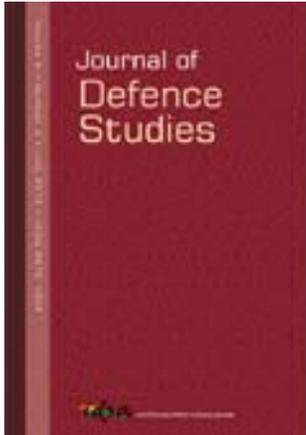


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The Great Divide Chinese and Indian Views on Negotiations, 1959–62

*Oriana Skylar Mastro**

When will states bargain while fighting and when will they evade intra-war negotiations? This article addresses this question with respect to the 1962 Sino-Indian War and provides insight into the question of why talks did not occur for the duration of the war. To do so, I analyse Chinese and Indian strategic thinking regarding the prospects of talks in the lead up and throughout the short war, with information gathered through archival work at the Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives, interviews with former Indian political and military leaders as well as scholars and secondary sources. This article seeks to explain why New Delhi set strict preconditions on the launching of talks and rarely, if at all, made offers to talk, while China was open about offering talks without preconditions.

India is always prepared to resolve differences by talks and discussions, but on the basis of decency, dignity and self-respect and not under the threat of military might of any country, however strong it may be.

—Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Prime Minister¹

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They wouldn't talk with us! What should I do! We tried several times, but it wouldn't work.

—Zhou Enlai, Chinese Premier²

This article provides insight into the question of why talks did not occur for the duration of the Sino-Indian border war in 1962. I analyse Chinese and Indian strategic thinking regarding the prospects of peace talks in the lead up and throughout the short war, with information gathered through archival work at the Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives, interviews with former Indian political and military leaders as well as scholars and secondary sources. While there have been extensive studies about the causes and failures of the war, none unpack the Chinese and Indian positions on intra-war negotiations and why they differed.³ In this article, I will address the following questions. What were China and India's positions on talks before the war and how did these change once war broke out? What negative consequences did the Indian leadership fear would result from demonstrating a willingness to talk in the face of perceived Chinese aggression? In contrast, why did the Chinese leadership persist before and during the war in trying to convince the Indians to come to the table even though Beijing was unwilling to adhere to India's preconditions as a first step?

On 20 October 1962, at five in the morning, massed Chinese artillery opened up a heavy concentration on a weak Indian garrison in Namka Chu Valley in an area China considers southern Tibet and India calls Arunachal Pradesh. The assault that followed opened up a path within a few hours that would allow the Chinese to press forward 160 miles within the month.⁴ By 20 November 1962, China had succeeded in driving out all organized Indian armed forces from any territory claimed by China in the western sector, and it controlled the whole area between the McMahon Line and the Outer Line in the south.⁵ The next day, the Chinese announced a unilateral ceasefire and a withdrawal of troops 20 kilometres (kms) from the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in all sectors. Though the massive attack was not launched until 20 October, from the Indian perspective, Chinese aggression began on 8 September when Chinese troops took Thag La Ridge.⁶ Either way, during those 10 weeks of escalating conflict, there was no formal declaration of war by either side.

The underlying cause of the war was territorial disputes, which materialized once China established control over Tibet in October 1950

resulting in a shared border for the first time. The Sino-Indian border is divided into eastern, middle and western sectors, and the boundary has never been formally delimited, demarcated and accepted by both governments.⁷ Both countries claim Aksai Chin in the western sector, which China considers a part of Xinjiang and India a part of Ladakh. In the east, India accepts the McMahon Line as the legal national border which China disputes;⁸ in this sector, the disputed territory is claimed by India as Arunachal Pradesh (formerly North-East Frontier Agency or NEFA) and China as part of Tibet. In the middle sector, the two countries contend various points along two border junctions.⁹ In an attempt to promote these claims, New Delhi formulated the Forward Policy in 1959, which directed Indian patrols to penetrate the spaces between Chinese posts while simultaneously avoiding clashes. The objectives of this policy were to block any further Chinese advancement into territories claimed by India and establish a greater presence in Aksai Chin that could be used later as bargaining leverage to compel a greater Chinese withdrawal.¹⁰ In the three years before the war, India set up 43 strong points in the west as a part of the Forward Policy.¹¹ New Delhi consistently ignored Chinese warnings that further encroachments in the western sector would invite retaliation across the McMahon Line. Consolidation of control over the western sector was key to security of the Xinjiang–Tibet highway for the Chinese, which enhanced internal stability by strengthening the central government’s recently established control over these territories. Because of this, China interpreted India’s Forward Policy as an attempt to maintain influence in Tibet and challenge China authority there.¹²

In this period leading up to the war, as part of the policy, India refused most Chinese offers to engage in negotiations concerning the boundary, partly because Nehru denied that a territorial dispute existed. However, Delhi did express a willingness to discuss the alignment of the boundary in specific areas, but this was conditional on unilateral Chinese withdrawals from all territory that India claimed.¹³ This precondition was softened at times, for example, in January 1960 when the Indian government, believing that its interests may be best served by probing the Chinese position, agreed to summit talks in April of the same year.¹⁴ In contrast, China’s position was to acknowledge that part of its border was undetermined and state its intent to maintain the status quo until such a determination was made through friendly negotiations.¹⁵ Unlike India, China did not put forth any territorial claims as preconditions

for negotiations before the war broke out.¹⁶ The only tangible result of the summit talks was the establishment of an expert working group to determine the areas of disagreement between the two sides through examination of maps and documents.¹⁷ The results were referred to as the officials' report. After the failed summit talks, Chinese leaders began to think that escalation would be more effective at achieving their goals by compelling the Indians to engage in talks.¹⁸

With the outbreak of the war, however, the Indian position hardened further as Chinese offers to talk were perceived as disingenuous. The first Chinese offer to engage in talks came only four days after the start of the war in the form of a three-point proposal put forth by Zhou. He argued for the need to reopen peaceful negotiations, respect the LAC and withdraw forces 20 kms from that line, and recommended that the prime ministers of India and China hold talks again.¹⁹ In a released statement, the Chinese reasserted their proposal to disengage and enter into talks. To put pressure on Delhi, the statement also purposefully reminded international audiences that India had rejected China's proposals for talks without preconditions three times.²⁰ However, escalation had not been effective at changing India's position on negotiations; Delhi rejected Zhou's three-point proposals immediately as 'Delhi refused to acquiesce in the claims that China had established by force.'²¹ There would be no intra-war negotiations during the 1962 Sino-Indian border war.²²

In this article, I put forth a model to explain countries' positions on intra-war negotiations based on the idea that leaders believe that agreeing to engage in talks will have negative consequences. Specifically, states fear, rightly or not, that their opponents will take the willingness to engage in intra-war talks as a sign of weakness. Countries are concerned that if their opponent thinks they lack willingness to absorb or inflict costs in future periods, their opponent will ratchet up its war effort to a level that is unfavourable or unsustainable. This could reduce their bargaining leverage or even force an unconditional surrender by pushing the conflict to the point where they can no longer fight. But not all countries perceive this risk equally; the difference in the ability to escalate largely accounts for the two countries diverging views about intra-war negotiations. Specifically, I label the difference between the costs associated with the level at which a state is fighting a limited war in a given period and the amount it is able to inflict and absorb at the total war level the cost differential (CD). The state with the smaller perceived CD, in this case India, views talks as too

risky given the possibility of a ratchet effect and is, consequently, the most vigilant about whether offers to talk are genuine or probes of resolve. My theory predicts that India will set strict preconditions on the launching of talks and rarely, if at all, make offers to talk as a result of the possibility of the ratchet effect. India was reluctant to show an eagerness to talk with China because it was worried that this would only encourage China to use more military force to strengthen its claims and compel India to settle on its terms, a concern that intensified once the war broke out. On the other hand, as the country with the larger perceived CD (or more room to escalate), China was less concerned that offers to talk would signal weakness and consequently encourage Delhi to ratchet up its war effort. This allowed China to be more open about offering talks frequently not without preconditions. However, because Beijing believed its superior ability to escalate vis-à-vis India would allow it to achieve its goals, it staunchly refused to concede to any preconditions to start such efforts.²³

The rest of this article proceeds as follows. First, I lay out the military balance of power between China and India at the time of the conflict to establish that both sides believed India had a smaller CD, and therefore less room to escalate. Second, I examine Chinese attempts to launch talks before and during the war and India's response. While India was reluctant, Nehru did accept China's proposals to discuss the border issues a number of times before the war. However, after China invaded territory India considered its own in September 1962, the Indian position hardened and no talks were agreed to throughout the course of the war. China, on the other hand, consistently offered talks without preconditions. Lastly, I discuss in more detail the strategic thinking behind India's evasion of talks and why China was less reluctant to show an eagerness to resolve the issue through negotiations.

BALANCE OF MILITARY MIGHT

Until 1947, the Himalayan belt had been dominated by the British who, in addition to having local preponderance of power, could bring vast economic and military resources to bear in a conflict from outside the subcontinent. When the British left in 1947, this 'prepared the way for a reversal of the balance... the emergence in China of a strong central authority, with the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, confirmed the shift.'²⁴ The Indian armed forces, in contrast, had

experienced a decade of neglect in the 1950s, partly because of a lack of external threats and need to focus expenditures on domestic issues after independence. To the extent that India did improve its defences, it did so with the possibility of war with Pakistan or internal security requirements.²⁵ Even though India was challenging a 'militarily far superior' China with its Forward Policy, the Indian political elite was convinced that regardless of India's actions, China would not attack.²⁶ By 1953, the Indian Army was approximately 350,000 men organized into seven divisions, six of which were infantry and only one armoured unit, each with a varying level of training and readiness.²⁷

After the Longju and Kongka Pass skirmishes of 1959, the Indian Army expanded with greater purpose, transferring 4 Division from Punjab to the north-east and creating a new division, the 17th.²⁸ In the western sector, with only two battalions of militia, no regular troops, supporting arms or roads within the sector, the army's resources were considered deficient for even a limited and defensive task.²⁹ At the end of 1960, Western Command informed Army Headquarters (HQ) that a division was needed, but only one regular and two militia battalions were deployed.³⁰ Even though India's strength in the western sector had increased slightly by mid-1961, its position had worsened largely due to logistical challenges; Indian roads did not even reach Leh, and air or mule mainly supplied the troops. China, on the other hand, had easier terrain to deal with as well as the labour and equipment to build roads up to their westernmost posts.³¹

By summer 1962, 60 Indian posts faced a full Chinese division, which outnumbered them five to one.³² A contemporary reporter went further, writing that China enjoyed a 10 to one superiority in the western sector and all the advantages of terrain and communications.³³ Furthermore, on 8 October, the Chinese Central Military Commission (CMC) ordered veteran, high-quality divisions in Chengdu and Lanzhou military regions to move into Tibet.³⁴ China could move by truck and had all regular supporting arms for its troops, while the Indian troops had to trek by foot and the 114 Brigade had only one platoon of medium machine guns.³⁵ As General Daulat Singh of Western Command argued, given Chinese numerical superiority and the position of the Indian posts on the valley floors dominated by the high ground held by the Chinese, India was 'militarily...in no position to defend what [it] possess[ed], let alone force a showdown'.³⁶ The People's Liberation Army (PLA) intelligence in the days before the war came to the similar conclusion that the military balance in

the front regions weighted heavily in China's favour in terms of number of troops, number of heavy weapons and logistic roads supporting front line forces.³⁷

India was at a disadvantage as well in terms of air power; the PLA Air Force (PLAAF) had MiG-21s, night-capable MiG-19s and MiG-17s which would pose a great challenge to the Indian forces. Because India lacked night interceptors, the Indian Intelligence Bureau assessed that China would be able to undertake missions as far as up to Madras without challenge. While the Chinese faced logistical challenges with only six airfields in Tibet, they did possess an overall numerical superiority with over eight times the air defence aircraft and almost twice as many ground attack aircraft. Regardless, air power did not play a critical role in the war because of Indian strategic thinking about the risks and utility of air power. The Indian Army was dependent on resupply by air and Chinese retaliation to Indian use of air power could adversely affect India's ability to resupply its troops. Also, India wanted to avoid escalation beyond the border and believed that employment of offensive air assets could encourage China to engage in strategic bombing against Indian population centres, communications and transport links.³⁸

In the first few days of the war, it became apparent to both sides that China had a significant advantage in terms of the resources it had available along the border as well as the amount it held in reserve. Minister of Defence, Krishna Menon, admitted, 'the Chinese have very considerable superiority in numbers and fire-power. We have been heavily out-numbered and out-weaponed.'³⁹ While the Indian forces had only a few machine guns, three-inch mortars and pre-World War I rifles, China enjoyed a full complement of weaponry to include heavy mortars, recoilless guns and automatic rifles.⁴⁰ The prime minister's public statements were much more optimistic about the balance of power, but when the corps commander of the western sector articulated his concern that Nehru's 'assurances bore no relation to the facts of the situation', he was consoled that the remarks had only been for public consumption.⁴¹ Even internationally, India was seen as the weaker power; in a verbal note to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in February 1960, after the two armed clashes in 1959, Soviet leaders stated, 'one cannot possibly seriously think that a state such as India, which is militarily and economically immeasurably weaker than China, would really launch a military attack on China and commit aggression against it.'⁴²

Even though India accepted that China was militarily superior and had more room to escalate, the leadership believed that as long as clashes were small scale, the Indian Army would fair well against the Chinese.⁴³ This made avoiding escalation vital to India's strategy for success.⁴⁴ Moreover, among decision makers and consultants, there was a general expectation of a long war; as Nehru stated, 'we must realize, however, that this is going to be a long-drawn-out affair. I see no near end of it.'⁴⁵ Showing resolve while being careful not to encourage increased Chinese aggression was critical to catering to public opinion while protecting national interests in a potentially protracted war.⁴⁶ I argue that the disparate CDs of the two actors should result in a marked difference in Indian and Chinese willingness to engage in talks. Given that Delhi could not demonstrate resolve through military might, one would expect the Indian side to offer talks less often than Beijing. Furthermore, as the weaker nation, Indian decision makers believed refusing to talk was necessary to demonstrate toughness and credibly communicate that the use of force would be ineffective against them. According to my model, the necessity to India demonstrate resolve and refuse talks without strict preconditions should increase as the two countries moved from limited skirmishes to all-out war.

INDIAN AND CHINESE POSITIONS ON TALKS, 1959–62

The Chinese government, and in particular Premier Zhou Enlai, consistently offered talks to the Indian government, both in the lead up to and during the war.⁴⁷ Each offer was confronted with the same obstacle: China wanted talks without preconditions and India found this unacceptable. Part of the problem was the Chinese believed that ratcheting up the force employed along the border would eventually compel the Indians to come to the negotiating table, while sensitivities in Delhi about the potential consequences of looking weak made this outcome increasingly unlikely with every loss. As the then Chinese Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, lamented, 'they will continue their foolhardy behavior, the Indians will only give up once they have hit a wall.'⁴⁸

While still wary of Chinese intentions, India did demonstrate a greater willingness to talk to China before the war than after it broke out. The difference in positions before and during the war is connected with the costs of looking weak and possibility of a costly ratcheting up of the war effort. Once China shifted to reliance on military force to coerce

India, fears that looking weak would only intensify Chinese aggression intensified in parallel, making talks less likely. Because of the reduced risks of looking weak during peace time, Nehru was willing to actively push back on public opinion and the Parliament pressure against talks before escalation. He personally felt that refusing to talk to the Chinese was infantile: 'it is childish nonsense... do not talk; do not have tea with him; do not have lunch with him! Is this the way to carry on this great debate, this great argument, in this great conflict with another country?'⁴⁹ While Nehru was not willing to submit the McMahon Line to the process of negotiation before the war, he was willing to talk about minor adjustments along the border and particular portions like Longju.⁵⁰ Before the war, there were frequent exchanges between the two sides, but China's complete evacuation of the western sector and agreement that discussions would only cover that sector were the official preconditions for any broader discussions.⁵¹ For example, in the spring of 1958, representatives from the two countries did meet to discuss Bara Hoti, a small town in the middle sector to which personnel from both countries had been sent.⁵² The debate over talks further intensified as the two sides fought a number of skirmishes from 1959 to 1962. The first of these, the Longju incident on 25 August 1959, was sparked when Indian troops intruded south of Migyitun and fired on Chinese border guards who returned fire.⁵³ Nehru was still flexible about talks at this point, making the case to the House in a discussion about the skirmish that even though 'we think we are right let us sit around a conference table and settle [the border issues]'.⁵⁴

The second military confrontation erupted two months later when India sent a patrol of about 70 men of the special border police to head up the Changchenmo Valley to set up a border post there. They came into contact with Chinese troops at Kongka Pass where China had already set up a post. A shooting exchange resulted in the killing of nine Indians, seven were taken prisoner and possibly one Chinese was killed.⁵⁵ After these first two clashes, China took the initiative to try to bring about dialogue.⁵⁶ In a letter dated 7 November, Zhou proposed talks, a demilitarized zone and a meeting of prime ministers.⁵⁷ Nehru rejected a meeting of prime ministers twice during this period because China failed to meet India's preconditions of withdrawal.⁵⁸ In spite of this, he continued to insist that India would 'negotiate and negotiate and negotiate to the bitter end. I absolutely reject the approach of stopping negotiations at any stage.'⁵⁹ Nehru argued that talking was still useful for probing the position of

one's opponent even when it failed to yield tangible results.⁶⁰ However, in January 1960, the Indian government relaxed its position and agreed to a summit between the prime ministers.⁶¹ This flexibility was created by Nehru's insistence that they would only talk, not negotiate, as long as China held to the view that the boundary had never been delimited. However, the summit proceeded because 'although any negotiations on the basis [China] suggested are not possible,' Nehru still thought, 'it might be helpful' to meet with Zhou.⁶²

China, however, continued to insist that there should be no such preconditions on the talks and any such discussions should be preliminary to more comprehensive talks about the boundary.⁶³ Zhou wrote in reply to Nehru's acceptance of summit,

...although there are differences of opinion between our two countries on the boundary question, I believe that this in no way hinders the holding of talks between the two Prime Ministers; on the contrary, it precisely requires its early realization so as to reach first some agreements of principle as a guidance to concrete discussions and settlement of the boundary question by the two sides.⁶⁴

Not surprisingly, little came of Zhou's April visit in spite of his efforts to put forth proposals on how the two sides could settle the boundary dispute and should refrain from patrolling along all sectors of the boundary in the meantime. After the failed summit, Zhou Enlai complained that Nehru was 'unreliable and impenetrable' and generally impossible to negotiate with.⁶⁵ In July, Chen Yi approached Indian diplomats to reiterate China's willingness to negotiate a settlement; Zhou himself would be willing to visit India again to sign an agreement.⁶⁶

From December 1961 through April 1962, the Chinese consistently appealed to the Indians to come to the table to discuss their differences, but the Indian government refused. Chinese patrols within 20 kms inside China's side of the LAC, which were suspended in November 1959, were resumed after these diplomatic efforts failed.⁶⁷ In the three months leading up to the border war, India officially rejected Chinese offers to negotiate three times.⁶⁸ However, a degree of flexibility in India's position against talks without a Chinese withdrawal continued to sporadically appear before the war. On 13 July 1962, for example, Nehru allegedly told the Chinese Ambassador to India that he was prepared to hold talks on the basis of the officials' report.⁶⁹

On 21 July 1962, the third skirmish broke out in Chip Chap Valley; two Indian soldiers were wounded. As with the other skirmishes, this compelled India to embark on diplomatic moves designed to facilitate a reduction of tensions and enhance understanding between the two countries. While India was still concerned that readiness to talk would demonstrate weakness, before China's shift towards relying on force to obtain its goals exemplified in the fall offensive, the risks of the ratchet effect were minimal. This allowed for a degree of flexibility in India's position on negotiations that dissipated once war broke out. Both sides attempted to use a meeting two days later in Geneva on the neutrality of Laos as an opportunity to defuse tensions; Nehru instructed Minister of Defence, Krishna Menon, to convey Delhi's concerns and Zhou directed Chen Yi to explore ways to arrest the deterioration in relations. Chen proposed that he and Menon issue a joint communiqué announcing future talks and initiatives to prevent border conflict, but unfortunate timing prevented this.⁷⁰ However, at this point, India had decided to open talks with China without any preconditions, which was a significant departure from its previous position.⁷¹ The charge d'affaires (CDA) in Beijing was instructed to 'immediately see Chou and inform him that the Government of India would be prepared to send a ministerial-level delegation to Peking to discuss, without preconditions, all bilateral problems and disputes.'⁷² This flexibility was also evident in a 26 July Indian Ministry of External Affairs note, which seemed to abandon India's long-standing insistence on withdrawal as a precondition for talks. Adopting an ambiguous position, the note posited that Delhi was 'prepared, as soon as the current tensions have eased and the appropriate climate is created, to enter into further discussions on the India–China boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials.'⁷³

In a 4 August note, Beijing agreed that talks should take place on the basis of the officials' report, but again refused to accept preconditions; India's insistence that China create the 'appropriate climate' before talks could begin was understood as a repeated call for withdrawal.⁷⁴ As a 21 July 1962 article in the CCP newspaper, the *People's Daily*, posits:

...if the Indian side unreasonably insists that China relinquish its own territory as a prerequisite to the avoidance of conflicts and the holding of negotiations, then has not China every reason to demand that the Indian side should first of all withdraw from the 90,000 square kilometers of Chinese territory south of the 'McMahon Line' which it has occupied?⁷⁵

As Chen Yi noted, 'the present proposal was loaded with ammunition for Indian propaganda against the Chinese. It was a trap and therefore not acceptable.'⁷⁶ After this failed attempt at flexibility in preconditions, Delhi returned to the previous position on 22 August that 'discussions cannot start unless the status quo of the boundary in this region which has been altered by force since 1957 is restored and the current tension removed.'⁷⁷ India's willingness to accept more limited preconditions had dissipated and along with it, 'the only period of serious negotiatory prospects in 1962'.⁷⁸

But Beijing's determination to cajole India into a discussion on all disputed territories without any preconditions persisted. On 8 September, a Chinese force suddenly advanced down Thag La Ridge against an Indian post in the eastern sector, launching what Indian decision makers considered to be the first phase of the war. At this point, it became impossible for India to accept talking while fighting because it would communicate that the use of force was effective, which could in turn encourage further aggression.⁷⁹ China called for a 20 km withdrawal on both sides and for negotiations without preconditions. In a note, Beijing 'formally propose[d] that the two Governments appoint representatives to start these discussions from October 15 first in Peking and then in Delhi, alternatively'.⁸⁰ Delhi agreed to holding talks, but insisted again on preconditions, specifically that the status quo ante in Ladakh had to be restored before any talks could commence.⁸¹ On 20 September, regular battalions of the two countries exchanged fire for the first time since the Chinese had advanced to Thag La Ridge.⁸² China reiterated its position that the two sides should pull back 20 kms and launch discussions. India agreed to talks, but only 'to define measures to restore the *status quo* in the Western Sector'.⁸³ In other words, India would enter talks only if China withdrew from Thag La and acknowledged that talks would only be about mutual withdrawals in the western sector. China refused to accept any preconditions and India responded by rejecting this third attempt to open talks with a blunt note stating it would 'not enter into any talks and discussions under duress or continuing threat of force'.⁸⁴ This response caused China to conclude that India had 'finally categorically shut the door to negotiations'.⁸⁵ The situation appeared to be deteriorating when the Chinese launched a battalion-sized assault on an Indian patrol entrenched in Tseng Jong on 10 October in which six Indians were killed, 11 wounded and China had a hundred casualties.⁸⁶ Though both sides had been actively preparing for hostilities, this move convinced Lieutenant

General (Lt Gen.) Kaul, the newly appointed Corps Commander of the IV Corp, that the Chinese 'meant business'.⁸⁷

Ten days later, China launched the first massive attack, marking the official beginning of the war. Four days into the war, Zhou put forth a three-point proposal in which the two countries would agree to resolve the issue peacefully, pull back to the LAC and organize a meeting of the prime ministers.⁸⁸ Zhou expressed a willingness to meet in either China or India and proposed that 'matters relating to the disengagement of the armed forces of the two parties and the cessation of armed conflict' be negotiated by Chinese and Indian representatives.⁸⁹ As a former Indian ambassador explained, 'China was superior so they could afford to be magnanimous' in its readiness to talk.⁹⁰ Nehru held steadfast to preconditions, arguing, 'despite the crisis in confidence created by the earlier Chinese aggression, we are...prepared to consider entering into talks... provided it was agreed that the *status quo* along the entire boundary as it prevailed before 8th September 1962, should be restored'.⁹¹ China continued to insist for talks without preconditions, arguing that intra-war negotiations would 'in no way prejudice the position of either side in maintaining its claims with regard to the boundary'.⁹² In a letter to Bertrand Russell, Zhou Enlai explained that China proposed the opening of peaceful negotiations on 24 October, but 'the Indian side not only refuses to conduct peaceful negotiations but is preparing to launch attacks on an even larger scale'.⁹³ On 14 November 1962, the Chinese Ambassador wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'in the last two weeks we have appealed for peace talks, but Nehru's government under the encouragement of the American imperialists, continues to clamor for war'.⁹⁴

After the first major instance of Chinese aggression was noted at Thag La Ridge, India became much less flexible about its negotiating position because the potential negative consequences of looking weak increased.⁹⁵ Consequently, in the midst of the war, India's insistence on preconditions became the focus of diplomatic exchanges. While Nehru's first letter to Zhou was considered civil, the second in contrast declared that agreeing to talks without China first adhering to the preconditions 'would mean mere existence at the mercy of an aggressive, arrogant and expansionist neighbor'.⁹⁶ At this point, India insisted that Chinese troops withdraw over Thag La Ridge and Indian forces return to their posts that had been set up under the Forward Policy before talks could begin.⁹⁷ Though the increased hostility in Nehru's tone in the second letter can be attributed to public opinion and parliamentary pressure, domestic politics would

not determine his policy; he still refused to break off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) or submit the dispute to the United Nations (UN).⁹⁸ From India's point of view, attempts at a peaceful resolution were thwarted by China; as Nehru noted, 'we would like to sit at the negotiating table with the Chinese. We are ready. But the government has explained to them that for this it is necessary that the position on the border that existed 3 months ago be restored.'⁹⁹

Though the Soviet Union 'took no definite stand' on the Sino-Indian border dispute, it did push for negotiations both before and during the war.¹⁰⁰ The Premier of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, wrote to Nehru on the first day of the war urging him to enter into talks with Beijing.¹⁰¹ Moscow believed that the Chinese attempts to end the conflict were genuine and asked New Delhi to not postpone peace by putting preconditions on talks.¹⁰² After the outbreak of the war, Moscow promoted Zhou's three-point proposal, arguing that it provided an acceptable basis for negotiation. The Cuban missile crisis, which was unfolding at the same time, only served to enhance Moscow's desire to see the two sides enter into talks.¹⁰³ But the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) stopped short of exerting its influence to compel this and remained relatively neutral, which India viewed as a positive development: 'India feared their mounting quarrel with China would estrange them from Moscow... Russian neutrality over the Sino-Indian dispute was all that the Indian Government could have hoped for and more than it expected.'¹⁰⁴ In short, while the Soviet push for talks did not change India's position on the border dispute, it did influence India's rhetoric and encourage a more conciliatory tone in letters to the Chinese.¹⁰⁵

Most other countries, especially those that were non-aligned, avoided involvement in the war. However, the United States (US), Great Britain and Canada did provide India with some limited military support. For example, on 3 November 1962, a US arms shipment arrived in four C-130 transport planes.¹⁰⁶ A formal US-India pact was signed on 14 November 1962 and five days later, Nehru requested US and British bomber support to interdict the advancing troops. But India could not, for ideological and practical reasons, rely on the West; moreover, India received the bulk of Western assistance only after the ceasefire.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, external support from the US and the United Kingdom did not greatly contribute to India's stalwart position on talks only with strict preconditions.

In general, the perceptions of allies, enemies and neutral third parties did not determine China or India's position on talks, though they did

colour how both countries presented their independent choices to relevant third-party actors. Both sides wanted to portray themselves as reasonable and constructive actors that were not to blame for the ongoing hostilities, even as they evaded peace talks or employed military force. For example, Nehru was careful about his rhetoric to avoid international opprobrium. He often argued, especially to Moscow, that India was eager to negotiate, which was convincing partly because it seemed unlikely that a country as weak as India would actually challenge China militarily.¹⁰⁸ In the international arena, India contended that China was the obstacle to peace. As Nehru wrote to the Egyptian President, Gamel Abdel Nasser, 'it is the Government of China who are not only refusing to undertake talks and discussions for easing of tensions and for settling differences...but are creating further tension and conflict in another section of the boundary, viz, the Eastern sector.'¹⁰⁹ In a letter to Khrushchev, Nehru argues further that it is not India that insists on preconditions, but China whose refusal to withdrawal has created the most stringent precondition for talks.¹¹⁰ Nehru appealed to Khrushchev for sympathy and support, asserting that India had 'been prepared for discussions which might lead to a peaceful settlement' but this was impossible 'when actual and new aggression [was] continuously taking place, and vast Chinese armies [were] moving further into our territory.'¹¹¹ As one editorial wrote of the dilemma, if talks succeeded, 'China's prestige and power will be enhanced in the eyes of the smaller Asian countries', and if talks were to break down, 'India will be held up as unreasonable, [but better] to be held up temporarily as unreasonable than to be dismissed as weak and pusillanous.'¹¹² It did not help the situation that China strove unremittingly to obtain international support for its position; for example, China called upon Afro-Asian nations numerous times to use their influence to convince India to enter into peaceful talks.¹¹³

While the Chinese were more willing to publicly communicate eagerness to talk than the Indians, they were unwilling to agree to talks with preconditions attached. After the Chip Chap Valley clash, China rejected India's proposed condition for resumption of talks that China withdraw its forces from all territories claimed by India to create 'the appropriate climate' for talks stating that 'there need not and should not be any preconditions for such discussions'.¹¹⁴ Before the war broke out, China proposed three times to 'negotiate the Sino-Indian boundary question without any preconditions but all three times met with the refusal of the Indian Government. The Indian Government insisted that negotiations

could not start until China has withdrawn from vast tracts of China's own territory.¹¹⁵ Three days after receiving Zhou's three-point proposal, Nehru responded that India was willing to engage in talks to 'arrive at agreed measures which should be taken for the easing of tensions and corrections of the situation created by the unilateral forcible alternation of the status quo along the India–China boundary' but only if China pulled its troops back to the positions they had held on 8 September.¹¹⁶ In a telegram to the Indonesian ambassador, the Chinese Ambassador to India protested this precondition as 'not fair, irrational and China cannot accept it'.¹¹⁷

Talks never did emerge during the course of the short war. On 19 November, Zhou Enlai summoned New Delhi's CDA and informed him that two days later, the PLA would halt at the undisputed border of Assam, proclaim a unilateral ceasefire on all fronts and withdraw from the territory taken in NEFA during the war.¹¹⁸ In an official statement, China warned that it reserved the right to retaliate if Indian forces came any closer than 20 kms from their side of the LAC and suggested a meeting of prime ministers to discuss a settlement.¹¹⁹ China hoped that by declaring a ceasefire and withdrawing, India would take corresponding measures and agree to appoint officials to meet with Chinese officials to discuss the logistics of the withdrawal.¹²⁰ But India maintained its refusal to engage in talks until China clarified which LAC it planned on implementing. If the Chinese indeed meant the LAC of 7 November 1959, this was unsatisfactory because it granted China 2,500 square miles more than the Indian-proposed 8 September status quo. India did, however, withdraw 20 kms from the LAC in the eastern sector, but ignored the request in the other sectors and China did not push the point.¹²¹ China did, however, advocate that officials from both sides meet to discuss any specific details of concern India might have in relation to the ceasefire.¹²² But India 'maintain[ed] that there first be a ceasefire and withdrawal arrangement commonly agreed by the two sides' before representatives from the two countries could meet. China retorted that that 'this is no reason for putting off a meeting...but exactly points to the urgent need for holding such a meeting. Differences can only be solved through meetings and discussions.'¹²³ But war increases the potential costs of showing a readiness to talk and because of this, India's position on talking while fighting hardened as China escalated militarily along the border. As Nehru pointed out in the aftermath, 'if there was any argument about any part of these frontiers, we were perfectly willing to discuss this matter peacefully and

decide it by peaceful methods. But we were not prepared, and are not prepared to have any decisions thrust upon us by aggression and military means.¹²⁴

The next section addresses how the dynamics of war and disparities in military power resulted in diverging views about the utility and costs of demonstrating an eagerness to talk to one's opponent during the course of a war. I argue that states fear that their opponents will take the willingness to engage in intra-war talks as a sign of weakness, encouraging in turn a ratcheting up of their adversary's war effort to a level that is unsustainable or unfavourable to them. The country which has less room to escalate, in this case India, is likely to see a greater risk in showing an eagerness to talk, and therefore not offer talks. Chinese offers to talk were seen as ploys to weaken India's position and probes of resolve, not genuine attempts to resolve differences through peaceful negotiations. The country with more room to escalate, in this case China, believes that escalation will allow it to achieve its objectives effectively. In short, though both countries believed a willingness to talk would signal weakness, Delhi was more concerned than Beijing about the consequences of perceived weak resolve because it was militarily inferior.

PERCEPTIONS OF WEAKNESS AND THE INTER-STATE RATCHET EFFECT

For India political elites as well as its domestic public, talks were seen as a concession and a signal of readiness to settle the border dispute on China's terms. Parliamentarians made the argument throughout this period of conflict that India's case was weakened by the government's eagerness to negotiate and that offering to make a no man's land out of the corner of India 'put a premium on aggression'.¹²⁵ The mood in India was to correlate any agreement to negotiate with surrender; one member of the Parliament argued, 'the mere suggestion that India should agree to talks must be treated as high treason'.¹²⁶ The flexibility of the Indian position before the war can be attributed to the fact that the costs of looking weak were less before the two sides were engaging in combat. For example, Nehru relaxed preconditions, for the last time in his 26 July note, to improve relations with China, 'even at the risk of inviting accusations of weakness in the face of threats and aggression'.¹²⁷

As the conflict escalated, however, the possibility that agreeing to talks would signal weakness was too risky in that it could engender prohibitively high costs in the form of a ratcheting of Chinese aggression, which could

lead to the further loss of territory. Because of this, India 'could not talk under the shadow of a gun'.¹²⁸ Particularly referencing the Longju incident, Nehru speculated that China's intent was to 'just show [India its] place... so that we may not get uppish... it is pride and arrogance of might that is showing, in their language, in their behavior to us and in so many things that they have done.'¹²⁹ The Chinese 8 September occupation of Thag La Ridge was seen in this light; the foreshadowing of a Chinese strategy to counter Indian moves in the west by escalating in the east. Consequently, India felt that 'to deter further incursions in NEFA [it] had to demonstrate resolve in the Thag La ridge'.¹³⁰ Nehru's assessment was that China was 'using the boundary question to assert superiority, even perhaps dominance, over India'.¹³¹ China was using its superior military position to bully India; and giving in would only invite more coercion.¹³² Talks were seen as a surrender and 'if India bowed down to it, she would be dragged down to unknown depths'.¹³³

Given this, the message Delhi wanted to communicate to China was that 'India is no weak country to be frightened by threats and military might...we will always be willing to negotiate a peace but that can only be on condition that aggression is vacated. We can never submit or surrender to aggression.'¹³⁴ As China escalated along the border, the need to demonstrate toughness increased in parallel. The fear was that readiness to talk would signal willingness to settle on adversarial terms. In this case, it would have meant India accepting loss of territory to China during and before the confrontation if the preconditions to Indian participation would not have been met. India was so set against talks after perceived Chinese aggression that there was even domestic pressure against accepting the ceasefire because it was viewed as 'fraudulent' or even as an ultimatum.¹³⁵ After the unilateral withdrawal of Chinese forces on 1 December 1962, Nehru was still unwilling to consider negotiations due to fears of projecting weakness.¹³⁶

Delhi's need to show toughness and signal resolve was further exacerbated by the fact that when the war started, India was unsure of what end state China ultimately sought.¹³⁷ It was unclear whether the Chinese intended to do more than just adjust the frontier by pressing farther into the Indian territory.¹³⁸ Some were concerned that China harboured even greater ambitions. As one scholar writes, 'China's first objective in the pursuit of its destiny is to become undisputed leader of Asia...it is India which represents simultaneously a rival to China of major proportions and a very vulnerable target of opportunity.'¹³⁹ Others

believed China's objectives were limited in that it was only interested in acquiring Ladakh, which was vitally important for its position in Tibet.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, because political and military leaders had been inaccurate in their pre-war thinking that China would never attack India, all previous beliefs were jettisoned. This led to worse-case scenario thinking about Chinese territorial ambitions, which the second wave of attacks only served to reinforced.¹⁴¹ After this phase of operations, launched on 16 November 1962, China seemed likely to advance to Leh in the west and drive onto the plains of Assam in the east. Lt Gen Kaul even ordered his IV Corps Headquarters to move from Tezpur to Gauhati because of fears that the Chinese would continue unchecked into Assam.¹⁴² The loss of Tripura, Manipur and Nagaland in the east also seemed imminent, and Chinese PLA was poised for incursion into Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the middle sector.¹⁴³ As China pushed in Ladakh towards Chushul, Nehru fretted that the war was 'no longer a border war between India and China; it is an invasion of India'.¹⁴⁴ In writing to President Kennedy to request air cover, Nehru characterized the situation as 'really desperate'.¹⁴⁵ Nehru was worried that China's ambitions 'not only cover[ed] the Himalayan slopes on our side but also include important parts of Assam. They have their ambitions in Burma as well.'¹⁴⁶ The government went as far as to believe that India needed 'to brace themselves for the possible bombing of Delhi'.¹⁴⁷ Additionally, 'authorities feared that if Chinese bombers made token attacks on Calcutta or Delhi there would be a stampede of these incredibly crowded cities.'¹⁴⁸ The British and Americans posited numerous reasons for any Chinese would escalate and take NEFA if they thought it possible. The territory could be used as a bargaining chip to gain Ladakh or as a forward base for extending Beijing's power through the subcontinent. China could also try to make Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal protectorates of China instead of India by revealing India's inability to defend them.¹⁴⁹

Given concerns that China would ratchet up the war effort and push beyond the border, Delhi needed reassurance that after accepting talks, China would not be encouraged to advance farther.¹⁵⁰ For this reason, India maintained strict preconditions, for 'if the Chinese professions of peace and peaceful settlement of differences are really genuine, let them go back at least to the position where they were all along the boundary prior to 8th September 1962.'¹⁵¹ Without such a move, which would also reduce China's ability to escalate and push further forward into the heartland of India, India could not take the risk of demonstrating an

eagerness to talk. Because talks were proposed 'while the Chinese forces in great strength [were] occupying large areas of Indian territory', Nehru interpreted these offers as nothing short of as 'a demand for surrender'.¹⁵² India's position would be unwavering without a credibly signal of benign intentions: 'New Delhi's willingness to negotiate is not unconditional and cannot be until China vacates its aggression and thereby acknowledges supremacy of peaceful and friendly negotiations.'¹⁵³ This contributed to a situation in which intra-war negotiations were unlikely to emerge. As one Indian parliamentarian remarked in favour of unconditional talks, 'if you want to take back all the territory from China, before the start of the negotiations, then what is there to negotiate?'¹⁵⁴

Nehru always believed that the border problem could only be resolved through negotiations but that the pressure of international opinion combined with a sufficient demonstration of Indian resolve would create the conditions for this by convincing China that the increasing use of force was ineffective. Moreover, this strategy would have to be done carefully to avoid escalation.¹⁵⁵ Because Chinese intentions were unknown, and fear of escalation was strong, 'it would be an utter absence of prudence to rush into some step, the end of which we cannot see'.¹⁵⁶ China was using its superior military might to bully India, and conceding would only convince the Chinese that the use of force was effective against them. This could cause China to ratchet up and employ even greater force against India, which would be unable to escalate in kind given its smaller CD. Consequently, Delhi was 'hostile to the idea of making concessions under military pressure'.¹⁵⁷ As Nehru wrote to Zhou three weeks into the war in a commentary on the three-point proposal:

China has undertaken since 8th September, deliberately and in cold blood, a further massive aggression and occupied larger areas of Indian territory and is now making the magnanimous offer of retaining the gains of the earlier aggression plus such other gains as it can secure by negotiations from the latest aggression on the basis of the Chinese three point proposals. If this is not the assumption of the attitude of a victor, I do not know what else it can be. This is a demand to which India will never submit whatever the consequences and however long and hard the struggle may be...to do otherwise would mean mere existence at the mercy of an aggressive, arrogant and expansionist neighbor.¹⁵⁸

At a 15 October press conference in Colombo, Nehru articulated that demonstrating resolve was critical to protecting India's interests: 'we have

to defend ourselves, otherwise they will march on...the attitude of the Chinese Government is to seize territory and then have talks. India is not prepared for that.¹⁵⁹ Nehru attached great importance to demonstrating resolve as he thought this was necessary for deterring Chinese intrusions in Ladakh.¹⁶⁰ While this position was also articulated for the benefit of public opinion, it is important to note that Nehru was more flexible about talks before perceived Chinese aggression even when it came with domestic political costs. Before September 1962, Nehru was always searching for a viable basis for negotiations even under the Parliament's continued insistence for preconditions for talks. But Nehru's position hardened with the shock of the Chinese onslaught. In other words, public opinion affected Nehru's rhetoric and range of options but it did not determine his position on negotiations; he was willing to go against public opinion to open talks before the war when he perceived the risks of looking weak to be low and the possibility of favourable settlement to be relatively high.¹⁶¹

PROBES OF RESOLVE OR GENUINE ATTEMPTS AT PEACE?

The war came as a shock to India, whose political and military leaders were convinced that China would never attack.¹⁶² As the then IV Corps Commander, Lt Gen Kaul wrote in June 1962, 'I am convinced that the Chinese will not attack any of our positions even if they [Indian posts] are relatively weaker than theirs.'¹⁶³ In the early 1950s, Nehru agreed with this assessment because he thought India's friendship would act as a restraint; but by 1959, such allusions had vanished. However, Nehru still held that 'the Chinese are unlikely to invade India because they know that this would start a world war, which the Chinese cannot want.'¹⁶⁴

Nehru, in particular, felt betrayed by China because he had been such a fervent supporter of the PRC since its founding. As he wrote in a letter to Zhou Enlai, the Chinese position on the boundary issue came 'as a great shock to [India]. India was one of the first countries to extend recognition to the People's Republic of China and for the last ten years we have consistently sought to maintain and strengthen our friendship with your country.'¹⁶⁵ India had even relinquished its special British-era privileges over Tibet and endorsed Chinese sovereignty there in the 1954 Sino-Indian agreement.¹⁶⁶ After the Chinese assault, Nehru experienced 'the complete loss of confidence in the bona fides of the professions for

a peaceful settlement repeatedly made by the Government of China.¹⁶⁷ On 27 October, in a letter to Zhou, Nehru argued that 'there have been repeated declarations by [China] that they want to settle the differences on the border question with India by peaceful means', but Chinese actions at the time were 'in violent contradiction with these declarations'.¹⁶⁸ As one Member of Parliament stated, 20 October ended the 'chapter on disillusion' in Indian history.¹⁶⁹

Indian leaders had various theories about why China was offering talks even though it was likely to rely more on force and escalation to accomplish its goals. Zhou's three-point proposal, for example, merely 'signaled a shift in tactics by Beijing: a pretense of conciliation and negotiation would replace border intimidation'.¹⁷⁰ China wanted to legitimize its use of force after hostilities began and in the lead up to the war, offers to talk were designed to test India's intentions and allowed China 'to prepare a public case for its position before further escalating its military pressure'.¹⁷¹ Agreeing to talks under aggression was 'just a plea to put the formal seal of approval on the surrender of Indian territory'.¹⁷² India scholar Srinath Raghavan argues that China's response to India's insistence that talks could not begin until China withdrew from territories claimed by India in Ladakh was one of 'disingenuous reasonableness', and its appeals for talks without preconditions were 'aimed at convincing the international community of India's intransigence'.¹⁷³ China's offers to talk were often filled with rhetoric directed at the developing world, in which China was competing with India to be a leader. For example, in the statement calling for a unilateral ceasefire, the Chinese government warned that if India violated the ceasefire,

China reserves the right to strike back in self-defense, and the Indian Government will be held completely responsible for all the grave consequences arising there from. The people of the world will then see even more clearly who is peace-loving and who is bellicose, who upholds friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples and Asia-African solidarity and who is undermining then, who is protecting the common interests of the Asia and African peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and who is violating and damaging these common interests.¹⁷⁴

The offers were also seen as a ploy to gain military advantage. For a former commander of Ladakh, China's main goal in offering talks was to legitimize its claim to Aksai Chin, and stall while they obtained strategic

depth for the western highway and gained control over certain features that would fortify the protection of its gains.¹⁷⁵ For an Indian Brigadier, they were a tactical ploy to allow the military to rest and recuperate.¹⁷⁶ As Brigadier Dalvi argues, the Chinese desire to talk was a feint designed to stall for time and 'restrict [the Indian] military response to the low key of a border dispute'.¹⁷⁷ According to Dalvi, the Chinese tried to use the promise of talks to 'sap [India's] will to fight'.¹⁷⁸ He characterized Chinese offers to talks as disingenuous, as they were offered at 'the petty local level' but was demoralizing for the troops regardless.¹⁷⁹ It was confusing because, in the view of Dalvi, 'enemies do not exchange diplomatic niceties and lethal fire on the same night'.¹⁸⁰ The Chinese were probing India's resolve; as Nehru argued, if the professions of peace and the desire to settle the issue through talks was genuine, they would go back 'at least to the position where they were all along the boundary prior to September 8...India will then be prepared to undertake talks and discussions at any level mutually agreed'.¹⁸¹ Concerns about accepting only bona fide offers of talk may be why, according to the Indian Vice-Consul in Shanghai, India would be prepared to negotiate 'if there were a third party that could mediate, like the Soviet Union'.¹⁸²

In the next section, I argue that because China had more room to ratchet up its war effort, it was less concerned about the consequences of communicating weakness through offering to talk. Because of this difference in military might, China was willing to offer only unconditional talks. However, China was unwilling to pay the costs of adhering to preconditions to facilitate the emergence of talks because its leadership believed in the efficacy of force to accomplish China's objectives.

TO RATCHET OR NOT TO RATCHET?: CHINESE VIEWS ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ESCALATION

The Chinese leadership believed that escalating violence along the border would compel India to engage in unconditional negotiations with China on boundary issues. The purpose of the limited attack was to test Indian responses and ideally bring about a settlement. China, however, was preparing for contingency preparations for more serious warfare if limited fighting failed to bring about Chinese objectives.¹⁸³ Beijing had decided that the policy of restraint and diplomacy had failed. From the Chinese perspective, they had been magnanimous, willing to negotiate, even though 'India occupied more than 90,000 square kilometers of Chinese

territory in the eastern sector, provoked two border clashes in 1959 and made claim to large tracts of Chinese territory'.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, Beijing perceived Zhou's repeated visits to India as tokens of sincerity (Zhou had visited four times, while Nehru had only visited China once).¹⁸⁵ Beijing considered its military action against India to be a 'self-defensive counterattack' which had two phases. In the first, China strove to drive Indian troops across what they considered to be the border. When India responded with strong military reaction, the objective changed to wiping out the Indian troops completely. In the second phase, which began in late October, China sought to punish India by penetrating deeply into Indian territory and destroying its fighting capacity.¹⁸⁶ The political objective of gradually ratcheting up military and political pressure was to force the acceptance of unconditional negotiations, and then escalate to major military action to show Delhi that its Forward Policy was ill conceived.¹⁸⁷ In his statement of agreement with the decision for war, Zhou said, 'as I see it, to fight a bit would have advantages. It would cause some people to understand things more clearly.'¹⁸⁸ Chinese Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, articulated the view that 'India cannot completely avoid talks. According to our estimates, currently India will fight for a short period, and in the end it will accept peaceful negotiations.'¹⁸⁹

From the perspective of China's leadership, escalation was necessary to teach 'the invaders' that they would not be able to conduct similar 'nibbling' in the future without severe costs.¹⁹⁰ Mao's instructions to the PLA when he decided on 6 October on a major attack, 'if they attack, don't just repulse them, hit back ruthlessly so that it hurts'¹⁹¹, exemplifies this faith in escalation. Only a massive blow would conclusively demonstrate to Delhi China's resolve never to accept the McMahon Line.¹⁹² The shift towards a greater reliance on use of force occurred the summer of 1962 in which there was 'an increase in PRC diplomatic probes for negotiations while Peking's propaganda posture and PLA activity signaled a stiffening in Chinese resistance to Indian advances'.¹⁹³ According to Mao, what China needed was not a local victory but to inflict a defeat so crushing that it would 'knock Nehru to the negotiating table'.¹⁹⁴ In short, Beijing 'regarded its "counterattack" as a self-defense measure necessary to reopen negotiations for peace'.¹⁹⁵ The Chinese offensive focused on hitting the eastern sector in particular because Nehru had long contended that the McMahon Line was a fact and not up for discussion; hitting here would be an attack on Nehru's 'hegemonist attitude' and 'compel them to negotiate to thoroughly resolve the border issue'.¹⁹⁶ Four days after the war began,

the CMC stated that there would be a lull to create the conditions for peaceful negotiations: 'if India refused again to talk, we will again firmly attack the Indian reactionaries to compel them to sit down and talk.'¹⁹⁷ In the midst of the conflict, Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi articulated the position that 'winning victories will put pressure on India' and that to pave the way for talks, China was 'willing to concede and disengage'.¹⁹⁸ Immediately after the conflict, Chinese decision makers believed there was an opportunity to reopen peace talks with the India.¹⁹⁹

Even though China was in a better position militarily than India, concerns about horizontal and vertical escalation did limit the degree to which China was willing to ratchet up its war effort. First, China wanted to avoid the involvement of outside powers. Two days before China declared a unilateral ceasefire, President Kennedy had warned, 'if China advanced any further they would be forcing the hand of the President of the United States'.²⁰⁰ Chinese leaders were concerned that if they ratcheted up the war effort too much, this would inspire the US, Great Britain or even the Soviet Union to come to India's aid, to China's detriment. Chen Yi commented in the middle of the war that India knew that the armed conflict along the border will not expand into a larger war between the two countries, but was using the border war to obtain benefit and because of this, the Indians would continue to act rashly.²⁰¹ While such comments were partly designed to portray India as the aggressor in the eyes of the developing world, the fact that a secret foreign affairs document also argued that India was using the border dispute to get American military assistance with its defence modernization suggests that this was indeed a real Chinese concern.²⁰²

China also wanted to avoid escalating to the point that it provoked a major war with India beyond the border, and this concern resulted in differing views on how hard a posture to adopt during the opening days of the war. The breaking of relations and formal state of war would 'complicate China's already difficult internal and external affairs by increasing the defense burden of a long, tortuous frontier amidst a rebellious populace while providing India with more leverage on Russia, American and Afro-Asian support'.²⁰³ China scholar Allen Whiting argues that the general halt to PLA attacks, lack of publicity for PLA victories and the low-key posture in official references to the fighting suggest that even during the war, Zhou Enlai was attempting to minimize the escalatory possibilities and maximize the prospects of a settlement.²⁰⁴ The three week pause separating the first and second phase of the Chinese military offensive

allowed the leadership in Beijing to “determine the necessity as well as the potential gains and risks of further military action.”²⁰⁵

Like India, China was concerned about looking weak, whether this would encourage Indian aggression and whether India’s support for peaceful negotiations was genuine.²⁰⁶ In his report to Zhou Enlai about sources of Indian aggression, Lei Yingfu argued that the Forward Policy was the result of the belief, in India, that China ‘was weak and could be taken advantage of’ and ‘barks but does not bite’.²⁰⁷ China accused Nehru of ‘using peaceful negotiations as cover for plans of nibbling Chinese territory’.²⁰⁸ As Mao himself argued in his decision for war, ‘we cannot give ground, once we give ground it would be tantamount to letting them seize a big piece of land equivalent to Fujian province’.²⁰⁹ In a letter to the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the CCP stated,

...we believe that if one carries out only the policy of unprincipled adjustment and concessions to Nehru and the Indian government, not only would it not make them change their position for the better, but, on the contrary, in the situation of the growing offensive on their side, if China still does not rebuff them and denounce them, such a policy would only encourage their atrocity.²¹⁰

This was a serious concern given that India’s aggressive Forward Policy was believed to reflect India’s intention of making Tibet an Indian colony or protectorate.²¹¹ China also believed that India’s offers to talk in the lead up to the war were not genuine:

India is being two-faced (两手做法). On the one hand, they express a willingness to engage in peace talks, on the other, they avail themselves of the western sector to the best of their ability, push against our borders, set up sentry posts, occupy space, bring about a fait accompli, in order to bargain.²¹²

Because of China’s military superiority and confidence that escalation would compel Delhi to enter into talks, the risk of looking weak was outweighed by the need to continuously provide India with the opportunity to defuse tensions by entering into talks.

One of the problems with relying on its ability to escalate was that doing so along the border in the fall of 1962 heightened Delhi’s concerns that China would ratchet up its war effort to seek broader objectives. The Indians did not trust that Chinese objectives were as limited as they claimed, even after the ceasefire proposals. Consequently, Delhi was

concerned that offers to talk were just probes to try to figure out whether such an escalation would be effective. India's concern about Chinese escalation was so acute that the USSR tried to convince Delhi 'to accept that it is only a border dispute and China has no intention of invading India' and China's unilateral withdrawal as sufficient proof for Beijing's 'willingness for a peaceful settlement'.²¹³ But, for India, actions spoke louder than words and in this light, offers to talk were seen as a facade, a demand of unconditional surrender.²¹⁴

Unfortunately, during the short war, Delhi would not be reassured that the Chinese wanted to engage in bona fide talks to facilitate the end of the conflict. Because it was so short, Delhi never had the opportunity to muster the ability to demonstrate that it had the will and ability to counter Chinese aggression, to sustain the war effort at higher levels of violence. Because of this, India had to demonstrate its resolve through a tough diplomatic stance. Without a Chinese withdrawal to the 8 September status quo, Indian leaders could not be sure that China would not take advantage of perceived weakness to broaden the border conflict. The Chinese leadership had miscalculated that there was no need to accept India's preconditions, believing instead that because of its larger CD, it could use its ability to escalate and inflict pain on India to push it towards intra-war negotiations. Unfortunately, for the cause of peace and stability then and now, with territory at stake, demonstrating an eagerness to negotiate when Chinese intentions were still uncertain was a risk that no Indian leader could take.

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NOTES

1. 'Annexure to Letter from the Prime Minister of India to Premier Chou En-lai, 27 October 1962', in *Notes Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed between India and China: White Paper*, Vol. 8, New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, 1959–66, pp. 6–7. Hereafter cited as *White Paper*. There are fourteen volumes.

2. Fravel, M. Taylor, *Strong Borders, Secure Nation*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 195.
3. A number of studies cover Indian decision making about the operational aspects of the war. See Dalvi, J.P., *Himalayan Blunder: The Curtain-raiser to the Sino-Indian War of 1962*, Bombay: Thacker & Company Limited, 1969; Maxwell, Neville, *India's China War*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1970; Palit, D.K., *War in High Himalaya*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992; and Sinha, P.B. and A.A. Athale, *History of the Conflict with China 1962*, New Delhi: Ministry of Defence, Government of India, 1992. Steven Hoffmann conducts the more detailed analysis of Indian strategic thinking during the war. He lists nine strategic and tactical war decisions critical in shaping the war, but none of them include India's decision about whether or not to talk while fighting. For the complete list, see Hoffmann, Steven A., *India and the China Crisis*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, p. 176.
4. For more on the tactical details of the war, see Dalvi, *Himalayan Blunder*, especially chapter one.
5. Liu, Xuecheng, *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute and Sino-Indian Relations*, Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1994, p. 36; Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 408.
6. Dalvi argues that the war started earlier, on 8 September 1962, with the confrontation at Thag La Ridge when the Chinese crossed the McMahon Line. The second phase was when Indian leaders were insisting on the eviction of the Chinese force at any cost and marshaled an insufficient force at Lumpu. This phase, extending from 20 September to 3 October, ended in deadlock and the realization that the Chinese force was militarily superior. The third phase for India, 3–10 October, was when Lieutenant General (Lt Gen) Kaul was given command and given the task of expediting the operation; General Dalvi's 7 Brigade was moved to Namka Chu and the war culminated in a skirmish at Tseng Jong. The skirmishes at Tawang, Sela Pass and Bomdila occurred in the final phase, when the 7 Brigade was annihilated and the Chinese declared a unilateral ceasefire on 20 October. See Dalvi, *Himalayan Blunder*, p. 185.
7. For more on the border dispute, see Liu, *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute*.
8. The Simla Convention of 1914 put the McMahon Line into effect. China repudiates it largely because accepting this line implies that Tibet did indeed have the sovereignty in March 1914 necessary to agree to treaties. The Indian government continued the policy of its British predecessor: New Delhi would treat the McMahon Line as the boundary for its eastern sector, leaving it up to the Chinese to protest the Indian fait accompli in the tribal areas. However, India did not articulate a clear position on the boundary in the western sector in the earlier years of her independence, failing to

make a formal claim to Aksai Chin until 1958, at which point the Indian presence there even fell short of what China considered to be the legitimate boundary. See Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 88.

9. Liu, *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute*, pp. 1–2.
10. For more on the Forward Policy, see *Ibid.*, pp. 31–2; Maxwell, *India's China War*, pp. 173–256.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 430.
12. Fravel, *Strong Borders*, pp. 177–8. John Garver argues that this misperception about malign Indian intentions in Tibet was a main impetus for the war. See Garver, John W., 'China's Decision for War with India in 1962', in Alastair Ian Johnston and Robert S. Ross (eds), *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005, pp. 86–130.
13. 'Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Indian Embassy in China, December 26, 1959', in *Documents on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1960, pp. 55–7; hereafter known as *Documents on the Boundary*. See also, Maxwell, *India's China War*, pp. 74, 88, 137.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 163.
15. 'Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Indian Embassy in China, December 26, 1959', in *Documents on the Boundary*, pp. 55–7.
16. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 165.
17. Fravel, *Strong Borders*, p. 95.
18. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 170. While China would have accepted the alignment of the McMahon Line as the boundary, it could not accept the legality of the Anglo-Tibetan agreement that created the line, as this would be equivalent to admitting that Tibet was sovereign and Chinese actions therefore would be described more as an invasion than a reassertion of administrative control. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
19. Varma, Shanti Prasad, *Struggle for the Himalayas: A Study in Sino-Indian Relations*, New Delhi: University Publishers, 1965, p. 155; see also Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 373.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 372–3.
21. Beijing defined the LAC as that which existed on 7 November 1959; Zhou's proposals therefore implied that China would keep the areas it occupied in the west, while India would give up areas where it had sited posts. See Raghavan, Srinath, *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2010, p. 306.
22. Moreover, India would not agree to launch such official discussions on the border until two decades later.

23. I argue elsewhere that the mounting costs of war reduce obstacles to peace talks by mitigating the risk of escalation; specifically, the country with the greater ability to escalate comes to believe that further escalation will be ineffective at achieving its goals and the one with less room to escalate believes that it has adequately demonstrated toughness through fighting. However, because there were no talks during the Sino-Indian War, this aspect of my causal model is not explored in this article.
24. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 70.
25. For more on the condition of the armed forces, see *Ibid.*, pp. 179–99.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 178–9.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
29. The logistics more than anything defined the army's lack of capability. See *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 202.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 204–5.
32. Whiting, Allen S., *The Calculus of Chinese Deterrence: India and Indochina*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1975, p. 78.
33. Quoted by Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 241.
34. Garver, 'China's Decision', p. 118.
35. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 236.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
37. Garver, 'China's Decision', p. 121.
38. For more on Indian strategic thinking about employing offensive air power, see Sukumaran, R., 'The 1962 India–China War and Kargil 1999: Restrictions on the Use of Air Power', *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 27, No. 3, July–September 2003, pp. 334–43.
39. Dalvi, *Himalayan Blunder*, p. 3. China had MiG aircraft, rockets and electronically controlled anti-aircraft supplied by the Soviet Union, United States (US) recoilless rifles, self-propelled heavy artillery, automatic weapons, keeps, trucks and tanks. See Varma, *Struggle for the Himalayas*, p. 163.
40. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 78.
41. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 203.
42. Quoted by Liu, *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute*, p. 37.
43. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 199.
44. The Directorate of the Military Operations had recommended the use of offensive air power to redress the adverse balance of power in the western sector. However, the need to limit escalation may be why India underutilized its air assets during the course of the war. For more on Indian strategic

- thinking about employing offensive air power and Indian fears of escalation, see Sukumaran, 'The 1962 India–China War', pp. 334–43.
45. To B.P. Chaliha, 20 October 1962, cited in Gopal, Sarvepalli, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*, Vol. 3, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 221.
 46. Hoffmann, *India and the China Crisis*, pp. 163–75.
 47. Feng, Cheng and Larry M. Wortzel, 'PLA Operational Principles and Limited War: The Sino-Indian War of 1962', in Mark A. Ryan, David M. Finkelstein and Michael A. McDevitt (eds), *Chinese Warfighting: The PLA Experience since 1949*, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003, p. 176.
 48. 'Chen Yi fuzongli jiejian yini zhuhua dashi Sukani tanhua jilu (guanyu yafei huiyi hezhong, yindu bianjie wenti)' (Record of Discussion, Vice-Premier Chen Yi Meets with Indonesian Ambassador to China [Regarding the India Boundary Question during the Afro-Asia Meeting]), Document 105-01789-07, Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives, 17 November 1962, pp. 3–4. Hereafter cited as 'Chen Yi Discussion'.
 49. Jetly, Nancy, *India China Relations, 1947–1977: A Study of Parliament's Role in the Making of Foreign Policy*, New Delhi: Radiant, 1979, p. 170.
 50. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 75.
 51. Fravel, *Strong Borders*, p. 187; Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 102.
 52. 'A Note on the Border Disputes, September 26, 1959', *Documents on the Boundary*, pp. 108–10.
 53. India recounted the skirmish, known as the Longju incident, as exactly the opposite, with Chinese forces entering Indian territory and engaging its border guards. Feng and Wortzel, 'PLA Operational Principles', p. 177.
 54. However, broader discussions about McMahon Line were still beyond discussion because at this point, it is a question of national dignity and self-respect. See Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 117.
 55. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
 56. Feng and Wortzel, 'PLA Operational Principles', p. 178.
 57. 'Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to Prime Minister Nehru, November 7, 1959', in *Documents on the Boundary*, pp. 14–17. Though Nehru rejected this, he did submit a counterproposal. For the details of that proposal, see Ram, Mohan, *Politics of Sino-Indian Confrontation*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1973, p. 85.
 58. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
 59. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 140.
 60. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
 61. Nehru insisted that the purpose was to talk, not negotiate, which to him implied concessions would be granted.

62. 'Prime Minister Nehru's Letter to Premier Chou En-lai, February 5, 1960', in *Documents on the Boundary*, p. 143.
63. For more on this, see Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 108.
64. 'Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to Prime Minister Nehru, December 17, 1959', in *Documents on the Boundary*, p. 27.
65. Quoted by Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 270. For more details on the summit, see Mehta, Jagat S., *Negotiating for India: Resolving Problems through Diplomacy (Seven Case Studies 1958–1978)*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2006, pp. 78–83.
66. Fravel, *Strong Borders*, p. 95.
67. Feng and Wortzel, 'PLA Operational Principles', p. 180.
68. Nayar, Kuldeep, *Between the Lines*, New Delhi: Allied, 1969, p. 146.
69. Zhou Enlai mentioned this in an interview years later. See Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 80.
70. Garver, 'China's Decision', p. 111; Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 288. China thought India's attempts to be disingenuous given that it persisted with the Forward Policy. China also wanted to issue a joint statement before the end of the conference, but Nehru's approval came after the convention had already ended.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 290. Moscow's desire for a negotiated solution may have played a role. See Banerjee, P.K., *My Peking Memoirs of the Chinese Invasion of India*, New Delhi: Clarion Books, 1990, p. 52.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
73. 'Note Given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 26 July 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 7, p. 4.
74. 'China's Note, 4 August 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 7, pp. 17–18.
75. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 81.
76. Banerjee, *My Peking Memoirs*, pp. 53–4.
77. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 90.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
79. Author's interview with Indian journalist who covered events during the war, New Delhi, August 2012.
80. 'Note Given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 13 September 1962', *White Paper*, Vol. 7, p. 73.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–3.
82. Dalvi, *Himalayan Blunder*, chapter nine.
83. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 327.
84. 'Note Given by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, to the Embassy of China in India, 6 October 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 7, p. 101.

85. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 327.
86. Liu, *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute*, p. 34.
87. Dalvi, *Himalayan Blunder*, p. 292.
88. 'Letter from Premier Chou En-lai to Prime Minister of India, 24 October 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 1.
89. Ibid.
90. Author's interview with Indian former ambassador to Russia, New Delhi, August 2012.
91. 'Letter from the Prime Minister of India, to Premier Chou En-lai, 14 November 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 12.
92. Ibid., p. 8.
93. Russell, Bertrand, *Unarmed Victory*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964, pp. 92–3.
94. 'Yinni gejie duizhong, yindu bianjie chongtu de fanying' (Indonesia's Comprehensive Reaction to China and the Sino-Indian Border Dispute), Document 105-01493-04, Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives, 14 November 1962, p. 16.
95. Maxwell argues as well that the Indians were even more adamant about their position on not negotiating a boundary settlement after the Chinese attack than before. See Maxwell, *India's China War*.
96. 'Letter from the Prime Minister of India, to Premier Chou En-lai, 14 November 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 12.
97. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 377.
98. MacFarquhar, Roderick, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution 3: The Coming of the Cataclysm 1961–1966*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 309.
99. AVPRE, f. 090, op. 24, d. 6, p. 80, ll. 134-139; document obtained by J. Hershberg; translation by K. Weathersby, CWIHP, p. 265.
100. Record of talk between Khrushchev and Nehru, 12 February 1960, Subject File 24, *Subimal Dutt Papers*, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML), cited in Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 281.
101. Rowland, John, *A History of Sino-Indian Relations: Hostile Co-existence*, Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1967, p. 167.
102. Nayar, *Between the Lines*, p. 157.
103. Liu, *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute*, p. 28. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) did not want India to seek assistance from the West, but could not fathom breaking with socialist China. Hence, its efforts to facilitate a negotiated settlement between the two countries. See Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 303.
104. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 146.

105. Ibid., p. 243.
106. Liu, *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute*, p. 39.
107. Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 307.
108. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 281.
109. Nayar, *Between the Lines*, p. 144.
110. Ibid., p. 151.
111. Ibid., p. 153.
112. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 152.
113. See 'Wo zhu yindu shiguan he yinni zhu yindu shiguan guanyu zhong, yindu, bianjie wenti de jiechu' (The Exchange between China's Embassy in India and Indonesia's Embassy in India about the Sino-Indian Border Question), Document 105-01493-06, Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives, 13 November 1962, p. 6 (hereafter, 'The Exchange'; 'Chen Yi Discussion', pp. 3–4).
114. 'Note Given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 4 August 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 7, p. 18.
115. 'Statement of the Chinese Government 24 October 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 3.
116. 'Letter from the Prime Minister of India to the Prime Minister of China, 27 October 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, pp. 4–7.
117. 'The Exchange', p. 6.
118. For the text of the ceasefire proposal, see 'Statement Given by the Chinese Government, 21 November 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 19. For more on the ceasefire and withdrawal, see Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, pp. 147–50.
119. For more on the ceasefire, see Ibid., pp. 417–43.
120. 'Letter from Premier Chou En-lai to the Prime Minister of India, 28 November, 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 25.
121. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 428.
122. 'Memorandum Given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 8 December 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 35.
123. 'Memorandum Given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peking, to the Embassy of India in China, 29 December 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 46.
124. 'Letter from the Prime Minister of India to the Prime Minister of China, 1 January 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 50.
125. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 139.
126. Ibid., p. 376. For more on the role of the Parliament in India's China policy, see Jetly, *India China Relations*.

127. Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 214.
128. Author's interview with India military general, former commander of Ladakh, New Delhi, August 2012.
129. Maxwell, *India's China War*, pp. 120–1.
130. Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 294. For many Indian leaders, this move was seen as the first phase of the war. See Dalvi, *Himalayan Blunder*, p. 185. Nehru also felt that 8 September was when the 'massive aggression on India' began. See 'Letter from the Prime Minister of India, to Premier Chou En-lai, 14 November 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 11.
131. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 120.
132. Author's interview with Indian journalist who covered events during the war, New Delhi, August 2012.
133. Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 221.
134. Nehru to Chief Ministers, 21 October 1962, cited in *Ibid.*
135. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 420.
136. Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 234.
137. Author's interview with Indian general, former commander in Ladakh, New Delhi, August 2012.
138. Varma, *Struggle for the Himalayas*, p. 164.
139. Rowland, *A History of Sino-Indian Relations*, p. 180.
140. Varma, *Struggle for the Himalayas*, p. 165.
141. Author's interview with Indian former ambassador and participant in the India–China Joint Working Group on the boundary issue, New Delhi, August 2012. See also Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 147.
142. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 146.
143. Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 228.
144. Rowland, *A History of Sino-Indian Relations*, p. 172.
145. Nehru to Kennedy, 19 November 1962, India Nehru Correspondence, 11 November 1962 to 19 November 1962, NSC Box 11, John F. Kennedy Library, cited in Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 308.
146. Dalvi, *Himalayan Blunder*, p. 491.
147. Varma, *Struggle for the Himalayas*, p. 174.
148. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 147.
149. *Ibid.*, p. 163. There was no basis for these concerns in Chinese strategic thinking. See *Ibid.*, 164–5.
150. Author's round-table discussion at the United Service Institution (USI) of India, New Delhi, August 2012.
151. 'Annexure to Letter from the Prime Minister of India to Premier Chou En-lai, 27 October 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 6.

152. 'Annexure to Letter dated 14 November 1962, from the Prime Minister of India', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 17.
153. Maxwell, *India's China War*, p. 139.
154. Jetly, *India China Relations*, p. 168.
155. Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 283.
156. Speech, 19 March 1962, PMSIR: Parliament, 2:82-83, cited in Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 283.
157. Author's interview with Indian former ambassador and participant in the India–China Joint Working Group on the boundary issue, New Delhi, August 2012.
158. 'Letter from the Prime Minister of India, to Premier Chou En-lai, 14 November 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 12.
159. Varma, *Struggle for the Himalayas*, p. 150.
160. Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 297.
161. Jetly, *India China Relations*, p. 171.
162. For the reasons for intelligence failure, see Raghavan, *War and Peace*, pp. 278–9.
163. Sinha and Athale, *History of the Conflict with China*, p. 82.
164. Raghavan, *War and Peace*, p. 279.
165. 'Prime Minister Nehru's Letter to Premier Chou En-lai, September 26, 1959', in *Documents on the Boundary*, pp. 101–2.
166. Singh, Zorawar Daulet, *Himalayan Stalemate: Understanding the India–China Dispute*, New Delhi: Printline, 2012, p. 6.
167. 'Letter from the Prime Minister of India, to Premier Chou En-lai, 14 November 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 11.
168. 'Letter from the Prime Minister of India, to Premier Chou En-lai, 27 October 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 5.
169. Jetly, *India China Relations*, p. 194.
170. Rowland, *A History of Sino-Indian Relations*, p. 137.
171. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 109.
172. Parliamentarian P.K. Deo, quoted by Jetly, *India China Relations*, p. 167.
173. Raghavan, *War and Peace*, pp. 291–2.
174. 'Statement Given by the Chinese Government, 21 November 1962', in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 20.
175. Author's interview with Indian military general, former commander of Ladakh, New Delhi, August 2012.
176. Author's interview with Brigadier Gurmeet Kanwal, New Delhi, August 2012.
177. Dalvi, *Himalayan Blunder*, p. 160.

178. Ibid., p. 221.
179. Ibid., p. 221.
180. Ibid., pp. 221–2.
181. Varma, *Struggle for the Himalayas*, p. 156.
182. ‘Shanghai yindu lingguan he yinqiao dui zhongyin bianjie chongtu de fanying’ (Shanghai Indian Consulate and Overseas Chinese Reflections on the Sino-Indian Border Dispute), Document 118-01044-02, Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives, 8 November 1962, p. 7.
183. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 160.
184. ‘Statement of the Chinese Government, 24 October 1962’, in *White Paper*, Vol. 8, p. 2.
185. Garver, ‘China’s Decision’, p. 104.
186. Feng and Wortzel, ‘PLA Operational Principles’, p. 181.
187. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 98.
188. Bo, Shi, *Zhongyin Dazhan Jishi* (Record of Events in the Big China–India War), Beijing: Dadi Chubanshe, 1993, p. 189, cited in Garver, ‘China’s Decision’, p. 115.
189. ‘Chen Yi Discussion’, p. 5.
190. Xu, Yan, *ZhongYin Bianjie ZhiZhan Lishi Zhenxiang* (The Historical Truth of the Sino-Indian Border War), Hong Kong: Tiandi Tushu, 1993, p. 110.
191. Fravel, *Strong Borders*, p. 192.
192. Ibid.; Garver, ‘China’s Decision’, pp. 117–19; MacFarquhar, *The Origins of a Cultural Revolution*, p. 307.
193. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 77.
194. Garver, ‘China’s Decision’, p. 116.
195. Feng and Wortzel, ‘PLA Operational Principles’, p. 188.
196. Xu, *Lishi Zhenxiang*, p. 111.
197. Siyi, Jiang and Li Hui (eds), *Zhongyin bianjiang ziwei fanji zuozhanshi* (History of the Self-Defensive Counterattack Operations on the Sino-Indian Borders), Beijing: Junshi Kexue Chubanshe, 1994, p. 208.
198. ‘Chen Yi Discussion’, p. 6.
199. This position was articulated in a document distributed by the CCP Central Committee entitled, ‘The Propaganda Outline Concerning the End of the Sino-Indian Border Conflict and the Issue of Sino-Indian Relations’. See Jun, Niu, ‘1962: The Eve of the Left Turn in China’s Foreign Policy’, Cold War International History Project (CWIHP) Working Paper No. 48, p. 30.
200. Dalvi, *Himalayan Blunder*, pp. 479–80.
201. ‘Chen Yi Discussion’, p. 3.

202. 'Yindu yu meiguo de guanxi: xin qingkuang' (US–India Relations: A New Situation), Document 105-01519-02, Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives, 30 December 1962, p. 17.
203. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, p. 122.
204. *Ibid.*, pp. 134–5.
205. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
206. Fravel makes a related argument about China's behaviour in territorial disputes that 'regime insecurity magnified the perceived nature and severity of external threats, further increasing the utility of using force to signal resolve to China's adversaries.' See Fravel, *Strong Borders*, p. 219.
207. Lei Yingfu, as told to Xianyi, Chen, *Zai zuigao songshuaibu dang sanmo—Lei Yingfu jiangjun huiyilu* (Serving on the Staff of the High Command—Memoir of General Lei Yingfu), Nanchang, Jiangxi: Baihuazhou Wenyi Chubanshe, 1997, p. 209, cited in Garver, 'China's Decision', p. 56.
208. Whiting, *Chinese Calculus*, pp. 92, 95.
209. Bo, *Zhongyin Dazhan Jishi*, cited in Garver, 'China's Decision', p. 115.
210. 'About the Visit of the Soviet Party-Governmental Delegation to the People's Republic of China', *CWIHP Bulletin*, p. 261.
211. Fravel, *Strong Borders*, p. 194; Garver, 'China's Decision', p. 120.
212. 'Zhu yindu dashi Pan zili liren shi xiang yinfang cixing baihui qingkuang' (The Situation in Which Pan from the Chinese Embassy Leaves His Post and Pays an Official Visit to Say Goodbye), Document 105-01807-01, Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives, 16 July 1962, p. 28.
213. Nayar, *Between the Lines*, p. 201.
214. Comments received by the author in a round-table discussion at the USI and author's interview with an information adviser and prominent journalist who covered the events of the war, New Delhi, August 2012.