopters and TU-16 and TU-4 medium bombers by August 1980. Pakistan's defence shield will be strengthened with Chinese T-59 medium, T-60 amphibious, and T-92 light tanks. According to intelligence sources, the agreement reached between the two sides after two rounds of highlevel parleys in Peking shortly before President Zia cut short his week-long visit to China—will help Islamabad acquire T-16 bombers besides MiG-21 and F-9 fighters from China in November 1980. China has agreed to equip Pakistan's ground formations with more 120 mm mortars besides 37 mm, 57mm, 85 mm and 160 mm mortars besides 37 mm, 57 mm, 85 mm, and 100 mm, anti-aircraft guns under the new agreement. According to the sources, President Zia fears that the Soviet Union may take advantage of the political instability in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province.

He reportedly supported a Chinese proposal to the effect that foreign expeditions to mounta in peaks overlooking the 534-mile long Karakoram Highway and military installations in Pakistan's northern territory should be banned. Under the Sino-Pak agreement President Zia also favoured development of Chinese combat troops in the sensitive areas of Gilgit.

China is said to have already installed ground-to-air missiles at the few points in the Gilgit region. These installations are manned by Chinese experts. *Tribune* (Chandigarh), 14 May 1980.

*Appendix 11*

**Major Weapons Manufactured in Pakistan under License from China**

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Power plant</i>	<i>Armament</i>	<i>Year of license</i>	<i>Year in production</i>	<i>Production rate</i>	<i>Status of programme, other information</i>	<i>Number planned/produced</i>	<i>Unit price \$m.n</i>
...	SAM system	—	—	(1975)	—	—		../-	..
	ATM			1978					
	LT			1978					

*Source: SIPRI, World Armaments and Disarmament Yearbook, 1978 (London, 1978), 219; SIPRI, World Armaments and Disarmament Yearbook, 1980 (London, 1980), 172.*

.. Information not available

— Nil

( ) uncertain data

*Appendix 12***Exchange of Visits between China and Bangladesh,  
1972-1980**

(Note: C stands for Cultural, E for Economic,  
M for Military, and P for Political)

- |  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| 1 All members of the Chinese Consulate-General and Chinese engineers and technicians leave Dacca                               | 24 Jan 1972 E       |
| 2 A. R. Mallik, Finance Minister, meets Vice-Premier Chen Hsi-lien in Kathmandu on occasion of the coronation of King Birendra | Feb 1975 E          |
| 3 10-member trade delegation led by Idris, Chairman of the Chittagong Chamber of Commerce, attends Canton Trade Fair           | May 1975 E          |
| 4 M.K. Kaiser, Ambassador to Burma and North Korea, makes a three-day stop-over in Peking on way back from Pyongyang           | May 1975 P          |
| 5 Four-member delegation of private businessmen in China to attend Canton Fair   | Nov 1975 E          |
| 6 Trade delegation led by Matiur Rahman in China to attend Canton Trade Fair   | May 1976 E          |
| 7 5-member goodwill delegation led by Mirza Ghulam Shafi, President of the Bangladesh-China Friendship Society, in China       | May-Jun 1976 C      |
| 8 Rural development study delegation led by A.K.M. Ahsan, Member of the Planning Commission, in China                          | Jun-Jul 1976 E      |
| 9 4-member journalists delegation in China   | Jun-Jul 1975 C      |
| 10 3-member trade delegation led by Hsi Yeh-sheng, Departmental Director in the Foreign Ministry, in Bangladesh                | 25-30 Nov 1976 E    |
| 11 President Ziaur Rahman in China   | 2-6 Jan 1977 P      |
| 12 Journalist delegation led by Fan Fa-yun in Bangladesh   | 24 Jan-1 Feb 1977 C |



- |    |   |                |   |
|----|---|----------------|---|
| 13 | Youth table tennis delegation in Bangladesh   | 8-10 Feb 1977  | C |
| 14 | 4-member trade delegation led by Liu Yen in Bangladesh  | Mar 1977       | E |
| 15 | 7-member trade delegation in China  | Jun 1977       | E |
| 16 | Trade delegation led by S.B. Choudhury in China   | 6-10 Jul 1977  | E |
| 17 | 60-member cultural delegation led by S.H. Chowdhury in China  | Jul 1977       | C |
| 18 | 5-member trade delegation specializing in machinery in China  | Jul 1977       | E |
| 19 | A delegation of the Bangladesh Union Parishad led by Hedayet Ahmed, Director General of the Ministry of Rural Development, in China   | Oct 1977       | E |
| 20 | Nitrogenous fertilizers study group in Bangladesh   | Oct-Dec 1977   | E |
| 21 | Mohammad Toha, leading member of Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), in China   | Nov 1977       | P |
| 22 | Trade delegation led by Foreign Trade Vice-Minister Cheng To-ping in Bangladesh   | Jan 1978       | E |
| 23 | Goodwill delegation led by Wang Pingnan, President, Chinese Peoples' Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, in Bangladesh | 1-7 Mar 1978   | P |
| 24 | Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien in Bangladesh  | 18-21 Apr 1978 | P |
| 25 | 4-member trade delegation in Bangladesh   | Aug 1978       | E |
| 26 | Shipping delegation in China  | Nov 1978       | E |
| 27 | Foreign Trade Ministry Li Chiang in Bangladesh  | Nov 1978       | E |
| 28 | Scientific and technical delegation led by Planning Ministry Secretary, A.M.A. Muhith, in China                                       | Dec 1978       | E |
| 29 | Vice Foreign Trade Minister Wang Junsheng in Bangladesh   | Dec 1978       | E |
| 30 | A friendship delegation led by Land Reforms Minister Mirza Ghulam Hafiz in  |                |   |

- |    |   |                      |   |
|----|---|----------------------|---|
|    | China   | 29 Dec 1978-Jan 1979 | P |
| 31 | Chinese economic and trade exhibition in Dacca (for 20 days)  | Jan-4 Feb 1979       | E |
| 32 | Military delegation in Bangladesh   | Mar 1979             | M |
| 33 | 9-member delegation led by Shi Lin, Vice Minister for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, in Bangladesh            | 23-30 Mar 1979       | E |
| 34 | Minister of Commerce Saifur Rahman in China as special envoy of President Ziaur Rahman                                    | May 1979             | P |
| 35 | Minister of Commerce Saifur Rahman in China on a 5-day visit  | Jul 1979             | E |
| 36 | A 13-member youth delegation in China   | Jul 1979             | C |
| 37 | A 5-member Chinese delegation led by Mrs. Qiao in Bangladesh  | Jul-Aug 1979         | C |
| 38 | Parliamentary delegation led by Speaker Mirza Golam Hafiz in China  | Aug 1979             | P |
| 39 | A 5-member youth delegation led by Liu Weiming, Vice President of the All-China Youth Federation in Bangladesh            | 27 Jan-9 Feb 1980    | C |
| 40 | Khwaja Mohammad Kaiser, Permanent Representative of Bangladesh, in China  | Feb 1980             | P |
| 41 | A 5-member trade delegation led by Vice Minister for Foreign Trade, Wang Rungshang in Bangladesh                          | 28 Feb-6 Mar 1980    | E |
| 42 | A 5-member shipping delegation led by Vice Minister for Communications in Bangladesh                                      | Mar 1980             | E |
| 43 | A 46-member Chinese acrobatic team in Bangladesh  | Mar 1980             | C |
| 44 | A 6-member Bangladesh goodwill press delegation led by Shamsur Rahman in China  | Apr 1980             | C |
| 45 | A 6-member delegation of Samyavadi Dal of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) led by Party Chief, Mohammed Toha, M.P., in China | May 1980             | P |
| 46 | A 3-member trade delegation of the Bangladesh Chamber of Commerce and Industry in China to attend the export              |                      |   |



*Appendix 13***Agreements Signed between China and Bangladesh, 1974-1980**

- |    |  |             |
|----|--|-------------|
| 1  | China provides \$1 million flood-relief goods, including 5,000 tons of wheat, 1,600 bundles of blankets, and over 600 bundles of knitwear  | Oct 1974    |
| 2  | Agreement for the purchase of £10,000 worth of jute by China   | May 1975    |
| 3  | Agreement for the purchase of 4,000 tonnes of raw jute worth Taka 20 million from Bangladesh   | Aug 1975    |
| 4  | Agreement to establish diplomatic relations  | 4 Oct 1975  |
| 5  | Contract for the purchase of 10,000 tons of cement by Bangladesh   | Dec 1975    |
| 6  | Contract for Chinese purchase of 10,000 tons of jute and 300 tons of cloth   | May 1976    |
| 7  | Barter trade protocol for 1977 providing for £14 mn exchange of goods either way   | Jan 1977    |
| 8  | Economic and technical cooperation agreement   | 4 Jan 1977  |
| 9  | Trade and payments agreement   | 4 Jan 1977  |
| 10 | Contract for purchase of 30,000 bales of raw jute by China   | 10 Mar 1977 |
| 11 | Agreement for purchase of 4,000 bales of jute goods by China   | 16 Mar 1977 |
| 12 | Trade agreement for 1978 envisaging exchange of \$20 million in each direction   | 23 Jan 1978 |
| 13 | 5-year agreement on scientific and technical cooperation   | 21 Mar 1978 |
| 14 | Agreement on US \$59 million Chinese interest-free loan to Bangladesh for setting up a 190-ton daily capacity fertilizer project and a water conservancy project for irrigating 2,000 hectares of land | 21 Mar 1978 |
| 15 | NCNA-Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha agreement on exchange of news   | 28 Apr 1978 |
| 16 | Maritime transport agreement   | 29 Nov 1978 |

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 17 Trade protocol for 1979 envisaging exchange of goods worth \$50 million   | 10 Dec 1978 |
| 18 Scientific and technical cooperation protocol   | 19 Mar 1979 |
| 19 Five-year "long-term" trade agreement providing for exchange of goods worth about \$250 million each way  | 1 Mar 1980  |
| 20 Fourth barter protocol for 1980   | 1 Mar 1980  |
| 21 Trade protocol for 1981 for exchanges each way of \$31 million  | Mar 1980    |
| 22 Protocol on scientific and technical cooperation for 1980, includes programmes on irrigation, fisheries, vegetable production, utilisation of natural-gas, and horticulture development | 24 Jun 1980 |
| 23 Civil aviation agreement  | 24 Jul 1980 |
| 24 Loan agreement for a 50 million yuan (\$43.85 million) credit free of interest, repayable in 30-years, including a 10-year grace period   | 24 Jul 1980 |

*Appendix 14***Chinese Loans to Bangladesh**

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<i>Date of Agreement</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Purpose/comments</i>
21 Mar 1978	US \$59 mn	interest free; setting up a 190-ton daily capacity fertilizer project and a water conservancy project for irrigation of 2,000 hectares of land
24 Jul 1980	50 mn yuan (\$43.85 mn)	interest-free; to be repaid over a 30-year period, including a 10-year grace period

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*Appendix 15*

**Chinese-aided Projects in Bangladesh**

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commis- sioned in- augurated</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<b>a) in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), 1965-1971</b>					
1. Ordnance factory, Gazipur			Apr 1970		
2. Paper mill, Chittagong	45,000 tons of cellulose processed to yield 15,000 tons of paper annually	1966	1968		
3. Technical institute			1968		US \$9 mn of 1965 loan to Pakistan was used to construct this institute, as also another institute in West Pakistan
4. Fertilizer plant	100,000 tons annually				protocol signed on 9 Apr 1970
<b>b) Bangladesh, 1972-1980</b>					
1. Machine tools factory, Joydepur					
2. Water conservancy project					for irrigation of 2,000 hectares of land

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commis- sioned inau- gurated</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
3. Fertilizer factory, Ghorasal	110,000 tonnes of urea and 60,000 tonnes of synthetic ammonia annually, using natural gas as raw material		Takas	1.80 billion	China to provide the foreign exch- ange component, technical know- how, plant machi- nery, and super- visory service



## Appendix 16

## China's Trade with Bangladesh, 1973-74 to 1978-79

<i>Year</i>	<i>Imports from Bangladesh</i>	<i>Exports to Bangladesh</i>
<b>former East Pakistan (in million rupees)</b>		
1967-68	63.5	86.2
1968-69	41.8	107.0
1969-70	103.0	44.2
<b>Bangladesh (in million taka)</b>		
1973-74	6.0	10.3
1974-75	0.6	96.8
1975-76	64.1	125.1
1976-77	108.7	302.8
1977-78	273.5	404.3
1978-79	439.7	1021.3

*Source:* Bangladesh, Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Digest of Bangladesh*, no. 7, 1970-71 (Dacca), 182-3; Bangladesh, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, Ministry of Planning, vol. 9, no. 6, *Monthly Statistical Bulletin of Bangladesh* (Dacca, June 1980), 273 and 277; and *Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh, 1978*, 200 and 203.

## Appendix 17

## Chinese Arms Supplies to Bangladesh

<i>Year</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Comments</i>
1977	50	Shenyang F-6	ordered in 1967; 14 delivered in 1977; 36 ordered in 1978; 24 delivered in 1979; pilots training in China

*Source:* SIPRI, *World Armaments and Disarmament Yearbook, 1979* (London, 1979) 207-8 and 1980 (London, 1980), 139.

*Appendix 18***Exchange of Visits between China and Nepal, 1955-1980**

(Note: C stands for Cultural, E for Economic  
M for Military, and P for Political)

- 1 Goodwill mission in Nepal Dec 1946 C
- 2 A 3-member delegation led by Gen. Yuan Chung-hsien, Chinese Ambassador to India in Nepal, to negotiate establishment of diplomatic relations Jul-Aug 1955 P
- 3 A five-member delegation led by Ulanfu, Vice Chairman of the State Council, in Nepal to attend coronation ceremony of King Mahendra Apr-May 1956 P
- 4 A cultural delegation led by Minister of Education Bal Chandra Sharma in China 10-20 July 1956 C
- 5 A five-member delegation led by Pan Tzu-li in Nepal 19 Aug-10 Sep 1956 P
- 6 King Mahendra in China Sep 1956 P
- 7 A goodwill student delegation led by Bharat Raj Joshi, Chariman of the Students Federation, in China Sep-Oct 1956 C
- 8 Prime Minister Tanaka Prasad Acharya in China 25 Sep-7 Oct 1956 P
- 9 A goodwill delegation led by Lok Darshan, Principal Private Secretary to King Mahendra, in China Dec 1956 P
- 10 Prime Minister Chou En-lai in Nepal 25-29 Jun 1957 C
- 11 A cultural delegation led by Chu To-nan in Nepal 13-17 Jun 1957 C
- 12 A 6-member Buddhist delegation led by Bhiku Amritanand in China Jul 1959 C
- 13 Village Development Minister Tulsi Giri in China to attend 10th anniversary celebrations Oct 1959 P
- 14 Communist Party delegation led by Dr. K.J. Raimajhi in China to attend 10th

- anniversary celebrations Oct 1959 P
- 15 A delegation of Nepal-China Friendship Association led by Puran Bahadur, in China to attend 10th anniversary celebrations Oct 1959 P
- 16 A 5-member journalist delegation led by Pashupati Deva Pande in China Mar 1960 C
- 17 Prime Minister B.P. Koirala in China 11-21 Mar 1960 P
- 18 Premier Chou En-lai Nepal 26-28 Apr 1960 P
- 19 A 5-member youth and students delegation in China Jun-Jul 1960 C
- 20 Boundary delegation in Nepal 12 Aug-26 Oct 1960 P
- 21 A cultural delegation in Nepal Sep 1960 C
- 22 A 9-member boundary delegation led by Padma Bahadur Khatri in China Jan-Feb 1961 P
- 23 A 8-member economic delegation led by Mang Ming Chen in Nepal to negotiate the terms of the utilisation of Chinese economic assistance to Nepal May 1961 E
- 24 Boundary delegation in Nepal 25 Jul-24 Aug 1961 P
- 25 Economic delegation in Nepal Sep 1961 E
- 26 King Mahendra in China 26 Sep-19 Oct 1961 P
- 27 10-member table tennis team in Nepal Oct-Nov 1961 C
- 28 Leather tanning experts in Nepal Apr 1962 E
- 29 Civil aviation delegation in Nepal May 1962 E
- 30 Boundary delegation in Nepal Apr-Jun 1962 P
- 31 Cultural delegation led by K.P. Bhandari in China Sep-Oct 1962 C
- 32 A 3-member goodwill delegation led by the General Editor of *People's Daily* in Nepal Oct 1962 C
- 33 A 3-member delegation of Sino-Nepalese Friendship Association led by Wu Han in Nepal Oct 1962 P
- 34 A 3-member delegation of Nepal-China Friendship Association led by Prem Bahadur Kansakar in China Nov 1962 P
- 35 Goodwill mission of Rishikesh Shaha, Special Representative of the King, in China 23 Nov-Dec 1962 P

- 36 Foreign Minister Tulsi Giri and Defence and Foreign Secretary Padma Khatri in China 19-24 Jan 1963 P
- 37 A 3-member journalist delegation led by Narayan Prasad Baskot in China May 1963 C
- 38 Cheng Hsiao-hsun, Editor-in-Chief of People's Literary Publishing House of China, in Nepal to attend a literary conference in Kathmandu Jun 1963 C
- 39 Panchayat delegation led by Vishwa Bandhu Thapa, Chairman of the Nepalese National Panchayat in China Oct-Nov 1963 P
- 40 A 12-member economic delegation in Nepal Dec 1963 C
- 41 A 4-member cultural delegation led by Hu Yu-chih, Deputy Minister of Cultural Affairs, in Nepal Feb 1964 C
- 42 An economic delegation led by Vice Minister of Transport Koshen in Nepal Apr 1964 E
- 43 A youth delegation led by Nabraj Subedi in China May-Jun 1964 C
- 44 Chinese experts in Nepal to draw up blueprints and plans for setting up a brick and tile factory and some warehouses Jun 1964 E
- 45 A 2-member Buddhist delegation in China Jun 1964 C
- 46 A 7-member scientists delegation led by Prof Samba Deva Pande in China to attend a scientific conference in Peking Aug 1964 C
- 47 Educationists' delegation led by Kesari Raj Pande in China Aug-Sep 1964 C
- 48 A goodwill delegation led by Lalit Chand in China Sep 1964 P
- 49 Surya Bahadur Thapa, Vice Chairman of Council of Ministers, in China 28 Sep-5 Oct 1964 P
- 50 Friendship delegation led by Bhubanlal Pradhan, Minister of Power and Irrigation, in China Jan 1965 P
- 51 Vice Premier Chen Yi in Nepal 30 Mar-3 Apr 1965 P
- 52 A 50-member cultural troupe in Nepal Apr 1965 C
- 53 A goodwill delegation led by K.M. Singh

- Basnyat in China      Aug-Sep 1965 P
- 54 Vice Chairman Kirti Nidhi Bista in China  
24 Aug-7 Sep 1965 P
- 55 Cultural delegation led by Janadan Sama  
in China      Sep 1965 C
- 56 Vice Chairman of Council of Ministers  
Surya Bahadur Thapa in China      28 Sep-15 Oct 1965 P
- 57 A 4-member broadcasting delegation led  
by Prakash Man Singh, Director of Radio  
Nepal, in China      Nov 1965 C
- 58 Minister of Industry and Commerce  
Nagendra Prasad Rijal in China      Apr-May 1966 E
- 59 A 7-member writers delegation led by Yen  
Wen-ching in Nepal      May 1966 C
- 60 A goodwill delegation led by Deputy Prime  
Minister K.N. Bista in China      23 May-1 Jun 1966 P
- 61 A 10-member youth and sports delegation  
in Nepal      Jun 1966 C
- 62 Crown Prince Birendra Bikram Shah Dev  
in Nepal      25 Jun-13 Jul 1966 P
- 63 A 5-member friendship delegation led by  
Yang Tung-sheng in Nepal      Jun-Jul 1966 P
- 64 A delegation of Nepal-China Friendship  
Association led by Ganeshman Shreshtha  
in China      Oct 1966 P
- 65 An economic delegation led by Lin Hai-  
yun in Nepal to attend opening ceremony  
of Kathmandu-Kodari road and to sign  
Sunkosi project agreement      May 1967 E
- 66 Foreign and Deputy Prime Minister K.N.  
Bista in China      23 May-1 Jun 1968 P
- 67 Transport and Communications Minister  
Rudra Prasad Giri in China to participate  
in 20th anniversary of People's Republic  
of China      Sep-Oct 1969 P
- 68 Chinese Ministerial delegation in China      Nov 1969 P
- 69 China's Special Envoy Kuo Mo-jo in Nepal  
to attend marriage of Crown Prince      26-28 Feb 1970 P
- 70 Kuo Mo-jo, Vice Chairman Standing  
Committee of National People's Congress,

- in Nepal as leader of goodwill delegation 1-9 Mar 1970 P
- 71 Table tennis team led by Chao Hsi-wu in Nepal Jun 1970 C
- 72 A 3-member Nepalese economic delegation visits Canton Trade Fair Oct 1970 E
- 73 National Panchayat delegation led by Chairman Ram Hari Sharma in China Mar 1971 P
- 74 A 2-member medical delegation led by Ke Shu-shan in Nepal to attend Nepalese Medical Conference Mar 1971 C
- 75 Princess Sharda Shah and Kumar Khadga Bikram Shah as leader of National Sports Council delegation visit China 19 May-Jun 1971 C
- 76 Table tennis team in China Oct-Nov 1971 C
- 77 Former Premier Tanaka Prasad Acharya in China Nov 1971 P
- 78 Table tennis delegation in China Apr 1972 C
- 79 Medical delegation in China May 1972 C
- 80 National Sports Council delegation in China Sep 1972 C
- 81 Badminton delegation in Nepal Oct 1972 C
- 82 Football team in China Oct 1972 C
- 83 Nepal-China Friendship Society delegation in China Nov 1972 P
- 84 Delegation led by Chang Pin, Minister of Water and Conservancy, in Nepal to attend inauguration of Sunkosi hydel project Nov 1972 E
- 85 Prime Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista in China 15-28 Nov 1972 P
- 86 Nepalese State Council delegation led by Ranganath Sharma in China 30 Jan-6 Feb 1973 P
- 87 Technicians to survey road connecting Pokhara with the Far Western Development Region in Nepal May 1973 E
- 88 Badminton team in China Jul 1973 C
- 89 A 7-member technical team to study establishment of proposed textile mill in Nepal Jul 1973 E
- 90 Princess Shobha Shah and Kumar Mohan

- Bahadur Shah in China 13-29 Jul 1973 P
- 91 Foreign Minister and Minister of Finance  
Gyanendra Bahadur Karki in China 18-20 Sep 1973 P
- 92 Trade delegation in China Nov 1973 E
- 93 King Birendra in China 7-14 Dec 1973 P
- 94 Sports delegation in Nepal Feb 1974 C
- 95 Trade delegation in Tibet Mar 1974 E
- 96 Youth delegation in China Apr 1974 C
- 97 Economic delegation in China Apr 1974 E
- 98 Trade delegation led by Minister for  
Foreign Trade Chen Chien in Nepal May-Jun 1974 E
- 99 Krishna Raj Aryal, Minister of Health  
and Education, in Nepal 3-18 Sep 1974 C
- 100 Cultural delegation in China Oct 1974 C
- 101 Economic delegation in Nepal Jan-Feb 1975 E
- 102 Economic delegation led by Vice Minister  
of Communications Tao Chi in Nepal  
27 Jan-8 Feb 1975 E
- 103 A 6-member delegation led by Vice  
Premier Chen Hsi-lien in Nepal to attend  
coronation of King Birendra Feb 1975 P
- 104 Medical delegation in Nepal 31 Mar-14 Apr 1975 C
- 105 Nepal-China Cultural Association delega-  
tion in China Apr-May 1975 C
- 106 Table tennis team in China Jul-Aug 1975 C
- 107 Medical delegation in China Sep 1975 C
- 108 Economic delegation in China Oct 1975 E
- 109 Princes Gyanendra and Dhirendra, the  
two younger brothers of King Birendra,  
and their wives and Foreign Minister  
Krishna Raj Aryal in China 23-30 Oct 1975 P
- 110 Youth badminton team in Nepal 21 Oct-1 Nov 1975 C
- 111 Field Marshal Nir Shumsher in China  
27 May-5 Jun 1976 M
- 112 King Birendra visits Szechwan and Tibet 2-9 Jun 1976 P
- 113 Economic delegation in China Jul 1976 E
- 114 A 12-member banking delegation in China  
Jul-Aug 1976 E
- 115 A 7-member press delegation in China Mar 1977 C
- 116 A National State Planning Commission

- delegation led by its Chairman, B.P. Shrestha, in China Mar-Apr 1977 **E**
- 117 Farm irrigation and water conservancy delegation led by B.B. Khadka in China Apr 1977 **E**
- 118 General Arjun Shjun Shamsheer J.B. Rana, Honorary ADC to King, in China Apr-May 1977 **P**
- 119 A team of four Chinese experts in Nepal to train workers and assist Nepalese experts of the Bansbari leather and shoe factory built with Chinese assistance Jun 1977 **E**
- 120 A Nepalese volleyball team in China Jun-Jul 1977 **C**
- 121 A delegation of Nepal-China Cultural Association in China Sep-Oct 1977 **C**
- 122 A delegation of People's Bank of China in Nepal 15-26 Nov 1977 **E**
- 123 Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping in Nepal 3-6 Feb 1978 **P**
- 124 National Panchayat delegation led by G.P. Singh, Water Resources Committee Chairman of the Nepalese National Panchayat, in China Mar-Apr 1978 **P**
- 125 King of Nepal in China on his way to Japan 14-15 May 1978 **P**
- 126 Boundary delegation in Nepal to attend Joint Boundary Inspection Committee session May 1978 **P**
- 127 A 10-member industrial survey team led by Yu Win Nan in Nepal May-Jun 1978 **E**
- 128 5-member Nepalese trade delegation led by D.R. Koirala, Secretary in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce in China 19 May-3 Jun 1978 **E**
- 129 King Birendra in China 2-8 Jun 1978 **P**
- 130 Two Nepali Princes and their wives in China en route to North Korea Jul 1978 **P**
- 131 Nepal delegation led by Bishwa Pradhan, Joint Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, in China to attend Joint Boundary Inspection Commission meeting Aug-Sep 1978 **P**
- 132 Civil aviation delegation in China Aug-Sep 1978 **E**
- 133 11-member goodwill delegation led by Tien Pao, Vice Chairman of the Tibetan



- Revolutionary Council, in Nepal      Sep 1978 P
- 134 Premier Kirti Nidhi Bista in China      27-29 Sep 1978 P
- 135 11-member boundary delegation of Foreign  
Ministry officials, cartographers, and legal  
experts led by Tsao Sheng-kung, a deputy  
director in the Foreign Ministry, in Nepal  
to attend Joint Boundary Inspection  
Committee session      Feb-5 Mar 1979 P
- 136 Royal Nepal Academy delegation in  
China      Mar 1979 C
- 137 A delegation of China National Native  
Produce and Animal Byproducts Export  
and Import Corporation in Nepal      Mar-Apr 1979 E
- 138 Trade delegation in China      Mar-Apr 1979 E
- 139 A 6-member delegation of China's Light  
Industrial Products Import and Export  
Corporation led by Ziu Quil in Nepal      Apr 1979 E
- 140 A 8-member delegation in Nepal to select  
a site in Lumbini district of Western  
Nepal for a paper mill      Apr 1979 E
- 141 Trade delegation in Nepal      Apr 1979 E
- 142 Tourist delegation in Nepal      Apr 1979 C
- 143 Mountaineering delegation in Nepal      Apr 1979 C
- 144 King Birendra in China      26-28 Aug 1979 P
- 145 Foreign Ministry Special Secretary B.  
Pradhan in China to attend final session  
of Sino-Nepalese Boundary Commission      Sep 1979 P
- 146 Nepalese delegation led by Mohan Lal  
Singh, General Manager of National  
Trading Ltd., in China to attend Canton  
Trade Fair      Oct 1979 E
- 147 A 5-member team of Chinese officials of  
the Directorate of Economic Relations  
with Foreign Countries led by its Deputy  
Director, Li Pu Siao, in Nepal      Oct-Nov 1979 E
- 148 Foreign Minister Huang Hua in Nepal      20-24 Nov 1979 P
- 149 Vice Minister of Education Hueng Xingbai  
in Nepal      29 Nov-15 Dec 1979 C
- 150 A 4-member journalists delegation in  
China      Mar 1980 C

- 151 A 9-member goodwill delegation from Tibet in Nepal 5-14 Apr 1980 P
- 152 A 5-member delegation of Royal Nepal Airlines Corporation in China to study feasibility of operating trans-Himalayan flights May 1980 E
- 153 A delegation of Nepal Federation of Chambers of Commerce in China 12-16 May 1980 E
- 154 A 3-member Nepalese delegation led by Assistant Education Minister in China Jun 1980 C
- 155 A 5-member delegation led by Marketing Director of Royal Nepal Airlines Corporation in China Jun 1980 E
- 156 Foreign Secretary Jagdish Rana in China 3-6 Sep 1980 P
- 157 A 5-member Tibetan trade delegation led by Vice Chairman of the Tibetan Autonomous Region and Director of the Foreign Trade Bureau, Pu Quin, in Nepal 1-15 Sep 1980 E
- 158 Former Prime Minister K. N. Bista in China Oct 1980 P

## Appendix 19

**Agreements Signed between China and Nepal, 1955-1980**

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 1 Agreement on establishment of diplomatic relations signed in New Delhi  | 1 Aug 1955  |
| 2 Agreement on friendly relations and trade and intercourse   | 20 Sep 1956 |
| 3 Agreement on economic aid providing for Chinese donation of US \$12.7 mn  | 7 Oct 1956  |
| 4 Agreement on economic aid providing for Chinese donation of US \$21.2 mn  | 21 Mar 1960 |
| 5 Boundary agreement  | 21 Mar 1960 |
| 6 Treaty of Peace and Friendship  | 28 Apr 1960 |
| 7 Protocol to the agreement on economic aid of 21 March 1960  | 5 Sep 1961  |
| 8 Boundary treaty   | 5 Oct 1961  |
| 9 Agreement on construction of Kodari-Kathmandu road providing for Chinese donation of £3.5 mn (US\$9.8 mn)   | 15 Oct 1961 |
| 10 Protocol on Chinese donation of 200,000 yuan for Biratnagar fire victims   | Apr 1962    |
| 11 Exchange of notes on the choice of nationality, trans-frontier cultivation of lands and and trans-frontier pasturing by the inhabitants of certain border areas                                      | 14 Aug 1962 |
| 12 Protocol for the construction of the Kathmandu-Lhasa Highway   | 13 Jan 1963 |
| 13 Boundary protocol  | 20 Jan 1963 |
| 14 Supplementary protocol to agreement on economic aid of Mar 1960 and to protocol of September 1961 for construction of Dhalkewar-Ithari road, a brick factory at Kathmandu and a warehouse at Birganj | 27 Apr 1964 |
| 15 Trade agreement  | 19 May 1964 |
| 16 Protocol on construction of a hydroelectric station  | 25 May 1964 |
| 17 Protocol on construction of irrigation projects  | 4 Oct 1964  |
| 18 Cultural agreement   | 11 Oct 1964 |

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 19 Agreement on construction of a barrage as part of Kamal irrigation project   | Nov 1964    |
| 20 Provisional agreement on direct postal exchange  | 21 Jan 1965 |
| 21 Protocol on construction of Kathmandu-Pokhara road   | Aug 1965    |
| 22 Cultural agreement   | 3 Sep 1965  |
| 23 Agreement on trade, intercourse, and related questions between Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal  | 2 May 1966  |
| 24 Supplementary agreement on maintenance of Kathmandu-Kodari road  | 30 Jun 1966 |
| 25 Exchange of documents on conversion of 1956 and 1960 Chinese loans of Ind. Rs. 160 mn to £12 mn.   | 18 Oct 1966 |
| 26 Agreement on economic and technical cooperation providing for Chinese interest-free loan of US \$20 mn for the period 21 Dec 1966 to 31 Dec 1977 | 21 Dec 1966 |
| 27 Contract on Chinese donation of 20,000 tonnes of rice  | 14 Mar 1967 |
| 28 Protocol on construction of Sunkosi hydroelectric station  | 25 May 1967 |
| 29 Protocol on prolongation of 1960 economic aid agreement until 1975   | 26 Mar 1968 |
| 30 Trade agreement  | 28 May 1968 |
| 31 Agreement between NCNA and National News Agency of Nepal on exchange of news   | 13 Jun 1968 |
| 32 Protocol on construction of Kathmandu-Bhaktapur road   | 27 Sep 1968 |
| 33 Red Cross Society of China gifts 1 million doses each of smallpox and tuberculosis vaccines to Red Cross Society of Nepal                        | 13 Sep 1969 |
| 34 Protocol on long distance transmission line from Sunkosi hydroelectric station to Chantara and to Brahbise                                       | 24 Dec 1970 |
| 35 Protocol on repair and maintenance of Kathmandu-Kodari Road  | 3 Mar 1971  |
| 36 Exchange of letters on Chinese assistance  |             |

- for construction of bitumen infiltration pavement for Kathmandu-Pokhara Highway and cotton planting survey in Nepal 16 Jul 1971
- 37 Trade agreement Oct 1971
- 38 Exchange of letters on survey of mineral deposits in Nepal 27 Oct 1971
- 39 Letters of economic cooperation exchanged for Chinese surveys for the construction of a weekly bus project along the Kathmandu-Bhaktapur Highway and for the expansion of the Kathmandu brick and tile factory 14 Mar 1972
- 40 Agreement for import of Rs. 17.5 million worth of goods from China by Nepal in the next six months Apr 1972
- 41 Contract for import of Rs 11 million worth of goods from China by Nepal (Rs 6.5 million to be imported in the form of commodity aid and the rest on payment of foreign exchange) Oct 1972
- 42 Agreement on economic and technical cooperation under which China agreed to provide a Rs 300 million loan for the construction of Narayanghat Gorkha Road, installation of a trolley bus service between Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, a textile mill, and expansion of brick and tile factory 18 Nov 1972
- 43 Exchange of letters on technical assistance providing for 25 Chinese technicians to work at Sunkosi hydroelectric station 26 Feb 1973
- 44 Protocol on economic and technical cooperation on construction of 30 km. ringroad in Kathmandu 20 Mar 1973
- 45 Protocol on economic and technical cooperation on construction of Kathmandu-Makwanpur trolley bus service 28 Mar 1973
- 46 Trade and payments agreement May 1974
- 47 Agreement for Chinese construction of the 407-km Pokhara-Surkhet road, western

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Nepal (est. cost Rs 800-900 million)   | 2 Feb 1975  |
| 48 Exchange of letters on a further 10-year extension of the China-Nepal agreement on trade, intercourse, and related questions between Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal | 30 Apr 1976 |
| 49 Agreement for free grant of about \$4 million for construction of a small dam across the Seti river near Pokhara, western Nepal   | 8 Jul 1976  |
| 50 Parcel post surface mail begins between Nepal and China   | 15 Sep 1976 |
| 51 Agreement on inspection, repair, and reconstruction of damaged boundary markers and for drawing up a fresh boundary map on a larger scale                                       | 28 May 1978 |
| 52 Civil air transport agreement linking Shanghai and Kathmandu by air   | 31 Aug 1978 |
| 53 Agreement for the setting up of sugar and paper plants in Nepal for which feasibility studies have been completed   | 1 Oct 1978  |
| 54 Exchange of notes regarding boundary demarcation  | 1 Mar 1979  |
| 55 Contract for purchase of over \$4.5 million (NR 48.4 mn) worth of timber, tobacco, medicinal herbs, and leather in 1979   | 28 Apr 1979 |
| 56 Border protocol   | 20 Nov 1979 |
| 57 Agreement to supply 500 M/tons of sugar on loan to Nepal from Tibet to meet the current shortage of sugar during Nepal's festival season  | Oct 1980    |

Appendix 20

Chinese Loans to Nepal, 1956-1977

<i>Date of agreement</i>	<i>Amount of loan in million rupees</i>	<i>Amount of loan in million US dollars</i>	<i>Nature/terms of payment</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
7 Oct 1956	€0	12.7	one third as financial aid to be paid in two instalments in 1957 and 1958, two thirds in goods; donation, only partially utilized	
21 Mar 1960	100	21.2	donation	
5 Sep 1961	..	5.4	\$2.1 mn in cash and \$3.3 mn. in commodities	to pay local costs of Chinese aid
15 Oct 1961	..	9.8	donation	for construction of Lhasa-Kathmandu road to be completed by 1966
21 Dec 1966	150 <sup>1</sup>	20.0	interest-free; payable between Dec 1966 and Dec 1977	
1971	..	6.5	annual aid contribution	
18 Nov 1972	300 <sup>1</sup>	35.0 <sup>2</sup>		Rs 300 million economic and technical cooperation agreement covering five projects, including an electric trolley bus system and Narayangarh-Gorkha highway

Date of agreement	Amount of loan in million rupees	Amount of loan in million US dollars	Nature/terms of payment	Purpose
8 Jul 1976	..	4.0	donation	for construction of small dam across Seti river, near Pokhara, western Nepal

## Notes:

<sup>1</sup>in Nepali rupees

<sup>2</sup>estimate



## Appendix 21

**Chinese Economic Aid to Nepal, 1951-52 to 1979-80**  
**(as compared with Indian, Soviet, and US aid)**  
 (in million Nepali rupees)

<i>Year</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Soviet Union</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
1951-52 to						
1955-56	—	70.018	—	24.951	—	94.969
1956-57	—	14.570	—	12.753	—	27.323
1957-58	—	9.605	—	48.473	—	58.078
1958-59	—	17.102	—	17.951	—	35.053
1959-60	32.135	18.450	—	56.225	18.530	125.340
1960-61	—	22.355	8.456	86.997	19.291	137.099
1961-62	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	69.58
1962-63	3.2	13.600	15.000	46.800	5.100	83.700
1963-64	14.7	34.000	33.400	74.400	9.400	165.900
1964-65	12.14	62.736	0.463	65.530	0.174	141.047
1965-66	16.2	93.000	5.000	57.000	3.200	175.300
1966-67	24.583	77.633	4.875	34.926	.219	142.236
1967-68	26.16	95.867	3.069	32.226	.537	158.114
1968-69	46.87	126.185	3.800	86.949	.432	214.245
1969-70	76.67	160.301	4.500	66.647	15.156	329.279
1970-71	47.17	125.362	2.750	59.734	35.666	270.685
1971-72	53.10	109.270	5.000	45.202	47.546	260.126
1972-73	34.2	94.8	2.500	38.6	34.2	204.300
1973-74	34.30	112.70	n.a.	31.85	18.77	—
1975-76	49.2	103.9	n.a.	84.7	112.7	350.5
1976-77	105.9	117.6	n.a.	42.8	99.2	365.5
1977-78*	67.0	113.2	n.a.	58.8	326.2	565.2
1978-79*	40.30	n.a.	n.a.	54.7	n.a.	n.a.
1979-80*	84.40	n.a.	n.a.	70.2	n.a.	n.a.

*Note:* One characteristic of China's economic aid to Nepal is that it includes huge quantities of consumer goods, such as bicycles, clothing, household goods, etc. which are sold by governmental trading agencies in Nepal and the proceeds are used to finance part of the Chinese projects.

\*includes grants and loans but not technical aid

\*estimate.

*Sources:* Nepal Rastra Bank; Budget Speeches; Foreign Aid Division, Ministry of Economic Planning, HMG, Nepal Kathmanu, Y.P. Pant, *Problems in Fiscal and Monetary Policy*, 61; *Economic Survey Report 1979-80*.

## Appendix 22

## Chinese-aided Projects in Nepal

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity/ length</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commi- ssioned/ inaugurated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<b>Roads and highways (10)</b>					
1. Lhasa-Kathmandu road					protocol signed 13 Jan 1963
2. Kathmandu-Kodari road	104 km	NR 86 mn (Rs74 mn) (£2.3 mn)	Jun 1963	26 May 1967	agreement signed 15 Oct 1961; protocol signed 9 Mar 1971. China agrees to repair all sections of road destroyed by floods and landslides; validity extended to 31 Mar 1973 by exchange of letters on 14 Mar 1972
3. Kathmandu-Bhaktapur highway	16 km	n.a.	Oct 1968	1970	protocol signed 27 Sep 1968
4. Kathmandu-Pokhara <sup>1</sup> highway	176 km	NR 130 mn (\$45 mn)	Nov 1965	under construction	protocol signed in Aug 1965
5. Pokhara westward road			May 1973		
6. Kathmandu Valley ring road <sup>2</sup>	27.4 km	estimate Rs 50 mn	1974	Feb 1977	agreement signed 20 Mar 1973

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity/ length</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commi- ssioned/ inaugurated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
7. Pokhara-Surkhet Highway, western Nepal	407 km	Rs900 mn		1980	agreement signed 2 Feb 1975; survey work began in 1979; construction work to begin in 1980 and continue till 1990
8. Ithari-Dhalkewar road	170 km	Rs17.5 mn estimate			China discontinued work at the request of the Nepalese Government (23 Apr 1965) because the project had not gone beyond the planning stage
9. Janakpur-Biratnagar road, of the East-West Highway in Nepal Tarai bordering India	170 km				agreement signed in 1963; China withdrew from the project in 1965
10. Gorkha-Narayanghat highway	60 km		Mar 1978		became jeepable in Feb 1980; expected to be completed in fiscal year 1981-82
<b>Power and transmission lines (4)</b>					
1. Hydroelectric station, at Sunkosi river	10,000 kw	Rs70 mn	end 1968	24 Nov 1972	protocol signed 25 May 1967; letters exchanged on 26 Feb 1973 for Chinese technical assistance for maintenance; generated 90 mn kwh in 1972-74

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commi- ssioned/ inaugurated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
2. Overhead transmission line, from Sunkosi to Kathmandu			end 1968	1972	
3. Overhead transmission line, from Sunkosi to Chantara				planned	protocol signed 24 Dec 1970
4. Overhead transmission line, from Sunkosi to Barahbise				planned	
<b>Warehouses (2)</b>					
1. Kathmandu	floorspace 7,000 sq.m.	NR 10.03 mn for both	Oct 1965	Sep 1967	
2. Birganj	floorspace 7,000 sq.m.		1965	Mar 1967	
<b>Miscellaneous (11)</b>					
1. Leather and shoe factory, Bansibari	21,000 pieces of leather; 30,000 pairs of shoes annually	NR 7 mn	May 1964	Jun 1968	produced 51,000 pairs of shoes worth Rs 13 mn during fiscal year 1978-79
2. Brick and tile factory, Harsiddhi, Lalitpur	20 mn bricks and 500,000 tiles annually	NR 5 mn	Oct 1965	12 Mar 1969	agreement signed in Apr 1964; letters exchanged on 14 Mar 1972 for doubling production

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commencement</i>	<i>When commissioned/inaugurated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
3. Second brick factory, Nangkhal, Bhaktapur	20 mn bricks annually			1979	
4. Town Hall, Kathmandu				11 Nov 1970	
5. Textile mill, Hetauda	15,000 spindles, 480 looms; 10 mn metres of cotton fabrics annually and spins over 300 metric tons of cotton yarn annually	\$15 mn (Rs 180 mn)	Dec 1975	30 Dec 1978	When fully operational will meet 25 per cent of Nepal's total cotton textile requirement; the mill requires 2,300 tons of cotton annually and employed 550 workers in 1974
6. Trolley bus project, on Kathmandu-Bhaktapur highway	11.73 km long for 22 single trolley buses plying on the line; providing transport facility to 15,000 passengers daily	\$4 mn	Dec 1973	Dec 1975	protocols signed 14 Mar 1972 and 26 Mar 1973; 100 Chinese technicians assisted in the task
7. Seti river dam, Pokhara Valley	1,000 kw; lift irrigation for 1,200 hectares	Rs50 mn estimate	1972	under construction	agreement for free grant of \$4 mn signed on 8 Jul 1976; work began in 1979
8. Cement factory, <sup>a</sup> Hetaura	50,000 tons annually				agreement signed on 5 Sep 1961; in Apr 1964 China dropped plans to construct this project on technical grounds

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commence- ment</i>	<i>When commi- ssioned/ inaugurated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
9. Pulp and paper factory, <sup>3</sup> Nepalgunj	20 tons of paper daily				as above
10. Leather factory, Hetauda					construction was scheduled to begin in Oct 1979
11. Kamala irrigation pro- ject, Mahottari district, Eastern Tarai		Rs 7.5 mn			agreement signed in Oct 1964; China withdrew from this project in 1965
12. Geological survey					China has provided geological survey experts for discovering iron phosphate and petroleum deposits in Nepal.

### *Notes*

<sup>1</sup>In 1965 at Nepal's request China undertook projects for the construction of the Kathmandu-Pokhara Road and a ring road in the Nepal Valley in place of the earlier Janakpur-Biratnagar Road projects and Kamala irrigation projects.

<sup>2</sup>The road links an industrial district in north-western Kathmandu with another in the southeast, and the residential quarters with government buildings. It also passes historic sites and beauty spots. The 128-metre bridge with a width of 15 metres across the Bagmati river, the longest bridge in the Kathmandu Valley, was built in less than one year.

<sup>3</sup>In 1964 the original agreement on the cement, paper, and leather factories was so modified as to drop cement and paper industries in preference to brick and tile-making project, and Janakpur-Biratnagar Road project.

*Source:* Nepal Rastra Bank, *Economic Report, 1974/1975*, 57-8; Nepal Rastra Bank, *Monthly Report and Monthly Economic Indicators* of various years; supplemented by other sources.

## Appendix 23

**China's Trade with Nepal, 1956-57 to 1978-79**  
(in million Nepali rupees)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Exports to Nepal</i>	<i>Imports from Nepal</i>
1956/57	2.036	1.967
1957/58	2.818	.301
1958/59	1.242	1.349
1959/60	.444	2.829
1960/61	.565	2.760
1961/62	1.328	4.753
1962/63	1.643	5.075
1963/64 to 1973/74	n.a.	n.a.
1974/75	121.301	23.580
1975/76	48.012	29.094
1976/77	68.437	16.493
1977-78	132.012	22.167
1978-79	214.5	n.a.

*Source:* Investment Promotion and Publicity Division, Nepal Industrial Development Corporation, Kathmandu, Nepal, *Statistical Abstracts*, October-November 1967, 7; Nepal Trade Promotion Centre, *Nepal: Overseas Trade Statistics, 1976-77* (Kathmandu, 1977), 109 and 120; 1977-78 (Kathmandu, 1978), 143 and 154; Nepal Rastra Bank, Research Department, *Monthly Report: Main Economic Indicators, January 1980* (Kathmandu), 4.

*Appendix 24***Nepal's Commodity Exports to China,<sup>1</sup> 1974-75 to 1976-77**  
(in million rupees)

<i>Commodity</i>	<i>1974-75</i>	<i>1975-76</i>	<i>1976-77</i>
Goat skins	—	.648	1.739
Hides	—	1.071	1.830
Linseed	6.054	14.911	4.008
Medicinal herbs	.210	.131	—
Raw jute	17.316	12.332	—
Tobacco	—	—	8.853
Others	—	.001	.063
<b>Total</b>	<b>23.580</b>	<b>29.094</b>	<b>16.493</b>

*Note*<sup>1</sup>Excluding overland trade

*Source:* Nepal, Trade Promotion Centre, *Overseas Trade Statistics of Nepal, 1976-77 (Provisional)* (Kathmandu, n.d.), 109 and 119-20.



## Appendix 25

**Nepal's Commodity Imports from China, 1974/75 to 1976/77**  
(in million Nepali rupees)

<i>Commodity</i>	<i>1974/75</i>	<i>1975/76</i>	<i>1976/77</i>
Textiles (synthetic)	1.915	.648	—
Textiles (non-synthetic)	37.474	11.984	7.822
Readymade garments	5.146	1.647	.184
Bus, trucks and parts	.516	1.800	.174
Bicycle and parts	.592	.831	—
Machineries and parts	.654	2.108	30.078
Construction materials	—	1.190	1.666
Asphalt pitch	1.212	.656	—
Cement	8.544	10.282	3.865
Steel and their products	1.529	1.011	.790
Aircraft spare parts	.010	1.209	—
Office equipment and stationery	12.422	3.339	2.309
Medical equipments	—	1.472	.008
Chemicals	.835	.720	.823
Soaps	1.557	1.190	.331
Shoe and sandals	.600	1.518	5.493
Iron rods and sheets	3.990	.905	—
Personal goods	.090	1.084	.182
Others	44.215	4.418	14.712
<b>Total</b>	<b>121.301</b>	<b>48.012</b>	<b>68.437</b>

*Note:*

<sup>1</sup>excluding overland trade

*Appendix 26***Nepal's Trade with Tibet, 1956/57 to 1978/79**  
(in million Nepali rupees)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Nepal's Exports</i>	<i>Nepal's Imports</i>
1956/57	2.036	1.967
1957/58	2.818	.301
1958/59	1.242	1.349
1959/60	.444	2.829
1960/61	.565	3.760
1961/62	1.328	4.753
1962/63	1.643	5.075
1963/64	6.215	7.111
1964/65	5.394	3.021
1965/66	4.604	7.303
1966/67	5.562	5.231
1967/68	2.645	5.918
1968/69	2.235	6.366
1969/70	4.087	2.732
1970/71	5.371	9.364
1971/72 to 1972/76	n.a.	n.a.
1976/77	34.818	10.547
1977/78	26.514	13.309
1978/79	25.860	15.316

*Note:* Over 90 per cent of Nepal's trade with the Tibet Autonomous Region passes through Tatopani.

*Source:* Nepal Rastra Bank, *Quarterly Economic Bulletin*, mid-July 1974, no. 4, 46-7 and mid-July 1976, no. 4, 48-9; *Rising Nepal*, 6 April 1980; Nepal Rastra Bank, India, China Division, *Monthly News Digest on Economic Development of India & China*, May 1980, 12; Nepal, Trade Promotion Centre, *Nepal Trade Bulletin*, mid-Jul-mid-Oct 1978, 16.

Appendix 27

Nepal's Commodity Exports to Tibet, 1956/57 to 1970/71  
(in million rupees)

Year	Food (including live animals for food)	Beverages and tobacco	Crude materials, inedibles, except fuels	Animal and vege- table oils and fats	Chemicals and drugs	Manufac- tured goods classified chiefly by materials	Miscel- laneous manufac- tured articles	Others	Total
1956/57	1.809	.004	.006	.050	—	.013	.003	.151	2.036
1957/58	2.544	.006	.028	.013	.008	.108	.016	.095	2.818
1958/59	1.088	.001	.020	.006	—	.002	.014	.111	1.242
1959/60	.419	.003	—	.007	.003	.005	—	.007	.444
1960/61	.301	.008	.042	.027	.006	.018	.016	.147	.565
1961/62	.536	.057	.035	.187	.026	.223	.118	.146	1.328
1962/63	.779	.133	.032	.035	.253	.112	.252	.047	1.643
1963/64	1.385	2.409	.642	.166	1.248	.238	.122	.005	6.215
1964/65	1.394	.313	.128	.146	1.686	.858	.858	.002	5.394
1965/66	.745	.182	.243	.010	1.131	1.740	.553	—	4.604
1966/67	4.145	—	.012	.004	.274	.986	.141	—	5.562
1967/68	.532	.008	.089	.033	.143	1.293	.546	.001	2.645
1968/69	.887	.044	.066	.059	.092	.877	.210	—	2.235
1969/70	1.633	.138	.121	.017	.101	1.899	.176	.002	4.087
1970/71	3.658	.064	.040	.007	.129	1.121	.263	.089	5.371

Source: Nepal Rastra Bank, *Quarterly Economic Bulletin*, mid-July 1974, no. 4, 46 and *Quarterly Economic Bulletin*, mid-July 1976, no. 4, 48.

## Appendix 28

**Nepal's Commodity Imports from Tibet, 1956/57 to 1970/71**  
(in million rupees)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Food (including live animals for food)</i>	<i>Crude materials, inedibles, except fuels</i>	<i>Minerals, fuels, lubri- cants and related materials</i>	<i>Chemicals and drugs</i>	<i>Manufac- tured goods classified chiefly by materials</i>	<i>Machinery and trans- port equi- pments</i>	<i>Miscella- neous manufac- tured</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
1956/57	1.869	.016	—	—	.016	—	.002	.064	1.967
1957/58	.161	.071	—	—	.005	—	.342	.022	.301
1958/59	1.297	—	—	—	.001	—	—	.051	1.349
1959/60	2.256	.098	—	.002	.214	.003	.105	.151	2.829
1960/61	2.388	.424	—	—	.242	—	.018	.688	3.760
1961/62	1.510	2.666	—	—	.129	—	.003	.445	4.753
1962/63	1.749	2.982	—	—	.315	.003	.023	.003	5.075
1963/64	2.438	4.341	—	.005	.183	.013	.070	.061	7.111
1964/65	1.223	1.606	—	.001	.120	.005	.060	.006	3.021
1965/66	.736	5.733	—	.002	.536	.015	.269	.012	7.303
1966/67	2.063	1.886	—	.013	.661	.002	.594	.012	5.231
1967/68	.913	3.938	—	.011	.690	—	.359	.007	5.918
1968/69	.305	4.491	.390	.004	.737	.010	.423	.006	6.366
1969/70	.613	1.328	—	.001	.196	.001	.588	.005	2.732
1970/71	.955	6.840	.230	.005	1.406	.009	.120	.006	9.364

Source: Nepal Rastra Bank, *Quarterly Economic Bulletin*, mid-July 1974, no. 4, 47 and *Quarterly Economic Bulletin*, mid-July 1976, no. 4, 49.

*Appendix 29*

**Chinese Arms Supplies to Nepal**

On 21 May 1962 China supplied one "Harvest-Two" civil airplane to Nepal. Two more were to be supplied later.<sup>1</sup>

Nepal decided in 1979 to set up an air force, whose nucleus will be a few helicopters and ex-British Skyvan transport aircraft hitherto in the possession of the army. France, Britain, the United States, and China have already shown interest in providing fighter aircraft. Nepal's first requirement is likely to be one squadron of fighters.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*China Today*, 2 June 1962, 2.

<sup>2</sup>SIPRI, *SIPRI Yearbook, 1980* (London, 1980), 119.

*Appendix 30***Exchange of Visits between China and Sri Lanka, 1952-1980**

(Note: C stands for Cultural, E for Economic, M for Military, and P for Political)

- |    |   |                   |        |
|----|---|-------------------|--------|
| 1  | Trade mission led by Minister of Commerce and Trade R.G. Senanayake in China  | Sep-Oct 1952      | E      |
| 2  | Trade union delegation in China   | 5-8 May 1954      | E      |
| 3  | A 9-member government trade delegation led by Minister of Commerce, Trade and Fisheries, S.C. Shirley Corea, in China   | Sep 1955          | E      |
| 4  | Teachers delegation in China for May Day celebrations   |                   | 1956 C |
| 5  | Government delegation led by Sir Claude Corea to negotiate establishment of diplomatic relations  | 8-16 Sep 1956     | P      |
| 6  | Chou En-lai in Ceylon   | 31 Jan-5 Feb 1957 | P      |
| 7  | Trade union delegation in Ceylon  | Feb-Mar 1957      | C      |
| 8  | Art delegation in Ceylon  | Jan 1958          | C      |
| 9  | Health Minister Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene in China for National Day celebrations  | Sep 1958          | P      |
| 10 | A 7-member delegation led by Minister of Transport and Works, M. Senanayake, in China   | Mar 1959          | E      |
| 11 | A 4-member delegation led by Minister of Industries and Fishery P.H. William de Silva in China  | May 1959          | E      |
| 12 | Dance troupe led by T.P. Amerasinghe in China   | Jul 1960          | C      |
| 13 | Minister of Commerce, Trade, Shipping, and Food T.B. Ilangaratne in China   | Apr 1961          | E      |
| 14 | Civil aviation delegation in China  | May 1961          | E      |
| 15 | W.P.G. Ariyadasa, Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Industries, Home, and Cultural Affairs, in China. He presented a bo-tree sapling from Ceylon's sacred city of Anuradhapura | Jun 1961          | C      |

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| 16 Chinese Buddhist delegation led by Shirob Jaltso and Chacipu-Chu, President and Vice President of the Chinese Buddhist Association, in Ceylon to escort the famous Buddha tooth relic | Jun 1961 C               |
| 17 Health delegation led by Minister of Health A.P. Jayasuriya in China  | Aug 1961 C               |
| 18 T.B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Commerce, Trade, Food and Shipping, in China  | Oct 1962 E               |
| 19 Chinese delegation in Ceylon to explain Sino-Indian dispute   | Nov 1962 P               |
| 20 Mrs Bandaranike in China with peace proposals on Sino-Indian dispute  | 31 Dec 1962-4 Jan 1963 P |
| 21 N. Sanmugathasan, General Secretary, Ceylonese Trade Union Federation, in China   | 24-30 May 1963 P         |
| 22 T.B. Ilangaratne in China   | Oct 1963 E               |
| 23 Mrs Bandaranaike in China   | Oct 1963 P               |
| 24 Parliamentary delegation in China   | Oct 1963 P               |
| 25 Trade delegation led by R.S. Perera in China  | 25-26 Feb 1964 E         |
| 26 Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Soong Ching-ling and Marshal Chen Yi in Ceylon   | 26-29 Feb 1964 P         |
| 27 Economic delegation in China  | Sep 1964 E               |
| 28 Trade delegation in Ceylon  | Oct 1964 E               |
| 29 Parliamentary delegation in China   | Oct 1964 P               |
| 30 Ceylon Communist Party leader N. Sanmugathasan in China   | Jun 1965 P               |
| 31 N. Sanmugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Ceylon, in China   | Oct 1966 P               |
| 32 R.D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers Bureau, and his wife in China  | Nov 1966 P               |
| 33 N. Sanmugathasan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon, in China to attend 20th anniversary of PRC  | Sep-Oct 1969 P           |
| 34 6-member technical team in Ceylon   | Aug 1970 E               |

- 35 Trade Minister T.B. Ilangaratne in China 6-14 Sep 1970 E
- 36 Foreign Trade Minister Pai Hsiang-kuo in  
Ceylon Jan 1971 E
- 37 Geological prospecting team in Ceylon Mar 1971 E
- 38 Textile technical team in Ceylon Jul 1971 E
- 39 Fisheries delegation in Ceylon Aug 1971 E
- 40 Table tennis team in Ceylon Aug-Sep 1971 C
- 41 Table tennis team in China Oct-Nov 1971 C
- 42 3-member shipping delegation in  
Ceylon 9-24 Apr 1972 E
- 43 Table tennis delegation in China May 1972 C
- 44 Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike  
in China 24 Jun-5 Jul 1972 P
- 45 N. Sanmugathasan, General Secretary  
of the Central Committee of the Sri Lanka  
Communist Party, in China Jul 1972 P
- 46 Football team in Sri Lanka Aug-Sep 1972 C
- 47 Table tennis team in China Aug-Sep 1972 C
- 48 A delegation of the Sri Lanka-China  
Friendship Association in China Sep 1972 P
- 49 Shipping delegation in China Sep 1972 C
- 50 Badminton team in Sri Lanka Sep 1972 C
- 51 Water conservancy delegation led by  
Chien Cheng-ying, Vice Minister of Water  
Conservancy and Power, in Sri Lanka Nov 1972 E
- 52 Trade delegation led by Foreign Trade  
Minister Pai Hsiang-kuo in Sri Lanka 17-23 Dec 1972 E
- 53 Wuhan acrobatic group in Sri Lanka Feb 1973 C
- 54 Chinese technical experts to undertake  
feasibility study of the proposed flood con-  
trol scheme in Sri Lanka Feb-Jul 1973 E
- 55 Tennis team led by Shen Chia-lin in Sri  
Lanka May 1973 C
- 56 A 23-member delegation led by Vice  
Chairman Hsu Hsiang-chien of Standing  
Committee of NPC in Sri Lanka for  
inauguration of Bandaranaike Memorial  
International Conference Hall May 1973 P
- 57 Badminton team in China Jun 1973 C
- 58 Ocean shipping delegation in Sri Lanka Oct 1973 E



59	Trade Minister Ilangaratne in China	Dec 1973	E
60	A delegation of Chinese Academy of Sciences in Sri Lanka	Dec 1973	C
61	Fisheries delegation in Sri Lanka	Feb 1974	E
62	Trade Minister Ilangaratne in China	Mar 1974	E
63	K.B. Ratnayake, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, in China	12-22 May 1974	P
64	Shipping delegation led by P.B.C. Kallugalle, Minister for Shipping and Tourism, in China	7-18 Jun 1974	E
65	Football team in China	Jun 1974	C
66	Engineering delegation in China	Jun-Jul 1974	E
67	Youth delegation in China	Jul 1974	C
68	Scientists delegation in China	Aug 1974	E
69	Volleyball team in Sri Lanka	Sep 1974	C
70	Agricultural delegation in China	Sep-Oct 1974	E
71	Cultural delegation in China	28 Oct-5 Nov 1974	C
72	Geologist Chang Wem-yu in Sri Lanka	16-28 Dec 1974	E
73	Trade delegation led by Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang in Sri Lanka	30 Jan-7 Feb 1975	E
74	Delegation led by Anura Bandaranaike in China	15-21 Mar 1975	P
75	Trade delegation in China	May-Jun 1975	E
76	Lawn tennis team in China	22 May-11 Jun 1975	C
77	Delegation led by Irrigation and Power Minister M. Senanyake in China	8-17 Jul 1975	E
78	Military delegation led by Army Commander Lt. Gen. Don Sepala Altygalla in China	6-19 Aug 1975	M
79	S. Jayawardene, Joint Secretary of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, in China	9-16 Sep 1975	P
80	Mrs Bandaranike's daughter, Mrs Rupesinghe, and her husband in China	21 Sep-21 Oct 1975	P
81	Scientists delegation in China	Sep-Oct 1975	E
82	Health delegation in China	Oct 1975	C
83	Basketball team in Sri Lanka	21 Oct-5 Nov 1975	C
84	Phosphate fertilizer delegation in China	Nov 1975	E
85	Trade Minister Ilangaratne in China	Nov 1975	E
86	Chinese Ocean Shipping Company delegation in Sri Lanka	Oct-Nov 1975	E

- 87 China-Sri Lanka Friendship Association delegation led by Chiao Hisao-kuang in Sri Lanka 18 Nov-3 Dec 1975 P
- 88 Ceylon Trade Union Federation delegation in China Nov 1975-Jan 1976 P
- 89 200 Chinese technicians in Sri Lanka in connection with a Rs 100 million river flood protection and irrigation scheme Mar 1976 E
- 90 Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs Lakshman Jayakody in China 17-21 May 1976 P
- 91 T.B. Tennekoon, Minister of Cultural Affairs, in China May 1976 C
- 92 Navy delegation led by Navy C-in-C Rear Adm Don Basil Goonesekara in China 5-17 Nov 1976 M
- 93 Shipping delegation led by Ranjit G. de Silva in China Nov 1976 E
- 94 Government trade delegation led by Vice Foreign Trade Minister Chai Shu-fan in Sri Lanka Dec 1976 E
- 95 Tourism delegation in China Feb 1977 E
- 96 Military delegation led by Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Chinese Navy Ho Cheng-wen in Sri Lanka 24 Feb-4 Mar 1977 M
- 97 Madame Tcng Ying-chao (Mrs. Chou En-lai), Vice-Chairman of NPC Standing Committee, in Sri Lanka 17-22 Apr 1977 P
- 98 Minister of Trade and Prime Minister's Special Envoy L. Athulathmudali in China 22-28 Oct 1977 E
- 99 Chinese Ocean Shipping Company delegation in Sri Lanka Nov 1977 E
- 100 Vice Premier Keng Piao in Sri Lanka 21-25 Jun 1978 P
- 101 Education delegation in Sri Lanka Jul 1978 C
- 102 Shipping delegation for joint committee meeting of joint shipping service in China Aug 1978 E
- 103 Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Wang Jun-sheng in Sri Lanka Dec 1978 E
- 104 Minister of Food and Cooperatives Siri Sena Bandara Herith in China Feb 1979 E
- 105 Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed in China Jul 1979 P

- 106 Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa in  
China 13 Aug 1979 P
- 107 Education Vice Minister Hunang Xingoi  
in Sri Lanka Dec 1979 C
- 108 Trade delegation led by Deputy Minister  
for Food and Shipping in China Dec 1979 E
- 109 A delegation of nine Mayors in China Dec 1979-Jan 1980 P
- 110 A 5-member youth delegation led by Liu  
Weiming, Vice Chairman of the All-China  
Federation of Youth, in Sri Lanka 17-26 Jan 1980 C
- 111 A 5-member delegation in Sri Lanka to  
advise in setting up Chinese style mini-  
hydro stations Feb 1980 E
- 112 A water conservancy study group led by  
A.M.S. Adhikari in China Mar 1980 E
- 113 A District Minister from Sri Lanka in  
China to study the bio-gas system, rural  
development, and agricultural programmes Mar 1980 E
- 114 A Chinese team in Sri Lanka for purchase  
of gems Apr 1980 E
- 115 Foreign Minister Huang Hua stops over  
in Sri Lanka 12 Apr 1980 P
- 116 A delegation of the United National Party  
in China May 1980 P
- 117 R.D. Senanayake, President of Sri Lanka  
Friendship Association, in China Jun 1980 P
- 118 Deputy Foreign Minister Tyronne Fern-  
ando in China Jun 1980 P
- 119 Two Chinese experts in Sri Lanka for  
assisting and advising local cane and  
ratten processing industry Jun 1980 E
- 120 A 9-member delegation of senior Govern-  
ment officials led by Vice Minister of  
Foreign Investment Commission, Jiang  
Jemin, in Sri Lanka to study Sri Lanka  
Free Trade Zone 28-30 Sep 1980 E
- 121 Press delegation in Sri Lanka Nov 1980 C
- 122 Legal experts in China Dec 1980 C

*Appendix 31***Agreements Signed between China and Sri Lanka, 1952-1980**

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 1 First five-year trade agreement   | 4 Oct 1952  |
| 2 First five-year rice-rubber agreement (1953-1957) providing for Chinese supply of 270,000 metric tons annually of rice for five years and purchase of 50,000 metric tons of Ceylonese rubber during the same period       | 18 Dec 1952 |
| 3 Agreement on prices to be paid for rubber and rice in the third year (1955) of first five-year trade agreement (1952)   | 6 Oct 1954  |
| 4 Two contracts on rice and rubber trade in 1955  | 8 Oct 1954  |
| 5 Contracts for the Chinese purchase of 50,000 metric tons of rubber and Ceylonese purchase of 270,000 metric tons of rice from China in 1956   | 16 Oct 1955 |
| 6 Agreement on establishment of diplomatic relations  | 14 Sep 1956 |
| 7 Agreement on economic aid providing for Chinese donation of Rs 75 mn (US \$15.8mn) for the period 1958-1963 to help replant rubber trees, to build a textile mill, and to buy rolling stock as well as for other purposes | 19 Sep 1957 |
| 8 Five-year trade and payments agreement (1958-1962)  | 19 Sep 1957 |
| 9 China donates \$42,600 and 15 tons of medical supplies to aid flood victims in Ceylon   | 1958        |
| 10 Agreement on Chinese loan of Rs 50 mn (US \$10.5 mn) at 2.5 per cent interest for flood relief and rehabilitation  | 17 Sep 1958 |
| 11 Air transport agreement establishing a civil air service between China and Ceylon  | 26 Mar 1959 |
| 12 Protocol on supply of complete cotton mill   | Jun 1959    |

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 13 Trade protocol for 1959 envisaging Chinese exports of Rs. 124.6 million and Ceylonese exports of an equivalent value   | 13 Jun 1959 |
| 14 Contracts for Chinese purchase of 30,000 metric tons of rubber and Ceylonese purchase of 230,000 metric tons of rice from China in 1959                        | 13 Jun 1959 |
| 15 Agreement on exchange of Ceylonese rubber and Chinese rice   | 3 Jan 1960  |
| 16 Trade protocol for 1960  | 8 Feb 1960  |
| 17 Trade protocol for 1961 for two-way trade of Rs. 200 million   | 4 Apr 1961  |
| 18 Contracts for the purchase of 31,000 metric tons of rubber by China from Ceylon and for the purchase of 200,000 long tons of rice by Ceylon from China in 1961 | 4 Apr 1961  |
| 19 Air communication agreement  | May 1961    |
| 20 Supplementary protocol on supply of a complete cotton mill   | 7 Aug 1961  |
| 21 Trade protocol for 1962  | 7 Oct 1961  |
| 22 Rubber-rice exchange agreements  | 3 Dec 1961  |
| 23 Economic aid agreement of 19 Sep 1957 extended for another five years (1963-1967)  | 28 May 1962 |
| 24 Agreement on prolongation of 17 Sep 1958 loan for another three years  | 1 Aug 1962  |
| 25 China-Ceylon Friendship Association sponsored by 17 Chinese people's organisations established   | 5 Sep 1962  |
| 26 Third five year rubber-rice agreement for 1962-1967  | 15 Sep 1962 |
| 27 China gifts 202 goods wagons, 13 tanker wagons, and 8 passenger coaches to Ceylon  | Oct 1962    |
| 28 Third five-year trade and payments agreement   | 3 Oct 1962  |
| 29 Protocol relating to exchange of commodities in 1963   | 3 Oct 1962  |
| 30 Agreement on economic and technical co-operation providing for Chinese donation of Rs. 60mn (US \$10.5 mn)   | 3 Oct 1962  |

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|--|-------------|
| 31 Rice and rubber contract for 1963   | 3 Oct 1962  |
| 32 Maritime transport agreement  | 25 Jul 1963 |
| 33 Protocol on exchange of commodities worth Rs. 100 mn each way for 1963  | 10 Oct 1963 |
| 34 Agreement for the gift of Rs. 5 million worth of three sizing plants and 1,200 powerlooms to Ceylon   | 16 Nov 1963 |
| 35 Protocol on construction of a conference hall   | Feb 1964    |
| 36 Trade contract for the supply of Rs. 20 million worth of cotton piece goods to Ceylon   | 28 Feb 1964 |
| 37 Protocol on conversion of 17 Sep 1958 loan into an interest-free loan   | 15 Jun 1964 |
| 38 Protocol on donation of 235 passenger coaches and freight cars under economic aid agreement of 1957   | 7 Jul 1964  |
| 39 Agreement for interest-free Chinese loan of Rs. 20 mn (US \$4.2 mn) for 1965-67   | 24 Oct 1964 |
| 40 Contracts on exchange of rice and rubber in 1964  | 24 Oct 1964 |
| 41 Protocol on exchange of commodities in 1965   | 24 Oct 1964 |
| 42 Protocol on free supply of Rs. 15.56 mn worth of material, machinery, and equipment for Pugoda textile mill   | 25 Nov 1964 |
| 43 Exchange of notes on Chinese aid for construction of conference hall in Ceylon  | 15 Mar 1965 |
| 44 Protocol on delivery of 162 railway carriages under 21 Oct 1964 loan  | 13 Jul 1965 |
| 45 Protocol on exchange of commodities in 1966 providing for trade of approx. Rs. 120 million either way including purchase of 41,000 metric tons of rubber of an approx. value of Rs. 96 million by China and purchase of 200,000 metric tons of rice of like value by Ceylon | 12 Oct 1965 |
| 46 Letters of agreement whereby China undertook to purchase an additional 10,000 tons of sheet rubber from Ceylon  |             |

in 1966	3 Aug 1966
47 Protocol envisaging trade of Rs. 140 million either way, providing <i>inter alia</i> for the purchase of 48,000 metric tons of sheet rubber by China of an approx. value of Rs. 116 million and purchase of 200,000 tons of rice of like value by Ceylon	29 Nov 1966
48 Fourth five-year trade agreement	7 Nov 1967
49 Trade protocol for 1968	7 Nov 1967
50 Trade Protocol for 1969	8 Jan 1969
51 Protocol on construction of textile mill at Minneriya	8 Feb 1970
52 Agreement on Chinese loan of US\$9.3 mn	12 Sep 1970
53 Trade protocol for 1971 providing for exchange of 41,000 tons of rubber for 20,000 tons of Chinese rice	21 Jan 1971
54 Agreement on Chinese convertible currency loan of Rs. 150 mn (US\$31.5mn) payable in two instalments during 1971	27 May 1971
55 Agreement on Rs. 40 million (\$13 mn) interest-free loan to Ceylon for the purchase of 100,000 tonnes of Chinese rice	8 Oct 1971
56 Agreement on parcel post service	28 Dec 1971
57 Annual rubber-rice barter trade agreement for 1972 for exchange of 200,000 tonnes of rice for 39,000 tonnes of Ceylonese rubber	18 Feb 1972
58 Trade protocol for 1972	18 Feb 1972
59 Joint shipping service agreement	20 Apr 1972
60 Premier Bandaranaike presents a baby elephant to China's children	27 Jun 1972
61 Agreement on economic and technical cooperation	29 Jun 1972
62 Agreement on the construction of a cotton spinning, weaving, printing and dyeing mill providing for Chinese loan of US \$33.26 mn	29 Jun 1972
63 Chinese Ambassador presents a pair of white-lipped deer to Sri Lanka children	7 Sep 1972
64 Loan agreement on providing a cargo ship	

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|---|-------------|
| estimated at US \$2 mn  | 16 Sep 1972 |
| 65 Agreement for purchase of another 10,000 tons of Ceylonese sheet rubber by China   | 23 Oct 1972 |
| 66 Fifth five-year trade and payments agreement   | Dec 1972    |
| 67 Trade protocol for the year 1973   | Dec 1972    |
| 68 Purchase of Rs 6mn worth of blue sapphires and cat's eyes by China   | 29 Mar 1973 |
| 69 China donates an additional \$1.25 million for maintenance and repair of Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall   | Dec 1973    |
| 70 Trade agreement for 1974   | 20 Dec 1973 |
| 71 China gifts 40,000 tonnes of rice worth Rs. 100 million to be supplied by end of 1974  | 26 Dec 1973 |
| 72 Agreement for the establishment of a textile mill at Minneriya, with a capacity of 3.5 mn pounds of yarn per year and a finishing plant with an annual capacity of 16.5 mn yards at Pugoda | 5 Jul 1974  |
| 73 Agreement on Rs. 100 million rupee interest-free loan repayable in 30 years, to help build a flood protection project in the Gin Ganga river basin   | 12 Jul 1974 |
| 74 China gifts 100 tractors worth Rs. 2 million   | 18 Jul 1974 |
| 75 Protocol on exchange of commodities for 1975   | 3 Feb 1975  |
| 74 Loan agreement for the construction of a £4.8 mn glass factory at Negombo, Sri Lanka, with an annual capacity of 1,000 tonnes of sheet glass   | 4 Feb 1975  |
| 77 Agreement on freight earnings  | 18 Apr 1975 |
| 78 Commodity exchange protocol  | 30 Nov 1975 |
| 79 Agreement on Sino-Sri Lanka shipping service to Europe   | 27 Oct 1975 |
| 80 A £1.5 mn interest-free loan to Sri Lanka in convertible currency repayable over five years including a grace period of two years  | Jan 1976    |



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|---|-------------|
| 81 Agreement approving preliminary designs for Rs 70 mn sheet glass factory at Nattandiya   | 15 Mar 1976 |
| 82 Trade protocol on exchange of goods including purchase of 41,200 metric tons of sheet rubber by China in exchange for 200,000 metric tons of rice  | 15 Dec 1976 |
| 83 Trade protocol for 1977 providing for total turnover of Rs 1,000 mn (US \$69.7 mn) including renewal of rubber-for-rice barter arrangement (49,200 metric tonnes of sheet rubber in exchange for 200,000 tons of rice) | Jan 1977    |
| 84 Renewal of the rice-rubber agreement of 1952 for the sixth time, providing for the exchange of 49,000 tons of Sri Lankan rubber for 200,000 tons of Chinese rice in 1978   | 27 Oct 1977 |
| 85 Trade and payments agreement   | 27 Oct 1977 |
| 86 Trade protocol for 1978 envisaging a trade turnover of US \$55 mn each way   | 27 Oct 1977 |
| 87 Trade protocol for trade worth \$55 million each way for 1979  | 21 Dec 1978 |
| 88 Rubber-rice pact for 1979  | Mar 1979    |
| 89 Cultural agreement   | 15 Aug 1979 |
| 90 Trade agreement  | 27 Nov 1979 |
| 91 Protocol providing for the import of 150,000 tons of rice against the export of 30,000 tons of rubber to China   | Dec 1979    |
| 92 Economic and technical cooperation agreement providing for an interest-free loan of Rs 250 million (50 million yuan) for development projects in Sri Lanka (repayable in 20 years with a 10-year grace period)         | 18 Jan 1980 |
| 93 Agreement for import of gunny bags worth Rs 2.5 million from China   | Apr 1980    |
| 94 Sri Lanka places on order for a further consignment of 25,000 Chinese bicycles   | Jun 1980    |

- 95 A government undertaking cooperative wholesale establishment of Sri Lanka decides to import 50,000 cycles from China Aug 1980
- 96 Agreement for launching a China-Sri Lanka joint shipping service between China and West African countries under which the Shipping Corporation of Sri Lanka could utilize Chinese Shipping Corporation's 500-strong fleet to ship tea, spices, and other general produce Oct 1980
- 97 Agreement on collaboration in the setting up of an agricultural machinery industry in Sri Lanka Nov 1980
- 98 Agreement on cultural exchange of cultural troupes, journalists, academics, and educationists Nov 1980

*Appendix 32*

**Chinese Loans and Grants to Sri Lanka, 1957-1980**

<i>Date of agreement</i>	<i>Amount in million US dollars  pound sterling</i>	<i>Sri Lanka rupees million</i>	<i>Terms of payment</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
19 Sep 1957	\$15.8	(75)	grant extended in 1962 until 1967	for the supply of goods which would generate rupee equivalents to be used for the Rubber Replanting Programme; to facilitate economic development during the period 1958-1962
17 Sep 1958	\$10.5	(50)	repayable in 10 years in the currency of a third country or with export of goods from Ceylon acceptable to China; interest rate of 2.5 per cent, converted into interest-free loan on 15 Mar 1964	purchase of goods from China for flood relief and rehabilitation
3 Oct 1962	\$10.5	(50)	grant	for the snpply of complete plant, agricultural machinery, and implements

<i>Date of agreement</i>	<i>Amount in million US dollars/ pound sterling</i>	<i>Sri Lanka rupees million</i>	<i>Terms of payment</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
24 Oct 1964	\$4.2	(20) (Rs 6.27 mn utilised upto 30 Sep 1967)	interest-free; period 1965-1967; repayable in 10 annual instalments commencing in 1967	for purchase of complete set of equipment, machines, and farm implements from China
12 Sep 1970	\$9.3	(53.6) RMBY 22.155 mn	..	for purchase of rice
27 May 1971	\$31.5	(150)	in convertible currencies payable in two instalments in 1971; repayable over a period of 12 years; 3-year grace period	
8 Oct 1971	\$13.0	(43.46) RMBY 16.57 mn	interest-free	for purchase of 100,000 metric tons of rice
May 1972	\$5.0			for resolving foreign exchange deficit
29 Jun 1972	\$33.26	(307)	interest-free; Rs 260 mn to be paid in hard currency and Rs 47 mn for a textile mill (Minneriya) and flood control projects	
16 Sep 1972	\$2.0	(6.23) RMBY 2.011 mn	interest-free; repayable over 10 years within a 5 year grace period	for a cargo-ship ( <i>Lanka Kalyani</i> )

Date of agreement	Amount in million US dollars: pound sterling	Sri Lanka rupees million	Terms of payment	Purpose
Nov 1972	£.355	(5.91) RMBY 1.909 mn	interest-free; repayable over 10 years with a 5-year grace period	for a second cargo-ship ( <i>Lanka Kanthi</i> ) for joint shipping service
16 Dec 1972		(13.44)	cash loan in convertible currency; repayable in 20 years with 10-year grace period	
12 Jul 1974		(100)	interest-free; repayable in 30 years	for Gin Ganga river flood protection project
4 Feb 1975	£4.8			for construction of glass factory at Negombo
Jan 1976	£1.5		interest-free; in convertible currency; repayable over 5 years including 2-year grace period	
1978		(47)		project loan
18 Jan 1980		(250)	interest-free loan of RMBY 50 mn to be provided within a period of 7 years; repayable in 20 years, including 10-year grace period	assisting Sri Lanka in building complete projects, providing it with individual equipment and conducting technical cooperation

**Notes:** <sup>1</sup>From 19 September 1957 to 30 June 1968 Chinese economic aid to Sri Lanka was of the value of Rs 195 million. As of 30 June 1968, Rs 122.3 million of the grants had been allocated, of which Rs 70.1 million had been drawn. Of the loans, Rs 56.3 million had been allocated and utilized as of 30 June 1968. Ceylon, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Department of Foreign Aid, *Foreign Aid* (Colombo, August 1968), 17.

<sup>2</sup>A Chinese loan of 25.67 million yuan (Rs 85.43 million) for the purchase of rice was also given to Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka, Department of Printing, *State Accounts of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka for the Financial Year, 1977, part I, Sessional Paper No. XI-1978* (Colombo, November 1978), 172.

**Source:** Ceylon, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Department of Foreign Aid, *Foreign Aid* (Colombo, August 1968) Table III and Central Bank of Ceylon, *Annual Report of the Monetary Board to the Hon. Minister of Finance and Planning for the Year 1978* (Colombo, 1979).

*Appendix 33*

**Chinese Economic Aid to Sri Lanka under the agreements of 19 Sep 1957 and 3 Oct 1962**  
(in million rupees)

<i>Date of agreement</i>	<i>Department which received aid</i>	<i>Value of aid received upto 31 Dec 1977</i>	<i>Nature of aid</i>
19 Sep 1957	Department of Rural Development and Small Industries	12.79	Textile weaving machinery and accessories
	Government Stores Department	2.87	Textiles, mild steel bars, mammties, axes, khaki peak caps, bicycle tyres and tubes, and cotton thread sheets
	Ceylon Transport Board	3.28	Tyres, tubes, and batteries
	Railway Department	36.90	Passenger cars and luggage vans
	Railway Department	.02	
	Ministry of Commerce and Indust- ries, Ministry of Rural and Industrial Development	.98	Preliminary design of the textile mill at Pugoda
	Department of Commissioner of Cooperative Development and Registrar of Cooperative Socie- ties	.45	Rice milling machines and spare parts for combined rice milling unit
	Health Department	.02	Absorbent gauze

<i>Date of agreement</i>	<i>Department which received aid</i>	<i>Value of aid received upto 31 Dec 1977</i>	<i>Nature of aid</i>
	Port Cargo Corporation	.009	Mild steel angles, joints and round bars
	<b>Total</b>	<b>57.21</b>	
3 Oct 1962	Cooperative wholesale establishment	20.44	Cloth

*Source:* Sri Lanka, Department of Government Printing, *State Accounts of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka for the Financial Year, 1977, Part I Sessional Paper No. XI—1978* (Colombo, November 1978), 180.



## Appendix 34

**Net Receipts of Foreign Assistance by Sri Lanka from China,  
1961/62 to 1978**  
(in million rupees)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Loans</i>	<i>Grants</i>
1965/66	9.7	2.5
1966/67	-4.9	—
1967/68	-5.5	..
1968/69	-5.5	..
1969/70	4.8	4.7
1970/71	137.7	7.9
1972	66.1	11.0
1973	27.4	..
1974	58.6	115.2
1975	-28.0	..
1976	12.5	0.2
1977	-135.3	—
1978	-40.0	—

*Note:* <sup>1</sup>provisional

*Source:* Sri Lanka, Department of Census and Statistics, *Statistical Pocket Book of the Republic of Sri Lanka (Ceylon)*, 1971 (Colombo, 1971), 111; 1972, (Colombo, 1972), 111; 1973 (Colombo, 1973), 105; 1979 (Colombo, 1979), 116-7.

Appendix 35

Public Debt of Sri Lanka to China as outstanding on 31 December 1977

<i>Title of loan</i>	<i>Gross debt in million rupees</i>	<i>Balance outstanding for repayment in foreign currency (million)</i>	<i>Date borrowed</i>	<i>Date repayable</i>	<i>Mode of repayment</i>	<i>Currency in which repayable</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1. Loans for Salu Sala (1964)	8.218	Rs 8.219	between Jun 1966 and Dec 1973	due between 1 Jan 1974 and 1 Jan 1983; payable within 12 months from due date	in 10 equal instalments	in the currency of a third country agreed upon between the two countries or by export of Ceylon goods acceptable to China	under agreement of 17 Sep 1958
2. Purchase of Rice (1970)	78.710	RMBY 8.862	between Sep 1970 and Dec 1970	between 1 Jan 1972 and 31 Dec 1981	as above	as above	agreement signed 12 Sep 1970
3. Chinese Loan Rs 150 mn (1971)	100.000	Rs. 100.000	between May-Aug 1971	between 1 Jan 1974 and 31 Dec 1985	in 12 equal instalments	as above	—

<i>Title of loan</i>	<i>Gross debt in million rupees</i>	<i>Balance outstanding for repayment in foreign currency (million)</i>	<i>Date borrowed</i>	<i>Date repayable</i>	<i>Mode of repayment</i>	<i>Currency in which repayable</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
4. Purchase of Rice (1971)	133.355	RMBY 15.014	between Dec 1971 and May 1972	between 1 Jan 1977 and 31 Dec 1986	in 10 equal instalments	by export of Ceylon goods	—
5. Purchase of one cargo ship— <i>Lanka Kalyani</i> (1971-2)	17.862	RMBY 2.011	Sep 1972	between 1 Jan 1978 and 31 Dec 1987	as above	as above	—
6. Purchase of one cargo ship— <i>Lanka Kanthi</i> (1972-3)	16.952	RMBY 1.909	Nov 1972	between 1 Jan 1978 and 31 Dec 1987	as above	as above	—
7. Economic technical cooperation loan (1972)	87.213	RMBY 9.819	Nov 1972 and Dec 1976	between 1 Jul 1982 and 30 Jun 2002	in 20 equal instalments	by export of Ceylon goods	—
8. Purchase of rice 30,000 m.t. (1974)	6.928	RMBY 0.780	between Apr 1974 and Aug 1974	between Dec 1977 and Jan 1978	n.a.	as above	—

<i>Title of loan</i>	<i>Gross debt in million rnpes</i>	<i>Balance outstanding for repayment in foreign currency (million)</i>	<i>Date borrowed</i>	<i>Date repayable</i>	<i>Mode of repayment</i>	<i>Currency in which repayable</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
9. Chinese loan RMBY 18 mn for textile projects (1972)	24.830	RMBY 2.796	between Nov 1976 and Dec 1976	between 1 Oct 1981 and 30 Sep 1991	in 10 equal instalments	by export of Ceylon goods acceptable to China	
10. Chinese loan of RMBY 5.9 mn convertible currency (1976)	52.402	RMBY 5.900	between Jun 1976 and Dec 1976	between 1 Jan 1978 and 31 Dec 1980	in 3 equal annual instalments	in a convertible currency or by export of Ceylon goods acceptable to China	Rs 25.98 mn. borrowed upto 31 Dec 1977
<b>Total Rs 526.473</b>		<b>Rs 108.219+</b>					
		<b>RMBY 47.091</b>					

*Note:* <sup>1</sup>All the above loans are interest-free.

*Source:* Sri Lanka, Department of Government Printing, *State Accounts of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka for the Financial Year, 1977, Part I, Sessional Paper No. XI—1978, November 1978*, (Colombo, 1978) 195-6.

Appendix 36

Chinese-aided Projects in Sri Lanka

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commencement</i>	<i>When commissioned/ inaugurated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<b>Textile mills</b>					
1. Textile mill, Pugoda	1.4 mn kg of yarn 165 mn yards annually 1.45 mn metres annually		Oct 1971	14 Mar 1975	protocols signed in Jun 1959, 25 Nov 1964, 29 Jun 1972, and 5 Jul 1974
2. Textile mill, Minneriya	600 power looms; 25,000 spindles; 3.5 mn pounds of year annually; 1.70 mn metres annually	Rs 70 mn	Apr 1976	went into production in May 1978	protocol signed 8 Feb 1970 and 6 Jul 1974
3. Small textile mills (50)	48 looms	Rs 0.5 mn each; total Rs 25 mn			by Dec 1968, 28 mills and been completed; out of 1962 donation of Rs 50 mn
<b>Sheet glass factory (2)</b>					
1. Sheet glass factory, Dankotuwa	10,000 tons of sheet glass monthly	estd Rs 70 mn			agreement signed Mar 1975

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commencement</i>	<i>When commissioned/ inaugurated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
2. Sheet glass factory, Negombo	10,000 tons of sheet glass annually		planned		loan agreement for £4.8 mn signed on 4 Feb 1975
3. Sheet glass factory, Nattindiya	10,000 tons annually	Rs 70 mn	planned		preliminary agreement on approval of preliminary designs was signed on 15 Mar 1976
<b>Miscellaneous</b>					
1. Bandarnaike Memorial International Conference Hall, Colombo					
a. construction	floor space 31,000 sq. m.	\$3.8 mn (Rs 35 mn)	24 Nov 1970	7 May 1973	donation: agreement signed 3 Oct 1962 Chinese aid was of the value of Rs 27.35 mn for equipments, building materials and other expenses <sup>4</sup>
b. maintenance	<p>£214,655 (Rs 3.35 mn + Rs 2.18* = Rs 5.53 mn) was received on 21 Jun 1974.            £215,777 (Rs 3.37 mn + Rs 2.19* = Rs 5.56 mn) was received on 23 Sep 1974.</p>				The total of £430,432 (Rs 11.09 mn) was paid to the S.W.R.D. Memorial Committee

<i>Name of project</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Commencement</i>	<i>When commissioned/ inaugurated</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
2. Gin Ganga flood protection project		estd Rs 100 mn <sup>2</sup>	final report submitted on 11 Nov 1975 commencement 21 Sep 1976	on-going	protocol signed on 13 Jul 1974; Rs 100 mn interest-free loan for the purpose
3. Inland Fish Breeding Station, experimental fresh water fish breeding centre, Udawalawe		estd Rs 10 mn			agreement signed on 22 Jan 1975; most funds from 1972 loan
4. Rolling stock supplied by Oct 1962	202 good carriage, 13 tank carriages, and 8 passenger coaches				
in 1964	235 passenger coaches and goods carriages worth Rs 12 mn				
in 1965/66 <sup>3</sup>	116 passenger coaches and goods carriages worth Rs 4.85 mn				

*Notes:*

All rupee figures are in Sri Lanka rupees.

\*Value of FEECs.

RMBY Ren Min Bin Yuan

<sup>1</sup>China gave a loan of RMBY 9.04 million for the project. Of this Rs 9.05 million had been utilized upto 31 December 1977. During the 1978 programme it was proposed to spend Rs 24.26 million, of which Rs 489,000 had been utilized from 1 January 1978 to 30 September 1978. Sri Lanka, Ministry of Plan Implementation, *Performance*,

*January-September 1978* (Colombo, September 1978), 97.

<sup>2</sup>China gave a grant of RMBY 30 million for the project. Of this aid, Rs11.3 million had been utilized upto 31 December 1977 and Rs30 million was proposed to be spent during the 1978 programme. *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>3</sup>China provided a loan of Rs. 6.273 million for the purchase of 162 units of railway carriages and wagons. This amount was borrowed between June and September 1966. The loan was repayable between 1 January 1968 and January 1977 in 10 equal instalments in the currency of a third country agreed upon between the two governments or by export of Ceylon goods acceptable to China. Ceylon, *Accounts of the Government of Ceylon for the financial year 1965-66, Part I, Sessional Paper V—1967* (Colombo, March 1967), 82.

<sup>4</sup>Sri Lanka, Department of Government Printing, *State Accounts of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka for the Financial Year, 1977, Part I, Sessional Paper No XI—1978* (Colombo, November 1978), 181.



## Appendix 37

**China's Trade with Sri Lanka, 1951-1978**  
(in million rupees)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Sri Lanka exports</i>	<i>% share</i>	<i>Sri Lanka imports</i>	<i>% share</i>
1951	36	2.0	4	2.7
1952	124	9.0	33	2.0
1953	242	16.0	209	13.0
1954	222	13.0	158	11.3
1955	121	6.4	80	5.5
1956	182	11.0	134	8.2
1957	167	10.5	84	4.6
1958	78	4.7	152	8.8
1959	78	4.6	150	7.5
1960	121	6.6	132	6.8
1961	83	4.9	35	2.0
1962	133.2	7.54	41.0	11.39
1963	100.6	5.9	138.1	7.55
1964	121.9	6.62	202.2	10.24
1965	171.8	8.97	113.9	7.85
1966	176.9	10.55	217.0	10.70
1967	153.5	9.41	184.7	10.62
1968	195	9.6	245	11.3
1969	240.3	21.8	281.9	11.1
1970	251.5	12.6	289.3	12.9
1971	180.5	9.4	161.1	8.2
1972	160.1	8.32	95.9	4.65
1973	240.5	9.27	211.3	7.78
1974	267.2	7.75	358.7	7.87
1975	460.1	11.72	661.5	12.68
1976	481.4	10.03	56.2	1.22
1977	433.5	6.55	284.1	4.77
1978	955.6	7.25	452.5	3.11

*Source:* Ceylon, Department of Census and Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Ceylon, 1967-1968* (Colombo, 1970), 223-26; Sri Lanka, Department of Census and Statistics, *Statistical Pocket Book of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), 1972* (Colombo, 1972), 78-9; *1973* (Colombo, 1973), 70-1; *1979* (Colombo, 1979) 74-5.

*Appendix 38***Chinese Arms Supplies to Sri Lanka**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Comment</i>
1972	5	Motor gunboat, "Shanghai" class	Displ: 100 tons

*Note:* In November 1980 Sri Lanka President commissioned two fast gunboats gifted by China.

*Source:* Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *Arms Trade Registers: The Arms Trade with the Third World* (Stockholm, 1975), 41.

## Appendix 39

## Glossary of Select Chinese Weapons

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Comments</i>
<b>Aircraft</b>			
Il-28	bomber	1950	Version: trainer: U
MiG-15 UTI	trainer	around 1950	
Shenyang F-9 (MiG-19)	fighter	. . .	produced under license from USSR
Shenyang F-9 (MiG-21)	fighter		
<b>Armoured fighting vehicles</b>			
T-59	main battle tank 32 ton	1963	T-54 manufa- ctured in China
<b>Missiles</b>			
SAM-6	surface-to- air missile	1967	

*Notes:* 1. The date refers to the date on which production of the first version was started.

**Conventions used in Tables**

- . . Information not available; refers only to items on order.
- ( ) A greater degree of uncertainty about, for instance, the date of an order or delivery, the number of items supplied or the identity of the supplier.
- 1965- 1965 and subsequent years.

## Appendix 40

## Rank Order of Major Arms Importers in South Asia, 1970-1979

	<i>SIPRI total indica- tor value of arms imports (1975 \$mn)</i>	<i>Percen- tage of Third World total</i>	<i>Largest recipient countries</i>	<i>SIPRI total indicator value of country's arms imports (1975 \$mn)</i>	<i>Percen- tage of region's total</i>	<i>Largest supplier to each country</i>	<i>Percen- tage of country's total</i>	<i>Four largest suppliers in region</i>	<i>Percent- age of region's total</i>
1970-74 <sup>a</sup>	1869	10	India	1281	68	USSR	70	USSR	54
			Pakistan	457	24	China	53	UK	15
			Afghanistan	60	3	USSR	100	China	13
			Bangladesh	49	3	USSR	92	France	10
			Sri Lanka	15	1	UK	47		
			Nepal	6	0.3	UK	33		
<b>Third World Total</b>	<b>18729</b>	<b>100</b>							
1975-79 <sup>a</sup>	2031	5	India	1055	52	USSR	57	USSR	42
			Pakistan	564	28	France	53	France	18
			Afghanistan	253	13	USSR	100	UK	14
			Bangladesh	59	3	China	78	China	7
			Nepal	7	0.3	France	57		
			Sri Lanka	4	0.2	France	50		

*Notes:*

<sup>1</sup>“The region of South Asia has decreased its imports of major arms arms between the first and second halves of the 1970s, relative to other Third World regions. Ranking third in 1970-74, the region now occupies sixth place, accounting for 5 per cent of Third World major arms importers during 1975-79.” *SIPRI Yearbook, 1980* (London, 1980), 117.

<sup>2</sup>This table replaces the aggregate import table from 1950, which is being revised in connection with the computer storage of data. This revised aggregate yearly export and import and tables will be published in the *SIPRI Yearbook, 1981*.

*Source:* SIPRI, *SIPRI Yearbook, 1980: World Armaments and Disarmament* (London, 1980), 96-7.

*Appendix 41*

**US, Chinese, and Soviet Arms Exports to South Asia,  
1950-1973: A Comparative Study**  
(in US \$ million, at constant 1973 prices)

<i>Year</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>US</i>	<i>USSR</i>
1950	— (23)	— (91.0)	— (25.4)
1951	— (23)	— (109.5)	— (42.6)
1952	— (—)	— (102.6)	— (28.2)
1953	— (—)	11.7 (73.1)	— (176.4)
1954	— —	41.5 (280.4)	— (6.0)
1955	— —	40.4 (301.9)	2.6 (62.0)
1956	— —	56.4 (325.7)	1.8 (144.6)
1957	— (1)	56.4 (346.1)	12.0 (252.5)
1958	— (191)	91.5 (378.6)	7.3 (193.0)
1959	— (133)	18.3 (246.8)	12.6 (108.2)
1960	— (125)	20.1 (530.5)	51.5 (157.8)
1961	— —	34.3 (263.4)	58.7 (373.5)
1962	— (—)	77.0 (240.0)	47.0 (773.4)
1963	— (—)	84.9 (352.8)	53.6 (325.0)
1964	— (—)	20.5 (264.0)	20.1 (276.4)
1965	6.005 <sup>1</sup> (7)	2.5 (374.0)	108.4 (398.1)
1966	6.005 <sup>1</sup> (27)	4.4 (373.1)	109.8 (590.2)
1967	6.005 <sup>1</sup> (13)	4.4 (310.3)	120.4 (860.6)
1968	6.005 <sup>1</sup> (4)	— (496.9)	90.0 (571.4)

<i>Year</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>US</i>	<i>USSR</i>
1969	— —	0.3 (783.6)	188.9 (587.8)
1970	30.61 <sup>2</sup> (6)	— (724.1)	161.0 (786.4)
1971	30.61 <sup>2</sup> (66)	2.6 (739.9)	233.3 (1,002.7)
1972	30.61 <sup>2</sup> (101)	0.5 (360.3)	127.9 (569.5)
1973	30.61 <sup>2</sup> (21)	14.0 (748.9)	120.4 (1,175.1)

<sup>1</sup>annual average for 1965-1969; constitutes 50 per cent of total arms exports.

<sup>2</sup>annual average for 1969-1973; constitutes 78.8 per cent of total arms exports.

*Notes:*

<sup>a</sup>Total arms exports excluding Vietnam are given in brackets.

<sup>b</sup>Annual average of total Chinese arms exports excluding Vietnam has been: \$11.83 mn for 1950-1954; \$84.79 mn for 1955-1959; \$32.395 mn for 1960-1964; \$10.01 mn for 1965-1969; and \$38.87 mn for 1969-1973.

*Source:* Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *Arms Trade Registers: The Arms Trade with the Third World* (Stockholm, 1975), 150-5, 157.





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