### CHATHAM HOUSE ESSAYS: 2

THE CHINA-INDIA BORDER

### CHATHAM HOUSE ESSAYS

It is proposed to publish under this general title short studies designed to illuminate and to provoke discussion of issues in the field of international affairs.

This is the second essay in the series. The first was The Chinese View of Their Place in the World by C. P. FitzGerald.

The Royal Institute of International Affairs is an unofficial and non-political body, founded in 1920 to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions. The Institute, as such, is precluded by the terms of its Royal Charter from expressing an opinion on any aspect of international affairs. Any opinions expressed in this publication are not, therefore, those of the Institute.

### The China-India Border

# THE ORIGINS OF THE DISPUTED BOUNDARIES

BY
ALASTAIR LAMB

Issued under the auspices of the
Royal Institute of International Affairs

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO

#### Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C.4

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON BONDAY CALCUITA MADRAS KARACIII LAHORE DACCA CAPE TOWN SALISBURY NAIROBE IBADAN ACCRA KUALA LUMPUR HONG KONG

© Royal Institute of International Affairs 1964

Printed in Great Britain at the Pitman Press, Bath

### Foreword

### by The Rt Hon. Kenneth Younger

THE correct demarcation of the India-China border, which has been a matter of argument for decades, has become in the last few years, a major issue in international affairs.

The large-scale military operations which broke out in the autumn not only aroused immediate alarm throughout the world but also cast a shadow over the 1962 attempt to regulate inter-state relations in Asia on the basis of non-alignment and of the principles of coexistence hopefully adopted at the Bandung Conference of 1955.

The dispute has thus acquired significance far beyond the original territorial claims and is bound now to be powerfully influenced by such contemporary factors as the nature and ambitions of the Chinese Communist régime, the state of public opinion in both countries, and the current climate of international relations. Nevertheless the case has so far been argued by both sides largely on historical grounds, and the greater part of the highly complicated evidence dates from the period of British rule in India.

In the following pages Dr Lamb examines the story up to the transfer of power in India in 1947, on the basis of both published and unpublished material, including the British official records, which are available to scholars up to 1913. The historical evidence cannot any longer be considered as the sole criterion for settling the dispute, but its relevance to present and future attempts at reaching an agreement is not in doubt. While the Institute, in accordance with its invariable rule, refrains from endorsing

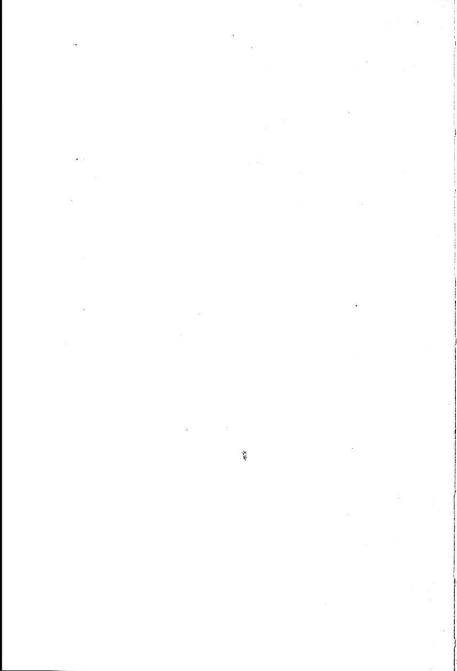
the author's opinions and conclusions, it presents Dr Lamb's study as a scholarly and disinterested contribution to the understanding of a problem which, until it is satisfactorily resolved, must be of increasing concern both to the governments involved and to the world at large.

### Contents

Foreword, by the Rt Hon. Kenneth Younger	
Acknowledgements	
Abbreviations	xvi
1. The Nature of the Sino-Indian Dispute	
Imperial borders	3
The Western Sector	7
The Middle Sector The Eastern Sector	7 9
Claims and counter-claims	9
20 H 100075	9
2. Frontiers and Peoples	
Frontiers and boundaries	14
Hunza	15
Peoples of the Tibetan plateau	17
The Assam tribes	19
Population movements	22
Dual relationships	24
3. China, Sinkiang, Tibet, and the Himalayan State in History	ës
The Manchu tributary system	27
Chinese Turkestan	31
Kashmir	33
Ladakh	34
Nepal	36
Sikkim	37
Bhutan	· 38
4. Maps, Treaties, and Documents	
Maps	41
Treaties	48
Documents	54
Narratives of travel	55

5. The Ladakh-Tibet Boundary in 1864	
Ladakh Moorcroft's Ladakh travels Gulab Singh and the Amritsar Treaty The Boundary Commission of 1846 The Boundary Commission of 1847 Strachey and the 1842 agreement The Kashmir Survey	59 61 63 64 68 69 72
6. The Aksai Chin Boundary in 1875	
The Changchenmo-Panggong region	75
Kashmir and the Shahidulla fort	78
The British and Eastern Turkestan The Johnson boundary	79 83
7. Hunza, the Pamirs, and Aksai Chin in 1912  The Russian threat Afghanistan Chinese Turkestan The Pamirs Hunza The northern Kashmir border The Macartney-MacDonald line The Ardagh boundary	88 91 91 92 94 98 100
Anglo-Russian negotiations	108
8. Making the McMahon Line, 1826-1914	200
The Tawang Tract	116
The tribes of east Assam	122
Relations with Tibet	127
The death of Williamson	130
Chinese penetration	134
The British react: the Abor expedition	137
The Simla Conference	142

Contents	χi
9. Administering the McMahon Line, 1914-47	
Tawang and Walong	149
Pemako	151
The Tsari district	153
The Tawang venture	159
The Dihang valley	163
British post-war policy	165
10. Some Conclusions	
The McMahon Line	168
The Middle Sector dispute	170
The Western Sector dispute	173
The Sino-Pakistani border	174
The Sino-Indian border	175
Appendices	
1. Lord Hardinge to the Vizier of Lhassa-Gartope &c	
&c and the authorities in Thibet, 4 August 1846	177
2. Sir C. MacDonald to the Tsung-li Yamen, 14 March	
1899	180
Select Bibliography	183
Note on Maps	192



# Maps

+1.	The present boundary dispute: Western and Middle	14.22
	Sectors	8
2.	The present boundary dispute: Eastern Sector	10
3.	Tribes of the Assam Himalaya	20
+ 4.	Chinese Central Asia in 1792	26
5-	Tibet-Ladakh border	58
<b>x6.</b>	Aksai Chin	74
<b>∤7</b> ∙	Schematic plan showing boundaries in the Pamirs, 1888-98	93
⊀ 8.	Hunza-Sinkiang boundary	95
X9.	Some Kashmir boundaries	III
10.	The Tawang Tract	113
II.	Extent of British and Tibetan penetration into the	
	Tribal Areas of the Assam Himalaya by 1909	124
12.	The Dihang or Siang valley	132
13.	The Lohit valley at the Tibetan border	136
L14.	Boundaries of Inner and Outer Tibet as shown on the map appended to the Simla Convention of 3 July	
	1914	146
15.	The upper Subansiri, showing the Tibetan pilgrim route below the McMahon Line	154
16.	A hypothetical Anglo-Chinese boundary settlement	
	in the Assam Himalaya in 1947	172

### Other essays in this series

#### THE CHINESE VIEW OF THEIR PLACE IN THE WORLD C. P. FITZGERALD

# THE DEBATABLE ALLIANCE: An Essay in Anglo-American Relations CORAL BELL

Published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs

The common border between India and China, which extends for more than 2,000 miles, has become in recent years the subject of intense dispute. The consequences of the resulting Sino-Indian conflict have been profound both for India's position as a non-aligned state and for the balance of power between the Communist world and the West throughout Asia. In this essay Dr. Lamb examines some of the factors which resulted in the evolution of a disputed boundary alignment in the Himalaya and Karakoram mountains. He traces the history of this boundary during the period of British rule in the Indian subcontinent, and describes the state of the boundary in 1947 when Great Britain transferred sovereignty to India and Pakistan. He considers not only those sections of border at present disputed between India and China, but also the section which has recently been settled by agreement between China and Pakistan. For his account of the history of the boundary Dr. Lamb makes extensive use of unpublished documentary sources. His aim has been to present an impartial account of where the boundary is and how it came to be there, an account which should provide a valuable background for those who endeavour to understand the reasons for the present unhappy state of Sino-Indian relations. Much of the information in this essay has not been published before.

Alastair Lamb was born in Manchuria in 1930. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, and is at present Reader in History in the University of Malaya. He has made a special study of the relations between India and Chinese Central Asia, publishing the first volume of his Britain and Chinese Central Asia in 1960. In recent years he has also carried out archaeological investigations of pre-European maritime trade between the Malay Peninsula and China and the Middle East.

#### OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS