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China's Stand on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

EIGHTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (Documents)

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This booklet contains two documents of the important meeting held from August 2 to 16, 1959: the "Communique of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," and the "Resolution on Developing the Campaign for Increasing Production and Practising Economy." Included also in the booklet is an editorial of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily): "Oppose Right Deviation and Make an All Out Effort to Fulfil the Principal Targets of the Second Five-Year Plan This Year!"

28 pp.

CHOU EN-LAI

REPORT ON ADJUSTING THE MAJOR TARGETS OF THE 1959 NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN AND FURTHER DEVELOPING THE CAMPAIGN FOR INCREASING PRODUCTION AND PRACTISING ECONOMY

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In this report, delivered on August 26 at the fifth meeting of the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress of China, Premier Chou En-lai analyses the economic situation in 1959, assesses the results of the mass campaign to make iron and steel, and the significance of people's communes. He explains why the planned economic targets for 1959 have been adjusted, and why even so this year's plan remains one of a continued leap forward, which when fulfilled will mean completing the principal targets of the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule. In conclusion the Premier criticizes right deviationist ideas which have appeared among some cadres and calls on the nation for a big effort to increase production, practise economy and fulfil this year's plan.

This booklet also contains an editorial from *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), entitled "Long Live the People's Communes!" It analyses the growth of the people's communes which are now soundly established.

46 pp.

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PEKING REVIEW

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The Crux of the Boundary Question

A NEW anti-Chinese campaign has been whipped up by certain quarters in India to serve their ulterior aims. Groundless charges are made about China's "invasion" of Indian territory. Vile slanders are hurled against our people and government. Imperialism is gleefully trying to make things worse and fish in troubled waters.

What is the truth of the matter? We believe the documents and data in the following pages will enable our readers to fully understand the issues involved and the rights and wrongs of the case.

The Sino-Indian boundary question is a complicated issue that has come down to us from the past. It is a by-product of the aggressive policy of British imperialism. The approximately 2,000-kilometre boundary between the two countries has never been formally delimited. China's stand on this question has been made perfectly clear by Premier Chou En-lai in his letter to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India. The Chinese Government has consistently held that an overall settlement of the boundary question should be sought by both sides taking into account the historical background and existing actualities and adhering to the five principles of peaceful coexistence, through friendly negotiations conducted in a well-prepared way step by step. Pending this, as a provisional measure, the two sides should maintain the long-existing status quo of the border, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, even less by force; as to some of the disputes, provisional agreements concerning individual places could be reached through negotiations to ensure the tranquillity of the border areas and uphold the friendship of the two countries. This stand is as fair as it is clear. In strict compliance with the order of the Chinese Government, Chinese frontier guards in Tibet have never stepped onto Indian territory, not even across the so-called McMahon Line which China has never recognized.

The Indian side, however, seeks to impose on China a unilaterally defined boundary which it inherited from British imperialism. That boundary would hack away vast areas from Chinese territory. Certain quarters in India are exploiting the situation to undermine Sino-Indian friendship and make India jettison its policy of peace and neutrality. The great joy which the imperialist press and spokesmen have displayed in this matter makes it crystal clear that they think it plays into their hands.

China has exercised much restraint in handling this deplorable situation, hoping to bring about a reasonable settlement of the question through friendly negotiations. But this restraint seems to have been taken for a sign of weakness. Nothing could be more unfortunate than a misreading of the sentiments of the new China. The days when the Chinese people could be bossed around are gone for ever. The Chinese people, who have stood up after long years of struggle, will never commit aggression against any nation. Nor will they allow anyone to invade their country.

China has looked upon its southwestern border as a border of peace and friendship and maintained that all disputes between herself and India should be resolved through peaceful consultations. It is hoped that the Indian Government will value Sino-Indian friendship equally with us and seek an overall settlement to the boundary question through friendly negotiations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Round the Week

NPC Standing Committee Holds Session

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress met in a three-day enlarged session in Peking (September 11-13) to discuss the Sino-Indian boundary question. In addition to the Standing Committee members, the session was attended by Vice-Premiers and other members of the State Council, the President of the Supreme People's Court, the Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuracy, and members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

On its opening day the session heard a report by Premier Chou En-lai (see p. 13) and then went into discussion. During the three days many members spoke on the question. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi addressed the Committee at its concluding session and further explained the policy of the Chinese Government on the Sino-Indian boundary issue (see p. 14).

Chu Teh, the Standing Committee's chairman, declared that the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress unanimously endorses the government's policy which gives full expression to the firm resolve of the Chinese people to safeguard China's territorial sovereignty and to their sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Chu Teh voiced the hope that Prime Minister Nehru and the Indian Government would value the friendship between China and India and put an end to the anti-Chinese clamours which aim at disrupting Sino-Indian friendship and the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Basing ourselves on the five principles and conducting peaceful negotiations, Chu Teh said, the boundary disputes between the two countries can certainly be settled satisfactorily.

A resolution on the Sino-Indian boundary question was adopted at the closing session (see opposite page). Following is a résumé of some of the speeches.

Li Chi-shen, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, declared that Prime Minister Nehru had gone a bit too far. The "McMahon Line" which the Indian Government clings to was the product of British aggression against the Tibet region of China and has never been recognized by any Central Government of China. It therefore does not have a leg to stand on in law. "Now, however, the Indian Government wants us formally to recognize a situation spawned by British aggression against the Tibet region of China," Li Chi-shen said. "This is extremely absurd."

Li Chi-shen pointed out that the tense situation on the Chinese-Indian border, coming on the heels of the abortive rebellion in Tibet, was the handiwork of the Indians. It was regrettable that Prime Minister Nehru should have made statements on Sino-Indian relations which could only pain friends who had friendship between China and India at heart and win applause from the reactionaries bent on disrupting the bonds of friendship and creating tension between the two countries. He voiced hope that the Indian Government would not fall into the snare laid by the imperialists and that it would adopt a wise attitude and settle the boundary question through peaceful negotiation on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Shen Chun-ju, Chairman of the China Democratic League, sounded a note of warning. If the tension on the Chinese-Indian border was allowed to develop and imperialism and its agents in India get away with their schemes, he said, India would be the first to suffer.

There are people in India, he pointed out, who have never ceased trying to sow dissension and undermine the friendship between China and India, and who have set their hearts on dragging India into the quagmire of military blocs. Their aim is to create tension in Asia and turn India into a military base for imperialism. How can Prime Minister Nehru who advocates a policy of non-alignment take no notice of this and allow these activities to continue, Shen Chun-ju asked.

Huang Yen-pei, Chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association, said he was much surprised that Prime Minister Nehru should have affirmed in the Indian Parliament that the "McMahon Line" constituted the boundary between China and India. One of the septuagenarian leaders of the democratic parties, Huang Yen-pei recalled

the days just before World War I when his political career first began. The Chinese Government at that time, he said, never had the slightest intention of accepting the McMahon Line. Not only did China never recognize it, but even the British acting governor of Assam, northeast India, of twenty years ago admitted that there was no such thing as the so-called McMahon Line (see his letter to The Times of London, September 2, 1959, in which Henry Twynam himself said: ". . . the McMahon Line, which sought to secure the main crest of the Himalayas as the frontier, does not exist, and has never existed.") "And yet the Indian Government wants China to accept this boundary which has no legal foundation whatsoever. This is unworthy of a nation which itself had been the victim of imperialist aggression for many years," Huang Yen-pei said.

Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, said that it was surprising to find Mr. Nehru defending the British imperialists and slandering us as "Chinese imperialism." The noted poet-historian said that the history of the past hundred years of aggression against China by British and other imperialists long left a deep impression on his generation ever since their childhood days.

The people of India are truly friendly to the Chinese people. Kuo Mo-jo said that when they call out the slogan "Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai!" (Indian and Chinese people are brothers!), they do so from the bottom of their hearts, quite unlike the anti-Chinese elements who howl "Hindi Chini bye bye!" He said with some emphasis that it is high time for the handful of rabid, anti-Chinese elements to come to their senses. The people of China sincerely hope that the people of India will resolutely range themselves against the intrigues of imperialism and its agents and urge upon their government to play its part in safeguarding Sino-Indian friendship and the cause of peace.

Liu Ning-I, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, voiced the indignation of the Chinese workers when he denounced the Indian encroachments on Chinese territory and the new anti-Chinese wave whipped up by certain quarters in India. If in the days when China was weak the people of China could still bring themselves to reject this so-called McMahon Line, how could anyone expect the People's Government of New China to accept this line which had no validity in law, he asked.

The Chinese trade union leader expressed the hope that the Indian Government would return to the path of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, take action to withdraw the Indian troops and administrative personnel who had intruded into the Chinese border, restore the long-established status quo of the border and ease the tension there.

Chen Shu-tung, Chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, found it regrettable that Prime Minister Nehru who champions the five principles of peaceful coexistence should in the past month or so have connived at the activities of certain Indian circles who were out to destroy the friendship between China and India. He thought that the Indian Prime Minister should be alive to the serious consequences arising from the anti-Chinese campaign let loose by the right-wing political parties in India and beware of the schemings of the imperialists to pit India against China.

Chen Chi-yu, Chairman of the China Chih Kung Tang, said the recent hooliganism of Indian demonstrators in front of the Chinese Embassy and Consulates in India and their slanderous utterances against the leaders of the Chinese Government cannot but arouse great anger among the Chinese people. He said the series of provocative actions by the Indian Government on the border between China and India and the accusations made by Prime Minister Nehru on the Sino-Indian boundary question were not in the interests of Sino-Indian friendship since they were the sort of measures taken against a hostile country and not a friendly neighbouring country. They could only please imperialism and harm the people of the two countries.

Tsai Chang, President of the National Women's Federation of China, declared that Chinese women were greatly infuriated by the wild slanders and provocations of the anti-Chinese elements in India. She said that both China and India had shaken off the yoke of imperialism not long ago. The Chinese people, she added, were determined to safeguard their sacred frontiers and uphold Sino-Indian friendship. She expressed the hope that the people of India would prevent the handful of imperialists and those with ulterior motives from wrecking this friendship.

Shirob Jaltso. Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association, said that he was studying Buddhism in Lhasa when the so-called Simla Conference was held. A Tibetan representative who attended the conference told him that the British representative was strongly opposed by the representative of the Chinese Central Government of that time and could say nothing in defence of his position at the conference which ended in disagreement.

Shirob Jaltso stressed that the British imperialists had tried to impose the socalled McMahon Line on the Chinese people through secret dealings behind the back of the representative of the Chinese Central Government. He knew from experience that not only the working people in Tibet, but many of the upper class people in the local government also opposed the McMahon Line. They considered it a base deal of the British imperialists.

Sheikh Nur Mohammed Ta Pu-sheng, Vice-Chairman of the China Islamic Association, said that China and India which had suffered much at the hands of imperialism should find a reasonable and fair settlement of the boundary question through friendly negotiation based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. He said India should not use pressure to impose its one-sided claims on China. It would never succeed in forcing the liberated Chinese people to accept anything illegal and onesided.

Resolution of the NPC Standing Committee

The following resolution was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on September 13. — Ed.

O^N September 13, 1959, the Eighth Session of the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress unanimously endorsed Premier Chou En-lai's report on the Sino-Indian boundary question and fully approved the stand, attitude and policy adopted by the government in dealing with the Sino-Indian boundary question.

The Chinese Government has consistently held that an overall settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question should be sought by both sides, taking into account the historical background and existing actualities and adhering to the five principles, by means of friendly negotiations conducted in a well-prepared way and step by step. Pending this, as a provisional measure, the two sides should maintain the long-existing status quo, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, still less by force; as to some of the disputes, provisional agreements concerning individual places could be reached through negotiations to ensure the tranquillity of the border areas and uphold the friendship of the two countries. This stand and policy represent the strong will of the people throughout the country to defend the sacred territory of their motherland and their sincere desire to preserve Sino-Indian friendship.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress expresses regret at the recent series of intrusions by Indian troops into Chinese territory and the anti-Chinese campaign whipped up by some right-wing politicians in India and expresses the hope that the Indian side will swiftly withdraw from the places into which it has intruded, stop the anti-Chinese agitation and start friendly negotiations with China for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

The imperialist forces of the West and their agents in India are trying to take advantage of the Sino-Indian border incidents to disrupt the great friendship between China and India and change India's foreign policy of peace and neutrality. The Chinese people fervently hope that the Indian people will frustrate their vicious schemes, so that the common interests of the peoples of India, China and the other countries of Asia may be safeguarded.

China and India have friendly relations of long duration and are the initiators of the five principles of peaceful coexistence; they share common interests and responsibilities in safeguarding peace in the world, especially in Asia. We believe that through the friendly efforts of their governments and peoples, the two countries will certainly be able to attain a reasonable solution of their differences on the boundary question in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence and their desire for mutual friendship, thus defeating the schemes of their common enemies and consolidating their great friendship.

Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru

Following is the full text of Premier Chou En-lai's letter, dated September 8, to Prime Minister Nehru of India, expressing China's stand on the question of the Sino-Indian border and on the situation at the border. It is a reply to Prime Minister Nehru's letter of March 22, which was included in the White Paper submitted by him to the Indian Parliament on September 7. — Ed.

Peking, September 8, 1959

His Excellency Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, New Delhi

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I have carefully read Your Excellency's letter dated March 22, 1959. I find from your letter that there is a fundamental difference between the positions of our two governments on the Sino-Indian boundary question. This has made me somewhat surprised and also made it necessary for me to take a longer period of time to consider how to reply to your letter.

The Sino-Indian boundary question is a complicated question left over by history. In tackling this question, one cannot but, first of all, take into account the historical background of British aggression on China when India was under British rule. From the early days, Britain harboured aggressive ambition towards China's Tibet region. It continuously instigated Tibet to separate from China, in an attempt to put under its control a nominally independent Tibet. When this design failed, it applied all sorts of pressures on China, intending to make Tibet a British sphere of influence while allowing China to maintain so-called suzerainty over Tibet. In the meantime, using India as its base, Britain conducted extensive territorial expansion into China's Tibet region, and even the Sinkiang region. All this constitutes the fundamental reason for the long-term disputes over and non-settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

China and India are both countries which were long subjected to imperialist aggression. This common experience should have naturally caused China and India to hold an identical view of the above-said historical background and to adopt an attitude of mutual sympathy, mutual understanding and fairness and reasonableness in dealing with the boundary question. The Chinese Government originally thought the Indian Government would take such an attitude. Unexpectedly to the Chinese Government, however, the Indian Government demanded that the Chinese Government give formal recognition to the conditions created by the application of the British policy of aggression against China's Tibet region as the foundation for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. What is more serious, the Indian Government has applied all sorts of pressures on the Chinese Government, not even scrupling the use of force, to support this demand. At this the Chinese Government cannot but feel a deep regret.

The Chinese Government has consistently held that an over-all settlement of the boundary question should be sought by both sides taking into account the historical background and existing actualities and adhering to the five principles, through friendly negotiations conducted in a well-prepared way step by step. Pending this, as a provisional measure, the two sides should maintain the long-existing status quo of the border, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, even less by force; as to some of the disputes, provisional agreements concerning isolated places could be reached through negotiations to ensure the tranquillity of the border areas and uphold the friendship of the two countries. This is exactly the basic idea expressed in my January 23, 1959 letter to you. The Chinese Government still considers this to be the way that should be followed by our two countries in settling the boundary question. Judging from Your Excellency's letter of March 22, 1959, it seems you are not completely against this principle.

I would like now to further explain the position of the Chinese Government in connection with the questions raised in Your Excellency's letter and in conjunction with the recent situation along the Sino-Indian border.

I. In my letter to Your Excellency dated January 23, 1959, I pointed out that the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited. In your letter of March 22, 1959, Your Excellency expressed disagreement to this, and tried energetically to prove that most parts of the Sino-Indian boundary had the sanction of specific international agreements between the past government of India and Central Government of China. In order to prove that the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited, I would like to furnish the following facts: (One) Concerning the boundary separating China's Sinkiang and Tibet regions from Ladakh

In 1842, a peace treaty was indeed concluded between the local authorities of China's Tibet and the Kashmir authorities. However, the then Chinese Central Government did not send anybody to participate in the conclusion of this treaty, nor did it ratify the treaty afterwards. Moreover, this treaty only mentioned in general terms that Ladakh and Tibet would each abide by its borders, and did not make any specific provisions or explanations regarding the location of this section of the boundary. It is clear that this treaty cannot be used to prove that this section of the boundary has been formally delimited by the two sides, even less can it be used as the foundation to ask the Chinese Government to accept the unilateral claim of the Indian Government regarding this section of the boundary. As to the Chinese Government official's statement made in 1847 to the British representative that this section of the boundary was clear, it can only show that the then Chinese Government had its own clear view regarding this section of the boundary and cannot be taken as a proof that the boundary between the two sides had already been formally delimited. As a matter of fact, down to 1899, the British Government still proposed to formally delimit this section of the boundary with the Chinese Government, but the Chinese Government did not agree. Your Excellency also said on August 28 this year in India's Lok Sabha: "This was the boundary of the old Kashmir state with Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. Nobody had marked it." It can thus be seen that this section of the boundary has never been delimited. Between China and Ladakh, however, there does exist a customary line derived from historical traditions, and Chinese maps have always drawn the boundary between China and Ladakh in accordance with this line. The marking of this section of the boundary on the map of Punjab, Western Himalaya and Adjoining Parts of Tibet compiled by the British John Walker by order of the Court of Directors of the East India Company (which was attached to the British Major Alexander Cunningham's book Ladakh published in 1854) corresponded fairly close to the Chinese maps. Later British and Indian maps included large tracts of Chinese territory into Ladakh. This was without any legal grounds, nor in conformity with the actual situation of administration by each side all the time.

(Two) Concerning the section of the boundary between the Ari area of China's Tibet and India

It can be seen from your letter that you also agree that this section of the boundary has not been formally delimited by the two countries. Not only so, there have in fact been historical disputes between the two sides over the right to many places in this area. For example, the area of Sang and Tsungsha, southwest of Tsaparang Dzong in Tibet, which had always belonged to China, was thirty to forty years back gradually invaded and occupied by the British. The local authorities of China's Tibet took up the matter several times with Britain, without any results. It has thus become an outstanding issue left over by history.

(Three) Concerning the Sino-Indian boundary east of Bhutan

The Indian Government insists that this section of the boundary has long been clearly delimited, citing as its

grounds that the so-called McMahon Line was jointly delineated by the representatives of the Chinese Government, the Tibet local authorities and the British Government at the 1913-1914 Simla Conference. As I have repeatedly made clear to Your Excellency, the Simla Conference was an important step taken by Britain in its design to detach Tibet from China. At the conference were discussed the so-called boundary between outer and inner Tibet and that between Tibet and the rest of China. Contrary to what was said in your letter, the so-called Mc-Mahon Line was never discussed at the Simla Conference, but was determined by the British representative and the representative of the Tibet local authorities behind the back of the representative of the Chinese Central Government through an exchange of secret notes at Delhi on March 24, 1914, that is, prior to the signing of the Simla Treaty. This line was later marked on the map attached to the Simla Treaty as part of the boundary between Tibet and the rest of China. The so-called McMahon Line was a product of the British policy of aggression against the Tibet region of China and has never been recognized by any Chinese Central Government and is therefore decidedly illegal. As to the Simla Treaty, it was not formally signed by the representative of the then Chinese Central Government, and this is explicitly noted in the treaty. For quite a long time after the exchange of secret notes between Britain and the Tibet local authorities, Britain dared not make public the related documents, nor change the traditional way of drawing this section of the boundary on maps. This illegal line aroused the great indignation of the Chinese people. The Tibet local authorities themselves later also expressed their dissatisfaction with this line, and, following the independence of India in 1947, cabled Your Excellency asking India to return all the territory of the Tibet region of China south of this illegal line. This piece of territory corresponds in size to Chekiang Province of China and is as big as 90,000 square kilometres. Mr. Prime Minister, how could China agree to accept under coercion such an illegal line which would have it relinquish its rights and disgrace itself by selling out its territory-and such a large piece of territory at that? The delineation of the Sino-Indian boundary east of Bhutan in all traditional Chinese maps is a true reflection of the actual situation of the traditional boundary before the appearance of the so-called McMahon Line. Both the map of Tibet and Adjacent Countries published by the Indian Survey in 1917 and the map attached to the 1929 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica drew this section of the boundary in the same way as the Chinese maps. And it was only in the period around the peaceful liberation of China's Tibet region in 1951 that Indian troops advanced on a large scale into the area south of the socalled McMahon Line. Therefore, the assertion that this section of the boundary has long been clearly delimited is obviously untenable.

In Your Excellency's letter, you also referred to the boundary between China and Sikkim. Like the boundary between China and Bhutan, this question does not fall within the scope of our present discussion. I would like, however, to take this opportunity to make clear once again that China is willing to live together in friendship with Sikkim and Bhutan, without committing aggression against each other, and has always respected the proper relations between them and India.

It can be seen from the above that the way the Sino-Indian boundary has always been drawn in maps published in China is not without grounds and that at first British and Indian maps also drew the Sino-Indian boundary roughly in the same way as the Chinese maps. As a matter of fact, it was not Chinese maps, but British and Indian maps that later unilaterally altered the way the Sino-Indian boundary was drawn. Nevertheless, since China and India have not delimited their mutual boundary through friendly negotiations and joint surveys, China has not asked India to revise its maps. In 1954, I explained to Your Excellency for the same reason that it would be inappropriate for the Chinese Government to revise the old map right now. Some people in India, however, are raising a big uproar about the maps published in China, attempting to create a pressure of public opinion to force China to accept India's unilateral claims concerning the Sino-Indian boundary. Needless to say, this is neither wise nor worthy.

II. As stated above, the Chinese Government has all along adhered to a clear-cut policy on the Sino-Indian border question: On the one hand, it affirms the fact that the entire Sino-Indian boundary has not been delimited, while on the other, it also faces reality, and, taking specially into consideration the friendly relationship between China and India, actively seeks for a settlement fair and reasonable to both sides, and never tries unilaterally to change the long-existing state of the border between the two countries pending the settlement of the boundary question.

Regarding the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary, as I have stated above, the Chinese Government absolutely does not recognize the so-called Mc-Mahon Line, but Chinese troops have never crossed that line. This is for the sake of maintaining amity along the border to facilitate negotiations and settlement of the boundary question, and in no way implies that the Chinese Government has recognized that line. In view of the fact that my former explanation of this point to Your Excellency is obviously misunderstood in Your Excellency's latest two letters to me, I have deemed it necessary once again to make the above explanation clearly.

Regarding the western section of the Sino-Indian boundary, China has strictly abided by the traditional customary line, and, with regard to Indian troops' repeated intrusions into or occupation of Chinese territory, the Chinese Government, acting always in a friendly manner, has dealt with each case in a way befitting it. For example, regarding the invasion of Wu-Je by Indian troops and administrativo personnel, the Chinese Government has tried its best to seek a settlement with the Indian Government through negotiations and to avoid a clash. Regarding the Indian troops who invaded the southwestern part of China's Sinkiang and the area of Lake Pangong in the Tibet region of China, the Chinese frontier guards, after disarming them according to international practice, adopted an attitude of reasoning, asking them to leave Chinese territory and returning to them their arms. Regarding the Indian troops' successive invasion and occupation of the areas of Shipki Pass, Parigas, Sang, Tsungsha, Puling-Sumdo, Chuva, Chuje, Sangcha and Lapthal, the Chinese Government, after discovering these happenings, invariably conducted thorough and detailed investigations rather than laying charges against the Indian Government immediately and temperamentally. These measures prove that the Chinese Government is exerting its greatest effort to uphold Sino-Indian friendship.

Despite the above-mentioned border incidents caused wholly by the trespassing of Indian troops, until the beginning of this year, the atmosphere along the Sino-Indian border had on the whole been fairly good. The fact that no armed clash had ever occurred along the two thousand or so kilometres of the Sino-Indian boundary, which is wholly undelimited, is in itself a powerful proof that, given a friendly and reasonable attitude on both sides, amity can be maintained in the border areas and tension ruled out pending the delimitation of the boundary between the two countries.

III. Since the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet, however, the border situation has become increasingly tense owing to reasons for which the Chinese side cannot be held responsible. Immediately after the fleeing of large numbers of Tibetan rebels into India. Indian troops started pressing forward steadily across the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary. Changing unilaterally the longexisting state of the border between the two countries, they not only overstepped the so-called McMahon Line as indicated in the map attached to the secret notes exchanged between Britain and the Tibet local authorities, but also exceeded the boundary drawn on current Indian maps which is alleged to represent the so-called McMahon Line, but which in many places actually cuts even deeper into Chinese territory than the McMahon Line. Indian troops invaded and occupied Longju, intruded into Yasher, and are still in occupation of Shatze, Khinzemane and Tamaden - all of which are Chinese territory - shielding armed Tibetan rebel bandits in this area. Indian aircraft have also time and again violated China's territorial air near the Sino-Indian border. What is especially regrettable is that, not long ago, the Indian troops unlawfully occupying Longju launched armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards stationing at Migyitun, leaving no room for the Chinese frontier guards but fire back in self-defence. This was the first instance of armed clash along the Sino-Indian border. It can be seen from the above that the tense situation recently arising on the Sino-Indian border was all caused by trespassing and provocations by Indian troops, and that for this the Indian side should be held fully responsible. Nevertheless, the Indian Government has directed all sorts of groundless charges against the Chinese Government, clamouring that China has committed aggression against India and describing the Chinese frontier guards' act of self-defence in the Migyitun area as armed provocation. Many political figures and propaganda organs in India have seized the occasion to make a great deal of anti-Chinese utterances, some even openly advocating provocative actions of an even larger scale such as bombarding Chinese territory. Thus, a second anti-Chinese campaign has been launched in India in six months' time. The fact that India does not recognize the undelimited state of the Sino-Indian boundary and steps up bringing pressure to bear on China militarily, diplomatically and through public opinion cannot but make one suspect that it is the attempt of India to impose upon China its one-sided claims on the boundary question. It must be pointed out that this attempt will

never succeed, and such action cannot possibly yield any results other than impairing the friendship of the two countries, further complicating the boundary question and making it more difficult to settle.

IV. The friendly relations between China and India are based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese Government has consistently held that all differences between our two countries must and certainly can be resolved through peaceful consultations and should not be allowed to affect the friendly relationship between the two countries. China looks upon its southwestern border as a border of peace and friendship. I can assure Your Excellency that it is merely for the purpose of preventing remnant armed Tibetan rebels from crossing the border back and forth to carry out harassing activities that the Chinese Government has in recent months dispatched guard units to be stationed in the southeastern part of the Tibet region of China. This is obviously in the interests of ensuring the tranquillity of the border and will in no way constitute a threat to India. Your Excellency is one of the initiators of the five principles and has made significant contributions to the consolidation and development of Sino-Indian friendship and constantly stressed

the importance of this friendship. This has deeply impressed the Chinese Government and people. I have therefore given Your Excellency a systematic explanation of the whole picture of the Sino-Indian boundary. I hope that Your Excellency and the Indian Government will, in accordance with the Chinese Government's request, immediately adopt measures to withdraw the trespassing Indian troops and administrative personnel and restore the long-existing state of the boundary between the two countries. Through this, the temporary tension on the Sino-Indian border would be eased at once and the dark clouds hanging over the relations between our two countries would be speedily dispelled, setting at ease our friends who are concerned for Sino-Indian friendly relations and dealing a blow to those who are sowing discord in the Sino-Indian relations and creating tension.

With cordial regards,

(Signed)

CHOU EN-LAI

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

人民日報 RENMIN RIBAO

The Truth of the Matter

Following is a translation of the editorial published by "Renmin Ribao" on September 12, 1959, under the title of "The Truth About the Sino-Indian Boundary Question." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

WITH the release of the letter sent on September 8 by Premier Chou En-lai to the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, the truth about the Sino-Indian boundary question and the tension along that boundary is now fully known to all. Recently, there have indeed occurred a number of regrettable incidents on the Sino-Indian border, incidents that have no precedent in the past ten years; Indian troops have repeatedly and at a number of places intruded into or occupied Chinese territory. Some of these areas remain even today under occupation by Indian troops. What is particularly serious is the fact that a detachment of the Indian armed forces which had intruded into Longju in the Migyitun area on Chinese territory, engaged in provocative actions against Chinese frontier guards and opened fire on them on August 25. In self-defence, the Chinese frontier guards were obliged to fire back. This is a case of an armed clash. We cannot but deeply regret these incidents involving repeated intrusions into and the occupation of Chinese territory by India. To safeguard China's territorial sovereignty and to preserve Sino-Indian friendship, the Chinese Government has protested more than once to the Indian side through diplomatic channels and demanded that the Indian side immediately put an end to such acts of intrusion, and withdraw from all Chinese territory which it has illegally occupied. However, we have not so far received a satisfactory reply from the Indian side. In spite of this, China, for the sake of friendship, has not made any propaganda fanfare about these incidents; it has shown great restraint and patience and looked forward to the Indian side changing its unfriendly attitude.

The Anti-Chinese Campaign

However, at the same time that China was showing great restraint and maintaining "silence," some people in India, with ulterior motives, immediately seized on these Sino-Indian border incidents to kick up a great uproar. The many Indian newspapers and some of the political figures, who in the spring of this year made use of the rebellion in China's Tibet to unleash an anti-Chinese campaign, have once again gone into action. In the three days ending August 31 alone, Delhi newspapers published nearly 30 commentaries attacking China. Unbridled anti-Chinese "demonstrations" took place in front of the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi and the Chinese Consulates in Calcutta and Bombay. Rumours were circulated that China had "invaded" India and "annexed Indian territory." Slanders were uttered that China represented "Han imperialism" and was "even worse than Western imperialism." Some people tried to cook up a sensation by declaring that it was a case of "an international war out of the blue" and even suggested the sending of aircraft to bomb Chinese territory. . . . In a word, this group of people with ulterior motives are deliberately whipping up tension between China and India and undermining Sino-Indian friendship.

We expected that the Indian Government would come out to clarify this confused situation and curb such activities which are detrimental to Sino-Indian friendship and the common interests of the two countries. But up to the present, these expectations have not met with the response they should have received. Since last month, Prime Minister Nehru has spoken on more than ten occasions about questions concerning Sino-Indian relations. He has rightly said that one should not make a fuss about this. But we could not help feeling very much surprised when we read some of his remarks. Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly stated that Chinese troops "crossed" the Sino-Indian border and "encroached upon" Indian territory. In his statement in the Rajya Sabha on August 31, he arbitrarily asserted that China had "intruded" into the Northeast Frontier Agency of India and that "this is a clear case of aggression." He even said that China had also made "threats" against Bhutan and that "some Bhutanese have heard them." (On September 1 Prime Minister Dorji of Bhutan stated that "there has been no intrusion into our territory by the Chinese.") It may be said that it is perhaps due to lack of knowledge of the situation that led Prime Minister Nehru to make such improper remarks in reference to Bhutan, but no such reason can be advanced to justify his remarks on the Sino-Indian boundary question. Prime Minister Nehru cannot fail to know the actual conditions existing on the Sino-Indian border, but some of his remarks do not accord with the facts. We respect Mr. Nehru, but at any rate, we cannot but consider that these remarks of his are not helpful to clarification of a confused situation. In fact, these remarks, apart from aiding and abetting the activities of those who want to create tension on the Sino-Indian border so as to sabotage Sino-Indian friendship and make the Sino-Indian boundary question more complicated, do not in any way contribute to relaxation of the situation on the Sino-Indian border and to the safeguarding of Sino-Indian friendship.

China's Clear-cut Stand

The Sino-Indian boundary extends over some 2,000 kilometres but has never been formally delimited. This is a complicated question left over by Britain's pursuance of a policy of aggression against China during its rule in India. The basic position of the Chinese Government on this question was stated explicitly by Premier Chou Enlai in his letter of September 8 to Prime Minister Nehru. Premier Chou En-lai said that the Chinese Government could not recognize the state of affairs created by the application of the British policy of aggression against China's Tibet region as the basis for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, as demanded by the Indian Government. The Indian Government has applied all sorts of pressures, not scrupling even to use force, to support this demand. The Chinese Government could not but deeply regret this. Premier Chou En-lai said: "The Chinese Government has consistently held that an overall settlement of the boundary question should be sought by both sides taking into account the historical background and existing actualities and adhering to the five principles, through friendly negotiations conducted in a well-prepared way step by step. Pending this, as a provisional measure, the two sides should maintain the long-existing status quo of the border, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, even less by force; as to some of the disputes, provisional agreements concerning isolated places could be reached through negotiations to ensure the tranquillity of the border areas and uphold the friendship of the two countries."

To put it briefly, the attitude of the Chinese Government is: 1. It is willing to seek an overall settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through friendly negotiations; 2. pending an overall settlement, the two sides should maintain the long existing status quo of the border; 3. as to the local disputes that have occurred, negotiations can be held on provisional measures to solve them. This is a fair and sensible attitude. We can see no reason why the Indian side should oppose this attitude which conforms with the common interests of both China and India. It is particularly regrettable that after Premier Chou En-lai reiterated this consistent stand of the Chinese Government in his letter of September 8, Prime Minister Nehru, in the Indian Rajya Sabha on September 10, still made accusations against the Chinese Government which can only gladden the hearts of the enemies of Sino-Indian friendship and grieve all those who have this friendship at heart.

The So-called McMahon Line

Judging from what has happened, the Indian side adopts a different stand on the Sino-Indian boundary question. This shows itself particularly on the question of the so-called McMahon Line. Prime Minister Nehru held that the so-called McMahon Line was the Sino-Indian boundary east of Bhutan and that it was firm by treaty, by usage and rights and by geography. He added that the boundary based on the McMahon Line had "sufficient authority." However, the whole world knows that the Indian Government has never denied the fact that the so-called McMahon Line has never been recognized by the Chinese Government. In fact, the so-called McMahon Line was a product of the past policy of British imperialism of aggression against the Tibet region of China. It was determined by the British representative, Arthur Henry McMahon, and the representative of the Tibet local authorities outside the 1913-1914 Simla Conference and behind the back of the Chinese Central Government through an exchange of secret notes; it is, therefore, illegal. What is more, even in the map appended to the Simla Treaty signed by the British representative and the representative of the Tibet local authorities, this line only indicated the dividing line between Tibet and the rest of China and had never been said to represent the boundary line between China and India.

The Simla Conference did not discuss the Sino-Indian boundary question. The representative of the Chinese Central Government who attended the Simla Conference

did not put his signature to the map. The then Chinese Central Government did not sign or ratify the Simla Treaty, nor have any of the subsequent Central Governments of China - neither the governments of the northern warlords or later the government of the Kuomintangever recognized the Simla Treaty. As to the secret notes concerning the McMahon Line exchanged between Britain and the Tibet local authorities, they have also never been recognized by the Chinese Government. Even the Tibet local authorities later expressed dissatisfaction with the McMahon Line. Following the achieving of independence by India, the local government of Tibet demanded that India return all the territory of the Tibet region of China south of this illegal line and the Indian Government in its reply expressed the desire to see "a new agreement reached which both sides are willing to accept." Thus, it can be seen that this so-called McMahon Line was entirely determined unilaterally by Britain which tried to impose it on China. Could it be any more obvious that this line represents the "rights" and "authority" of imperialist aggression?

Secondly, if we speak of convention, then, that big area of land, defined as Indian territory by the so-called McMahon Line, has long been a part of Chinese, and not Indian, territory and China on her part has always firmly refused to recognize this illegal occupation. Furthermore, what is particularly strange is the so-called principle of determining, according to geographical features, to which country a certain place should belong. Prime Minister Nehru said that the McMahon Line "has the incidental advantage" of corresponding with "well-defined watersheds." True, there is a watershed, but it is a watershed within Chinese territory and not in India nor shared by China and India. Could there possibly be any more untenable argument in the world for the seizure of 90,000 square kilometres of territory from China than by describing a watershed as the boundary between China and India, just because there happens to be a watershed there?

The Map Issue

In fact, none of the arguments advanced to defend the so-called McMahon Line such as authority, tradition, rights and geographic advantage and others holds water. Yet, right here a "map issue" arises. In the Indian papers and the Indian parliament, there have been certain people who allege that the Chinese maps are "wrong." But, after all, whose maps include other people's territory within their own boundaries? Not China's! Chinese maps have always been compiled in accordance with the traditional Sino-Indian boundary. Since the Sino-Indian boundary has so far never been officially delimited, and since the question has neither been reasonably settled through negotiation, nor defined after survey, how can the boundary line be revised on the map at will? And on what grounds too? It is precisely for this reason that China has not revised its maps which were in circulation before its liberation, and for the same reason, India has not been asked to revise the maps which it publishes. What right has the Indian side to demand that China revise its current maps according to the maps published by India? We should remind those who are especially interested in the map issue that, before 1930, even the map published in the Encyclopaedia Britannica showed

the Sino-Indian boundary according to the traditional line and did not indicate the so-called McMahon Line. The British imperialists dared not openly draw the so-called McMahon Line on a map, even more than ten years after the exchange of the secret notes. Besides, it was only in 1951, during and after the peaceful liberation of the Tibet region, that the Indian armed forces began to push forward on a large scale to the regions south of the socalled McMahon Line. All this clearly shows: the contention that there was "sufficient authority" for the socalled McMahon Line is also contrary to the truth.

Facing the Historical Facts

We only give an outline of these facts and do not go into details, because we simply want to explain that the Sino-Indian border issue has a complicated historical background, and that the settlement of this issue depends on negotiations between the two sides maintaining a reasonable, conciliatory and amicable attitude, taking into consideration the historical background and the actual situation. It seems that Mr. Nehru, in his statement of September 10, was against the discussion of history; but what is in question is not ancient history; this concerns events occurring in recent decades, and an actual outstanding issue created by aggressors of the modern age and urgently requiring a lawful settlement between China and India. We are willing to settle outstanding issues through peaceful negotiations, but to deny the existence of any outstanding issue is to deny the need for negotiation. It is precisely due to the fact that Britain launched aggression against the Tibet region of China that the Sino-Indian boundary has never been officially defined, that the McMahon Line is illegal, that India is now independent, China and India have become friendly neighbours living together in peace, that China values Indian friendship very highly and must treat and in fact treats India, not as it did the British aggressors, but as a great friendly neighbour, in short, it is precisely due to all these factors that the Sino-Indian boundary has become a complicated issue. The basic stand of the Chinese Government is that we should consider the historical background and adopt at the same time a realistic attitude. How can there be anything unreasonable in this attitude?

Moreover, although China has never recognized the McMahon Line, we have never taken any unilateral action to alter the long-existing state of the Sino-Indian border, but advocated that this state should be temporarily maintained pending an official demarcation of the Sino-Indian boundary. This principle was in fact accepted by the Indian Government.

Unfortunately, however, the Indian side has not given China's standpoint a serious, objective and fair consideration, and failed to adhere to this principle. Our frontier guards in Tibet have always strictly followed the directives of their government; not only have they never entered Indian territory, they have not even overstepped the so-called McMahon Line. But on the Indian side, they have time and again intruded into Chinese territory, and even penetrated areas north of the so-called McMahon Line which they considered to be "a firm line." Not only that, they have even intruded into areas north of the boundary drawn in the maps circulating in India, which in many places cuts still deeper into Chinese territory than the so-called McMahon Line (for example, Longju in the Migyitun area of China).

The Chinese people never encroach upon other people, but we oppose resolutely any encroachment upon ourselves; the Chinese people never occupy an inch of other people's territory, but we resolutely oppose any occupation of our territory. In view of the fact that the Indian side has sought to alter the long-existing status quo of the Sino-Indian border line by armed force and pressure of public opinion and diplomatic pressure, we have reason to suspect that India intends to impose the so-called McMahon Line and other unreasonable boundaries on China. If this is so, they have completely miscalculated. How can it be imagined that the People's Government of New China can be forced to accept this illegal and unilaterally decided boundary line? And how can such intentions and actions benefit Sino-Indian friendship or the prestige of the Indian Government which is one of the initiators of the five principles of peaceful coexistence?

We hold that no matter how great the disparity between the Chinese and Indian views on the border question, there should never have occurred such incidents as the present intrusions and occupation of China's territory by Indian troops. Why is it that a series of incidents has suddenly broken out along a border which had been in a peaceful state for the past ten years? Isn't this something that patriots throughout India should ponder over? Prime Minister Nehru said that the Sino-Indian border incidents were "minor incidents." Indeed, on the Chinese side we have never wished to see the issue enlarged, but rather that these "minor incidents" should be resolved through consultations by both sides.

Ulterior Motives

However, we cannot but notice that there are some people in India who are stirring up trouble, and are bent upon enlarging the issue. Not only do they want to undermine friendly relations between China and India; they harbour even more sinister ulterior motives. Indian rightwing politicians, who want an alliance with the imperialist aggressive forces and are against the democratic, progressive forces both inside and outside the country, are at this present moment doing everything they can to sabotage their government's peaceful neutral policy; they are scheming to oust those who uphold this foreign policy which conforms to India's national interests, in order to lead India onto the path of joining military blocs. This is already an open secret.

Meanwhile, Western imperialism is jumping at this opportunity to sow dissension and fish in troubled waters. They do not hide their pleasure over the anti-Chinese campaign whipped up by some Indians. In the eyes of these people, what certain Indians are presently doing is precisely what they themselves cannot do but which they have long desired. For reasons best known to themselves, they have asserted: "Nehru has at last been overtaken by the Nemesis of his neutralist attitude." The U.S. World-Telegram and Sun said very frankly that if India was convinced "of this fact of modern political life (to abandon its neutrality), the whole free world may benefit." All far-sighted Indians understand that the present peaceful neutral policy of the Indian authorities conforms to the interests of India and its people. Up to recent times, Prime Minister Nehru also stated that the five principles were still the principles of India's foreign policy. But the current unpleasant events between China and India have already created opportunities for imperialism and its agents in India. This merits the greatest vigilance on the part of the Indian Government and people. A resolution of the mass rally for "Indian-China Friendship Day" held in Calcutta on May 28 pointed out that "any effort to create tension between India and China will only serve imperialist interests." This truth cannot be more obvious than it is at present.

Both China and India have suffered for a long time in the past from imperialist oppression and rule. They have now gained independence and initiated together the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China has all along pursued a policy of friendship towards India, and has always wished that the Sino-Indian border should be for ever tranquil, so that it would become a truly peaceful and friendly border. We would like to tell all our Indian friends once again that China and India not only are not enemies but will never become enemies. China has never threatened, encroached upon or interfered in India, nor will it ever do so. Those who threaten, encroach upon or interfere in India are exactly those who are working by hook or by crook to exploit the Sino-Indian border incidents for their own ends, alter India's foreign policy and undermine Asian peace. They are the common enemies of the peoples of China and India. It is very obvious that China is unwilling to see these people achieve their purpose. The responsibility for the current unpleasant events along the Sino-Indian border is definitely not China's. Had there not been ulterior motives on the part of some people in India, these incidents would never have been blown up to such proportions as they are now. Of course it is still not too late now to settle these questions.

Peaceful Negotiation

Prime Minister Nehru has said that the Sino-Indian border incidents should be settled through peaceful negotiations. He said: "This idea of settling things by compulsion and force is all wrong." He also declared that in the long run, it was of importance for these two powers, whatever their internal structure and policies, to remain friends. He reiterated that India would "work for friendship with China." These words by Prime Minister Nehru undoubtedly reflect the common wishes of the broad masses of the Indian people and are valued and welcomed by the Chinese people.

Premier Chou En-lai's September 8 letter to Prime Minister Nehru has put forward reasonable ways for the solution of the present tension created by India along the Sino-Indian border and for the settlement of the Sino-Indian border question through friendly consultation. We believe that with the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the aspiration for mutual friendship, reasonable solutions can definitely be found for any disputes between China and India. Those who, with ulterior motives, seize the opportunity to whip up a new anti-Chinese campaign, are bound to fail finally. Our sincere hope is that the ship of Sino-Indian friendship will once more weather the storm and pursue a steady course on the ocean of peace.

Premier Chou En-lai's Report

P^{REMIER} Chou En-lai made a report on the Sino-Indian boundary question at an enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress held on September 11 in Peking. In addition to dealing with the historical background and the present actual situation regarding this question, he devoted special attention to defining the stand, attitude and policy of the Chinese Government on the question and asked the Standing Committee to deliberate on them.

The recent tension on the Sino-Indian boundary question, Premier Chou En-lai said, had been entirely and deliberately created by some Indians who, with ulterior motives, had made use of some boundary disputes to launch a new anti-Chinese campaign, make vicious attacks on China and slander China as having committed "aggression" against India. It was regrettable that the Indian Government, too, had made groundless charges against China and brought pressure to bear on hermilitary, diplomatic, and through public opinion - in an attempt to impose upon China its unilateral claims on the boundary question. For the sake of Sino-Indian friendship, the Premier continued, China had in the past few months consistently exercised the greatest restraint and patience. This, however, had not met with the response it deserved from official Indian circles. Consequently, there was no alternative but to bring the Sino-Indian boundary question before the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and make an open reply to the unfriendly attacks from Indian quarters.

IN HIS report, Premier Chou reiterated the stand, attitude and policy of the Chinese Government on the Sino-Indian boundary question set forth in his letter of September 8 to the Indian Prime Minister Nehru. He said that the Chinese Government had all along held that an overall settlement of the boundary question should be sought by both sides through friendly negotiations conducted in a well-prepared way step by step, taking into account the historical background and the present actual situation and in conformity with the five principles. Pending this, as a provisional measure, the two sides should maintain the status quo on the border which has existed for a long time, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, much less by force; as to some of the disputes, provisional agreements concerning individual places could be reached through negotiations to ensure the tranquillity of the border areas and uphold the friendship between the two countries. He was confident, the Premier said, that the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress would endorse the stand and policy adopted by the government on the Sino-Indian boundary question.

DREMIER Chou En-lai spoke at length on the historical background and the present actual situation with regard to the Sino-Indian boundary question. He pointed out that the Sino-Indian boundary question was a complicated issue inherited from history. The boundary line between the two countries, which is about two thousand kilometres long, had never been formally delimited, nor had negotiations or survey ever been carried out for an overall settlement of the boundary question. Therefore there was no reason whatsoever to demand that the Chinese Government accept the Indian Government's unilateral claims concerning the Sino-Indian boundary. The so-called Mc-Mahon Line was a product of British imperialist aggression against Tibet. It had never been recognized by any Central Government of China and thus had absolutely no validity in law.

Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that even if the boundary between China and India were not delimited, China and India could still coexist quite well in peace, as long as both countries maintained the long-existing status quo of the border. This was borne out by events in the past ten years. During this period, there had indeed been intrusions into or occupation of Chinese territory by Indian troops and administrative personnel on the western section of the Sino-Indian boundary. But thanks to the friendly attitude consistently taken by the Chinese Government in dealing with these incidents, they did not produce tension in the relations between China and India. Recently, however, on the eastern section of the boundary between China and India, though the border incidents stemmed entirely from the fact that Indian troops had intruded into and occupied Chinese territory even north of the so-called McMahon Line, the Indian side had raised a wild clamour and created tension in the relations between China and India. Why was this? the Chinese Premier asked. It was clear, he said, that subsequent to the rebellion in Tibet, some people in India once more deliberately wanted to create tension between China and India and disrupt Chinese-Indian friendship, and that the Indian Government was also endeavouring to seize this opportunity to bring pressure to bear upon the Chinese Government, compel China to accept India's unilateral claim on the border question and revise the map in accordance with India's will. Premier Chou En-lai emphatically pointed out that this attempt to impose one's will on others would never succeed.

The Chinese Government never imposed its will on others. Moreover, for the sake of maintaining Chinese-Indian friendship and upholding the five principles, it resolutely opposed such conduct.

China and India are two big Asian countries with a total population of more than 1,000 million people, Premicr Chou En-lai said, and they have common interests and responsibilities in safeguarding world peace, especially peace in Asia. Long and traditional friendly relations had always existed between the two countries which were the initiators of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The differences, even some disputes, between the two countries on the boundary question should be resolved through friendly negotiations for a just and reasonable settlement, and not by measures that might lead to clashes, Premier Chou concluded.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Speech

Following are excerpts from the speech by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi at the enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress on September 13. — Ed.

PREMIER Chou En-lai. in his reply of September 8 to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, set forth most clearly the stand, attitude and policy adopted by the government of our country regarding the Sino-Indian boundary question. We cannot help feeling extremely surprised, however, that Prime Minister Nehru should have said that Premier Chou En-lai's reply has added to the gravity of the situation. I deem it necessary to make a further explanation of the policy of the Chinese Government to clear the air.

The fact that the Sino-Indian boundary in its entirety has not been delimited must be affirmed first of all. Premier Chou En-lai pointed this fact out to Prime Minister Nehru as early as 1954 when he visited China. But Prime Minister Nehru has maintained that there is no boundary question between China and India. In fact, down to March 22 of this year, in his letter to Premier Chou En-lai, Prime Minister Nehru still persisted in this point of view. Now India has made the charge that China kept its view regarding the entire boundary a secret and only brought it up later and therefore was not playing straight and fair. This charge is obviously unfounded. It seems that the Indian Government is now no longer able to insist that the Sino-Indian boundary has long been delimited in its entirety. Nevertheless, the Indian Government has so far still failed to proceed from the fact that the Sino-Indian boundary in its entirety has not been delimited and to indicate, like the Chinese Government, the desire to strive for an overall settlement of the boundary question through friendly negotiations.

THE Sino-Indian boundary question is inherited from history, and New China cannot be blamed for this. It is extremely complicated because of the historical background of British aggression against China. On the other hand, since China and India have freed themselves from imperialist domination and become independent and mutually friendly countries, favourable conditions have

been created for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. Consequently, the Chinese Government has consistently held that an overall settlement of the boundary question should be sought by both sides through negotiations, taking into account the historical background and existing conditions and adopting a reasonable, conciliatory and friendly attitude. But the Indian side has not only been unwilling to take into account the historical background of British aggression against China, but even attempted to impose upon New China the illegal McMahon Line which British imperialism, in the past, never succeeded in forcing the Chinese Government to accept. Does this show that India has a full understanding and full appreciation of the Chinese revolution? Does this show that India has given the slightest consideration to the sense of national pride and self-respect of the Chinese people?

S INCE the Sino-Indian boundary question is a complicated one, its overall settlement requires time and adequate preparations in advance. The Chinese Government, while actively seeking a solution fair and reasonable to both sides, has adopted a realistic attitude and stands for the maintenance by both sides of the long-existing status quo of the boundary. This shows that China has fully taken into consideration the fact that India has attained independence, and that China attaches the greatest importance to friendly relations between China and India and has fully applied the five principles of peaceful coexistence in its relations with India. China has never recognized and will never recognize the illegal McMahon Line. But for the sake of maintaining the long-existing status quo of the border between the two countries pending an overall settlement of the question, Chinese troops have never crossed that line. Premier Chou En-lai made this point quite clear to Prime Minister Nehru at the end of 1956. We regret that Prime Minister Nehru should have interpreted Premier Chou En-lai's words as meaning that China recognized or was prepared to recognize the Mc-Mahon Line, and accordingly has charged that China has

now changed its attitude towards the McMahon Line, giving rise to a feeling of lack of mutual trust. We think that a feeling of mutual trust must come from correct mutual understanding. Without an attitude of mutual sympathy and correct mutual understanding, it would be very difficult to speak about a feeling of trust.

THE Chinese Government holds that, in addition to maintaining the long-existing status quo of the border between the two countries, in connection with some of the border disputes China and India could also reach provisional agreements concerning individual places through negotiations. It must be pointed out that this proposition of the Chinese Government is designed to facilitate an overall settlement of the boundary question in the future and to ensure the tranquillity of the border areas and uphold Sino-Indian friendship. On September 10 the Indian Government sent us a note through the Indian Embassy in China. Copies of this note have been distributed among the members of the Standing Committee. In it the Indian Government expressed its readiness to settle through discussions with the Chinese Government the disputes between the two sides over three places in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, but asked that Chinese troops be withdrawn from Longju. The Chinese Government will reply to this note shortly. Here, I consider it necessary to point out once again that as regards the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, China has always abided strictly by the traditional, customary line; and as regards the eastern sector, Chinese troops have never crossed the so-called McMahon Line. Along the entire boundary, disputes have arisen solely because of trespassing into, and occupation of, Chinese territory by Indian troops and administrative personnel. As Premier Chou En-lai pointed out in his letter of reply to Prime Minister Nehru, in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border Indian troops have crossed the traditional, customary line, and continue to occupy the areas of Shipki Pass, Parigas, Sang, Tsungsha, Puling-Sumdo, Chuva, Chuje, Sangcha and Lapthal, while Indian administrative personnel have invaded and occupied Wu-Je; in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, Indian troops have crossed the so-called McMahon Line, and even went beyond the line marked on current Indian maps which cuts even deeper into Chinese territory than the McMahon Line, and are now encroaching on Shatze, Khinzemane and Tamaden. As for Longju, which was for a time invaded and occupied by Indian troops and in which Chinese troops are now stationed, actual investigation we conducted has confirmed that it is definitely north of the McMahon Line. The question at present, therefore, is that Indian troops and administrative personnel should withdraw from Chinese territory, while there is no question of Chinese troops withdrawing from any place. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government is still willing, in keeping with its consistent stand, to settle the disputes over the above-mentioned places through negotiations with the Indian Government.

In view of this, no fair-minded person can fail to acknowledge that China's stand is entirely proper and reasonable. Prime Minister Nehru, however, alleged that China has not played fair with India on the boundary question, but attempted to coerce India. It is very difficult for us to see on what basis Prime Minister Nehru said this. On the contrary, how can the attempt to impose on China the product of the British imperialist policy of aggression, seizure of Chinese territory by force and the whipping up of a frantic anti-Chinese campaign, be described as fair play towards China and not coercion against China? As a matter of fact, activities unfriendly to China have been going on in India for more than six months since the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet. Here I would like to point out in particular that although the Indian Government repeatedly stated that it has only granted asylum in India to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan rebels and does not admit the existence in India of a Tibetan government led by the Dalai Lama, nor allow the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan rebels to engage in political activities against China, nor favour their submission of the so-called Tibet question to the United Nations, yet, at the instigation of the Tibetan rebels, the Dalai Lama has all along been engaged in political activities against China and has submitted the so-called Tibet question to the United Nations in the name of the so-called government of Tibet, thus exceeding by far what is permissible under the international practice of asylum. Prime Minister Nehru said that the Indian Government always tried to steer a middle course. As a matter of fact, to put it more frankly, the Indian Government has always used two-faced tactics. It is indeed extraordinary to employ such tactics towards a friendly country.

We have always regarded India as a friendly country. Of course, even between friendly countries differences and disputes are not always avoidable. But, as we see it, the Sino-Indian disputes of the past six months are, from a long-range point of view, merely an episode in the course of the thousands of years of friendship between our two countries. But considering the issue by itself, the disputes involved are all matters of principle. They must be settled in a fair and reasonable way. Only this would be in the interests of the friendly coexistence of the two countries, We are convinced that as long as the two sides prize their friendship and adhere to the five principles of peaceful coexistence, all differences between China and India can be resolved through negotiations. In the Rajya Sabha on September 10, Prime Minister Nehru also said that he would always try to find a way for the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Government welcomes this attitude of Prime Minister Nehru.

THE contributions Prime Minister Nehru has made to peace in Asia and the world are acknowledged by all. At a press conference held on September 11, Prime Minister Nehru dealt with the question of Laos. He berated the Security Council's appointment of a commission on Laos as a measure completely bypassing the Geneva agreements. He said that it would be a dangerous thing to abolish the procedures laid down by the Geneva agreements. He stressed that any real success in the solution of the Laotian question was likely to result only by agreement of the parties concerned. This attitude of Prime Minister Nehru and the Indian Government on the Laotian question deserves the warm support of the Chinese Government and all those who uphold the Geneva agreements and peace in Asia.

SKETCH MAP: SINO-INE



- 1. Fifteen Indian soldiers intruded here in September 1958 and were sent back.
- 2. Six Indian soldiers intruded here in July 1959 and were sent back.
- 3. Indian troops repeatedly intruded here; now despite a mutual provisional agreement to refrain from stationing troops here. Indian "civilian personnel" continue to intrude.

AN BOUNDARY QUESTION



4. Indian troops which occupied Longju attacked Chinese frontier guards stationed at Migyitun on August 25, 1959 and this resulted in an armed clash. Afterwards, the Indian troops withdrew from Longju.

September 1959

- 5. Indian troops intruded here.
- 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Occupied by Indian troops.

Boundary Background

THE Sino-Indian boundary in its entirety — extending over some 2,000 kilometres — has not been delimited. This boundary question is a complicated one, inherited from history. It is a product of the aggressive policy of the British imperialists. When Britain ruled over India, it harboured aggressive designs on China's Tibet region and did everything in its power to create an "independent" or "semi-independent" status for Tibet so as to put Tibet under British control. At the same time, using India as its base, Britain carried out extensive territorial expansion into China's Tibet region, and even the Sinkiang region. Britain repeatedly altered the maps, causing an ever greater disparity between the maps published in China and those published in Britain and India as regards the drawing of the Sino-Indian boundary.

After India achieved independence, the Indian Government persisted in inheriting the boundary line unilaterally announced by Britain, insisted on the one-sided revision on Indian maps of the traditional drawing of the Sino-Indian boundary and tried to impose this on China. This unreasonable attitude of the Indian Government has not only made it impossible to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question, but has also led to many new disputes and impaired the friendly relations between China and India.

In the following the Sino-Indian boundary is subdivided into three sections, from west to east and the historical background and existing problems are clarified:

1. Concerning the boundary between China's Sinkiang and Tibet regions and India's Ladakh. This section of the boundary has never in history been formally delimited. The Chinese maps have always drawn this section of the boundary in accordance with the traditional, customary line which actually exists and this is in conformity with the sphere of China's jurisdiction at all times. The way this section of the boundary is drawn in current Indian maps cuts into Chinese territory to a depth of about 38,000 square kilometres. India claims this area to be Indian territory. But neither British nor Indian jurisdiction has ever extended to these places, either in the past or at present. The Indian Government insists that this boundary is drawn on Indian maps in accordance with a treaty concluded between Tibet and Kashmir in 1842, and that it was confirmed by the Chinese Government in 1847. But this is extremely far-fetched. Following an armed clash between the two sides, the local authorities of China's Tibet and the Kashmir authorities signed a peace treaty in 1842. But this treaty only mentioned in general terms that each of the two sides would keep to its boundary, and did not make any specific provisions or indications regarding the location of this section of the boundary. In his reply of 1847 to the request of the British representative in Canton to delimit this section of the boundary, Kiying, Viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, merely said that delimitation was unnecessary since there was a traditional boundary. The reply didn't mention any boundary treaty, nor did it agree to any boundary proposal by the British side. It is thus clear that the claim that this section of the boundary had been fixed by treaty is entirely groundless. Prime Minister Nehru of India had to admit recently: "This was the boundary of the old Kashmir state with Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. Nobody had marked it."

The marking of this section of the boundary on Indian maps, it may be noted, is quite different from that on many maps published in Britain in earlier periods (for instance, the map of *Punjab*, *Western Himalaya and Adjoining Parts of Tibet* compiled in 1854 by the Briton John Walker by order of the Court of Directors of the East India Company). The marking on those British maps is closer to that on the Chinese maps than the present Indian maps. Therefore, the boundary India has inherited is simply that fabricated by Britain in later periods for the purpose of territorial expansion. Britain's boundary claims have no legal grounds, nor do they conform to the actual situation of the boundary at all times.

In order to occupy the Chinese territory which India has unilaterally assumed to be its own, the Indian Government has in recent years repeatedly dispatched armed personnel to illegally intrude into Chinese territory and carried out reconnaissance and surveying activities. Two groups of Indian troops - the first consisting of 15 persons and the second of six persons-were arrested and made to leave Chinese territory by Chinese frontier guards in Tahungliutan in the southwestern part of Sinkiang and the area of Lake Pangong in Tibet in September 1958 and July 1959 respectively. After these incidents, the Indian side alleged to the contrary that China had illegally occupied Indian territory and protested to China alleging that China's Sinkiang-Tibet Highway was built in India's territory. China flatly refuted this protest and warned that Indian troops must not make further invasions.

2. Concerning the section of the boundary between the Ari area of China's Tibet and India's Punjab and Uttar Pradesh states. This section of the boundary also has not been formally delimited. The Indian Government has admitted this fact. But there is a customary line to follow. The marking of this section of the boundary on Chinese maps has always conformed with this customary line. But the marking of this section of the boundary on current maps published in India is at variance with Chinese maps, to different degrees, in many places. There have been historical disputes between the two sides over the right to many places in this area. For example, the

area of Sang and Tsungsha, southwest of Tsaparang Dzong in Tibet, which always belonged to China, was invaded and occupied by the British-Indian side 30 to 40 years ago. The local authorities of Tibet had taken the matter up with Britain several times, but no results were achieved. It thus became an outstanding issue. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, Indian troops successively invaded and occupied the following places within Chinese territory: Parigas, Chuva, Chuje, Shipki Pass, Puling-Sumdo, Sangcha and Lapthal. To date, they have not withdrawn from those places. From 1954 on, Indian troops twice ir.truded into Wu-Je and met Chinese troops face to face. Wu-Je is also Chinese territory and has always been under Chinese jurisdiction. To avoid clashes, the two sides reached a provisional agreement not to station troops there so as to facilitate a settlement through negotiations. But nothing has yet come of the negotiations, owing to obstruction by the Indian side. The Indian side continued to send intruding "civil personnel" to Wu-Je in 1958 and 1959. In order to safeguard Sino-Indian friendship, China has exercised the greatest restraint and has not hitherto disclosed these events concerning India's invasion and occupation of Chinese territory.

3. Concerning the Sino-Indian boundary east of Bhutan. This section of the boundary, too, has not been formally delimited, but there is a customary line to follow. In Chinese maps, this section of the boundary is marked along the southern foothills of the Himalayas. The area north of that boundary had always been under the jurisdiction of the Tibet local government. This marking is in complete conformity with the traditional boundary of the two countries. The maps published in Britain and India thirty years ago generally adopted the same marking. Later, the maps published in Britain and India took the ridge of the Himalayas as the boundary and included in Indian territory some 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory, equivalent in size to China's Chekiang Province.

The Indian Government insists that this section of the boundary has long been formally and clearly delimited by treaty. It cited as its authority that at the conference held in Simla, India, in 1913-1914, the representatives of three sides - the Chinese Government, the Tibet local authorities and the British Government - jointly delineated this section of the boundary, i.e. the so-called Mc-Mahon Line (named after a British delegate). This Indian assertion is completely contrary to the facts. As a matter of fact, the Simla Conference was masterminded by Britain in an attempt to force China to recognize a semiindependent status for Tibet, to include large tracts of territory from the interior of China in Tibet and to strengthen Britain's privileged position in Tibet. When Britain saw that the Simla Conference was not all smooth sailing, it held back and did not submit for discussion at the conference another British scheme, that is, to delimit the Indian-Tibet boundary. The other two sides at the conference also did not make any mention of the question of the Indian-Tibetan boundary. The so-called McMahon Line was determined outside the Simla Conference by the representative of the British Government and the representative of the Tibet local authorities behind the back of the representative of the Chinese Central Government,

through an exchange of secret notes at Delhi in March 1914, that is, three months prior to the signing of the Simla Treaty. This exchange of notes was obviously illegal and invalid. The text of the Simla Treaty made no mention at all of the question of the Indian-Tibetan boundary, either. It was only in the map attached to the treaty that this so-called McMahon Line was surreptitiously marked as a part of the boundary between Tibet and the rest of China. Even on the basis of this marking, this line can in no way be taken as constituting the boundary between China's Tibet region and India. Moreover, the Simla Treaty was not signed by the representative of the Chinese Government. The Chinese Central Government of that time and all other subsequent Central Governments have consistently refused to recognize it. Therefore this treaty is also illegal and invalid. Precisely for these reasons, even more than ten years later, Britain still hadn't dared make public the above-mentioned secret notes and the full text of the Simla Treaty. They also had not dared mark British and Indian maps according to the McMahon Line. For example, the marking of this section of the boundary on the map of Tibet and Adjacent Countries published by the Indian Survey in 1917 and the map attached to volume 24 of the fourteenth edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica, published in 1929, still corresponded to the Chinese maps. The territory south of the McMahon Line which has always belonged to China was in the main under the control of China's Tibet local government until 1940 after which British troops began to occupy certain points there. The McMahon Line naturally aroused great indignation among the Chinese The Tibet local government too publicly people. expressed strong dissatisfaction with it later. Before India's independence in 1947 and afterwards, the Tibet local authorities negotiated several times with the British and Indian sides and cabled Prime Minister Nehru, demanding the return of the entire territory south of the McMahon Line which has always belonged to China's Tibet region. The Indian Government in its reply at that time proposed to "maintain relations between both sides on the existing basis, until new agreement was reached which both sides are willing to accept." This indicated that the Indian Government did not at that time exclude the possibility of reaching new agreement.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, especially around the period of the peaceful liberation of China's Tibet region in 1951, Indian troops pushed forward extensively south of the so-called McMahon Line. The Chinese Government later explained to the Indian Government that China did not recognize the McMahon Line, but for the sake of Sino-Indian friendship and the maintenance of amity in the border area, Chinese troops would not cross this line so as to facilitate a reasonable settlement of the border question through negotiations later. Because of China's friendly attitude this border area has been free of incidents, by and large, in the past few years. But after the rebellion in Tibet this year, large numbers of Tibetan rebels crossed this line into India and the Indian troops continued to press northwards. They not only went beyond the so-called McMahon Line indicated on the map attached to the above-mentioned secret notes but also exceeded the boundary drawn on

current Indian maps. (This boundary is alleged to represent the so-called McMahon Line, but in many places it actually cuts even deeper into Chinese territory than the McMahon Line.) Indian troops invaded and occupied Longju and intruded into Yasher and they are still occupying Shatze, Khinzemane and Tamaden, north of the two lines. Indian troops also carried out provocations against the guard units dispatched by the Chinese Government to the north of the so-called McMahon Line and stationed there to prevent remnant armed Tibetan rebel bandits from going back and forth across the border to carry out harassing activities.

On August 25, 1959, the Indian troops which had intruded into Longju launched unprovoked armed attacks on the Chinese units stationed in Migyitun, creating the first instance of an armed clash along the entire Sino-Indian border. On August 26, the Indian troops there again opened fire on the Chinese troops who did not answer back. Knowing that they were in the wrong, the Indian troops retreated south of the McMahon Line.

Recently the Indian Government, along with its military pressure on the border area, has repeatedly ex-

erted pressure on China, diplomatically and through public opinion, with regard to the border question, in an attempt to impose upon China the illegal boundary between China and India which the Indian Government inherited from British imperialism. Exploiting the border question, the Indian Government, parliament and so-called public opinion as well as certain political figures raised a hue and cry, slandering China as having launched aggression against India, defaming China as imperialist, and whipping up a new anti-China campaign in India. The imperialists are also taking advantage of the situation to fan the flames and to try their best to disrupt Sino-Indian relations. To clarify who is in the right, who in the wrong, and where responsibility lies, Premier Chou Enlai, on behalf of the Chinese Government, sent a letter to Prime Minister Nehru on September 8, 1959 (see p. 6 of this issue), setting forth systematically the real situation as regards the Sino-Indian border and China's consistent stand for and views on the safeguarding of Sino-Indian friendship and a just and reasonable settlement of the Sino-Indian border question.

(Hsinhua News Agency, September 10)

Bulgarian National Day

Peking Greets Sofia

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

C HINA'S capital last week celebrated the 15th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria (September 9). The festivities were highlighted by a grand reception given by Bulgarian Ambassador Peter Panchevsky and attended by Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other Chinese leaders. This was preceded by a mass celebration rally of more than 1,000 Pcking citizens representing all walks of life held on September 8.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi voiced China's warm fraternal feelings for Bulgaria, the third member of the socialist camp that celebrated its 15th anniversary this year (the other two were Poland and Rumania). Noting that Bulgaria has grown into a prosperous socialist land in the past fifteen years, the Vice-Premier declared: "We jubilantly hail the outstanding achievements of the Bulgarian people and wish them new and greater victories as they strive to speed up their socialist construction." Vice-Premier Chen Yi stressed that further efforts will be made to develop the indestructible friendship between China and Bulgaria and their co-operation in all fields. Ambassador Panchevsky, on his part, warmly greeted the Chinese people for their big leap forward in the course of transforming their motherland into a powerful socialist country.

There were many other activities to observe the Bulgarian anniversary. An exhibition of Bulgaria's socialist achievements in the past fifteen years was opened in Peking earlier last week and drew enthusiastic crowds. A ceremony marked the first showing of the Bulgarian documentary film on the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and a feature film, *Yovcha Golemanov*. The students of a Peking middle school had a gala gathering with members of the Bulgarian Embassy. For days on end, the press and radio gave extended coverage to news from Bulgaria and special reports on various aspects of Bulgarian life.

Socialist Gains

It was an occasion for reviewing the vast progress of the Bulgarian People's Republic possible only under the socialist system. Pre-liberation Bulgaria was a backward agricultural country. It had to import industrial products ranging from locomotives to sewing needles. The Bulgarian peasants used wooden ploughs to till the land. But today Bulgaria's industry produces as much every month and a half as was produced in the whole year of 1939. The country boasts many newly-built ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical enterprises, machine-building and chemical industrial plants, big reservoirs and power stations. The socialist transformation of agriculture was practically completed in 1958 and there were then 30,000 tractors working on the farmlands. Marked improvements have been made in the people's livelihood. Suffice it to note that there are 54 college students out of every 1,000 Bulgarian citizens; that the entire population of less than 8 million is entitled to free medical care and paid maternity leaves have been extended from 90 to 120 days. Bulgaria, in short, is already an advanced, socialist industrial-agricultural country. Fifteen years ago, such neighbouring countries as Greece and Turkey stood at about the same economic level as Bulgaria; now they have been left far behind.

The Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party held in 1958 ushered in a new stage in the country's development — the period of completing socialist construction and preparing for the gradual transition to communism. The Party called on the Bulgarian people to fulfil the Third Five-Year Plan in three or four years and set forth an inspiring long-range development programme extending to 1965. All this has fired the imagination of the Bulgarian people and led to enthusiastic mass action to speed up the country's construction. The winter of 1958 in Bulgaria was no longer the traditional slack season; one out of every eight Bulgarians joined in cutting irrigation canals and opening up waste land!

Growing Friendship

The celebration of the Bulgarian anniversary in China was also an occasion for reviewing the growth of friendly relations between the two countries — a rapid growth that is possible only between members of the socialist camp. The two countries have supported each other in the struggle for peace and against imperialism and have helped each other in socialist construction. The exchange of visits between Communist Party, government and parliamentary delegations has deepened the understanding and strengthened the bonds of friendship between the two countries. Many agreements and specific plans for co-operation in the field of trade, culture, science and technology, broadcasting and television, post and telecommunications, etc., have been concluded and implemented. The volume of Sino-Bulgarian trade in 1959 will be 2.8 times as much as that of 1952. Cultural delegations or individual envoys were exchanged between the two countries on more than 150 occasions in the period from 1952 to April this year. Many exhibitions have been held. More than 70 Bulgarian books have been translated and published in China and about the same number of Chinese books in Bulgaria. Over the past few years, Bulgarian films have been shown in China to audiences exceeding 30 million people. All this gives an idea of the growth in understanding and friendship between the two peoples, so widely apart geographically, who had little actual contact with each other in pre-liberation days.

Greeting the Bulgarian National Day, Chinese leaders and public opinion stressed the important role of the Bulgarian Communist Party in leading the Bulgarian people from victory to victory. The Party has also made unremitting efforts to cement the solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and of the international communist movement. It has waged a determined struggle against modern revisionism and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and has made valuable contributions to the international communist movement.

The Bulgarian people's efforts to consolidate peace, particularly in the Balkans, were also acclaimed. The Bulgarian Government stands for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and rocket weapons and for the convening of a meeting of the heads of Balkan states. Recently it proposed to the Greek Government the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the two countries which is a timely and significant step for peace.

The Peking celebrations were a demonstration of the profound comradeship between the Chinese and Bulgarian peoples. They also served to deepen it.



Machine Building in China

by CHU CHI-LIN

"Peking Review" has prepared a series of special articles surveying the developments in various fields during the past decade on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the birth of the People's Republic. Following are the first two. — Ed.

WHEN you walked into a factory in pre-liberation China, the few old-fashioned machines you saw flashed the labels of foreign manufacturers: Metropolitan Vickers of Britain, M.A.N. of Germany, Mitsubishi of Japan, South Bend, Cincinnati, and other U.S. cities. The modern factories in China today provide a striking contrast. The greater part of the machines and equipment bear Chinese trade marks—heavy machinery from Shenyang and Taiyuan, big power generators from Harbin and Shanghai, new machine tools from Tsinan, Kunming,

Machine building has grown tremendously since liberation. Total output value in 1958 was 42.6 times the 1949 figure. This represents an average annual rate of increase of 51.7 per cent. The increases in the output of the major products such as A.C. generators, engines and metal-cutting machine tools between 1949 and 1958 were 139-fold, nearly 200-fold and 31.6-fold respectively. In 1949, machine building constituted only 6.8 per cent of total industrial production. The proportion rose to 20 per cent in 1958.

Even more important is the qualitative change in the industry. The few dilapidated engineering plants and shops that existed in old China were concentrated in the northeast and the coastal areas, especially Shanghai. They were really repair shops. The most they could do was to assemble machines from imported parts (e.g. a few farm machines from parts by International Harvester, a U.S. firm) or make a few small machines, such as pumps, small diesel engines and electric motors. There was practically no manufacturing worthy of the name, not to speak of a machine-building system.

Today China has an engineering industry spread out over many parts of the country. Having established a dozen new branches that were non-existent in old China, the engineering industry is beginning to produce heavy, large, precision machines and products of modern technology, such as heavy blooming mills, power-generating equipment, jig-boring machines, precision meters, electronic computers and aeroplanes. It is meeting a considerable part of the growing domestic needs for machinery and equipment, laying the foundations for the modernization of industry, agriculture, transport and communications.

All-round Development

The development of the engineering industry since liberation shows how industry has grown in New China. All the big modern plants, each employing thousands or tens of thousands of employees, were built since liberation. All the larger travelling cranes and complete sets of equipment were installed since liberation. The overwhelming majority of the millions of workers, hundreds of thousands of technicians and tens of thousands of



engineers were trained after liberation. The many institutes of designing, technology and scientific research in the country were all founded since liberation. The special colleges and specialized secondary schools of engineering in all parts of the country were established since liberation. In a word, all the integral parts of a modern engineering industry with all its different branches, were built since liberation.

Heavy Equipment. Take the heavy equipment industry which turns out metallurgical, mining and hoisting machinery and equipment for the chemical industry, for instance. It is only a few years old. But it has already turned out such equipment as a 1,200 mm. sheet mill with an annual capacity of from 30.000 to 50,000 tons; a 750/550 mm. blooming mill which weighs 1,530 tons, extends 160 metres and has a capacity of 400,000 tons of blooms a year. More than 40 sets of rolling mills were produced this year, as of August 20, to keep pace with the fast growing steel-making industry. A huge 1,150 mm. blooming mill weighing more than 4,000 tons is being completed. The installation of a giant 1,513-cubic-metre blast furnace is nearing completion.

The first 2,500-ton free-forging hydraulic press, a key item of equipment for heavy machine building, made by the Shenyang Heavy Machinery Works, is now on the job in a Shanghai factory. Four-ton/metre counter blow hammers are now in serial production and the manufacture of a 25-ton/metre counter blow hammer will soon be completed. High pressure gas compressors with a capacity of 14,000 cubic metres per hour and oxygen-making equipment with a capacity of 3,350 cubic metres per hour are in serial production. China is equipping her heavy industry effectively with home produced machines.

Power-Generating Equipment. There were a few hydroelectric and thermal power plants in old China. But not a single piece of sizable equipment was Chinese made. The biggest equipment made by the largest power equipment plants at their zenith of development in old China were generators up to 200 kw. and transformers up to 2,000 kva. Today, high-temperature, high-pressure 25,000-kw. turbo-generator units are being produced in quantity. A 50,000-kw. turbo-generator unit is being completed. The first 72,500-kw. water turbine generator unit made in Harbin for the big Hsinan River hydro-electric power plant now under construction in Chekiang Province has already arrived at the construction site and will soon be installed. Steam boilers with an evaporating capacity of up to 280 tons per hour and transformers with a capacity of up to 60,000 kva. have been manufactured. Power transmission and distributing equipment, essential elements and parts of similar capacity have been successfully manufactured. A modern power-generating equipment industry is now firmly rooted in China.

Transport Machines. Motor vehicles made in many countries traversed the roads of old China, but not a single one was made in China. In 1956, New China built her first modern motor works in Changchun with Soviet help. It is a modern giant equipped with powerful presses, highly efficient multi-spindle drilling machines and an automated engine block processing line. The works is an organic whole linked by different types of conveying mechanisms totalling dozens of kilometres converging on the general assembly shop. The first Chinese made model —the "Liberation" lorry—was turned out in 1956. Since then different types of lorries, including tip lorries, field automobiles and their derivatives, have been produced. Scdans are also being mass produced.

New China has begun the production of electric and internal combustion locomotives and various types of vessels. A modern transport machine industry has been brought into being.

Metal-Working Machine Tools. The machine-tool industry is the key to raising productivity in manufacturing as a whole. But no decent machine-tool plant existed in old China. Scores of well-equipped modern machine-tool plants have been established since liberation which produce regular and highly efficient metal-cutting machine tools. In the past few years the production of heavy and precision machine tools was begun, including Φ 3.4-metre vertical lathes, 2-metre double-housing planers, precision screw-cutting lathes, precision jig-boring machines which can work to a tolerance of 0.006 mm. and precision gear grinding machines. Other efficient, precision machine tools needed by China's expanding machine-building industry are being designed and trial manufactured.

Headway has also been made in the manufacture of meters and instruments, cutting and measuring tools, ball and roller-bearings, and the electronics industry. Many modern plants in these fields have been built. In 1958 alone, 1.5 million radios were produced. Television receiver sets went into serial production last year. The new techniques of ferric antenna and semi-conductors have been mastered. The electron tube industry was practically non-existent before liberation. Now several modern plants are mass producing ordinary amplifying tubes and small transmitting tubes. Water-cooled transmitting tubes of 150-kw. capacity, miniature and super-frequency tubes, transistors and semi-conductor photo-electronic devices are also in serial production.

Technological Progress

In the course of the development of the engineering industry, new technological processes have been introduced consistently and the technological level has steadily risen. The technique of sand mould casting using water glass as a solidifying agent has been widely applied. On this basis, the technique of core-assembling has been developed, greatly raising productivity. More recently, the traditional Chinese method of mud mould casting, which has a history of some 3,000 years, has been revived and improved with excellent results. The mud moulds last for scores or even hundreds of consecutive castings, accelerate the casting process, reduce the space required, are simple to operate and ensure quality.

New China mastered the technique of nodular cast iron production as early as 1951. Since then, considerable headway has been made and nodular cast iron has been used successfully in place of certain cast or forged steel



in the manufacture of such products as the rollers for heavy rolling mills and the crank shafts for large diesel engines.

The new technique of electro-slag welding learnt from the Soviet Union has been applied in the manufacture of large billets for heavy machine building, such as forging and pressing equipment, rolling mills, power-generating equipment, etc. It has become an important method of welding together large billets.

Many ingenious methods of metal working have evolved. The most interesting is one initiated by the workers themselves now popularly known as the method of "ants nibbling at a bone," i.e., the processing of large jobs with a number of specially designed small machines. An example is the processing of large parts of a 2,400-h.p. high-pressure gas compressor in Shenyang with 19 special machine tools of 7 different types. As this method effectively enlarged the capacity of heavy machine building, it became quickly adopted by machine builders throughout the country.

A further development of this method was devised by workers in Harbin. It is known as the "toy building blocks method," i.e., the cutting tool, the "body" of the machine tool and the transmission mechanism can be joined together in different ways, like toy building blocks, to suit different jobs. These methods do involve some difficulty in ensuring high precision processing. But in jobs not very demanding in precision, they can be effectively applied as experience has amply shown. They are important because they enable smaller factories with relatively simple equipment, particularly those individual plants making small lots of products, to process big jobs.

Modern techniques of precision casting and metal processing without cutting such as punching, pressing, drawing, rolling, etc.—which raise efficiency drastically and economize on metals—have aroused wide interest among Chinese machine builders and so has the modern technique of powder metallurgy. Considerable advances have been made in their application. Methods of hot rolling and pressing have been applied widely on an experimental basis in the production of blades of turbogenerators, steel balls and gears. In some of the modern plants, production is arranged in progressive lines. An example is the production line of 1A62 lathes, a standard machine, at the Shenyang No. 1 Machine-Tool Works. The machine tools are arranged in seven lines. Billets enter from one end and come out as finished parts at the other and are passed on to the assembly shop. In the process, the parts are mechanically conveyed. Automated and semi-automated lines have also been set up in some of the big modern factories.

Training Machine Builders

The number of workers and staff members in the engineering industry increased more than 10-fold between 1949 and 1958. Where did they come from?

As we indicated earlier, most of the workers and technical personnel have been trained since liberation. Apart from those who have studied in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which we shall return to later, a two-pronged training programme has been going on in China: 1) apprentices and trainees learn on the job from veteran workers; 2) technicians and engineers are trained in special colleges and secondary schools of engineering. Many enterprises are also running spare-time schools which provide technical training as well as general education for their employees.

In the first category, a skilled worker usually coaches a couple of apprentices. Sometimes "contracts" are signed between the skilled workers and the apprentices to guarantee that both parties will do their best. In the past, apprentices were maltreated and misused, frequently they were hardly taught anything because "competition" forced highly skilled workers to guard their "trade secrets." Today each worker has a secure job, veteran workers are respected and, above all, everybody has a keen interest in the cause of socialist construction and is eager to do his share. So it is not surprising that the skilled workers

today pass on all their knowledge and experience to the apprentices. Nor is it surprising that many young workers with only a few years of experience have distinguished themselves in production. An example is Liao Shih-kang, a milling-machine operator in Chungking, who entered industry as an apprentice in 1953 and became a wellknown model worker in 1954. (See Peking Review, No. 19, May 12, 1959.) The industrial centres play an important role in this programme. With their plants and veteran workers, they help train large numbers of apprentices for other places. Shanghai, for instance, trained 70,000 apprentices for other cities in 1958 alone. Most of them were machinists. Thirty thousand were trained in 1958. These cities also send their Tientsin since skilled workers to other places. Eight hundred left Tientsin last year

The schools and colleges provide more systematic education. And this part of the programme is expanding rapidly. There were more than 100 technical schools in China in 1957. Last year, the number rose to 444. A considerable number of them are engineering schools. Teaching in these institutions combines theory with practice so that graduates have actual experience in production as well as a systematic theoretical foundation.

The achievements of China's machine-building industry indicate the calibre of this growing working force.

The achievements already noted are inseparable from the invaluable assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Soviet Union helped in the design and construction of the new plants, the supply of equipment, blueprints and technical data on new products. To assure the efficient operation of the new factories built with Soviet help, often hundreds of personnel, from designated factory directors to shop foremen, went to study and practise in the most up-to-date factories in the Soviet Union. They were assisted and coached by their Soviet colleagues in the most painstaking way.



At the Harbin Generator Works

Sketch by Yu Yun-chang

They returned to China equipped with the knowledge and experience necessary for the running of modern factories. The Soviet Union also sent many technical experts to help with production in Chinese plants. Similar help was rendered by other socialist countries.

The Chinese machine-building industry is developing at a truly phenomenal rate under the brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The total output value of the engineering industry in 1958 was twice as high as in 1957. In the first six months of this year, the industry again doubled its output value as compared with the same period last year. The engineering industry is playing an increasingly important role in modernizing China.



China's Sports Come of Age

by WU CHUNG

THE First National Sports Meet opened last Sunday afternoon at the newly-built Peking Workers' Stadium amid the cheers of eighty thousand spectators. Banners fluttered in a mass of colour atop the stadium. The cheerful bustle added to the air of festivity that is gathering in the capital as celebrations for the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic get under way. To the strains of a march, more than 10,000 sportsmen, judges and referees from all parts of the country paraded past the stands for review by the people and Party and gevernment leaders. A guard of honour of 160 sportsmen carried the national emblem and massed red banners at the head of the march past. Then thousands of Young Pioneers and students from secondary schools and colleges gave top-notch performances of mass callisthenics. As a final item, four thousand young girls and boys spelled out the slogan "Long Live Our Motherland!" Then the competitions began.

Biggest Sports Meet Ever

This meet is the largest ever held in China. Representatives from twenty-seven nationalities, coming from every walk of life, workers, peasants, students and office workers, are competing for honours in thirty-six events and taking part in another six displays. These include not only events which usually feature in international tournaments, such as athletics, swimming, weight-lifting, ball games and gymnastics, but also popular traditional Chinese sports like wu shu (Chinese boxing) and Chinesestyle wrestling, and also parachute jumping, gliding, motorboat racing, etc. Apart from the water sports (with the exception of swimming, diving and water polo) held in Wuhan and Tsingtao, and the equestrian events held in Huhehot in Inner Mongolia, nearly eight thousand sportsmen are now competing in Peking. Among them are many internationally known figures, like Jung Kuo-tuan (table tennis), Chen Ching-kai (weight-lifting), Mu Hsiang-hsiung and Chi Lieh-yun (swimming). Huang Chiang-hui and Chao Ching-kuei (weight-lifting), Cheng Feng-jung (high jump), who have set up world records or won titles in international tournaments. This rally is a magnificent demonstration of the unity of China's many nationalities and a review of sporting achievements in the past ten years. It will undoubtedly stimulate China's young sportsmen to greater successes in the future.

China's sports have spurted ahead since liberation. Great efforts have been made to popularize and promote sports among the masses of the people and it is on this broad and solid basis that the general standard and level of technique have been raised. China was once regarded as "the sick man of east Asia" and an also-ran in international sports. That is all a thing of the past. A new era for sports has dawned in New China. From among the tens of millions of people who go in regularly for various kinds of sports, there is coming an ever increasing number of young sportsmen who are breaking national and world records and going on to win honours in international competitions.

In old China, it was only a handful of people who could afford to go in for sports. The mass of the working people, for all their love of outdoor games and traditional sports, had neither time nor energy left for such "luxuries" after scraping a living for themselves and their families. The general standard in sports was low. National records would stand for years. Before liberation, China participated in only three Olympic Games, but only one pole vaulter managed to qualify for the final round and he, too, failed to place in the 1936 Berlin Olympics.

Sport Is for the People

Today great attention is paid to developing sports and physical culture as part of a state programme aimed at giving every citizen good general health and physique so that they can better serve their country and the cause of socialism and live a happy, prosperous life. The Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government have pressed forward steadily with comprehensive measures for the development of sports among the people.

With the steadily improving material and cultural conditions, more and more people are going in for sports and physical culture. One of the most widespread forms is the setting-up exercises which people do every day to music and instructions broadcast by radio. This started shortly after liberation and has virtually become a habit with countless people. There must be very few places in China today where during breaks in factories, schools and government institutions you cannot see people doing these exercises. Workers in the factories and mines who in the past had little if any contact with sports have now organized themselves into training groups to take part in all kinds of sports after work. The nearly one hundred football and basketball teams at the Kailan Colliery, for instance, would have been inconceivable before liberation. In the schools, too, sports activities are part of the regular curriculum. In the countryside and among the national minorities, traditional sports have been revived and promoted with countless people taking part in wu shu, wrestling, archery, horse racing, in addition to modern games like basketball, volleyball, and football.

Sports made a great leap forward last year. The current catchword is: "Train for ten minutes every day, and you'll be able to serve the cause of socialism for ten more years!" The effects of this popularization of sports and physical culture are now tangibly felt. It has enriched the people's cultural and recreational life and they enjoy better health. Absenteeism in schools, factories and mines and government organizations has greatly decreased. Popularization of sports will have even more farreaching results in the future.

It is on this broad and solid basis of mass participation in sports that New China has been able to catch up with or approach the leading international standards in sport. Every pre-liberation record in athletics, swimming, weight-lifting and other events has been smashed over the past few years and new records are being set one after another. From 1953 to 1957, China's young sportsmen set up new national records 1,725 times, and 191 of them succeeded in reaching the high standard which won for them the title of Master of Sports. Last year, 472 sportsmen set up new records 840 times in athletics, swimming, weightlifting, speed skating, cycling, and archery; 376 of them won the title of Master of Sports.

Hitting the World Records

By the end of August this year, 33 of China's young sportsmen chalked up world records 26 times in 16 events, and one of them, Jung Kuo-tuan, won the world championship in table tennis.

Chinese weight-lifters have done quite well in the past few years. Bantam-weight Chen Ching-kai first set up a world record for the clean and jerk in 1956 when he lifted 133 kg. Later, he succeeded in improving this record four times, raising it to the present all-time high of 140.5 kg. In March this year when he put on weight, he broke the world record for the clean and jerk in the feather-weight class by lifting 148 kg. Huang Chianghui and Chao Ching-kuei, both college students, also set up new world records for the jerk in the light-weight and light-heavy-weight classes respectively. In table tennis, too, the successes are conspicuous. In 1953 when China participated for the first time in the world championships tournament, her men's team was adjudged tenth place, first class, while her women's team was adjudged third place, second class. Six years later, when China sent her teams to take part in the 25th World Table-Tennis Tournaments this year, her national champion Jung Kuotuan won the world title for the men's singles, while three other men players fought their way to the quarter finals. Both the men's and women's teams came third. Her representatives in the women's singles, women's doubles and mixed doubles also placed third. In the high jump, swimming, shooting, parachute jump and many other events, China's sportsmen have also made considerable progress.

Last August, China's mountaineers made the headlines in the press of the world. Mountain climbing is a comparatively new sport in China, but progress made in this field has been spectacular. A group of 33 Chinese mountaineers, eight of them women, conquered Muztagh Ata, the "Father of the Icy Mountains," and set a world record for group mountain climbing by reaching a height of 7,546 metres above sea level.

A big factor in improving China's standing in sports in the past few years has been the many friendly visits exchanged between Chinese and foreign teams. Since the founding of the People's Republic, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries have sent some of their best sportsmen to play matches or compete in China. Chinese sportsmen, too, visit these countries every year. Since 1950, there have been friendly visits and matches between Chinese teams and teams of over forty countries in all parts of the world. These visits have played a great role in promoting better international understanding and friendly relations. Chinese sportsmen keenly support them, but they are resolutely opposed to attempts by the U.S. imperialists to make use of international sports organizations to put through their scheme of creating "two Chinas." In a protest to the International Olympic Committee which allowed itself to become a tool of the U.S. imperialists, China last year withdrew from this committee and several other international sports organizations. Chinese sportsmen made it absolutely clear that along with the rest of their people they will not tolerate any "two Chinas" scheme and insist that only the Chinese People's Republic is China in sport as in everything else.

A solid foundation has been laid for sport in China. Much has been achieved; much remains to be done. The First National Sports Meet will sum up the efforts of the past ten years and set the pace for the future. The coming two weeks will see some keen contests and we will not be surprised if new records are established.



The new Peking Workers' Stadium

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

New U.S. Conspiracy in Laos

"The United States is usurping the name of the United Nations to engineer a new conspiracy of intervention in Laos," warns Commentator in *Renmin Ribao* (September 10).

He points out that the Phoui Sananikone government of Laos, instigated by the United States, falsely accused the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam of "aggression" and requested the U.N. to dispatch an "emergency force" to Laos. Manipulated by the U.S. and in violation of the U.N. Charter, the U.N. Security Council adopted a U.S. proposal to dispatch a so-called "fact-finding commission" to conduct "investigations" in Laos. Meanwhile, SEATO members have been called to a meeting to discuss "aid" to the Laotian authorities.

"All this shows that the U.S. is bent on extending the civil war in Laos and making the Laotian situation still more complicated and dangerous," Commentator stresses.

Referring to the recent statements of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, Commentator emphasizes that the Chinese people firmly support the just stand of the D.R.V. on the Laotian question to safeguard the Geneva agreements and peace in the Far East.

The civil war in Laos was brought about solely by the U.S. imperialists, Commentator goes on. Some four months ago, the Sananikone clique, egged on by the U.S., tore up the Geneva agreements and started civil war. Since then, that clique, with the active support of the U.S., has adopted a series of measures to extend the civil war and launched military "mopping-up operations" and brutal campaigns of suppression in various parts of Laos.

Refuting the false accusations of "aggression" against the D.R.V., Commentator notes that not long ago, the Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, Francis Festing admitted that there was no reliable evidence of so-called "interference from north Viet-nam." The Washington Post correspondent reported on September 2 that high officials of the British and French Governments "agree that there is no evidence at this time of communist intervention from outside Laos."

Commentator points out that the very fact that the U.S. and the Sananikone government have chosen this time to suddenly submit false charges at the U.N. against the DRV exposes the U.S. plot

to usurp the flag of the United Nations for direct military intervention in Laos. Quoting a UPI dispatch of September 5 from Washington, Commentator (points out that the first step in the U.S. conspiracy is to have the U.N. dispatch a "fact-finding" mission to Laos. The next step is to have the U.N. adopt a resolution on the dispatch of a U.N. "emergency force." The third is to enable members of SEATO to send in armed forces under the U.N. protection, thus giving the U.S. the "direct right" to carry out "military intervention" in Laos. In this connection Commentator refers to recent bellicose utterances of the U.S. military chiefs and intensified preparations for war by the SEATO bloc.

To case the current dangerous situation in Laos and uphold peace in Indo-China, the Royal Laotian Government must implement the Geneva and Vientiane agreements; the U.S. must immediately withdraw all its military personnel from Laos and dismantle its military bases in that country. To ensure implementation of the Geneva agreements, which constitute the foundations for peace in Indo-China, the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos should immediately resume its functions and continue to shoulder its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace in Laos. The United Nations has no right whatsoever to interfere in the Laotian situation, Commentator concludes.

Tanzan Ishibashi's Visit to China

Welcoming the former Japanese Premier Tanzan Ishibashi on his arrival in Peking on September 9 for a visit to China on the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai, Commentator writes in *Renmin Ribao* (September 10): "Mr. Ishibashi is friendly to China. During the period from the end of 1956 to early 1957 when he held office as Japanese premier, friendly contacts and economic exchanges between the Chinese and Japanese peoples developed to a certain extent.

"These relations of friendship which had been gradually built up were later gravely undermined as a result of the hostile policy towards China pursued by Nobusuke Kishi who toes the line of the United States. But China and Japan are close neighbours. In the past two thousand years cultural and economic ties between the two peoples have sunk deep roots. Kishi's hostile policy towards China conflicts with the interests of the Japanese people. It has been severely condemned by the Chinese people and has met with strong opposition among the Japanese people.

"The present visit of Mr. Ishibashi to China once again testifies to the aspirations of the Japanese people for friendship with China."

Commentator expresses hearty approval of Mr. Ishibashi's statement at a press conference on August 27 that "the purpose of my visit to China is, in a nutshell, to help promote world peace through Sino-Japanese co-operation." "The Chipeople," nese Commentator writes. "stands for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.... In the ten years since the founding of their republic, the Chinese people have worked consistently for world peace. They earnestly wish to have friendly relations of peaceful coexistence with Japan with a view to safeguarding peace in the Far East and throughout the world."

Commentator declares that today, the realization of the common desire of both the Chinese and Japanese peoples is being hampered by U.S. imperialism and its follower, the Kishi government.

"U.S. imperialism," he affirms, "is the source of the threat to world peace; it is the source of the threat to peace in the Far East. To make Japan its partner in achieving its hegemony in Asia, it is pressing forward impatiently with its scheme of concluding a military alliance with Japan in the name of amending the Japan-U.S. 'Security Treaty.' This is an attempt to drag Japan into a nuclear war and make Japan pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the U.S. The Japan-U.S. military alliance now contemplated by U.S. imperialism obviously has China and the Soviet Union as its targets.

"The Kishi group in Japan, relying on the United States to achieve its own lurking imperialist ambitions of overseas expansion, does not scruple to follow the United States ever more closely, to antagonize China and revive Japanese militarism. This is an extremely dangerous path for Japan to take; it is dangerous too for peace in the Far East and the world as a whole.

"We are glad to see that Mr. Ishibashi and other far-sighted people in the Liberal Democratic Party differ from the Kishi group. They have on many occasions indicated that they do not want to see Japan suffer another catastrophe."

In conclusion, Commentator declares: "The Chinese people welcome Mr. Ishibashi's coming to contribute to the resumption of Sino-Japanese friendship and the maintenance of peace in the Far East. They also hope that this visit will strengthen mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples." ART

Peking's Palace Museum

The Palace Museum has refurbished its main halls and entirely rearranged its magnificent collection of bronzes, ceramics, paintings, sculptures, murals, cloisonne and other handicraft arts. It has made a selection of the best and most representative works of each age from Neolithic times to the early twentieth century and grouped them in chronological order, so that they give the visitor on a reasonably leisured visit a revealing glimpse into the development and splendour of Chinese art and culture. Long known as the richest repository of Chinese art, the Palace Museum was pretty thoroughly pillaged by the imperialists and the Chiang Kaishek clique. Since liberation, however, great efforts have been made to restore it to its former splendour. New finds and gifts from the people have replenished its collection and it is no exaggeration to say that today it is richer and far better arranged than at any time in the past.

In honour of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic and to welcome the guests who will be coming from all parts of the world, the Pao Ho Tien (Hall of Abiding Harmony) with its east and west wings has been thoroughly restored to house the present exhibition. The Pao Ho Tien, dating from the later years of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), once served as a banquet hall and imperial examination hall. The exhibition begins in its spacious front section. This first hall contains articles dating from the Neolithic age, over four thousand years ago, to the end of slave society-the Spring and Autumn Period in 475 B.C. The exhibition then continues in the east wing of the Pao Ho Tien with objects from the Warring States Period to the end of the Sung dynasty, a span of over seventeen hundred years from 475 B.C. to 1279 A.D. The west wing forms the third hall with objects dating from the beginning of the Yuan dynasty in 1279 to 1919, the year of the May 4 Movement.

The three halls cover an area of over 4,000 square metres; on display are about 4,000 articles ranging from painted pottery and bronzes of the ancient past to folk art of modern times. It is impossible here to do justice to the wealth of material shown, but it may be useful to draw attention to some of the highlights of the exhibition. In the first hall these undoubtedly include three large, elaborately cast bronze vessels of the Shang dynasty (c. 16th-11th century B.C.). One

of them is a magnificent tsun (ceremonial wine vessel), a striking example of the rarely seen bronzes belonging to later Shang times. It is about 60 cm. high, with three rams' heads on its rim. The other two are a lei and a square tsun, both ceremonial wine vessels. Inside is the inscription Hsiung Ya, in archaic characters, the name of the clan which made them. During the Shang dynasty, agricultural production was fairly well developed; the nobles who exploited the slaves and peasants enjoyed a life of ease and luxury; hence these sumptuous wine vessels made of bronze. Shang dynasty bronzes are still rare finds. The lei and the square tsun mentioned above, two of many wine vessels made by the Hsiung Ya clan, are among the finest in any collection. Further on in this hall is a large bronze rao (bell) and three other smaller rao with handles to shake them by. The large rao weighs forty kilogrammes, with simple but powerful decorations of two tao tieh monsters on its sides. The white pottery unearthed at Anyang and the crested bird and four human heads made from jade deserve a careful inspection. There is also a good selection of objects from the Western Chou period (c. 11th century-771 B.C.). A big li (hollow legged tripod) probably of the 9th century B.C., inscribed with the name of Shih Chen who made it, is one of the most impressive works of this period. The museum has been fortunate to possess some of the rich hoard unearthed in 1923 at Hsincheng in Honan. The most magnificent piece of this find is perhaps the large square bronze hu (jar) belonging to the later years of the Spring and Autumn Period. This is about a metre high, resting on two finely cast dragon feet. Its two handles are also decorated with figures of dragons, with four other small dragons climbing on its sides. On the richly decorated lid is a crane poised for flight. The workmanship is superb and the design has a freshness that sets it off from the usual conventional decorations of that period. An exceptionally rare exhibit is a bronze short sword belonging to the 6th century B.C. This is said to have been unearthed at Hunyuan in northern Shansi. Precious swords were given their own names at that time; this one is inscribed Shao Chu inlaid in gold, and is the best of the three known swords of this kind in the period. The other two were pilfered and sold abroad.

By the time of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), the art of painting was quite advanced, and elaborate designs of fishing, hunting, feasting, dancing and battle scenes were carved on bronzes. Two bronze jars with such scenes from the daily life of the people

at the time are on show in the second hall. Such bronzes were very precious in that period, and only a few of them have come down to the present day. Another treasure from this period is the head of a halberd, on which are inlaid intricate silver and gold designs of fantastic dragons, animals and birds. The stone engravings of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) are particularly remarkable. Among those chosen for this exhibition is a stone pillar, supported on a tiger, carved for Hsiang Ta Chun in 154 A.D. This pillar, unearthed in Shantung, was originally one of a pair, on which are carved figures of fantastic beasts together with a long inscription. The best of the bronze articles from this period are the lamps and incense burners. There is also a large gilt bronze container dated the 21st year of the reign of the Emperor Kuang Wu, that is, 45 A.D. It rests on three legs in the form of bears inlaid with turguoise and stands on a gilt bronze tray which also has three bear legs. During Han times, jade was widely used by the imperial households for articles of daily use, such as lamps, saucers and cosmetic boxes. A few of these are displayed, but the one that attracts most attention is a small seal made of pure white Khotan iade of the highest quality. This was long thought to be the property of Chao Fei-yen, first consort of the Emperor Cheng Ti, but it is now known to be that of a court lady called Hsiao, a favourite of a Han emperor.



A bronze hu of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-475 B.C.)

Examples of painting and calligraphy from Wei and Tsin times are not frequently met with. In the second hall is the fragment of a letter written by the scholar Lu Chi of the 3rd century A.D. to his friend Ping Fu, the oldest extant example of the calligraphy of a famous scholar that we possess. There are no originals of paintings by Ku Kai-chih (347-408 A.D.), but the museum shows the best of the three versions of Ku's Ode to the Goddess of the River Lo, an eleventh century copy by a painter of the Northern Sung dynasty. There is also an early Tang copy by Feng Chengsu of Wang Hsi-chih's famous calligraphic scroll, the Lanting Hsu.

One section of the second hall is devoted to some of the museum's rare painting from the Sui (581-618 A.D.) to the Sung dynasty. One of these is Chan Tzu-chien's Spring Outing (c. 6th century A.D.). This is held to be the oldest extant landscape painting in scroll. In bright, pleasing colours, it is a lively depiction of people on an outing in early spring when the ice in the river has just thawed: some are boating, some are riding on horseback up a mountain, and some are picnicking while they enjoy the spring view. There is a painting of several court ladies by an anonymous painter of the Tang dynasty done after the style of the famous Chou Fang, and nearby is the painting Five Oxen by Han Huang (723-787 A.D.). This was lost when the combined forces of eight imperialist powers invaded Peking in 1900 but it was returned to the museum after liberation. Han Huang was adept at painting figures and animals; this is one of his characteristic works.

Ku Hung-chung's painting Night Revelry at Han Hsi-tsai's is well-known in reproduction to lovers of Chinese art. Here the original is shown. This great artist of the 10th century used his brush with superb skill to portray a typical moment during an evening party given by Han Hsi-tsai, a minister of high rank in the Later Tang period (923-936). This is assuredly the traditional equivalent of a "candid camera" shot. Two paintings by the Emperor Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty are exhibited. One is the painting Listening to the Lute, and the other is Returning Home on a Winter Day. Hui Tsung was an incompetent emperor (he was later captured by the Kin invaders), but he was a distinguished painter and calligraphist. This was a rich period for art in general and particularly for painting. There were several other outstanding painters, like Yang Pu-chih and Li Sung. Yang is represented by his Plums and Li by A Pedlar, an attractive scroll showing a crowd of children gleefully

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following a hawker. Two paintings in Chinese ink attract particular attention. One is a forceful work by the famous artist Ma Yuan (1160-1220). It shows several lively figures of peasants dancing happily on their way home after having gathered in a rich harvest. The other is by Li Tang (c. 1051-1135) entitled Picking Ferns. During the troubled times of the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1279) artists were fond of using ancient stories as themes for their paintings commenting on the social and political problems of the day. In this tradition Li Tang made use of the story of the two brothers Po Yi and Shu Chi who, opposing the rule of King Wu of the Western Chou dynasty, death by preferred starvation to service under a hated tyrant. The painting shows the two brothers, worn with suffering and hunger, sitting beneath a pine tree with a basket of ferns, their food. beside only them. Li Tang intended this painting to encourage his peo-



Merry return from a harvest A traditional Chinese painting by Ma Yuan (1160-1220 A.D.)

ple to rise against the Kin invaders.

The third hall houses objects of art from the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) to the year 1919. Directly facing its entrance are the murals of seven Buddhas from the Hsing Hua Temple in Chishan County, Shansi Province. These were once cut into twenty-six pieces by pilferers who intended to sell them abroad. Recovered after liberation, they have been restored and are now seen again whole. They are of an earlier date than the famous murals of the Yunglo Temple, and are in the traditional mural style of Sung times. On exhibit also are famous paintings of horses by the artists Chao Mengfu and Jen Jen-fa. There are relatively large numbers of Ming and Ching paintings extant, but the museum has here brought together a distinguished collection including some of the best and most representative works by such masters as Wu Wei, Lu Chi, Tang Yin, Chiu Ying, Shen Chou, Wen Cheng-ming and Hsu Wei of the Ming dynasty and Yun Nantien, Pa Ta Shan Jen, and Shih Tao of the Ching dynasty. For many years it was fashionable to look down on the works of these painters but critical opinion is now taking a more appreciative second look at their work. Some of it, undoubtedly, is of a very high order.

The exhibition concludes with a show of exquisitely made handicraft articles, including cloisonne, porcelains, lacquer ware and carpets, together with paintings by artists of the recent past: Chao Chihchien, Jen Po-nien, Wu Chang-shih, Chi Pai-shih and others. All in all, the collection is so rich and the selection so well made that anyone who has not seen the Palace exhibition must not miss it. Those who have seen it will be well rewarded on a second visit. Not only are there many new exhibits, but the new arrangement brings new significance to old treasures and masterpieces.

- TANG LAN

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Premier Chou on Asian-African Relations

Premier Chou En-lai in public speeches made at banquets in honour of the visiting Afghan Deputy-Premier Naim during the past week touched on questions concerning Asian-African relations.

On September 6, he said . "We are happy to see that, thanks to the joint efforts made by the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving countries and peoples all over the world, the international situation is developing in a direction favourable to peace. The Chinese people welcome the forthcoming exchange of visits between the heads of Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States, because it is conducive to the further relaxation of international tension and the safeguarding of world peace. However, we cannot but note that the imperialists are intensifying their effort to create tension in the Far East and sow discord among the Asian and African countries. This calls for keen vigilance on the part of the governments and peoples of all the Asian and African countries."

On September 8, Premier Chou declared: "We are convinced that as long as we Asian and African countries hold high the banner of the Bandung Conference and adhere firmly to the five principles of peaceful coexistence, we will be able to live in friendship and freedom from foreign interference."

Chen Yi on Laotian Question

Vice-Premier Chen Yi castigated the U.S. attempt to make use of the United Nations to meddle in Laotian affairs and poison the international atmosphere. Speaking at a Peking reception celebrating the Bulgarian National Day on September 9, he declared: "The Democratic Republic of Viet-nam has always strictly observed the Geneva agreements; it has been unflagging in its efforts to maintain peace in Indo-China. No amount of slander or fabrications can alter this incontrovertible fact. We fully support the September 9 statement issued by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam on the decision of the U.N. Security Council to establish a so-called committee to investigate the situation in Laos."

The Vice-Premier emphasized once again that "what is involved in Laos is that the Laotian authorities should faithfully implement the Geneva and Vientiane agreements." Reiterating that the United Nations has no right whatsoever to meddle in the Laotian situation, he said: "Any attempt to use the United Nations to interfere in the Laotian question will only aggravate tension in this area and be detrimental to a solution of that question." He again demanded that the United States withdraw its military personnel from Laos and dismantle its military bases there and that the International Commission in Laos under the chairmanship of India resume its activities.

Afghan Deputy-Premier in Peking

Sino-Afghan good neighbourly relations were the keynote of the Afghan Deputy-Premier Sardar Mohammed Naim's 5-day visit to Peking. He and Premier Chou En-lai, with whom he held talks on questions of common interest, both spoke highly of this friendship on several occasions in their public speeches. Premier Chou En-lai praised Afghanistan's consistent implementation of the policy of peace and neutrality which he said had won the respect and applause of the Chinese people and all other peace-loving countries and peoples. He added that the two countries, by exchanging experience and by their mutual support on the basis of friendly co-operation, will assuredly promote their national construction.

The Afghan Deputy-Premier has been greatly interested in China's fast economic build-up. He visited the construction sites on Tien An Men Square, the Miyun Reservoir project and the Central Institute of Nationalities. He is continuing his tour in China as we go to press.

Fraternal Co-operation

The Sino-Bulgarian Scientific and Technical Co-operation Committee in a recent session in Peking signed a protocol on further co-operation between the two countries.

Under this protocol, China will provide Bulgaria with technical data on architecture, the food industry, handicrafts and the manufacture of paint; it will supply Bulgaria with seeds of medicinal herbs. In turn, Bulgaria will supply China with samples of crop seeds and technical data on agriculture, the food industry — (such as cold storage of fruit and vegetables, fruit drying, aromatic curing of tobacco), forestry (such as felling, reafforestation and forest protection) and posts and telecommunications. Bulgarian experts will come to China to make on-the-spot studies in silk weaving and the making of textile machinery.

A large automatic coal-dressing plant went into operation in Chuchow, Hunan Province, on September 8. It was built with Polish assistance and has an annual capacity of 1,800,000 tons of coal. A special delegation led by the Polish Minister of Coal Mining and Power Industry Jan Mitrega came from Warsaw to attend the opening ceremony.

A pulp- and paper-making mill and a factory making prefabricated parts for timber houses have been completed in the new Mongolian industrial city of Sukhe-Bator. They were built as Chinese gifts to Mongolia under the 1956 Agreement on Chinese Economic and Technical Aid to Mongolia.

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China is participating in the current Brno Trade Fair, the first of its kind ever held in Czechoslovakia. A Chinese government delegation headed by Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun attended the opening ceremony. The Chinese pavilion is attracting attention with its traditional decorations and display of Chinese-made machine tools, tractors, radio and medical equipment and precision instruments.

U.S. Air Intrasions

Between August 22 and September 9, U.S. naval planes on four occasions violated China's territorial air in the Hsisha Islands, Kwangtung Province.

An American naval patrol plane flew over Yunghsing Island at 11:18 hours on August 22; a second was over Yunghsing, Chung and Pei Islands at 11:06 hours on August 24; a third intruded over Yunghsing, Shih, Pei and Shu Islands at 10:50 and again over Yunghsing Island at 12:50 hours on August 25; still another was over Yunghsing Island at 11:40 hours on September 9.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 62nd, 63rd, 64th and 65th warnings against these military intrusions.

BRIEFS

A Chinese variety troupe touring Ceylon gave its premiere in Colombo on September 10. The distinguished audience included Governor-General Oliver Goonetilleke, Premier Bandaranaike and other government ministers.

* * * The Chinese pavilion attracted a great deal of attention at the International Fair now being held in Vienna. It was visited by the Austrian President Dr. Schaerf.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry and other organizations recently presented to China a large collection of valuable documents and museum objects for exhibition in this country. Among them are documents and photos showing the impact of the Great October Revolution on the Chinese national liberation movement, models of a Soviet gunboat which took part in the liberation of China's northeast and of the rolling mills produced by the Ural Heavy Machine-Building Plant for the Anshan iron and steel centre.

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A dozen Chinese documentary and scientific films were shown to Moscow audiences during a special film festival recently organized in that city.

The Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association is arranging for Moscow residents a series of lectures on China's achievements and friendship between the two countries to mark New China's tenth anniversary.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

- Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. -

KUNQU

▲ DRAWING LOTS FOR LIFE OR DEATH A magistrate is ordered by a local military commander to sentence an innocent girl to death. But he was once rescued by the girl's father, and determines to save her life. His daughter and god-daughter offer to die in her place. The three selfless girls draw lots to decide who will make the sacrifice needed to save the lives of the rest. The timely arrival of a just inspector saves the situation. Produced by the North Kunqu Opera Theatre. Sent. 19 & 20, 7:30 p.m. Guang He

Sept. 19 & 20, 7:30 p.m. Guang He Theatre

MODERN OPERA

▲ THE YOUNG GUARD The Soviet opera by J. Meitus adapted from the novel of the same title by Fadeyev. Produced in Chinese by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. Tiangiao Theatre

SONG AND DANCE

The Central Song and Dance Troupe presents: *Dances

*Folk songs

*Chinese orchestral music

Sept. 19 & 20, 7:30 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

THEATRE

▲ TAMING THE DRAGONS AND TIGERS A new play about the great leap forward in China's countryside. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. It tells how the people of a village braved dangers in the mountain to get raw materials for their furnaces in last year's drive for steel.

Sept. 15-19, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ AESOP A play by the Brazilian playwright, Guillermo Figuereido, based on the life story of Aesop, the slave and clever teller of fables of ancient Greece. It reflects the struggle between slaves and slaveowners, and the determination of the slaves to die for freedom rather than live the life of slaves. Produced in Chinese by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Sept. 15 & 16, 7:30 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

▲ THE MAN WITH THE GUN Adapted from the famous Soviet novel of the same title by N. F. Pogodin. Produced in Chinese by the Peking People's Art Theatre. Sept. 17, 18 & 21, 7:30 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

Sept. 17, 18 & 21, 7:30 p.m. Shoudu Theatre \blacktriangle A HAPPY REUNION A new play by Lao Sheh describing the sharp contrast in morality between the old and new societies. In the old society, poverty drives Wang Li-jen away from home to earn a living. He sends some money home by the hand of a policeman who pockets the money and tells his family that he is dead. He and his family lose contact. In 1958, with the help of a people's policeman, the family is happily reunited. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.

Sept. 19-21, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre ▲ THUNDERSTORM A tragedy of incest written in classic form in 1933 by the famous playwright Tsao Yu. A damning exposure of the family of semi-feudal and semicapitalist society in pre-liberation China. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Sept. 19 & 20, 7:30 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

FILMS

▲ THE STORY OF THE TIN CITY In preliberation days, Po Ken-chiang, a boy of the Yi people, is forced to work in a tin mine as a child labourer. Hard work and starvation almost kill him, but underground members of the Communist Party in the mine save him and help him to understand the truth about life. He joins a guerrilla detachment and fights for the revolution until liberation comes. A new fitm produced by the Changchun Film Studio.

Sept. 16-20, Shengli, Xi Dan Workers' Club

▲ THE WIDOW This story, set in tsarist Russia, tells how a widow who pins all her hopes on her only son, dies of misery when she learns of his death caused by his hopeless love for a duke's daughter. A Soviet film dubbed in Chinese.

Sept. 16-20, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong, Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club

▲ ANNA EDES This Hungarian film dubbed in Chinese is set in 1919, at the time when the Hungarian bourgeoisie returned to power after overthrowing the Workers' and Peasants' Government. Anna, a young servant-maid, brutally ill-treated and insulted by her master, is driven to take revenge.

Sept. 16-20, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club

A THE THISTLES OF BARAGAN A tale of now the Rumanian peasants were oppressed and exploited by the landlords and reactionary regime at the beginning of the 20th century and how they came to understand that only revolution could bring them inperation.

Sept. 16-20, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong

▲ LIFE A Burmese film in two parts dubbed in Chinese. The life story of an illtated woman student.

Sept. 16-20, Shengli, Xi Dan Workers' Club

EXHIBITIONS

▲ POSTAGE STAMPS EXHIBITION Stamps issued in New China. Stamps of the liberated areas before the founding of the People's Republic. Stamps of the socialist countries. Open daily 9:00 a.m.-7:30 p.m.

At the Working People's Palace of Culture

▲ FUKIEN HANDICRAFTS A varied show of famous Fukien handicrafts: lacquer ware, porcelain ware, artificial silk flowers, wood carvings, stone carvings, bamboo articles, etc. Open daily 8:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m.

At Beihai Park

▲ BULGARIAN PHOTO EXHIBITION showing Bulgaria's achievements in socialist construction during the past fifteen years. Open daily 10:00-12:00 a.m., 2:00-8:00 p.m.

At Beihai Park

THE FIRST NATIONAL SPORTS MEET

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TRACK AND FIELD	Sept. 15-21 At Peking Workers' Stadium
SWIMMING	Sept. 15-20 At Peking Gymnasium
BASKETBALL	Sept. 15-17, 19-21 At Peking Velo- drome, Peking Gym- nasium and Dong Chang An Jie Grounds
FOOTBALL	Sept. 17 & 20 At Peking Workers' Stadium, Peking Stadium and Peking Gymnasium
TABLE TENNIS	Sept. 15-20 At Peking Gymnasium
VOLLEYBALL	Sept. 15, 16, 18, 19 & 20 At Dong Chang An Jie Grounds and Working People's Palace of Culture
TENNIS	Sept. 15, 18, 20 & 21 At Peking Gymnasium
HANDBALL	Sept. 15, 16, 18, 19 & 21 At Peking Stadium
WATER POLO	Sept. 15, 16, 18, 19 & 20 At Tao Ran Ting Swimming Pools
GLIDING AND PARACHUTE JUMPING	Sept. 15-18 At Lianghsiang Acro- drome
SHOOTING	Sept. 15-18, 20 & 21 At the Shooting Ground in west suburb
ARCHERY	Sept. 15-21 At Beihai Stadium
FENCING	Sept. 15-18 At Peking Institute of Physical Culture
BADMINTON	Sept. 15, 16, 18, 19 & 20 At Peking Institute of Physical Culture
WEIGHT-LIFTING	
CHESS	Sept. 15-21 At Beihai Park
WRESTLING (Free-style and classical)	Sept. 15-17, 19-21 At Peking Institute of Physical Culture
CHINESE WRESTLING	Sept. 15-21 At Beihai Stadium
BASEBALL & SOFTBALL	Sept. 15-21 At Peking Institute of Physical Culture
(For details u	vatch daily press.)

1959 AUTUMN

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