

the rest of the country and to improve communication with New Delhi have either not been completed or have yet to be started. In November Mr. Nehru said it was a "bad show" that a 200-mile road from Srinagar in Kashmir to Leh, the capital of Ladakh, was only about half finished. He said the Indian Army had been asked to take charge of the road after Kashmir State engineers had been accused of embezzlement. The details of the clash on October 21 took some 48 hours to filter through to New Delhi, by which time the Chinese had already presented their version to the Indian Government.

At the end of August 1959, Mr. Nehru, replying to questions in the Indian Parliament, brought the border problem into the open. He revealed a story of frontier skirmishes and intrusions dating back to 1954, which had become more serious and threatening during the previous three months. The Indian Government's concern was indicated in the note of August 28, 1959, to the Chinese following the seizure of Longju. The note stated in part:

The Government of India strongly protest against these repeated violations of Indian territory by Chinese armed forces. Until now the Government have observed discreet reticence about these incidents although there is a good deal of concern among the Indian public and in Parliament about the security arrangements on India's northern frontier. The Government of India would urge once more that the Chinese authorities should issue immediate instructions to all their frontier forces not to violate Indian territory . . . It occurs to them that all this show of force is entirely uncalled for. If the Chinese Government have any dispute about any point on the international frontier, it should be possible to resolve the dispute by negotiations between two friendly governments rather than by the unilateral application of force by one side against the other.

In conclusion the communication reiterated the view Prime Minister Nehru had expressed in his letter of March 22 to Mr. Chou En-lai and with which he had understood the Chinese to agree, that the position as it was before recent disputes arose should be respected by both sides and that neither side should try to take unilateral action in exercise of what it conceived to be its right.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai's letter of September 8 came as a shock to Mr. Nehru. Despite the more determined note of the protest over Longju, the Indian idea of a solution for the problem appeared to be one of minor rectifications of the border here and there. Instead the Chinese Premier laid claim to some 40,000 square miles of border country in NEFA and Ladakh and suggested that India was trying to profit from what he called British imperialistic territorial expansion into China's Tibet Region. In expressing this opinion the Chinese leader wrote:

Unexpectedly to the Chinese Government . . . the Indian Government demanded that the Chinese Government give recognition to the conditions created by the application of the British policy of aggression against China's Tibet Region as the foundation for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. What is more serious, the Indian Government has applied all sorts of pressures on the Chinese Government, not even scrupling the use of force to support this demand.

Mr. Nehru's reply, his letter of September 26, was therefore stiffer than his March letter and undertook to refute the Chinese claims in detail. He rejected the bid for 40,000 square miles of Indian territory and made it clear that no discussions could be held on the basis of maps showing portions of NEFA and Ladakh as Chinese. While asserting that no change could be made in a boundary