

**November 24, 1962**

**Minutes of Conversation between Chinese Director  
of First Department of Asian Affairs Zhang Wenjin  
and Ambassador of Pakistan Raza**

**Citation:**

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**Summary:**

Ambassador Raza expressed his support for China in the Sino-Indian border conflict, accused India of being two-faced, and talked about how people had misunderstood Pakistan in favor of India in the past.

**Credits:**

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**Original Language:**

Chinese

**Contents:**

Translation - English

Minutes of Conversation between Zhang Wenjin, Director of First Department of Asian Affairs, and [Major-General N. A. M.] Raza, Ambassador of Pakistan to China

Raza said India and the United States concluded a secret agreement as early as in 1951

Time: Morning of 24 November 1962

Place: Hotel at No. 23, Dongjiaomin Lane

Attended as Observers: China: Cheng Zhiping, Pei Monong, and Dai Enju

Pakistan: Yunus [You-na-si] and Aslam [A-si-la-mu]

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Director Zhang [Wenjin] said that we heard via radio a report from the newspaper Dawn that, the day before yesterday, President Ayoub said at parliament that India was liable for the Sino-Indian boundary conflict and that China had consistently advocated for peaceful settlement. We believe his talk is impartial. Then [Major-General N.A.M.] Raza said there was something new. According to Pakistani radio, Foreign Minister [Muhammad] Ali [Bogra] said that India and the United States concluded a secret "Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement" as early as 1951 and the agreement was renewed in 1958. Now the effective period [of the agreement] has been extended again. The difference between Pakistan and India lies in that Pakistan entered into the treaty publicly, while India entered into the treaty secretly although it proclaims to be neutral. This is a fraud and indicates that India's nonalignment is utterly hypocritical.

Director Zhang remarked that Raza's words were correct. We learned about this from foreign media reports and Ambassador Ding [Guoyu's] report. When Foreign Secretary [S.K.] Dehlavi met Ambassador Ding a few days ago, he told Ding about the secret agreement between India and the U.S. Dehlavi said that it was hoped that China would make this issue known to other countries, so that Asian and African countries could learn that India's nonalignment was utterly hypocritical. Premier Zhou [Enlai] also attached great importance to this issue. We would be very grateful if the Embassy of Pakistan in China could provide us with more materials concerning this issue, especially because Pakistan's Foreign Secretary said that Pakistan hoped for China to send more explanations with respect to this issue to other countries.

Raza said that he had copied the news from the radio to Marshal Chen Yi and that he would send a cable to Pakistan for more details about the agreement.

Raza also said that he often joked with Chinese friends about what he said in 1952 and 1953. At that time, China's judgment of India's attitude was incorrect. Director Zhang said that China and India had been in contact for two years at that time, while Pakistan and India had been in touch for many years, so Pakistan was more experienced. Raza said that at the time, China's judgment of Pakistan's attitude was also incorrect. When the treaty was signed, he publicly said to Premier Zhou that the danger was not China but India; so Pakistan had to take measures to protect itself. Pakistan always keeps its word. For example, Pakistan refused the United States' request for Pakistan to dispatch troops to Thailand. Pakistan was not willing to send troops because it was not defensive. Pakistan does its utmost to get along well with all countries. But India's propaganda campaign was so strong that people believed India more than Pakistan. Pakistan was not ambitious to expand because it had one million people and enough land. Pakistan was a new country and it had a lot of things to do to improve the people's living conditions, so it was unable to maintain a large army. Military expenditure accounted for 53 percent of Pakistan's budget, and all of these were imposed on Pakistan. If there were no troubles between Pakistan and India, Pakistan would have been able to cut military expenditures in half, not enter

into any treaties, and get along well with other countries. Pakistan entered into treaties not because of China or Russia, but because of India. In this regard, India should be responsible. Although India was against Pakistan entering into treaties, it entered into the agreement secretly. God knows what other things were done by India and the United States. According to recent news, India wants to break up Sino-Soviet relations. He also said that, without any basis, India has made propaganda [stating] that there were many disputes in the Sino-Pakistan boundary negotiations and that no understanding was reached. When he visited Hong Kong, Indian newspapers reported that General Raza was going to Karachi for very important negotiations. No matter how groundless India's propaganda was, India hoped people would believe some of it. This is why Pakistan was very ardent that an understanding and settlement should be reached as early as possible with respect to the Sino-Pakistan boundary issues.

Director Zhang said that China hoped the boundary agreement could be reached soon in the spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation.