THE GREAT UNITY OF THE
ASIAN AND AFRICAN PEOPLES

1 — Peking mass rally commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Bandung Conference and the foundation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association (p. 7).


Premier Chou En-lai in Burma

Urban People's Communes

The Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions describes the growth of people's communes in China's cities (p. 22).

The Chinese Foreign Ministry's Note to Indian Embassy in China

Round the Week and Other Features
H AR V E S T

A Selection of Short Stories by YE H TZU

Yeh Tzu, well-known young Chinese revolutionary writer of the thirties, himself participated in the series of great events that stirred the countryside of his home county in Hunan Province from the First Revolutionary Civil War in 1925 till its termination in defeat in 1927. Later, Yeh Tzu epitomized these upheavals in fictional form; it is a collection of these, his earliest works, that is contained in his first book Harvest.

Harvest comprises six short stories, the first two of which, "Harvest" and "Fire," vividly portray the Hunan peasants in the contemporary anti-rent movement, which eventually developed into a gigantic revolutionary struggle. Of the remaining four stories, three tell something of the fighting of the Chinese Red Army, while the fourth describes the hard lot of a peasant family escaping the exploitation of the local landlord in north Kiangsu only to fall prey to the merciless imperialists and capitalists of Shanghai.

The class conflict in the countryside was one of the most significant themes of Chinese revolutionary literature of the thirties, which most effectively reflects the development of the Chinese Revolution at the time. In Harvest, Yeh Tzu ably conveys the ferment of the epoch and portrays the realities of those years in most life-like terms.

This volume contains a short biography and portrait of the author as well as a photocopying reprint of a page of his original manuscript. pp. 184.

PEKING HANDICRAFTS

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ROUND THE WEEK

The Nation Responds

The Second Session of the Second National People's Congress ended just over a week ago. Its reports and resolutions have been carried to the nation by press and radio, and are now being studied intently in factories and communes, offices, popular organizations and institutions, by men and women throughout the country. Unanimous in their support, they are mapping out concrete steps for realizing the tasks entrusted to them by their Congress—fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1960 national economic plan and completion of the National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967) ahead of schedule.

The N.P.C. has sparked an intensified effort to carry on the great leap forward this year. It will play, in the months to come, an increasingly important role in mobilizing the nation's efforts for socialist construction.

C.P.P.C.C. Session Ends

The Second Session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference closed on April 11. Attended by 804 members it was presided over by Chou En-lai, Chairman of the National Committee. The session adopted a resolution calling on people of all nationalities, democratic classes and parties and people's organizations, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to work with one accord and with redoubled efforts to carry out the resolutions of the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress, to fulfill and overfulfill the 1960 national economic plan, and complete the National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967) ahead of schedule. It called on members to carry out the tasks put forward by the Standing Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee.

Warmly supporting the resolutions of the N.P.C., the C.P.P.C.C. resolution points out that the 1960 national economic plan is a great plan of a continued leap forward. Its realization will be of great importance to our continued leap forward in the coming years, which will enable the people to build China into a powerful socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. Members of the national and local committees of the C.P.P.C.C. are called upon to make the Chinese people's unified front play its full role in line with the excellent situation in the country and, holding high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, march forward along the road charted by the N.P.C.

Shanghai's Industrial New Look

Shanghai has won a leading place in the swiftly growing mass movement for technical innovations and technical revolution. One of the pioneers, its industrial enterprises are being transformed beyond recognition. Around 80 per cent of all the industrial operations are now mechanized or semi-mechanized, and 200,000 workers have been relieved of the toll and boredom of monotonous hand operations or heavy manual labour. These changes are so momentous that the workers call it their "second liberation" after shaking off exploitation and oppression by the reactionaries in 1949.

Technical innovation is the order of the day. It is in the thoughts of every Shanghai worker from the small neighbourhood workshops to large modern factories, from the handicraft arts to enterprises producing precision tools. Millions of people in all fields of endeavour are involved. An industrial conference was held at the end of March, sponsored by the city's Communist Party committee, to sum up and popularize the experience gained and carry the movement to still greater heights. As Ko Ching-shih, First Secretary of the Shanghai Communist Party Committee, said in his conference address, technical innovations and technical revolution have become a great revolutionary mass movement. It is not only a great technical revolution, but a great revolution in production and ideology as well. It is having a tremendous
impact and bids fair to bring about a rapid transformation of the whole industrial set-up of the city.

In the past three months Shanghai workers proposed a million and a half technical innovations. A third of these were adopted and are in operation. Sixty thousand machines and semi-mechanized devices have been made to replace manual processes. More than 6,000 machines have been automated or semi-automated. Nearly 800 automatic or semi-automatic production lines have been set up in factories. And the ideas continue to roll in, hard on each other's heels, touching off a chain reaction affecting not just one workshop but whole factories and, ultimately, entire trades.

A remarkable aspect of this mechanization of Shanghai's industrial work is that, as in all the other great production centres, it is the result of the Communist Party's policy of "walking on two legs," combining modern with indigenous methods. Many of the innovations stem from the workers' ingenuity in using the simple equipment and resources immediately at their command. Their indigenous methods may be simple but they have already proved a big help in solving many key production problems and expanding the nation's productive forces.

Another important feature is that, as part of the communist spirit of cooperation shown by all concerned, research, design, trial production, application and improvement have gone hand in hand. Many innovations have been improved as they have been put into operation. Shanghai's experience shows that in technical revolution, as Ko Ching-shih said, "China has found a new way of developing science and technology with greater, faster, better and more economical results."

**Monument to a Great Battle**

Early this month the foundation-stone of a monument was laid on the southern outskirts of Hsuchow to the memory of those soldiers of the People's Liberation Army who laid down their lives here in the cause of the people. The great battle fought around Hsuchow in northern Kiangsu Province during the War of Liberation (1946-49) was one of the decisive campaigns of modern history. Known as the Huai-Hai campaign, it lasted 65 days from November 7, 1948, to January 10, 1949. Hsuchow was the strategic centre guarding the approaches to Nanking, the Kuomintang capital, across the Yangtse. Its capture and the destruction of the huge Kuomintang forces concentrated there constituted one of the greatest victories scored by the People's Liberation Army. This opened the way for the crossing of the Yangtse River and the liberation of the whole country. More than 500,000 crack Kuomintang troops were routed here and Tu Yu-ming, deputy commander-in-chief of the Kuomintang troops in the area, was captured.

In Nienchuang, a village lying due east of Hsuchow, another monument was unveiled a fortnight ago. This was raised as a tribute to those men of the P.L.A. who fell in the battle of Nienchuang, the first stage of the Huai-Hai campaign, in which 150,000 Kuomintang troops under Huang Potaio were routed. This monument bears a laudatory inscription by Chairman Liu Shao-chi, together with two other inscriptions by Marshals Liu Pocheng and Chen Yi who so brilliantly commanded the Second and Third Field Armies of the P.L.A. in this historic campaign.

The monument at Hsuchow will be 38 metres high. It will be completed in about 12 months. Nearby will be a memorial hall containing mementoes of the great battle.

**Ex-KMT General Reports**

When he was captured in January 1949, Tu Yu-ming was one of Chiang Kai-shek's top-ranking generals and an implacable enemy of the Communist Party and the P.L.A. For quite some time after his capture, he still looked forward to the U.S. imperialists and Chiang staging a come-back. Gradually, however, while serving his term of imprisonment as a war criminal, he came to realize the truth about the reactionary nature of the Kuomintang, and to understand the aims of the revolution which the Communist Party is leading.

Bit by bit he began to change his old attitude. His mind opened up to new things. He studied horticulture and learnt to repair machines, a pair of useful trades today. Having given clear evidence of repentence for his past oppression of the people, he was pardoned last year. "My conscience," he has said, "made me confess and repent my crimes, and renounce evil for good. From now on, I'll follow the Communist Party and do my bit for socialism for the rest of my days." At his own request he is now working in a people's commune.

**An Emperor Transformed**

The case of Tu Yu-ming was one of those cited by Hsieh Chueh-tai, President of the Supreme People's Court, at the recent session of the Second National People's Congress to illustrate China's success in reforming criminals through labour and education. Another was Puyi, former "emperor" of the puppet "Manchuko" regime and last emperor of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911). A reformed man today, Puyi was one of those pardoned last year at the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic.

Puyi became emperor when only three years old. He never did a stitch of real work and received an education that left him, as he says, "unable even to distinguish the five grains." His real education began when he was sentenced to a period of "reform through labour" as a war criminal.

At first he believed that his thinking was already so set in a mould that it could not be changed. He was, in fact, unwilling to change at all. But during his imprisonment, studying and working for the first time in his life and given the opportunity to visit various parts of the country, he saw for himself what enormous changes have taken place all over the country. Gradually he, like Tu Yu-ming, began to understand the truth about things. When it finally dawned on him what the meaning of his old life had been, he exclaimed: "Half my life consisted of such crimes that even if I were to die a hundred or a thousand deaths, I could not atone for them."

During his imprisonment he too mastered some technical skills and learnt to work with his hands. His pardon has given him the chance to make a new beginning and he is now using his new knowledge in a botanical garden.

"Puyi the emperor is dead," he says. "The Puyi of today is like a new-born. The Communist Party has given me a new life."

*Peking Review*
A Boundless Future for Asian-African Peoples

Following is an abridged translation of the editorial published in "Renmin Ribao" on April 18, 1960, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bandung Conference. — Ed.

THE Chinese people join the peoples in other parts of Asia and in Africa in warmly celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Bandung Conference. Five years ago, 29 Asian and African countries for the first time held a conference without the participation of the colonial powers, solemnly issued a proclamation of the Asian and African peoples who constitute more than half the world's population jointly denouncing imperialism and colonialism and initiated the ten principles of peaceful coexistence. This was an important sign of the unprecedented awakening of the Asian and African peoples who have suffered brutal oppression and exploitation at the hands of imperialism and colonialism; this was a milestone in the further development of their great struggle for peace, independence, freedom and friendly cooperation.

In the last five years, with the East wind prevailing over the West wind, inspired and prompted by the Bandung spirit, the national independence movements in the Asian and African regions have made tremendous progress; unity, co-operation and friendly ties between the Asian-African countries and peoples have been constantly reinforced and expanded while a further disintegration of the imperialist colonialist system has taken place. The Bandung spirit is gaining greater vitality with each passing day.

For the last five years, the voice of the Bandung Conference against imperialism and colonialism has resonated throughout the vast Asian and African regions. In these five years, the struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism and colonialism has been most acute; it is also complex, tortuous and has had its ups and downs. But the general trend is one in which the Asian and African peoples are marching forward from victory to yet greater victories while the imperialists and colonialists are suffering defeats each greater than the last. During that period, the United States, Britain and France repeatedly launched armed aggression in the Middle East, the U.S. staged military provocations in the Taiwan Straits and carried out intervention and subversive activities against Indonesia, Cambodia and other countries. But all in turn met with serious setbacks and ignominious failure.

Special mention should be made of the dynamic growth of the national independence movement in Africa. The national liberation war of the heroic Algerian people is advancing triumphantly. The path to which they adhere and their indomitable spirit are of extremely great significance to the development of the national liberation movement in Africa. Today, the storm of the movement to win and preserve national independence has also come to Latin America, the "backyard" of the United States. These are all great, new changes that have taken place in the short span of five years since the Bandung Conference. Once roused, the latent and boundless vitality of the Asian and African peoples erupts like a volcano, sweeps away imperialist and colonial rule and blazes the trail towards independence, freedom and prosperity.

ANOTHER historic contribution of the Bandung Conference was its advocacy of the ten principles of peaceful coexistence, which are a development of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence jointly initiated by China, India and Burma in 1954. This reflects the urgent desire of the independent Asian and African countries and peoples to live side by side in friendship in a peaceful international climate, respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, observe mutual non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit develop their economic and cultural exchanges and promote a common growth of their national economies and cultures. This is so because the Asian and African peoples have historically been subjected to the same suffering and experienced imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression. They stand firmly opposed to aggression and oppression by others and will themselves never invade and oppress any other people. At the same time, certain problems left over from history as a result of imperialist and colonialist aggression remain unsolved among the Asian and African countries. Especially owing to the persistent policy of imperialism and colonialism of sowing discord and creating conflicts between different nationalities in order to divide and rule over them, there exist among the Asian and African countries disputes of one kind or another. The common interests of the Asian and African peoples also call for the reasonable settlement of these disputes in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. For these reasons, the principles of peaceful coexistence, initiated by China, India and Burma and elaborated by the Bandung Conference have great vitality. The past five years have witnessed a tremendous development in the peaceful, friendly and co-operative relations among Asian and African countries. The principles of peaceful coexistence enunciated by the Bandung Conference have been endorsed as standards guiding international relations by the Asian and African countries and other peace-loving nations of the world.

April 19, 1960
China, a participant in the Bandung Conference, has always actively supported the just struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism and colonialism, faithfully adhered to and implemented the respective five and ten principles and spared no effort to promote relations of friendly co-operation with the governments and peoples of Asia and Africa.

In the past five years the Chinese people have given sincere sympathy and active support to the struggle of the Egyptian people’s resistance to Anglo-French aggressive troops, the struggle against U.S. and British armed invasion of Lebanon and Jordan, the Iraqi people’s heroic struggle, the Indonesian people’s battle against U.S.-sponsored rebellion, the Japanese people’s fight for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, the Cambodian people’s struggle against U.S. subversion, the Algerian people’s anti-French war of resistance, and the struggles of the people in Central, West, East and South Africa against colonial rule and racial discrimination. Our people regard the just struggles of the people of these countries and regions as our own and their victories as our victories. We warmly acclaim every triumphant advance made in these struggles.

At the same time, our country has in the past five years further developed friendly relations with the Asian and African countries and constantly strengthened economic and cultural exchanges with them. To date, China has established diplomatic relations with 15 Asian and African countries and maintained trade and economic links with 54 Asian and African countries and regions. The volume of trade, including imports and exports, between China and these countries in 1959 was 2.4 times what it was in 1954. China has also established cultural ties and exchanged friendly visits with 68 Asian and African countries and regions. With respect to the problems inherited from history between China and friendly neighbouring countries, we have consistently advocated and made active efforts to settle them reasonably through friendly consultations in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. China has recently signed agreements on the boundary question with Burma and Nepal, and a treaty of friendship and mutual non-aggression with Burma. They provide excellent examples for the peaceful settlement of all disputes between Asian countries. They have been warmly received and lauded by the people of Burma, Nepal and the other Asian and African countries and world public opinion. Similarly, China has signed a Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality with Indonesia and instruments of ratification have been exchanged, thus laying a good foundation for the overall and reasonable solution of the question of the overseas Chinese. As to the dispute between China and India, China has also consistently advocated a reasonable solution through friendly consultation on the basis of the Five Principles. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai has started on his visits to Burma, India and Nepal. We believe that his visits will certainly yield positive results and promote the development of the traditional friendship between China and the friendly neighbouring countries of Burma, India and Nepal.

The development of the struggle waged by the Asian and African peoples to win and safeguard their national independence and the strengthening of friendship and unity between the Asian and African countries and peoples are favourable to the cause of maintaining world peace and unfavourable to the policies of war and aggression pursued by the imperialists headed by the United States. Therefore, the international reactionaries headed by U.S. imperialism have always been hostile to the Bandung spirit and Asian-African solidarity and have used every possible means to obstruct and sabotage it. The spearhead of their attack is directed in the first place against the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, against the peaceful and neutral policies of the nationally independent countries in Asia and Africa and against the peaceful foreign policies of the socialist countries. Former U.S. Secretary of State Dulles openly slandered the Five Principles as “cunning words” and attacked the peaceful neutral countries who support the Five Principles as “immoral.” In recent years, the United States has done everything in its power to stir up a wave of vicious anti-Chinese sentiment, spreading the myth of “Chinese expansion and aggression,” attacking neutralism as “foolish” and asserting that the Five Principles were “dead.” The Yugoslav revisionists have all along played an extraordinary infamous role in co-ordinating and supporting U.S. imperialist aggression and splitting activities. They peddled the “active coexistence” and “non-bloc” line in an attempt to confuse their own policy of licking imperialist boots with that of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment pursued by the Asian and African countries. Instead of condemning the imperialist crimes of aggression and intervention, they have never lost any opportunity to apologize for the imperialist policy of aggression and war. This further exposes their trick of opposing socialism and selling out to imperialism in the name of “active coexistence” and the “non-bloc.” The middle-headed U.S. imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists think that by blowing an evil wind they can shake the deeply-rooted Bandung spirit to its foundations, sow discord among the Asian and African countries and split the solidarity and friendship between China and the Asian and African countries. But they have miscalculated. The friendship of the Asian and African peoples cannot be estranged, nor can their solidarity be undermined. The Bandung spirit is not dead but has grown in strength. Recently, new developments in China’s friendly relations with Burma and Nepal have delivered a body blow to those who have tried to sow discord. Since the boundary questions between China and its Burmese and Nepalese neighbours have been solved through friendly consultations, and China is willing to perpetuate its friendly relations with these countries in the form of treaties of peace and friendship, where, then, is the ground for so-called “Chinese expansion and aggression”? And what evidence of “foolishness” can be found in the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese agreements on the boundary questions and the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression? Aren’t these most eloquent proof of the great vitality of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence? Just as the Nepalese newspaper Hallhabar pointed out, the Sino-Nepalese joint communiqué vividly
demonstrated that irrespective of differing social systems, peaceful coexistence is possible and friendship and peace between the neighbouring countries can be maintained.

FACTS have demonstrated with irrefutable force that it is none other than imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, that is the worst enemy of the independence and freedom of the Asian and African peoples and of the Bandung spirit. The Bandung spirit is the spirit of solidarity and co-operation of the peoples of Asia and Africa in opposing imperialism and colonialism and in their fight to gain and safeguard world peace and national independence. And U.S. imperialism is the most vicious colonialist power in the world and the most dangerous enemy of world peace. What it seeks is world domination and subjection of all peoples to its enslavement and exploitation. To realize this ambition, it is intensifying its arms expansion and war preparations and working for the military encirclement of the socialist countries with a view to starting a criminal aggressive war. At the same time, under the banner of “anti-communism,” it is infiltrating into many nationally independent countries, colonies and semi-colonies on a large scale. It wants first of all to bring these countries and regions under its control. The U.S. policy of aggression and war seriously threatens the independence and freedom of the peoples of the Asian and African countries and peace in Asia, Africa and the world. All this is diametrically opposed to the Bandung spirit.

Imperialism and colonialism will never make their exit from the historical stage of their own accord. The peoples of Asian and African countries are still confronted with the serious task of fighting for and safeguarding national independence and world peace. Today, Britain, France, Belgium and other old colonial powers, along with suppressing the colonial people by force, have been compelled, by the irresistible national independence movements in Africa, to make certain formal concessions to preserve their colonial interests. Taking advantage of the disintegration of the old colonial system in Asia and Africa, the U.S. neo-colonialists have been infiltrating widely, expanding their influence by military and economic “aid,” political promises and cultural aggression on the one hand, and edging out the old colonialist forces in an attempt to supplant them on the other. In the Asian region, U.S. imperialism is stepping up its activities of infiltration, intervention, subversion and war preparations.

It should be specially noted here that, energetically fostered by the United States, Japanese militarist forces have been revived. This imperialist country, the only one in Asia which had committed aggression on a large scale in the Far East, is now willingly acting as a U.S. tool for aggression. It has concluded a new Japan-U.S. military alliance; it is openly antagonizing the Chinese, Soviet and other Asian peoples; and has once again become a new source of war in Asia. This calls for redoubled vigilance on the part of the Asian and African peoples to constantly strengthen their friendship and unity and resolutely carry on their struggles.

In the five years since the Bandung Conference, the peoples of Asia and Africa have made new and great advances in their struggle for peace, independence, freedom and friendly co-operation and immense contributions to the cause of world peace and human progress. Although the struggles in the days to come will still be arduous and some zigzags and counter currents may emerge, the time has gone for ever when the Asian and African peoples could be oppressed, enslaved, bullied and humiliated. A new era has dawned for them in which they stand proudly erect, rid themselves of poverty and backwardness and take part in shaping the course of world politics. So long as they strengthen their unity, refuse to be split, entertain no illusions and resolutely carry on their struggle, no force on earth can stem the historical tide in which they move to win and uphold peace, independence, friendship and solidarity!

Peking Mass Rally Call

Up With the Bandung Spirit!
Down With Imperialism!

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

Once again, the 650 million Chinese people expressed all-out support for the determined struggle of the Asian and African peoples for national independence and freedom. This pledge was made on April 17 before more than ten thousand people representing various circles in the capital who packed the Great Hall of the People in a colourful and imposing rally to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Bandung Conference and the foundation of the Chinese-African People’s Friendship Association. Among leading government figures present were Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress; Vice-Chairmen Lin Po-chu, Shen Chun-ju, Chen Shu-tung and Cheng Chien; and Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun of the State Council.

Sponsored by the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Chinese People’s Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Chinese-African People’s Friendship Association, the rally, which was also attended by a large group of Asian and African guests and students in Peking and leading members of foreign diplomatic missions, bore witness
to the overwhelming sentiment of the Chinese people that the peoples of Asia and Africa, guided by the Bandung spirit, should close ranks more solidly than ever and continue the battle to send imperialism and colonialism to their graves.

In the chair was Liu Chang-sheng, President of the newly formed Chinese-African People's Friendship Association. In his opening address, Liu Chang-sheng paid high tribute to the Asian and African peoples who are fighting imperialist aggression and colonialism and for national independence, and especially to the African people now in the centre of relentless struggle.

The Bandung Spirit Shines Bright

Keynote speaker at the rally was Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Chairman of the China Peace Committee. He stressed the point that the Bandung Conference was a conference of historical significance, marking as it did the beginning of a new stage in the concerted struggle of the 1,700 million people of Asia and Africa against imperialism and in defence of national independence. More than that, the Bandung spirit characterized by united opposition to imperialism has spread far beyond the borders of Asia and Africa and has had tremendous impact on Latin America and other parts of the world. Kuo Mo-jo sharply repudiated the lie circulated by apologists for imperialism to the effect that the Bandung spirit is "obsolete" and warned that it is imperialism and colonialism that are obsolete, while the Bandung spirit radiates with increasing brilliance like the morning sun.

Chinese-African People's Friendship Association

The establishment of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association on April 12 highlighted the mounting interest of the Chinese people in the sweeping advance of the national liberation movement in Africa. The express purpose of the Association, as laid down in its rules, is to back the just struggle of the African people against imperialism and colonialism and foster friendly relations and economic and cultural exchanges between the Chinese and African peoples.

Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, was elected President of the Association. The Executive Council of the Association comprises more than 130 members, representing various circles in China.

The birth of the Association was sponsored by 17 public bodies, including the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the All-China Youth Federation, the National Women's Federation, the China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the China Islamic Association.

Discussing the mounting struggle of the African peoples against imperialism and for national independence, Kuo Mo-jo emphasized the fact that upheavals on the "Dark Continent" are shaking the imperialist colonial system there to its very foundations and that the day is not far off when the people of Africa will become masters of their destiny. The Chinese people, Kuo Mo-jo pointed out, have long supported the just struggle of the African people and the establishment of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association will certainly reinforce the militant friendship between the Chinese and African peoples.

Kuo Mo-jo's speech (see next page) was punctuated by stormy applause. Seven guest speakers from Asian and African countries were warmly applauded.

Colonialism Condemned

Chabbi Hachemi, head of the Algerian Youth and Students Delegation, was the first to speak. Describing the heroic struggle of his people back home, he told the audience that the Algerian people, filled with confidence and the righteousness of their cause, and backed by the peoples of Asia and Africa, will continue their fight till their national aspirations have been realized. His statement that "Africa is the graveyard of colonialism" evoked enthusiastic applause.

M'Veey Louis, Secretary-General of the Gabonese Trade Union of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Equatorial Africa, gave a forceful exposé of the political situation in Equatorial Africa and denounced French colonialism. He said, "What we need is a genuine Union of Africa, not a French African community with the relationship of a horse to a rider . . . the African people should stand united to beat off the common menace—neo-colonialism."

Ali Shukur, head of the Iraqi Workers' Delegation, told the rally that the Bandung principles had become the common slogan of the Asian and African people. He said that the Iraqi workers were watching the struggle of the African people closely. "The African people," he pointed out, "who are fighting heroically for self-determination have stood up like a giant and no imperialist tyranny can stop them."

Zenmaro Toki, head of the Japanese Cultural Delegation now in China studying the work of reforming the Chinese written language, said that the Bandung spirit is a tie that binds the Asian and African countries in close solidarity. This solidarity constitutes a most powerful, active force promoting human progress and world peace. Zenmaro Toki trenchantly condemned U.S. imperialism and the various forces collaborating with it for trampling on the Bandung spirit and attempting to create tension in various parts of Asia and Africa.

Also speaking at the rally were: Ndjoc Aloys Marie, head of the Kamerun Youth Delegation and Secretary of the National Council of the Kamerun Democratic Youth League; Estherie Rosalind Juko, head of the Uganda Women's Delegation; and Amani Thani, head of the Zanzibar Youth Delegation and leader of the Zanzibar Youth Union.
All three speakers stressed the solidarity among the Asian and African peoples and their determined struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Messages of greeting from various political parties, civic bodies and prominent public figures in Asia and Africa were read. The rally addressed a message to the peoples of Asia and Africa, congratulating them on their heroic fight for national independence and for world peace and pledging the full support of the Chinese people in the worldwide battle against imperialism and colonialism and in defence of world peace.

Kuo Mo-jo's Speech at the Peking Mass Rally

Comrades and Friends,

Today, we people of all circles of Peking are holding this solemn meeting in warm celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Bandung Conference and the series of important victories scored in the past five years by the Asian and African peoples in their anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles, as well as the founding of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association.

The Bandung Conference held five years ago and attended by leaders and statesmen of 29 Asian and African countries was a conference of great historic significance. This Conference signified that the solidarity of the 1,700 million Asian and African people and their struggles to oppose imperialism and to win and preserve national independence had entered a new stage. The Bandung spirit characterized by anti-imperialist solidarity has exercised an extremely far-reaching influence not only in Asia and Africa but in Latin America and other parts of the world as well.

In the five years since the Bandung Conference, the Asian, African and Latin American peoples have launched a powerful onslaught on imperialism and its colonial system at the call of the Bandung spirit and under its inspiration, and have won a series of brilliant victories. The national and democratic movements of the peoples of Asian countries have developed to a greater depth. In the nationalist countries which have already gained independence, the broad masses of people increasingly demand a policy of peace and neutrality based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and have waged unremitting struggles to preserve their national independence and oppose the imperialists' policy of aggression and war. In particular, the Egyptian people’s victory in smashing the armed aggression of the British and French imperialists, the Iraqi people’s victory in their national revolution and the Arab people’s victory in repulsing the armed intervention of the U.S. and British imperialists, all attained with the strong support of the socialist camp and the people of the whole world, dealt severe blows to the imperialists’ policy of aggression in the Near and Middle East, and thus greatly encouraged the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa.

In the past five years, the African peoples have generally awakened. The flames of struggle of the peoples of the African countries against imperialism and for national independence have lit up everywhere. The imperialist colonial system in Africa has been shaken to its very foundations. The face of Africa is undergoing a great and profound change. At present, out of the 59 countries and regions of Africa, 11 countries have already gained independence. In the face of the vigorous development of the national independence movements, the imperialists have been forced to agree to the proclamation of independence of six countries during 1960, i.e., Togo, Madagascar, Congo, Somaliland, Nigeria and the Federation of Mali. The people of some of the African countries which have already gained independence are still carrying out unremitting struggles to abolish foreign military bases and defend their state sovereignty and territorial integrity. The heroic Algerian people have persisted in their armed struggle against suppression by the French colonial forces and have in the past five years and more gained the tremendous victory of wiping out more than 100,000 enemy troops and liberating two-thirds of the country. The Kamerunian people are also engaged in a stubborn struggle for the withdrawal of the aggressive French forces and the realization of the complete independence of their motherland. At present, in various parts of West, Central, East and South Africa, in Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, Congo, Ruanda-Urundi, Somaliland, Zanzibar and Angola, the people’s struggles against colonialism and for national independence are developing from day to day. Over a long period of time, the South African people have been waging an unyielding struggle against racial discrimination and for fundamental human rights and freedoms, and recently in particular, they have been putting up heroic resistance to barbarous repressions and sanguinary massacres by the authorities of the Union of South Africa. The South African people’s just struggle is winning ever broader sympathy and support among the Asian and African peoples as well as the people of the whole world. Now, the national liberation struggles of various nationalities in various parts of Africa are surging forward tumultuously and forcefully and are gradually converging into a great torrent of national revolution. Their struggles are rising one after another, in mutual co-ordination and influencing each other, putting the imperialists on the defensive and pressing them hard. The independence movement in Africa has entered a new stage, with a broad mass basis and speed of development

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unprecedented in African history. The day is not far off when the great African peoples will all become masters again of the African continent. The complete and utter collapse of the imperialist colonial system in Africa is becoming more and more imminent.

The series of victories won by the Asian and African peoples in their national liberation struggles have seriously frustrated the imperialists’ aggressive and expansionist activities in Asia and Africa and upset the plans and arrangements of the imperialists for unleashing wars, thus making major contributions to the cause of safeguarding world peace. Facts prove that the Asian and African peoples’ struggles to win and preserve national independence are an important component part of the struggle of the people of the whole world against imperialism and in defence of world peace.

The Bandung Conference laid the foundation for the solidarity and cooperation of the Asian and African peoples. Along with the vigorous development of the national independence movements in Asia and Africa, the mutual support and friendly cooperation between the Asian and African peoples in their common struggle has also been strengthened with each passing day. In the past five years, friendly contacts between leaders of Asian and African countries have grown more and more frequent, and trade intercourse and cultural exchange between these countries have also developed rapidly. Following the Bandung Conference, the First Afro-Asian People’s Solidarity Conference held at the junction of 1957 and 1958, the All-African People’s Conference and the Conference of the Independent African States held in 1958, as well as the series of important international conferences of youth, students, women and writers of Asian and African countries convened successively during this period all inherited and further developed the Bandung spirit and strengthened the solidarity and cooperation of the Asian and African peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The Second Afro-Asian People’s Solidarity Conference recently held in Conakry, the capital of Guinea, has successfully concluded. The Chinese people warmly welcome and support the various resolutions adopted by the Conference. We are deeply convinced that both the convocation of this Conference and the resolutions adopted by it will further strengthen and develop the friendship and solidarity of the Asian and African peoples in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Further encourage and give fresh impetus to the victorious advance of the national independence movement in Africa, and will carry the African people’s national independence struggle to a higher stage of development.

The Chinese people have always given sympathy and support to the just struggle of the African peoples. The common task of opposing imperialism, safeguarding world peace and developing their national economies has closely linked together the Chinese and the African peoples. Today, we are very glad to solemnly celebrate here the formal establishment of the Chinese-African People’s Friendship Association. The establishment of this Association will surely further strengthen and develop the militant friendship between the Chinese and African peoples, thus making new and greater contributions to the common cause and struggle of the Asian and African peoples.

COMRADES and Friends! The imperialist colonial system is facing its final collapse. But the imperialists have not abandoned their colonialist policy. The nearer the imperialists are to their doom, the more desperate will they become in their hopeless struggle. Now, the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, are continuing to pursue a policy of war and aggression, stepping up arms expansion and war preparations, frantically developing guided missile weapons, establishing military bases everywhere, and trying hard to strengthen the aggressive military blocs. In the Near and Middle East, the United States is making use of the Central Treaty Organization and Israel to step up military threats and subversive activities directed against the Arab states. In Indo-China, the United States has all along been violating the Geneva agreements, obstructing the peaceful unification of Viet Nam and plotting to expand the civil war in Laos. In the Far East, the United States up to now hangs on in south Korea, obstructs the peaceful unification of Korea, and has even openly launched a “Matador” guided missile in south Korea to carry out new provocations against peace in Korea and the Far East. The United States is up to now in occupation of China’s territory Taiwan and continually intruding into our territorial sea and air space. It should particularly be pointed out that the U.S. imperialists, while stepping up the arming of West Germany in Europe, are doing everything they can to foster Japanese militarism in the East, and have concluded with the Kishi government a new aggressive Japan-U.S. “security treaty,” thus turning Japan once again into a source of war danger. This threatens the security not only of Asia and Africa, but also of the people of the whole world. Now, the broad masses of the Japanese people are launching one after another sweeping nationwide movements against the U.S.-Japanese military alliance and the revival of Japanese militarism. We firmly believe that the heroic struggle of the Japanese people will surely win final victory. Smashing the plots of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to engineer new aggression and war in Asia is not only the task of the Japanese people, but also the common task of the peoples of Asia and the whole world. The Chinese people give their resolute support to the Japanese people’s struggle, and will strive jointly with the Japanese people, the Asian and African peoples and the people of the whole world, to frustrate thoroughly the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries’ new plots of aggression and war and to ensure Asian and world peace.

In Africa, the U.S. imperialists are actively supporting the old colonial powers in perpetuating a policy of racial discrimination and bloody massacre of the South African and African peoples, helping the French colonialists suppress the Algerian and Kamerunian peoples, helping the Belgian colonialists suppress the Congolese people, and setting up military bases and stationing armed forces on the soil of many African countries, preparing to
carry out direct armed repression against the African peoples when necessary. The U.S. imperialists, these colonialists of a new type, are actively infiltrating into the African continent under the cloak of peace and "sympathy" for African independence and in the name of rendering so-called "aid." Facts prove that U.S. imperialism is today not only the Asian peoples' enemy No. 1 but also the most dangerous enemy of the African peoples.

The imperialists are clearly aware that the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples is a serious obstacle to their aggression and expansion in Asia and Africa and to the retention of their colonial rule there. That is why they have sown dissension and discord everywhere and tried by all means to undermine this solidarity and isolate the Asian-African countries from each other, so as to reach their aim of "divide and rule" by subjugating the Asian and African countries one by one. In the past year, the imperialists with the United States at their head have in particular left nothing undone to disrupt the friendship between China and some Asian and African countries. Musterling a handful of reactionary forces, they have repeatedly stirred up anti-Chinese waves and done their utmost to sabotage the Bandung spirit and the Five Principles, clamouring on the one hand that the Five Principles and the Bandung spirit have already "grown out-of-date" and "withered," and on the other hand that they have been "abandoned" and "buried." But the Bandung spirit and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence cannot be distorted and the solidarity and cooperation of the Asian and African peoples on this basis cannot be undermined. The Asian and African peoples are keenly aware that they have a hundred and one reasons to unite and support each other, but not a single reason to move towards splitting up and opposing each other. The imperialists' schemes to undermine Asian and African solidarity are bound to lead to the reverse of what they desire. Facts prove that what has grown out-of-date and withered is none other than imperialism and colonialism, which have long been repudiated by the peoples of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, and will soon be buried quickly, completely, thoroughly and once and for all.

COMRADES and Friends! The present situation is more favourable than ever to the Asian and African peoples' struggles against colonialism and for winning and preserving national independence. The light of the Bandung spirit, like the morning sun, is illuminating the way ahead of the Asian and African peoples. On the other hand, imperialism and colonialism are sinking fast like the sun setting beyond the western hills. The just cause of the Asian and African peoples has the support of the mighty socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and that of all the progressive forces and the peace-loving people of the whole world. So long as we get further united and wage jointing struggles against imperialism and colonialism, our cause of winning and preserving national independence will score still greater and more splendid victories. May the Asian and African peoples get more closely united, hold high the banner of the Bandung spirit, defend national independence and world peace, and quickly bury imperialism and colonialism completely, thoroughly and once and for all!

Down with imperialism and colonialism!
Long live the Bandung spirit!
Long live the friendship and solidarity between the Chinese and African peoples!
Long live the great solidarity of the Asian and African peoples!
Long live the great solidarity of the people of the whole world!
Long live world peace!

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Long Live the Great Unity of the Asian And African Peoples

Following is a slightly abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of April 17. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE Second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference has successfully concluded its work. During the past few days delegates of the Asian and African countries assembled in Conakry, capital of the Republic of Guinea in Black Africa, discussed matters of cardinal importance to the peoples of these countries: the strengthening of their solidarity, the thorough elimination of imperialism and colonialism, the struggle to achieve and safeguard independence, freedom and peace. The Conference adopted a declaration and a series of important resolutions on imperialism, unity and solidarity, coexistence and disarmament, nuclear weapons and tests, Algeria, South Africa and on economic and cultural relations. Consistently defending the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity and maintaining the anti-imperialist struggle, the Chinese people acclaim the brilliant achievements of the Conakry Conference.

This Conference was a grand rally dedicated to the broad solidarity of the Asian and African peoples, a conference that gave voice to their denunciation of imperialism and colonialism. The Conference declaration solemnly states that the existence of imperialism is not compatible with the current world situation. In its resolution on imperialism, the Conference forcefully denounced to the world the crimes committed by the imperialist countries, the shameless repression and racial slaughter that they engage in; it denounced the imperialist countries that have used every means to oppose the national liberation movement of the peoples of the Asian and African countries. The resolution also calls upon all the Asian and African lands to give moral and material support without reservation to the peoples of Asian and African countries fighting for freedom and independence. In the resolution on unity and solidarity, the Conference demanded an immediate end to all imperialist schemes and intrigues, abolition of military bases and treaties, and the withdrawal from Asia and Africa of all foreign imperialist troops and all imperialist military missions.

A Call to Battle

Such a militant call addressed at the present time to the peoples of Asia and Africa to oppose imperialism and colonialism is obviously of great significance. In a situation in which the East wind blows hard while the West wind wanes, the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world have gained a great victory in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and are steadily forcing imperialism to retreat. Today, the colonial system faces total collapse. One after another, the colonies have broken their imperialist chains. The number of people under direct colonial rule has dropped sharply from 700 million before the war to 140 million today. However, it is precisely because the area which the imperialists can exploit and plunder at will is progressively shrinking, that the people in the colonies are being subjected to increasingly intolerable hardships. Besides, the more dire are the straits in which imperialism finds itself, the more desperate will be its death struggles and counter-attacks. The people of Asia and Africa, therefore, know only too well from their own experience that they must struggle unremittingly against imperialism to the end, so as to utterly cleanse the earth from the scourge of imperialism and colonialism. At this decisive, historic moment any relaxation of vigilance, any weakening of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism is contrary to the common interests of the peoples of all countries in their fight to gain and safeguard national independence and world peace. Ismail Toure, Chairman of the Second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference and head of the Guinean Delegation, was right when he said: "We must always keep in mind that the enemy of our great recovery is still imperialism with all its political, economic, cultural and ideological weapons. The inevitable consequence of imperialist domination is ignorance, famine and disease. In the face of this enemy, we will never cease our struggle till final victory is achieved!"

A New Upsurge

An important achievement of the Conference is that the greatest attention and powerful support has been given to the national liberation movement in Africa. This movement has now entered a new stage. To date, African countries with nearly half of the total population of the continent have achieved independence. In 1960, another group of African countries with a population of nearly 60 million will achieve independent status. Thus, the population of the independent countries in Africa will this year account for two-thirds of the population of all Africa. This fact shows the tremendous change that has taken place in a very short historical period in what used to be called the "Dark Continent" of Africa. This change reflects the characteristics of our time. In the 60s of the 20th century the national independence movement in Africa is heading towards a new upsurge. The Algerian people are successfully carrying on their national liberation war. Recently, the South African people have again launched
powerful struggles against racial discrimination and for fundamental human rights. The Conference passed resolutions in support of the struggles waged by the peoples of Algeria, South Africa, Kamerun, Angola, Ruanda-Urundi, Mauritania and the Ivory Coast.

The Conference once again called on the Asian and African countries to support the national liberation war waged by the Algerian people, considering their struggle to be “the symbol of the indomitable struggles waged by the Asian and African peoples for their own liberation.” The Algerian people now fight in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle. The victory of the Algerian people will not only be a great inspiration to the liberation movement of all the African peoples but will deal a body blow to the imperialist forces of war and enormously benefit the cause of the defence of peace by the Asian and African peoples and all the people of the world.

Economic Independence

The resolution on economic questions adopted at the Conference points out that today the main task of those countries in Asia and Africa which have won political independence, is to achieve economic independence. This resolution thoroughly reflects the urgent desire of the peoples of the Afro-Asian countries and the intensified development of the movement for national independence on the two continents. After World War II, the imperialists had to make some political concessions in the new situation resulting from the Afro-Asian peoples' struggles against colonialism. But they still try to keep a tight hold in various aspects on some newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa, especially in the economic field. The U.S. imperialists, in particular, not only carry out political and military aggression against the underdeveloped countries but resort to every possible means to plunder, squeeze and exploit them economically. Such economic control has long become a typical pattern of U.S. neo-colonialism. From 1950 to 1958 alone, U.S. monopoly capital extracted a profit of more than 11,300 million U.S. dollars from its investments in underdeveloped countries. Every dollar of this was wrung out of the sweat and toil of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is obvious that economic aggression by the United States, Britain, France and other imperialist countries has for long years kept the Afro-Asian countries economically poor and backward, making it impossible for them to enjoy their independence and sovereignty. The Conference resolution correctly points out that only when the Afro-Asian countries have won economic independence can they successfully defeat the imperialists' schemes.

The Second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, illumined by the “Bandung spirit,” has made

UNITY IS STRENGTH

The Second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference held a five-day session in Conakry from April 11 to 15. It was attended by a Chinese delegation headed by Liao Cheng-chih and Liu Ning-I.

Speaking at the plenary meeting of the Conference on April 13, Liao Cheng-chih said: “In the past two years since the First Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, the world situation has undergone a tremendous change. The anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces are advancing from victory to victory while the imperialist bloc headed by the United States is crumbling and approaching its doom.”

The victories of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples have proved that “imperialism whether American, British, French, Belgian, Portuguese or any other is only a paper tiger,” he said, “but the imperialists are diehards. They will resort to any means from open, armed repression to sugar-coated promises to destroy, to divide and to subvert our forces in order to retain their criminal rule and to regain what they have lost. Therefore, our struggle against imperialism is bound to be a long and hard one.” He declared: “So long as we have confidence in the strength of our peoples and persist in our struggles we shall win the final victory and become masters of our own lands.”

The Chinese people, he said, deeply sympathized with and fully supported the valiant struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples. They believed that “abiding by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, the Afro-Asian countries can consolidate and develop their friendly relations. No imperialist intrigue or sabotage can undermine our unity, friendship and co-operation.”

Liao Cheng-chih drew attention to U.S. imperialist ambitions and designs in Africa, pointing out that the U.S. “maintains its own naval and air bases in many parts of Africa, intensifies its economic penetration and engages in all kinds of intrigues against the African peoples. While fighting against other colonial powers one must be always on guard and must not relax the struggle against U.S. imperialism.”

In his report to the Cultural and Social Committee of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, Chu Tzu-chi, Chinese Secretary to the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council, declared that it was imperative for the Asian and African peoples first of all to oppose and end colonial rule, end control and bondage by the imperialist forces of aggression and completely eliminate their influence in every field before they could achieve a solution to the social problems facing them and make speedy social progress.

The national independence movements in Asia and Africa enjoyed the full sympathy and support of the socialist countries, he said.
important contributions to peace in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. In its resolutions on the questions of coexistence, disarmament and nuclear weapons, the Conference roundly denounced the nuclear weapons tests carried out by the French imperialists in Africa and called on the peoples of Asia and Africa to strengthen their unity still more to fight the threat of nuclear weapons. The peoples of Asia and Africa, as the entire course of the Conference and its resolutions made evident, are well aware of the fact that the principle of peaceful coexistence is as incompatible with the imperialist policies of war and aggression and with imperialist colonial rule as water is with fire. If peace is to be preserved and peaceful coexistence realized, barbarous colonial rule must be ended. The struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism and colonialism is bound to be linked closely with the struggle for peace and become an inseparable component part of the struggle to defend world peace. As Guinea's President Sekou Toure pointed out in his opening speech at the Conference, the “unrest in the world is caused by the practices of racialism and jingoism and by selfishness and the forces of oppression and exploitation. We cannot regard our struggle against imperialism and colonialism as anything but a determining aspect of the worldwide struggle in favour of peace.”

U.S. Imperialism — Public Enemy No. 1

The peoples of Asia and Africa now see more and more clearly that imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, is the enemy No. 1 of the independence, freedom and peace of the Asian and African countries. Today, in Asia, the U.S. imperialists, besides continuing their occupation of China's territory Taiwan, and the southern part of Korea and carrying on all sorts of intrigues against peace in Indo-China, have lately intensified their collusion with the Japanese reactionaries, formed a new U.S.-Japan military alliance, reviving Japanese militarism and threatening peace in the Far East and the world. The Second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in one of its resolutions specially condemned the new Japan-U.S. “security treaty” and drew the attention of the Asian and African peoples to the fact that the aim of this treaty is to revive Japanese militarism and establish nuclear bases on Japanese territory, thereby threatening the peace and security of the countries in the Asian and Pacific regions.

The Conference resolutions also denounced the imperialist military blocs and bases that threaten the independence, peace and security of the various Asian and African countries. Today, on the one hand, assuming the role of self-appointed “international gendarme,” the U.S. imperialists are everywhere backing up the old colonialists in their sanguinary suppression of the colonies and semi-colonies; on the other hand, they are infiltrating into Asia and Africa in various fields as fast as they can. In the post-war period, they have been carrying out an ambitious effort in colonial expansion on a large scale in Africa in the political, military, economic, cultural and other fields, posing a serious threat to the national independence movement in Africa. They are also carrying out aggression against the Latin American countries. Recent U.S. intervention in Cuba has outraged just world opinion. The U.S. imperialists are not only the bitterest enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America but also the bitterest enemy of world peace.

Confronted with the arduous task of combating imperialism, the peoples of Asia and Africa should further strengthen their solidarity. The Second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference has made important contributions to this end. In its resolution on unity and solidarity, the Conference points out: “In the struggle against imperialism, unity and solidarity of the peoples of the countries of Asia and Africa occupies an extremely important and indispensable place.” The resolutions adopted at the Conference fully reflect the urgent desire of the peoples of the various Afro-Asian countries for mutual support, solidarity and co-operation in fighting against imperialism and colonialism and in developing their independent economic and national cultural undertakings. This common desire has a solid foundation, as opposition to imperialism and colonialism, the struggle for and the safeguarding of national independence and world peace constitute our common programme, and herein lies the deepest interests of the people of the Afro-Asian countries. No matter how the imperialists try to undermine their solidarity, the facts will prove that all imperialist schemes will meet inevitably with ignominious failure.

We are deeply convinced that, under the inspiration of the resolutions of the Second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference and under the banner of opposition to imperialism and colonialism, the Afro-Asian people will become more united than ever, and will break through all obstacles in their march from victory to yet greater victories. Long live the great solidarity of the peoples in Asia and Africa!
Premier Chou En-lai’s Speech

Your Excellency Respected Prime Minister U Nu,

Dear Friends,

At the kind invitation of the Government of the Union of Burma, I have come to your close neighbour country for a friendly visit when the Burmese people are jubilantly celebrating their traditional New Year Festival. I am greatly pleased to have the opportunity this evening to gather joyously with all of you, respected friends, thanks to this grand and warm banquet given in our honour by His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu, and I express my heartfelt thanks for this. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in the name of myself and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, to express sincere greetings and best wishes to you and through you to your kinsmen the Burmese people.

This is my third formal visit to your beautiful country. What particularly rejoices us is that, with our every visit, just as with every visit of the leaders of your country to China, friendly relations between our two countries have been further developed and strengthened. During my first visit to your country in June 1954, His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu and I jointly initiated the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as principles guiding relations between China and Burma; we pledged in our joint statement that China and Burma should maintain close contact in order to further strengthen friendly co-operation between our two countries. I still remember clearly that when His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu visited China for the first time and discussed with us questions of common interest to both countries, we both had full confidence in a satisfactory settlement of the boundary question between the two countries. Through the untiring efforts of the Chinese Government and the successive Burmese Governments, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have now eventually borne fruits, the common desire of the Chinese and Burmese peoples has finally come true. In January this year, when His Excellency General Ne Win, then Prime Minister of Burma, visited China, the Chinese and Burmese Governments signed the “Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression” and the “Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Question of the Boundary.” This signifies that the friendly relations between our two countries have entered into a new stage.

The reaching of an agreement in principle by the Chinese and Burmese Governments on the boundary question between the two countries left over by history, thus paving the way for an all-round and thorough settlement of this complicated question, is of very great importance to our two countries. China has common boundaries with many South Asian countries, among which its boundary with Burma is comparatively long—running two thousand and several hundred kilometres. And for various reasons, historical, national and economic, the relations between the border peoples of the two countries are very close. Prior to the independence of Burma and the liberation of China, the imperialists, by trickery and robbery, brought about many unreasonable conditions on the border between the two countries, causing the boundary question between the two countries to remain unsettled for a long period of time.

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Confronted with such a complicated question, the Governments of both our countries, holding dear the fundamental interests of their peoples and Asian peace, adopted the correct attitude of taking into consideration both the historical background and the present actualities and conducting friendly consultations in accordance with the Five Principles, and ultimately they found the avenue to a fair and reasonable settlement.

As many friends present here who took part in this work know, our two Governments, from the beginning of consultations to finally reaching agreement in principle on the boundary question, have all along showed a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and the desire for sincere co-operation. Both parties recognized that the northern section of the Sino-Burmese boundary was undelimited and that it should be delimited along the traditional customary line. With regard to the southern section of the Sino-Burmese boundary, even though the "1941 line" which Britain, taking advantage of China's difficulties, defined with China, had been formally recognized by the then Chinese Central Government, the Burmese Government understood the Chinese people's sentiment and agreed to link this question with other questions relevant to the boundary for an overall settlement. The Chinese people waged struggles for decades against the forcible seizure by Britain of the area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kang-fang. The Burmese Government in a friendly manner acknowledged that this area did not belong to Burma and should be returned to China. The Chinese Government, taking into consideration the practical needs of the Burmese side, agreed to turn over to Burma the Meng-mao triangular area; and in exchange, the Burmese Government agreed to make a corresponding adjustment in the "1941 line." The Chinese Government, in accordance with its consistent policy of opposing foreign prerogatives and respecting the sovereignty of other countries, renounced China's right of participation in mining enterprises at Lufang of Burma. It should also be mentioned that there were not completely without misunderstandings or even clashes on the border between the two countries while the two sides were seeking a friendly solution to the boundary question. This, however, did not hamper the joint efforts of our two Governments to settle the boundary question. Our two sides consistently maintained political foresight and constantly paid attention to upholding friendship between the two countries. This is the key to the ultimate settlement of the boundary question between the two countries.

Now, the remaining work is to delimit and demarcate the boundary and draft a permanent boundary treaty in accordance with the agreement on the boundary question already signed by the two Governments. As soon as both sides have ratified the boundary agreement and exchanged the instruments of ratification, this work can be started by the Sino-Burmese Joint Committee. We firmly believe that the Sino-Burmese Joint Committee, under the direct guidance of the two Governments closely co-operating with each other, will certainly be able to solve this complicated question left over by history once for all, thus turning the Sino-Burmese boundary for ever into one of peace and friendship.

Your Excellency Respected Prime Minister, respected friends! The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression recently signed by our two countries is an important, new milestone in friendly relations between our two countries. I would like to point out that the signing of such a treaty was first suggested by His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu in his talk with me during his visit to Kunming in our country in March 1957. The Chinese Government actively supported this constructive suggestion beneficial to friendly co-operation between the two countries and the solidarity of Asian and African countries. Now we note with pleasure that this suggestion had materialized during the visit to China by His Excellency General Ne Win, then Prime Minister of Burma. This is worthy of congratulation.

Since our two countries freed ourselves respectively from imperialist oppression, the brotherly "pauk phaw" relationship between our two peoples has developed from day to day on a new basis. Friendly intercourse between our countries has become increasingly frequent, and the economic and cultural ties more and more expanded. This is a reflection of the earnest desire shared by our two peoples for peaceful construction and mutual friendly co-operation. Now the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression between the two countries has not only sealed the traditional friendship between our two peoples, but will assuredly continue to play a tremendous role in promoting friendly co-operation between the two countries. This treaty is based on the Five Principles jointly initiated by our two countries, and is at the same time a further development and elevation of the Five Principles. Both parties have undertaken to settle all disputes between them by means of peaceful negotiation, not to take part in any military alliance directed against the other party, and to maintain everlasting peace and cordial friendship between the two countries. The Five Principles have not grown out of date; on the contrary, they have acquired a more positive content and greater vitality.

The signing of the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression not only fulfils the desire of the two Governments and peoples to uphold their solidarity and friendship, but also sets a new example of solidarity and friendship among Asian countries. The Chinese Government has always believed that all Asian countries, whatever their political and social systems, should and by all means can, in accordance with the Five Principles, enhance mutual confidence, develop solidarity and friendship, practise peaceful coexistence, and safeguard the peace and security of Asia. It is out of this belief that the Chinese Government has repeatedly proposed the conclusion of a peace pact of mutual non-aggression of all the countries of the Asian and Pacific regions.

Your Excellency Respected Prime Minister, respected friends! My present friendly visit to your country falls on the 5th anniversary of the Bandung Conference of historic significance. I cannot but refer to the valuable
contribution made by His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu to the Bandung Conference. Burma was one of the countries which sponsored the Bandung Conference, and the Burmese Government Delegation headed by His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu played an active part in it. Fruitful co-operation was carried out between the Government Delegation of China and that of Burma. This has often been recalled by us with pleasure.

THE Bandung spirit has become an important characteristic of our times. It is the spirit of solidarity and co-operation of Asian and African peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism, the spirit of solidarity and co-operation of Asian and African peoples struggling for peace, independence and friendship. In the past five years, under the inspiration of the Bandung spirit, a tremendous change has taken place in the face of Asia and Africa. The Asian peoples have stood up more firmly on their feet and engaged in struggles of various forms to oppose the imperialists' policy of aggression and war and to defend national independence and state sovereignty. The African peoples have also awakened more and more, and the flames of the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination are raging throughout the African continent. The influence of the Bandung Conference is continuing to spread and go deeper into the minds of the people. The Chinese Government and people are willing, together with the Burmese Government and people, to continue to act on the principles of the Bandung Conference, develop the Bandung spirit, strengthen and consolidate the unity of Asian and African countries, and support the just struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

China and Burma are both peace-loving countries. They are both engaged in long-term economic construction and stand in need of a peaceful international environment and of strengthened co-operation with their neighbours. Solidarity and co-operation are in the fundamental interests of our two peoples. I am convinced that the Chinese and Burmese peoples will certainly be able to continue to advance hand in hand.

In conclusion, please allow me to thank you once again for your warm hospitality. I wish you still greater successes in the new year in building your country and safeguarding Asian and world peace.

I propose a toast,

To Sino-Burmese friendship,

To solidarity of the Asian and African peoples and world peace,

To the victory of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit.

To the prosperity of Burma and the well-being of its people,

To the health of His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu, and to the health of His Excellency President U Win Maung!

April 19, 1960
Embassy of the Republic of India in China, Peking.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Republic of India in China and has the honour to state as follows:

The Chinese Government has received the Embassy's note of February 12, 1960, and has made a careful study of it. The Indian Government has indicated in the note that in the interest of the two countries and of world peace, active steps must be taken to remove the causes of the present tension and to establish a firm foundation of friendship between the two countries, and held that the two Governments must agree on an arrangement without delay, which would completely eliminate the risk of border clashes and facilitate a friendly settlement of the disputes. This accords with the long-cherished desire of the Chinese Government, and the Chinese Government heartily welcomes it.

The Chinese Government, in its note of December 26, 1959, already gave a detailed and comprehensive account of the facts about the Sino-Indian boundary and its stand on this issue. The Indian Government has, in its note, stated many differing views. But the objections raised by the Indian Government in its note cannot dispute the facts presented in the above-mentioned Chinese note or shake the stand of the Chinese Government. Moreover, the Premiers of our two countries will soon meet in New Delhi. Therefore, the Chinese Government does not propose to answer the Indian Government's above-mentioned note point by point. The present note will only give some necessary explanations about those major questions and some of the facts on which the Indian Government expressed disagreement, as a supplement to the Chinese Government's note of December 26, 1959. Now as before, the Chinese Government clarifies these questions and facts, not for arguing purposes, but in hopes of promoting the understanding of the Indian Government and narrowing down the differences between the two sides, so as to facilitate the forthcoming meeting of the two Premiers.

For convenience' sake, the terms of the western, middle and eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian boundary, as defined in the note of December 26, 1959, will be used in this note.

I. Has the Sino-Indian Boundary Been Delimited and Is There Any Need to Delimit It Formally?

(1) The Indian Government does not accept the conclusion that the entire Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited and that there is no boundary treaty or agreement between China and India. Yet it is unable to cite any fact to refute this conclusion. The Indian Government admits that the 1842 Treaty did not delimit the boundary in the western sector, yet it argues that this sector of the boundary was fixed from the 17th century onwards. However, it is still unable to cite any treaty basis for the delimitation of this sector of the boundary. With respect to the middle sector, the Indian Government admits that there exists no boundary treaty whatsoever. With respect to the eastern sector, the Indian Government can only cite the Simla Convention between Britain and the Tibet local authorities and the secret letters exchanged between them on the so-called McMahon Line in 1914. But the Chinese Government proved long ago that these documents are illegal and null and void, and that the Simla Conference did not discuss at all the question of delimiting the boundary between China and India. Judging from what has been said in the above, there is no gainsaying the fact that no boundary treaty or agreement exists between China and India, and that the entire Sino-Indian boundary has not been formally delimited.

(2) The Indian Government claims that the entire Sino-Indian boundary, as is well known, runs along the main watersheds, and that according to international usage, a customary boundary which follows such unchanging natural features stands defined and does not require formal definition again by the two sides. This argument is unacceptable to the Chinese Government. Firstly, the Chinese Government proved long ago that the claim that the entire Sino-Indian traditional customary boundary follows well-known main watershed is groundless. Secondly, according to internationally accepted principles, an international boundary signifies a demarcation line up to which neighbouring states exercise their sovereignty over their respective territories, and must be jointly defined by the states concerned. Therefore, even though some sections of the Sino-Indian traditional customary line may have comparatively distinct natural features, it is still necessary for the two sides to define jointly their starting and terminal points and their specific alignments. Thirdly, even Britain never put forward the proposition that there was no need to formally define the Sino-Indian boundary. This is borne out by the following facts: In 1899 Britain proposed to define with China the boundary between Kashmir (including Ladakh) and Sinkiang. Between 1921 and 1927, it entered into talks with China for the delimitation of the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet, talks which were not merely for the purpose of settling the ownership of a few pasture grounds, as alleged by the Indian Government. In 1914 it drew surreptitiously and unlawfully, with the Tibet local authorities, a so-called McMahon Line.
Line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. If there had been no need at all to formally delimit the Sino-Indian boundary, as claimed by the Indian Government, why had Britain in the past asked again and again to delimit with China the various sections of the boundary between China and India? It can thus be seen that the assertion that there is no need to formally define the Sino-Indian boundary is untenable.

(3) Since the boundary between two neighbouring countries, according to internationally accepted principles, has to be jointly defined by the two sides, any unilateral announcement by either side of its boundary line or change in the delineation of the boundary on maps in any manner obviously has no legal validity and is not binding on the neighbouring country concerned. Naturally, violation of the traditional customary line and expansion of extent of occupation by unilateral action all the more cannot constitute a legal basis for acquiring territory. The Chinese Government has always persisted in this stand on the Sino-Indian boundary question. The following may be recalled: Firstly, no Chinese Government has ever recognized Britain's territorial claims on the Tibet and Sinkiang regions of China; secondly, at the Simla Conference and afterwards, the Chinese Government explicitly declared its non-recognition of any treaty or similar document that might then or thereafter be signed between Britain and the Tibet local authorities; thirdly, the Chinese Government and the Tibet local authorities repeatedly lodged protests and made representations against Britain's past unlawful acts of violating the Sino-Indian traditional customary line and seizing Chinese territory; fourthly, since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese Government has also clearly stated to the Indian Government that there exists between China and India the question of undefined boundary and that China has always taken the stand of non-recognition of the so-called McMahon Line. These facts were set forth in detail in the Chinese Government's note of December 26, 1959. The Indian Government, however, repeatedly asserts that the Chinese Government has never raised any objection to the unilateral claims regarding the Sino-Indian boundary left over by Britain, that the Chinese Government has never protested against foreign encroachment on its territory, and that it was not until September 1959 that the Chinese Government suddenly changed its stand on the Sino-Indian boundary question, and so forth. This is both surprising and incomprehensible to the Chinese Government.

(4) The Indian Government further contends that since neither side asked for a discussion of the boundary question in the 1954 Sino-Indian negotiations, it proves that no boundary question remained between them. This contention does not hold good, either. It is both illogical and inconceivable to argue that an outstanding issue will automatically cease to exist merely because it is not mentioned during certain negotiations. Moreover, the Chinese Government, from the very beginning of the negotiations, repeatedly made it clear that those negotiations were to settle those outstanding questions between the two countries that were ripe for settlement, and the Indian representative agreed to this. It can thus be seen that the 1954 negotiations did not solve, nor tried to solve, all the outstanding issues between the two countries. The assertion that, with the boundary question unsettled, normal relations between India and China's Tibet region could not have been established on a new basis is also untenable. By the establishment of normal relations between India and the Tibet region of China on a new basis is meant, chiefly, that, following the liberation of China and the independence of India and the establishment of diplomatic relations between them, the state of affairs with India holding privileges in Tibet left over by Britain must be changed, and that Sino-Indian relations in China's Tibet region must be regulated in accordance with the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence. As for the question of undelimited boundary between the two countries, so long as both sides are willing to maintain the status quo of the border pending a settlement, it need not prevent the establishment of normal relations between them. There have been quite a number of cases like this in international relations.

(5) It can be seen from what has been said in the above that no boundary treaty or agreement has ever been concluded between China and India to formally delimit the boundary between the two countries. The Chinese Government is fully justified in maintaining that the two Governments should conduct over-all negotiations and reach agreement on the boundary question. It is obviously incorrect to describe the Chinese Government's proposition as asking to reach a "new" boundary agreement to replace "old" ones, or to determine "afresh" the boundary between the two countries.

II. Individual Questions Concerning the Various Sectors of the Boundary

THE WESTERN SECTOR OF THE BOUNDARY

(1) Facts about ownership and the exercise of jurisdiction. The Indian Government disagrees to the conclusion that the relevant area in the western sector of the boundary has always belonged to China and not to India, but it fails to produce any weighty piece of evidence to the contrary. In particular, the Indian Government has so far failed to give any explanations for the extraordinary thing that the Indian Government, which claims to have exercised jurisdiction and been sending personnel to carry out regular patrol in this area, should have for a long time been totally unaware of the fact that since 1950 Chinese personnel and supplies have been busily travelling between Sinkiang and Tibet through this area, and a road has been built across it.

(2) Regarding maps. The Indian Government asserts that Chinese maps up to the twenties of the present century drew the boundary line in this sector more or less in consonance with that shown on current Indian maps, and that it is only since then that the delineation has been changed; it also asserts that Chinese maps of the 18th and 19th centuries showed clearly that Sinkiang never extended south of the Kuen Lun Mountains. These assertions are all groundless. The fact is that many Chinese maps and gazetteers published since the 18th century, particularly authoritative ones like the Ta Ching Yi Tung Chih of 1784 and the Chia Ching Revised Edition of the Ta Ching Yi Tung Chih of 1820, clearly show that
the limits of Sinkiang extend to the mountains southwest of the source of the Karakash River, that is, the Karakoram Mountains. This is in the main consistent with the delineation of the boundary on current Chinese maps, and inconsistent with that on Indian maps. As for the Postal Map of China of 1917 referred to by the Indian Government, it was compiled arbitrarily by French and British imperialist elements, who then controlled China’s postal service, without the consent of the Chinese authorities. The Indian people who, like the Chinese people, were subjected for a long time to colonial aggression should find it easy to understand that that map did not represent the view of the Chinese people, but only that of the imperialist elements.

The Indian Government asserts that the maps and records of the British surveyors and some of the travelers who visited this area in the 19th century are in consonance with the maps currently published in India. This is also at variance with the facts. As a matter of fact, the maps and records of these persons showed great inconsistency and confusion. This precisely bears out the historical fact that for a hundred years and more Britain kept surreptitiously altering the delineation of the boundary to encroach upon Sinkiang and Tibet. Nevertheless, some of these persons still presented more or less accurately the actual state of the boundary. As the Chinese Government has pointed out, John Walker as well as G.W. Hayward and Robert Shaw mentioned in Prime Minister Nehru’s letter understood the boundary in a way approximating the traditional delineation on Chinese maps. Even the Indian Government is unable to deny this. Yet it repudiates their authority and asserts that only the reports of W.H. Johnson and the Second Yarkand Mission are authoritative. But this is also untenable. Take the case of Johnson as an example. There were even obvious mistakes in the topographical survey made by him, as pointed out in the book Abode of Snow written by K. Mason, Superintendent of the Survey of India, and published in 1955. Furthermore, without any ground, Johnson’s map marked the Sino-Indian boundary line north of Saiyutula in Sinkiang, that is, about 150 kilometers deeper northward into Chinese territory than the line shown on current Indian maps, a delineation to which perhaps even the Indian Government would not agree.

THE MIDDLE SECTOR OF THE BOUNDARY

The Indian Government has not advanced any new argument about the disputed places in this sector of the boundary. The Chinese Government would only make some additional remarks on the question of Puling-Sumdo. The Indian Government asserts that Puling-Sumdo and Pulumsumda are two different places, but Puling-Sumdo and Poling refer to one and the same place. This does not accord with the fact. The fact is that Puling-Sumdo is the same place generally known in India as Pulumsumda. It is not hard to see that Pulumsumda is only a different pronunciation of Puling-Sumdo, whereas Poling is entirely another place and has never been called Puling-Sumdo at the same time. In the explanatory note attached to Prime Minister Nehru’s letter of September 28, 1959, the Indian Government also explicitly admitted that Puling-Sumdo was none other than Pulumsumda under Indian control.

THE EASTERN SECTOR OF THE BOUNDARY

(1) Historical facts about jurisdiction.

The Indian Government indicates that it cannot accept the viewpoint that the entire area south of the so-called McMahon Line comprising the three component parts of Monyul, Loyul and Lower Tsayul always belonged to China and was until recently still under Chinese jurisdiction. The Indian Government tries hard to prove that the entire area always belonged to India. But the reasons newly advanced by the Indian Government are all untenable too.

(A) Firstly, in the Monyul area, the Tibet local authorities not only exercised ecclesiastical authority, which was also admitted by the Indian Government, but, what is more important, they also exercised administrative authority there. The Chinese Government has already cited many facts in this connection which are adequate proof. In addition, one can point to the fact that the British geographer Kingdom Ward, who had engaged in exploration in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, in his article “The Assam Himalaya: Travels in Balipara” published in the Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society in 1938, while asserting groundlessly that the Monyul area including Tawang “was ceded to India” in 1913-14, could not but admit that not only had Monyul, and particularly Tawang, been “within the Tibetan administrative system” before then, but “the Tibetan administration carries on” even in 1938 when he arrived in Monyul. Secondly, the area of Lower Tsayul including Walong not only was inhabited by Tibetans, but was always under the jurisdiction of Tibet. British troops unlawfully invaded and occupied Walong in 1944, and it was only after the Tibet local government sent a representative of the Dzong pon of Sangacho Dzong to make representations that the British troops withdrew. As to the Loyul area which is situated between Monyul and Lower Tsayul, it is a well-established fact that the Tibet local government had established extensively administrative organs of various levels and collected taxes there.

(B) The Indian Government claims that, far back in the period before the 8th century, the area south of the so-called McMahon Line was under the rule of the Varman, the Salastambha and the Pula dynasties and not under that of Tibet. But it fails to produce any factual basis. The allegation that the Ahom dynasty gained control over this area from the 13th century onwards is also not true. The rule of the Ahom dynasty extended only to the plains on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra River, and never to the southern foot of the Himalayas. It can be seen clearly from the first chapter and the attached map of the book Anglo-Assamese Relations published in 1949 by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies under the Government of Assam of India that the Himalayas and the areas at their foot inhabited by the Akas, Duflas, Abors and Mishmis were to the north of the bounds of Assam and not within them. As for the agreements concluded since the 19th century by Britain with certain tribes living in these
areas, which were repeatedly referred to by the Indian Government, it is not difficult to see from their provisions that they were merely agreements on mutual non-aggression or the acceptance of British economic aid, and cannot be regarded as proof that these tribes were British or Indian subjects.

(2) Whether the so-called McMahon Line is legal.

The Indian Government no longer stresses the assertion that the Simla Convention was binding on the Chinese Central Government. This is because the fact that the Chinese Central Government did not sign the Convention in the first place, and much less ratified it, can in no way be denied (although the Chinese representative, IVAN CHEN, initiated the draft convention, he stated that it was not a formal signature and that formal signing would have to be approved of by the Chinese Government, and the Chinese Government immediately declared the initialling to be invalid). The Indian Government, however, emphatically contends: (A) that the Simla Conference did discuss the so-called McMahon Line; and (B) that the Tibet local government had the right to conclude treaties on its own. The Chinese Government would like to further clarify these two questions.

(A) Article 9 of the Simla Convention did not touch on the Sino-Indian boundary, nor was the Sino-Indian boundary marked on the map attached to the Convention. This is all the more understandable when seen in relation to the following facts. Firstly, the Indian Government has all along been unable to point to any particular date of the Simla Conference or any particular page of the proceedings of the conference when and where the question of the Sino-Indian boundary, and in particular that of the so-called McMahon Line, was discussed. It is obviously inconceivable that ownership of territory involving such a vast area could have been determined in a treaty and its attached map without any previous discussions. Secondly, the boundary line between China and India was not marked on the map attached to the Simla Convention. All the documents of the conference contained nothing in writing which could be used as a basis for interpreting a particular section of the red line shown on the map (which actually shows the boundary between Tibet and the rest of China) as a section of the Sino-Indian boundary.

(B) It is absolutely indisputable that the Tibet local authorities had no right to enter into talks and conclude treaties, on its own, with foreign countries. Tibet is part of Chinese territory. China has full sovereignty over Tibet. Without the authorization and consent of the Chinese Central Government, the Tibet local authorities had no right to hold talks and conclude treaties with foreign countries; even if these were done, they were illegal and null and void. Even the British Government of the past dared not ignore this. A case in point is the British-Tibetan Convention of 1904 referred to by the Indian Government, which was imposed on the Tibet local authorities by Britain as the result of war. It may be recalled that, after compelling Tibet to sign this Convention, Britain still asked time and again the Chinese Government to sign and approve it. The question became a subject of repeated negotiations, and it was not until 1906 that it came to a close when another Convention was concluded between China and Britain and the above-mentioned British-Tibetan Convention was annexed to it. As for the secret letters regarding the so-called McMahon Line exchanged between the British representative and the representative of the Tibet local authorities at the time of the 1914 Simla Conference, they were exchanged behind the back of the Chinese Central Government and kept secret for a long time. Moreover, during the Simla Conference, the Chinese Government already made a general statement on its non-recognition of any treaty or similar document that might be signed between Britain and the Tibet local authorities. Those letters exchanged, therefore, are all the more illegal and null and void.

The Chinese Government hopes that the foregoing statement will help further clarify the following facts concerning the boundary, that is, the entire Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited, and the areas now disputed by the two sides have always belonged to China, not to India, with a considerable part of them remaining up to now under the effective control of the Chinese Government. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government would like to reiterate that it has always hoped to achieve a reasonable settlement of the boundary question through friendly consultations with the Indian Government, so that there will be no more dispute between the two sides on the boundary question. Some people seem to think that the differences between China and India are almost impossible to solve. The Chinese Government disagrees to this view. The Chinese Government feels that, no matter how great the present difference between China and India on this particular question, it is after all an issue of a limited and temporary nature compared with the fundamental need of the two peoples to maintain friendly co-operation for thousands and tens of thousands of years to come. Provided the two sides value the fundamental interests of friendship between the two countries and world peace, display good faith, adhere to friendly consultations and the Five Principles, and adopt an attitude of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, it is certainly possible to overcome all difficulties and bring about a settlement of the boundary question satisfactory to both sides. Although the Chinese Government has repeatedly set forth the facts about the boundary and its own stand, yet it has never set any pre-condition for the discussions between the two sides. The Chinese Government is willing, in the discussions, to explore together with the Indian Government various avenues to a resolution of the differences with a conciliatory and reasonable attitude, and to try its best to promote the success of the discussions.

THE Chinese Government has always advocated that, pending the settlement of the boundary question, both sides should maintain the present state of the border and preserve tranquility along it, and see to it that this temporarily unsettled question do not affect the consolidation and development of friendly relations between the two countries. The Chinese Government has always been extremely careful on the Sino-Indian boundary question, and has never taken any step which might lead to clashes.
or tension on the border. For China the occurrence some time last year of tension and unfortunate incidents on the border of the two countries was totally unexpected, and China was utterly unprepared for it. After that, the Chinese Government promptly took measures and put forward proposals designed to ensure the tranquillity of the border and prevent the use of force or the occurrence of clashes. In its note of February 12, 1960, the Indian Government likewise expressed the hope that the two Governments agree on an arrangement without delay to eliminate the risk of border clashes and facilitate a friendly settlement of the disputes. This is worthy of welcome. The Chinese Government hopes that the proposals put forward by Premier Chou En-lai in his letter of December 17, 1959, will be accepted by the Indian Government as the basis for such an agreement, because the above-mentioned proposals were worked out on the basis of full consideration of the previous proposals of the two sides. The Chinese Government further hopes that both sides will not stop at this step, but will jointly make further efforts to arrange for the over-all settlement of the boundary question so that the peoples of the two countries will no longer be troubled and worried about the boundary question.

Thanks to the efforts of the Chinese and Indian Governments and peoples, the once strained relations between China and India have improved. This is reassuring and encouraging. Now, the eyes of the whole world are turning toward the forthcoming meeting of the Premiers of our two countries. The Chinese people, the Indian people as well as other people of the world who love peace and are concerned for Sino-Indian friendship all cherish fervent hopes for this meeting of historic significance. Indeed, the importance of this meeting and the weight of responsibility on the Governments of the two countries can in no way be overestimated. The Chinese Government hopes that both the Chinese and the Indian sides will be fully aware of this, and will do their utmost so as not to disappoint the hopes of our two peoples and of all those who are concerned for friendship between our two countries. Of course, the Chinese Government has by no means overlooked the fact that there remain difficulties on the way ahead, and that there are still some people in the world who, harbouring ulterior motives, are trying by all means to split and undermine the relations of our two countries and to prevent the success of the talks. The Chinese Government, however, firmly believes that so long as the two Governments display good faith toward each other and endeavour to create conditions, they will certainly be able to bring about a speedy settlement of the boundary issue between the two countries, and the great friendship between the two countries not only will not be shaken, but will be further consolidated and developed.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the Republic of India in China the assurances of its highest consideration.

**URBAN PEOPLE’S COMMUNES**

by **LI CHIEH-PO**

Following is an abridged translation of a speech by Li Chieh-po, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and a people’s deputy, at the Second Session of the Second National People’s Congress on April 8, 1960. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

**SINCE autumn 1958, there have been experiments on the establishment of urban people’s communes in some of the cities in our country. In the past year and more, much progress has been made. A number of urban people’s communes embracing a population of nearly 20 million in the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have been set up according to the principle of voluntary participation. The establishment of people’s communes has in the main been completed in most of the cities of the provinces of Honan, Hopei and Heilungkiang. Today, urban people’s communes are growing rapidly in number, and sweeping onward in a powerful, mass movement.**

The urban people’s commune movement is a revolutionary mass movement of great historic significance. Its growth is bound to bring about further profound changes in the political, economic outlook of our cities and the spiritual outlook of city people; it will create extremely favourable conditions for speeding up China’s socialist construction and its future transition to communism.

**Outcome of Historical Development**

The tremendous development of urban people’s communes, like that of the rural people’s communes, is by no means accidental. They are, to begin with, a product of China’s economic and political development, a product of the general line for socialist construction and the big leap forward in production. Their development is an outgrowth of the universal rise in the communist consciousness of our people after the rectification campaign and widespread communist education among them. The continued leap forward in industrial and agricultural production also urgently calls for the establishment of urban people’s communes to keep pace with and help bring about the high-speed development of the productive forces. Secondly, since tremendous achievements and rich experiences have accrued from early experiments in many places with urban people’s communes, and since
they have demonstrated their unrivalled advantages, more and more city people have demanded their establishment and development. Thirdly, neighbourhood production and collective life have been organized in many cities by neighbourhood committees or through other organizational forms, thus laying a good foundation for the formation of urban people’s communes.

**Main Organizational Forms**

At present, the actual organizational forms of the urban people’s communes in various parts of the country generally fall into the following three categories: those centring around large state-owned industrial and mining enterprises; those around government organizations or schools; those mainly comprising local inhabitants in a number of streets. Whatever the form, workers and employees, their families and other sections of the working people are most enthusiastic and eager to join; they constitute the backbone in all the various activities organized by the communes.

The urban people’s communes have in the past year and more demonstrated their great vitality and are moving ahead and breaking through all the old fetters. They are steadily enriching the content of their work, evolving new experiences and daily perfecting themselves organizationally. The urban people’s communes already established also make evident the great part they can play in developing production, organizing the people’s life, further liberating labour forces, strengthening communist education among the people, changing customs and habits and transforming society.

**Developing Production**

The process of setting up urban people’s communes and neighbourhood economic units in all parts of the country began with the organization of production, making it the core of the central tasks. They are primarily in the service of the state industrial and mining enterprises while serving also the daily life of both the city and country people and agricultural production. Today, industries run by the urban people’s communes and the neighbourhoods have grown into an important new-born force on the industrial front with a most brilliant future. Preliminary statistics indicate that more than 56,000 industrial production units have been established by the urban people’s communes and neighbourhood organizations, with a total working staff of nearly two million; their output in 1959, in terms of value, amounted to more than 2,000 million yuan, more than double the gross output value of the nation’s state-owned local enterprises in 1949.

Once these industries are consolidated and improved, the people involved are further organized to take part in the movement for increasing production and practising economy centring on technical innovations and technical revolution; their productive efficiency has thus been rising steadily. Judging from production in these industries in the first quarter of this year, it is altogether possible that the proposal put forward by Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun in his report* to the effect that

the industries run by the urban people’s communes and the neighbourhoods roughly double their output value in 1960 will be fulfilled and even greatly overfulfilled.

A sizable labour force has been released since the first urban people’s communes were set up on an experimental basis in 1958. As preliminary statistics show, the urban people’s communes and neighbourhood organizations have in the past year and more freed some 3.4 million people (30 per cent of them women) for work in the state industrial and mining enterprises and other undertakings. This has enabled them to meet the problem of labour shortage and ensured the fulfilment of their leap-forward plans.

In line with the principle of combining industry, agriculture, commerce, education and defence, some urban people’s communes have already incorporated a certain number of agricultural production brigades. In various ways the city communes undertake to organize the factories, government offices and schools for active support to the development of agricultural and sideline production and the technical transformation of agriculture in the city’s outskirts.

**Collective Welfare**

While concentrating on production, the urban people’s communes have also paid great attention to the establishment of collective welfare and service facilities and the organization of diverse aspects of the life of the people. In the past year or so, relying on the


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masses and adhering to the principle of voluntary participation, they have set up large numbers of community dining-rooms, nurseries, kindergartens and service centres, turning scattered, tedious household work into work performed by large-scale, socialist and collective economic undertakings, thereby freeing tens of thousands of workers' and employees' dependents and housewives in the families of other working people from domestic drudgery. Initial statistics show that the people's communes and neighbourhood organizations in large and medium-sized cities of the country have already established some 50,000 community dining-rooms catering for more than 5.2 million people. The number of nurseries and kindergartens has reached more than 42,000 with more than 1.2 million children in their charge. (These figures do not include canteens and nurseries set up by factories, government offices and schools.) Neighbourhood service centres run by the urban people's communes and neighbourhood organizations now number more than 60,000 with over 440,000 people working in them.

Community dining-rooms and collective welfare facilities which are set up on a large scale have not only released large numbers of city housewives from household chores, socialized domestic work, and introduced a collective way of life, thus opening up the path to complete emancipation for women, but have also promoted the development of production. Socialization of housework and the collective way of life are the inevitable outcome of building socialism at high speed; they have long been the aim and desire of the broad masses of workers and employees and particularly the women. With the continued leap forward in production and the development of collective welfare facilities, the great number of urban women who are taking part in social labour have increased their family incomes. Representative investigations in Peking, Tientsin, Shenyang, Chengchow and Harbin showed an average rise of 20 to 35 per cent in family incomes and a higher standard of living where women had joined in social labour.

Transforming the Old City and People

While organizing the people's economic life, the urban communes and neighbourhood organizations have energetically organized their cultural life as well. These communes have established many primary and secondary schools, "red and expert" schools and developed a movement among their members for the study of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung. The broad masses of workers and employees, members of their families and other sections of the working people study politics, culture, science and technique with great enthusiasm. These communes have also founded amateur dramatic companies and clubs to actively arrange the cultural, recreational and sports activities of the people. Health organizations of a mass character have been formed and a mass patriotic health campaign centring on the elimination of the "four pests" has been launched. The urban people's communes, giving great consideration to both the technical and cultural revolutions, have served in many ways to accelerate changes in the social outlook of the cities and the spiritual outlook of the people.

By organizing the production and daily life of city residents to a very high degree, the urban people's communes, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are further transforming city people of various social strata into people with a working-class ideology, consumers into producers, neighbourhoods that merely absorbed into neighbourhoods that produce, and exploiters into labourers earning their own living.

The people are tempered in production in the collective way of life after their taking part in social labour; they have raised their ideological consciousness and cultural level and by participation in political and cultural studies changed their spiritual outlook. They have a profound love for labour and the collective, actively engage in production and serve the people and socialist construction with great zeal. A new social atmosphere wherein labour is regarded as an honour and unity and mutual assistance prevail has been created. The communist style of working without bargaining and labouring without thought of remuneration has been greatly developed. Egotism and patriarchal notions inherited from the old society are now held in universal contempt.

Emancipation of women is the yardstick of the emancipation of society. That women in our country have entered the new phase of thorough emancipation is one of the signs marking the further penetration of the socialist revolution in China on the political and ideological fronts.

Imperialist Lies Shattered

Every achievement of our socialist construction has without exception seized the imperialists with panic and made them feel uneasy. At this moment when we Chinese people hail the advent of the surging movement for the establishment of urban people's communes in our country with great joy, the imperialists who are on their last legs and their hangers-on, despicable as they are shameless, are once more viciously slandering and attacking our urban people's communes and raising a frenzied hue and cry just as they did against our rural people's communes. Establishment of the urban people's communes on a large scale is the urgent need and strong desire of the broad masses of our workers, employees and other working people in the cities; it is the inevitable law of historical development. There is no force whatsoever that can possibly reverse the turn of this wheel of history. The movement to establish urban people's communes will certainly make headway with a vigour that can move mountains and empty seas, with a power mighty as thunderbolts. The vicious attacks and slanders are all in vain. The imperialists and their hangers-on are free to wail and shout. The Chinese people for their part will raise still higher the brilliant banner of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune and, under the guidance of the great Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, continue their victorious march along the road mapped out by the Party.

* Namely, rats, bed bugs, mosquitoes and flies. — Tr.
Exhibition

U.S. Loots China's Cultural Treasures

Peking's Palace Museum is now holding an exhibition that is a devastating indictment of the artistic and cultural vandalism of U.S. imperialism. It draws special attention to the current U.S. plot to loot the priceless antiquities which were carried off to Taiwan by the Chiang Kai-shek clique on the eve of the liberation (see Peking Review, No. 9, 1960, p. 9). But it does more than that. Here are visual proofs of the charge made in a recent statement by China's cultural leaders that "looting and destruction of China's cultural treasures by the U.S. ruling clique went on uninter ruptedly for scores of years before liberation." This shocking record is made even more despicable by the cant and hypocrisy of the criminals.

As a matter of fact, these art thieves have been operating for the last hundred years. The main period of their activity extends from the early 1900s until China's liberation in 1949. They had a number of well-organized channels to smuggle or take their loot out of China — diplomatic personnel, military advisory groups, government delegations, "art" dealers — but they were not fastidious about methods. They rifled and ravaged the famous Buddhist grottoes of Tunhuang, Yunkang, Lungmen, Tienlungshan (Shansi), South and North Hsiangtangshan (Honan), and Kunghsien (Honan). They carried off tens of thousands of priceless old Chinese paintings, bronzes, jades, pottery, porcelains, sculptures and rare books including important local gazetteers, family histories, manuscripts of China's various nationalities, ancient books on agriculture, medicine and the Buddhist scriptures.

A Record of Shame

The mural paintings and sculpture of the Chienfotung (Thousand Buddhas Cave) at Tunhuang, Kansu Province, occupy a key place in the history of Chinese art from the Northern Wei (386-534) to the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). Well aware of this, the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, sent out the American, Langdon Warner. He arrived in Tunhuang in 1923, the first of a group of Harvard men who were specially trained to secure the sort of treasures the U.S. colonialists were after. He gouged out scores of pieces from the best Tang mural paintings and also carried away one of the finest Tang Dynasty polychrome clay sculptures preserved at Tunhuang. In his book displayed at the exhibition, Warner wrote:

"Thus it was that I was enabled to set about a labour of love and reverently to pry from its pedestal a figure halting upon one knee, and with sensitive hands clasped in adoration before its bosom. No vandal hand but mine had disturbed it for eleven hundred years" (Langdon Warner, The Long Old Road in China, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City — New York, 1926, p. 144). [Editor's italics.] In another passage, Warner cannot conceal the guilty conscience of a thief:

"Five days of labour from morning till dark and five nights of remorse for what I had done and of black despair, conquered with difficulty each morning, saw the fragments of painting securely packed in felts and handed tightly between flat boards...." (Ibid. p. 143.) He even tried to exonerate himself with the plea:

"Obviously, some specimens of these paintings must be secured for study at home and, more important still, for safe-keeping against further vandalism." (Ibid. p. 141.)

At Tunhuang today you can see in grotto after grotto where Warner hacked out square and oblong pieces from priceless murals. It is as if someone had coolly cut out the head of the Mona Lisa and left the rest of the canvas.

In 1928, in the name of "study" Warner returned even better organized for looting. Taking along Horace Jayne and Alan Priest, two of his "trainees" from Harvard with specially prepared equipment, he came to Tun huang again. This time he intended to hack out all the murals in Grotto No. 285 dating back to 538 A.D. The local people, enraged by the former depredations of this vandal, drove him away.

Subsequently, Horace Jayne, who is now Vice-Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, was associated with the bloody removal of the timber structure of a Ming Prince's hall from Peking to the United States and large numbers of sculptures including those from Tienlungshan.

It was not to be expected that the U.S. colonialists would overlook the famous Lungmen Grottoes. Carved out of precipices along the banks of the River Yi not far from Loyang (Honan), the earliest cave here dates back to 496 A.D. The sculptures here have an extremely important bearing on the development of Chinese sculpture.

In 1934, Warner's student and colleague, Alan Priest, got a certain Yueh Pin to work for him under a five-year contract. This scoundrel was sent to Lungmen where he chiselled two of the finest reliefs from the Pinyang Grotto. These date back to the Northern Wei, in the early 6th century. Glued together again they are now exhibited as the "Empress Paying Homage to Buddha" in Kansas City's William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, and the "Emperor Paying Homage to Buddha" in New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art. Some fragments were left behind because Yueh Pin failed to piece them together. They are on display at the exhibition — a pile of bits of stone.

U.S. cultural aggression has inflicted deep wounds on other countries, but it is characteristic that this ruthless plundering is usually described as "saving" art treasures. In an attempt to confuse public opinion about the destruction and theft of the Pinyang Grotto relics, Alan Priest, curator of Far Eastern Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, since 1928, had the gall to write:

"Two museums, both in the United States, have sought to save the relics — the fragments of the frieze of female donors is on view in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery in Kansas City, and the Metropolitan Museum has the wreck of the male donor." (Alan Priest, Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y., 1944, pp. 26-27.) He even tried to set himself up for a great lover of art by condemning the despoiling of the grottoes: "These two reliefs, the male and female donors of the Pin Yang Tung, are a lost thing — nothing more wicked has ever happened to a great
monument of a race.” (ibid. p. 27.)

Coming from the man who made the deal with the thief Yueh Pin, this is surely the ultimate in cynicism. It was only after liberation that the full story of Yueh Pin and this contract was discovered and made public.

The University of Pennsylvania Museum also figures as one of the leading institutions of U.S. imperialism in cultural aggression against China, “specializing” in sculpture. The most notorious of many cases in which it was involved is the cutting up and removal in 1917 of the two best of the six famous stone reliefs of horses from the Chaoling Mausoleum of Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty (7th century). The man who acted as the museum’s agent here was Carl W. Bishop.

Other treasures were appropriated no less unscrupulously by U.S. organizations both public and private. The 40 and more volumes of the Yung Lo Ta Tien (great encyclopaedia of the reign of Yung Lo, 1403-1425), now in the U.S. Library of Congress, were simply seized by U.S. troops in collusion with U.S. missionaries in Peking during the armed intervention of imperialist forces in 1900 to put down the Yi Ho Tuan (Boxer Revolution). The coffered ceiling of Peking’s Chihhua Temple is one of the finest examples of Ming woodwork and architectural decoration. This was grabbed by Laurence Sickman, another disciple of Langdon Warner, and now the Director of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art. The bronze fanchin (a small table) together with its wine set, one of the best-known group of bronzes of the early Chou period (c. 11th century-771 B.C.) and now in New York’s Metropolitan Art Museum was spirited out of China by the so-called “scholar” and “philanthropist” John C. Ferguson. China’s earliest extant painting and calligraphy on silk, the famous tsengshu of the period of Warring States (475-221 B.C.) unearthed at Changsha, was taken out of China by John H. Cox, a Yale graduate who taught at Yale in China (Changsha, Hunan), one of the institutes set up by the U.S. imperialists for cultural aggression. The man he “bought” it from claims he still owed money on the deal.

The skull of the Choukoutien “Peking Man” (Sinanthropus pekinensis) which was deposited at the Peking Union Medical College Hospital during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, was stolen by the U.S. Marines on the eve of Pearl Harbor and is still to be returned. More than 10,000 documents on wooden and bamboo slips of the Han Dynasty from Edsen Gol, Inner Mongolia, and 2,934 rare books, most of them in many volumes, which the Chinese Government entrusted to the United States for safe-keeping during the same period have also not been returned to China. To justify this imperialist book-keeping, the U.S. Library of Congress has advanced the argument that “In a world that now is geographically one and interdepend-
ent, it no longer matters very much where any book happens to be, so long as one knows where it is, and knows that it is available to the serious reader for study or for reproduction.” (Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions, Vol. XI, February 1954, No. 2, p. 79.) No one will be fooled by such a specious argument, but anybody can tell it is a revealing example of a sophisticated robber’s philosophy.

What They Are After Now

The exhibition shows reproductions and photographs of some of the cultural treasures which the U.S. is now plotting to loot from Taiwan. There are 25,000 and more oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang Dynasty unearthed at Anyang and representing the earliest historical records of China. There is the justly famous sanshipan, a bronze basin of Western Chou times, with an important 350-word inscription dealing with land ownership. Archaeologists calculate that it was made in the 9th century B.C. There are more than 6,000 examples of painting and calligraphy of the Tang, Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ching Dynasties. Many of these are well known to artists the world over. They include Men and Horses by Han Kan, the Tang artist famous for his paintings of horses; In the Autumn Mountains by Chu Jan, the Northern Sung landscape painter and scrolls by the great calligraphers Wang Hsi-chih of the Tsin Dynasty, and Yen Chen-ching of the Tang Dynasty. There are rare ko ssu embroideries of the Sung Dynasty, and examples of famous Sung porcelains from the Ko, Hsuan, Ju, Ting and Chun Kilns. The porcelains belonging to the Palace Museum alone number more than 1,800 pieces. All of them are representative pieces in the history of Chinese ceramics. Among the rare books threatened by U.S. pillage are the Su Ku Chuan Shu (imperial encyclopaedia of Chienlung, 18th century) formerly in the Wenyuanko, the imperial library in Peking. This alone numbers 63,000 volumes. These too belong to the Palace Museum. They make up the most complete of the four extant sets of this encyclopaedia. In addition to their intrinsic value as works of art, these various treasures are of the utmost importance for the study of Chinese history, culture and the arts.

Liberation ended the rule of the U.S. imperialists in China. But true to their nature they still occupy Taiwan and during the past ten years have been trying hard to get their hands on the cultural treasures so temptingly amassed there. What they are up to is clearly recorded in an article called “An Art Journey to Formosa” (1955) written by Ashwin Lippe (Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, Vol. IX, 1954, pp. 9-19.) Up to the present repeated protests on the part of the Chinese people and public opinion throughout the world have prevented the U.S. imperialists from carrying out their piratical schemes. Now, in this latest attempt to get hold of these Chinese cultural treasures, instead of employing agents, they have decided to come out into the open themselves, using the name of the U.S. President as a sponsor of their scheme. The U.S. State Department announced on February 12 that an “agreement” had been reached between the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique to ship these treasures to the United States. By now, the tricks the U.S. employs for its cultural aggression are even clearer not only to the Chinese people but to those of the many other lands where their cultural vandals operate. The Chinese people have made it clear that if these things are fished from Taiwan, no matter where they are taken, one day an accounting will be demanded of the thieves. World public opinion is rallying ever more determinedly behind the demand that the U.S. keep its hands off China’s cultural treasures.
SIDELIGHTS

Standing Room Only. Once chained to their pots and pans, Chinese housewives today are playing an increasingly important role in industry and welfare services, more so over the last two years. Now Shanghai housewives have made their presence felt at another front — on the stage where many housewives showed they had the makings of fine stage artists. They won this recognition at an entertainment-packed evening concert of operas, ballads, dances, solo and chorus singing staged in the Changjiang Theatre by several teams of housewives. The first of its kind in Shanghai, 250 amateur performers, mostly housewives, sang about their new life. The 18 items presented were selected from hundreds of songs, ballads and operas they had written depicting their work in the creches, community dining-rooms, community-run factories and of heroines past and present. The hit of the evening was a ballad sung by 53-year-old Chou Su-chin about the former slums of Shanghai and the changes that came with liberation. Little wonder her performance drew favourable comment for she had spent most of her life in semi-starvation in the slums and knew whereof she sang. This city-wide amateurs' concert reflects how the lives of everyone including housewives have changed in the last decade. A year or so ago, few if any of them would have dared to imagine themselves on the stage. All very well for young unmarried people and children to prance about and sing but not for them. Today, they not only do a grand job in industry but are amateur thespians in a big way.

A Case of More Cooks the Better. Chinese cooking long recognized as among the world's best is like everything else in China today being revolutionized. Machines and labour-saving appliances have been introduced into the kitchen and now comes the news that a department of culinary art has been established in Heilungkiang Commercial College. Cooks from all over the country with at least 15 years' experience are gathered there to swap know-how and recipes. Besides compiling a cooking manual they will undertake scientific research, for as everyone knows, cooking is both an art and a science. With their help, the college will train a class of 130 students, all of whom are cooks with five or more years' experience.

The setting up of this department arose from the demand for more and better cooks to staff the tens of thousands of dining-rooms throughout China. When these student cooks graduate, they'll be equipped to prepare well-balanced, nourishing and tasty meals to fit the builders of socialism.

Long Way from Home. Introduced from Africa to Viet Nam and thence to Hainan Island, the African Gold Carp has moved on to Fukien where it is reported to be thriving though in a temperature nearly 10°C. below that of its native habitat. This versatile carp can live in salt or fresh water, is very prolific and a fish that is easy to breed. On top of all these admirable qualities, this catholic carp is extremely delicious and Fukien fish farmers and the thousands of community dining-rooms will no doubt be happy to "popularize" this peripatetic morsel.

All Around the Mulberry Trees. That much-in-demand natural fibre, silk, is the product of the silkworm which feeds off leaves of the mulberry tree. It follows that if there were more leaves, more silkworms could be reared and, presto, also more silk made available. Proceeding from the assumption that more branches meant more leaves members of a Chekiang people's commune set about "wresting this favour from nature." Experimenting, they arranged and fixed the winter branches along a horizontal plane with the result that by the following spring, vertical branches sprouted from these. In the following year, the young vertical branches were, in their turn, made to grow horizontally and, it is reported, over 200 per cent more leaves were obtained from the very same trees.

Another "First" for China. No independent body for the treatment of neurosurgical diseases existed in China until the establishment in 1954 of a neurosurgical department in the Hsuanwu Hospital of Peking. Last month a neurosurgical research institute was set up in the same hospital to carry out work on neurophysiology, neuropathology, neurology, neuroradiology, biochemistry of the nervous system and related studies.

Exercises Tailored to Fit. A set of exercises was recently adopted by textile workers throughout China. This exercise of eight movements takes into account that over 90 per cent of the textile workers are women who spend 7-8 hours walking between machines and work with their hands above waist level. Each movement has been carefully worked out by physical training experts and doctors to answer a specific need — to exercise and relax certain muscles and keep the person generally fit. This is one of many special sets now being introduced for different occupations. All are done in time to music for rhythmic movement is an essential for keeping body and mind "in tune."

Going Places. While the once indispensable pedicabs are bowing themselves out of the streets of Peking like their "elder brother" the dilapidated tramcars, Shoudu Taxi Co. is training another 300 women drivers to man the capital's growing fleet of taxis. Training requires that each driver besides being thoroughly conversant with the car and traffic regulations is also given a good grounding in motor mechanics. Soon this class will join their sisters who graduated last year and who have won a name for their courteous service and safe driving.

Chinghai's First Widescreen Cinema. Wind from the East, a widescreen film jointly produced by the Moscow Film Studio and the Changchun Film Studio in Northeast China, is a box-office hit in Sining, the capital of Chinghai Province. The showing of this film on Sino-Soviet friendship is a big event introducing to Chinghai movie-goers their first widescreen cinema.

Feeding Silkworms

Knife-out by Chin Chuan-chen
China and the World

Greetings to Fraternal Parties

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party during the past week has cabled greetings to the Communist Parties of Finland and Belgium on the occasion of their 12th and 13th national congresses respectively, to the National Conference of the New Zealand Communist Party, and to the Spanish Communist Party on its 40th anniversary.

The representatives of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chen Yu, at the New Zealand C.P. Congress, Wu Tse-pu at the Finnish C.P. Congress and Lin Tien at the Belgian C.P. Congress greeted the congresses and read the messages from the Chinese Communist Party. Congratulating the Parties on their achievements, the messages enthusiastically welcomed the strengthening of the friendly relations between the Chinese people and those of New Zealand, Finland and Belgium. Relations between the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Parties of these countries have also grown closer, they said. Stressing the fact that opposition to the war policy of the imperialists and the safeguarding of world peace are still the most urgent tasks facing the peoples throughout the world, the messages urge the peace-loving people of all lands to keep up their vigilance against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism. They conclude that so long as every trick and plot of the U.S. imperialists are exposed and the peoples throughout the world are mobilized in the struggle for peace, world peace can be preserved.

Mongolian Delegation in China

The Delegation of the Great People’s Hural of the Mongolian People’s Republic, after a five-day tour of Wuhan, Chengchow and Loyang, returned to Peking and was received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and by Chairman Liu Shao-chi on April 15. Cordial talks were held at both receptions. The delegation left China on April 16.

During their stay in Chengchow, they visited a cotton mill, the Yellow River water conservancy project at Huayuankou, an iron and steel plant and the Red Flag urban people’s commune. They were warmly welcomed by workers and commune members.

At the reception given by the Mongolian Embassy in Peking to the visiting delegation, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. expressed the deep satisfaction which the Chinese people had got from the visit of their Mongolian guests.

A banquet was given by Lin Po-chu, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, to the delegation. Toasting the delegation, Vice-Chairman Lin Po-chu said that the deep friendship with the Mongolian people was a great inspiration to the Chinese people, and that the delegation’s visit has forged new links of friendly co-operation between the two peoples. He asked that the Chinese people’s friendship and best wishes be conveyed to the Mongolian people.

Premier Chou’s Proposal Welcomed in Japan

Premier Chou En-lai’s proposals for the defence of peace and security in the Asian and Pacific regions advanced in his speech at the National People’s Congress has won widespread support in Japan. Japanese political and public leaders including Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, Tatadaka Sata, Director of the International Bureau of the Socialist Party, Akira Kazami, Chairman of the National Council for the Restoration of Japan-China Diplomatic Relations, Shigeru Tanemachi, chief of the international section of SOHYO, are among those who believe that the conclusion of a peace covenant of mutual non-aggression by all countries in the Asian and Pacific regions and the establishment of an atom-free zone were an important way to guarantee peace in Asia and the Pacific region and the security of Japan. They declared that they will make every effort to get this peace plan realized.

China-Guinea Friendship

Chairman Liu Shao-chi has invited Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea, to visit China. President Sekou Toure has accepted the invitation.

China’s first ambassador to Guinea, Ko Hua, presented his credentials to President Sekou Toure on April 11. After the ceremony, Ko Hua declared that China and Guinea are linked in profound friendship in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism; with the attainment of independence and liberation, friendly co-operation between them has grown greatly and he expressed the hope that they will establish still closer ties of friendship and co-operation in the common struggle.

Chinese Youth Support Cuban People

Speaking at the 4th Congress of the Cuban Socialist Youth League in Havana, the head of the Chinese delegation pledged support for Cuba in standing up to U.S. imperialism. “Your struggle has the support of all the people of Latin America, Asia and Africa who are fighting for independence, and of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Our 650 million Chinese people are on your side!” he declared. Pointing out that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the world’s people, he said that it was the U.S. that bombed the Cuban sugar mills, occupied China’s territory of Taiwan, and supported the world’s tyrants and murderers. He expressed confidence that the common struggle of the world’s people against U.S. imperialism would win the final victory.

China buys more Cuban sugar: A further contract for the purchase of 80,000 tons of Cuban sugar has been signed between the China National Foodstuffs Export Corporation and Cuban trade circles.

China purchased 50,000 tons of Cuban sugar last December.

BRIEFS

Chairman Liu Shao-chi received the Brazilian journalists, Paulo Da Silveira, director of Ultima Hora; Radoico Quimaraes, correspondent of Diarios Associados; and Octavio Marta, editor-in-chief of Ultima Hora, who are visiting China. He had a friendly conversation with them.

Over the next two years China will help Viet Nam establish and develop eight farms and an agricultural middle school and provide other economic and technical assistance. The protocol of this agreement has been signed recently by the two Governments.
**CHINESE PRESS OPINION**

**Masan Uprising**

Twenty thousand people of Masan rose in a violent struggle against the fascist rule of the Syngman Rhee clique on the evening of April 11. Shouting "Down with Syngman Rhee!" "We demand new elections!" they attacked the city police headquarters, the Syngman committee office of Syngman Rhee's Liberal Party, the houses of the police chief and leading Rhee-men. Every police post in Masan was destroyed or damaged. In spite of punitive action by the police Masan's people continue their struggle.

This uprising in south Korea, writes *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (April 14) was no accidental incident. It was an explosion of long pent-up popular anger against U.S. imperialism and Syngman Rhee's fascist regime.

This criminal rule has made south Korea a living hell for over ten years, Commentator recalls. The area's economy is on its last legs. Every branch is on the downgrade. Dumping of U.S. grain, heavy taxation and exorbitant levies, have turned the former "Korean Granary" into a land of hunger. Imprisonment and murder are everyday occurrences under this regime of terror. The past year alone, 247,000 innocent people have suffered death or imprisonment at the hands of the Rhee regime. Even the members of Parliament of the Democratic Party—the legal opposition to the Syngman Rhee clique—denounce this fascist dictatorship. All this is the result of aggressive U.S. policy. Without U.S. imperialist support, the Syngman Rhee clique could not maintain itself for a single day, Commentator points out.

To perpetuate the division of Korea, turn south Korea into an out-and-out U.S. colony and advance base for atomic war, the U.S. imperialists in the past few years have repeatedly violated the Korean Armistice Agreement, illegally introduced modern weapons including missiles into south Korea and made preparations for atomic war. At the same time, the U.S. is speeding up the organization of a northeast Asian military bloc including south Korea in order to step up its war preparations in the Far East. It is precisely because of this that the U.S. is supporting the fascist dictatorship in south Korea, says Commentator.

U.S. imperialism supports and encourages the Syngman Rhee clique in using the most brutal means to maintain its reactionary rule in south Korea. But the more violence they use to maintain that tottering regime, the more unstable becomes the post of the Rhee clique and the closer it gets to collapse. In the past month mass demonstrations have taken place in Taegu, Taegon, Seoul and Pusan. Syngman Rhee is perched on a volcano that will sooner or later erupt and blow his clique to smithereens, Commentator continues.

The struggle of the people of Masan is not an isolated one. At a mass rally on April 12 the people of Pyongyang voiced their support for it. The Chinese people, who have shown a consistent concern for the peaceful unification of Korea, sympathize with the sufferings of the south Korean people and support the heroic uprising of the people of Masan, writes Commentator. "We are confident that so long as the south Korean people strengthen their unity in this struggle, they will, before long, succeed in putting an end to fascist rule and force the U.S. troops to get out of south Korea," concludes Commentator.

**U.S. Agricultural Crisis**

Discussing the present U.S. agricultural crisis, a *Renmin Ribao* article dated April 13 notes that U.S. agricultural "over production" is going from bad to worse. In his State of the Union Message delivered last January, Eisenhower proposed amendments in the agricultural laws to solve the problem of farm "surpluses." Then as things got worse, in another message on agriculture he suggested a drastic reduction in the cultivated area, a cut in agricultural subsidies and increase in exports.

The article points out that despite the reduction in sown areas, the accumulation of unsaleable agricultural products grows steadily greater and market prices of farm products go down. This is hastening the impoverishment of the small and medium-sized farms and driving them into bankruptcy. On the other hand,

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**THE PASSING SHOW**

**Passive Voice Deterrent**

Determined to keep up with U.S. cold war arms race, Britain's Tory government declared it would build an "independent British deterrent": the nuclear-armed Blue Streak missile to replace its aging Mark 1 V-bombers.

Now Whitehall is having second thoughts. Blue Streak after costing millions of pounds to develop, will be scrapped as out-of-date even before it is operational. Whitehall is thinking of buying U.S.-made Skybolts (still not ready to use) to be carried by new V-bombers (still to be designed).

Meanwhile the bills have to be paid. Another rocket prototype, the Sea Slug, budgeted at £1 ½ million, has already cost £40 million; another, estimated at £2 ½ million, has cost £27 million and is still not ready. . . .

Press and public opinion are up in arms at the mess the U.S.-fostered arms race has landed Britain in.

Britain's non-existent "deterrent" will soon be costing £500 million a year, but at this rate the only country it seems able to deter is Britain.

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**White Man's Golden Burden**

The U.S. Government pays Panama $1,950,000 a year for the Panama Canal from which it gets an income of $80 million a year.
land holdings and agricultural production are becoming more and more concentrated in the hands of the big farm owners. This is the cause of the farmers’ growing dissatisfaction with the agricultural policy of the Eisenhower administration, the article continues.

In an attempt to cover up the real truth about the present crisis, Eisenhower, in his latest message on farm policy states that the present agricultural crisis is due to “over production.” But as a matter of fact, the article points out, U.S. output of animal products in 1958 was only 24 percent above the 1947-49 average while that of agricultural products, in 1959, was only 18 percent above the 1947-49 average. Even this increase was due mainly to the expansion of the maize area. Over the past ten years, the average annual increase in agricultural and animal products is only a bit over 1 percent. Compared to the increase in population which amounts to around three million a year, this is low.

Analysing the reasons for this so-called agricultural “over production,” the article points out that it is mainly due to the sharp contradiction between production and consumption in capitalist society. The big monopoly enterprises control the purchasing, processing and marketing of agricultural products. In pursuit of bigger profits they raise retail prices of grains and other foodstuffs. Though tens of thousands of people are suffering from starvation and malnutrition the U.S. ruling circles prefer to let huge amounts of grain go rotten in the granaries. This is the truth about this “over production,” says the article.

In his attempts to solve this problem, Eisenhower has adopted several measures including price supports and limiting the areas sown to the main crops. But these measures merely benefit the big owners who farm on a big scale; they drive the small and middle grade farmers faster into bankruptcy.

Since the U.S. Government is unable to solve this basic problem by raising the people’s purchasing power and consumption, U.S. farm “surpluses” will inevitably go on getting bigger, concludes the article.

WHAT’S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

Programmes are subject to change, where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

PEKING OPERA

AUTUMN RIVER A scene from *The Jade Hairpin* in which the nun, in great haste to catch up with her beloved, meets an old ferryman who likes to do things his own unhurried way. Produced by the Chinese Opera School.

March 22, 7:30 p.m. Ji Xiang Theatre

YAO CHI The story of Liu Hua’s ingratitude to his supporter, General Yao Chi, once he becomes the ruler of the Eastern Han Empire. Produced by the Chinese Opera School.

March 23, 7:30 p.m. Xi Dan Theatre

KUNQU

PRINCESS WEN CHENG A historical opera produced by the North Kunqu Opera Theatre. The Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty marries Princess Wen Cheng to the Tibetan King Sron-Tsan Gampo. This Tibetan-Han union strengthens the friendship between the two nationalities.

(Watch for dates and places.)

HONAN OPERA

AFTER WINTER COMES SPRING An opera produced by the Honan Opera Troupe, a story of peasants of Honan Province building a big water conservancy project.

March 25, 7:30 p.m. Zhong He Theatre

THEATRE

IRON FLOWS IN BASHAN A new play. The Bashan Iron Works asks a neighbouring plant for the help of its technicians but is turned down by its director. The Party secretary, however, wants to help them and in the ensuing events the backward director learns a lesson. Produced by the Peking People’s Art Theatre.

March 25-27, 7:15 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

April 19, 1960

PRINCESS WEN CHENG A historical play written by the famous playwright, Tien Han. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.

April 20-26, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

LENIN AND THE YOUNG GENERATION A Soviet-Leninist costume drama with concern for the children in the hard days of 1918. Produced by the China Children’s Theatre.

April 20-26, 7:30 p.m. Peking Theatre

THE KREMLIN BELLS A Soviet play written by N. F. Pogodin in four acts. It tells how Lenin, during the difficult days of the 1920s drafted the Goerdro electrification plan and how the working people of the young Soviet Union strove to realize it. Produced by the Experimental Theatre of the Central Drama School.

April 20-26, 7:15 p.m. Shijuan 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.

April 21-24, 7:15 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

FILMS

HEROIC ISLAND A feature. The heroic P.L.A. and people on a front line island defeat the attacks of the U.S.-backed Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Produced by the August First Film Studio.

April 21-24, Shoudu Cinema, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Da Hua, Erlong, Jiao Dao Kou

EAGLES OF THE SEA A feature film in colour produced by the August First Film Studio, a story of the P.L.A. navy in action against the Chiang Kai-shek pirates.

April 20-24, Zhongyang, Guang An Men, Peking Workers’ Club, Xin Zhong Guo, Guang He

A CHUANG TAPESTRY A full-length animated cartoon in colour. Produced by the Shanghai Fine Arts Film Studio. This is the story of how a woman and her son in the Chuang Autonomous Region lived through many adventures and difficulties which they recorded in the intricate patterns and designs of myriad colours that they embroidered in satin.

April 20-24, Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

EVERYONE A SOLDIER A document in colour produced by the August First Film Studio, recording how Chinese people from every walk of life organized their militia units in 1958.

April 20-24, Shoudu Theatre, Peking Theatre, Shengli

THIAL RUN A feature in colour, based on the successful building of their first 10,000-ton ship by China’s shipbuilding workers. Produced by Changchun Film Studio.

April 25-28, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Erlong, Zhongyang, Guang An Men, Peking Workers’ Club

WIND FROM THE EAST A feature in colour produced by the Moscow Film Studio and Changchun Film Studio. A story of Sino-Soviet friendship in Russian Revolution, in building a hydro-electric power station in China and in fighting flood.

April 20-24, Zhongyang, Guang An Men, Peking Workers’ Club, Peking Theatre, Shoudu Theatre

SPORTS

SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY DEPARTMENTS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES will play in an International Men’s Basketball Competition.

April 18-24, At Peking Gymnasium

EXHIBITIONS

EXHIBITION OF YUAN MURALS OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY TEMPLE Open daily from 2:30-a.m. to 6:30 p.m., Palace Museum

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