

# PEKING

May 12, 1959

19

# REVIEW

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## THE REVOLUTION IN TIBET AND NEHRU'S PHILOSOPHY

A commentary by the *Renmin Ribao* editorial department, May 6, 1959 (p. 6).

### 17-Article Agreement on Tibet Sabotaged

How the Tibetan reactionaries wrecked the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet and, for your reference, the full text of the 1951 agreement (p. 16).

### Liao Shih-kang: Profile of a Worker

### China's Highway Transport

Document: Sino-Hungarian Treaty  
of Friendship and Co-operation

*Round the Week, Architecture and  
Other Features*

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Just off the press

# THE RISE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S COMMUNES

by *Anna Louise Strong*

The growth of people's communes in China has attracted worldwide attention. What are the facts? In this booklet Anna Louise Strong, the well-known American writer, gives an eye-witness account of various communes she visited in different parts of China. She relates how the people's communes first came into being, how they appear to her today and where they are going. The facts she cites can leave no reader in doubt about the vitality and the great meaning of this new form of social organization that has appeared in socialist China.

130 pages

*Illustrated*

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## *People's Communes in China*

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# PEKING REVIEW

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

May 12, 1959 Vol. II No. 19

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## New Stage in Sino-Hungarian Friendly Relations

ON May 6 Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Muennich Ferenc signed an important document in Peking—the Sino-Hungarian Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation. (Its text is published on p. 23.) This marks a new stage in the growing fraternal relations between the two countries. It also contributes to cementing the solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

Prior to conclusion of the treaty, the Delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government led by Dr. Muennich held talks in Peking with the Communist Party and government leaders of China on international problems of common interest, on socialist construction in their two lands and the extension of friendly co-operation between their countries and Parties. Complete unanimity of views was reached. It was on this basis that the Sino-Hungarian treaty was signed.

Little contact existed between the Chinese and Hungarian peoples before their liberation, though their revolutionary struggles had been a source of inspiration to each other. As members of the great family of socialist countries, however, the two peoples over the past ten years have become close friends despite the enormous geographical distance between them. Common ideals and identical interests unite them. They are guided by proletarian internationalism in all their relations. They support each other in repulsing the attacks of the enemies of peace and of socialism. And they do all they can to aid each other in socialist construction. Economic and cultural exchanges between the two countries are becoming more and more extensive. Today this friendship is a tangible reality in the people's daily life. This fraternal feeling was never better demonstrated than in the warmth of the welcome given Prime Minister Muennich and his party wherever they went on their recent tour of China. Now these friendly relations have been sealed in the form of a treaty between the two states. There will be a still greater flourishing of the friendship between the two peoples.

The strengthening of friendly co-operation between China and Hungary will also contribute to the cause of peace. The present treaty specifically stipulates that the two countries "are determined to do their utmost for the safeguarding and consolidation of world peace and make every possible contribution to ensuring the security of all the peoples of Europe and Asia." It also provides that the two countries shall consult each other on all the important international questions of common interest, while paying special attention to safeguarding the territorial integrity and security of their countries.

Today both China and Hungary are advancing in seven league boots. The strengthening of their friendly co-operation and mutual support will help them reach their common destination—socialism and communism—even more speedily. It will also enable both of them to render greater service to the cause of world peace and human progress.

# ROUND THE WEEK

## Chairman Mao Tse-tung Receives Panchen Erdeni

On May 7 Chairman Mao Tse-tung received Panchen Erdeni, Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet; Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General; Chantung Jijigme, member of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee; and their entourage in Peking. Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh, Premier Chou En-lai and other leaders of the state were also present on the occasion when *hata* (ceremonial scarves) were exchanged.

## Tibetan Peasants and Herdsmen Demand Reform

With the rebellion launched by the reactionary clique in Tibet now virtually stamped out, Tibetan peasants and herdsmen who constitute some 95 per cent of the population have become more insistent in their demand that the savage system of serfdom be destroyed for ever. Let's put an end to this system which ground us down for hundreds of years, say the Tibetans, so that we can join with the people of our brother nationalities in our march to a rich and full life.

At meetings held in various parts of Tibet the peasants and herdsmen are giving vent to their pent-up feelings against the rebels and recount how they have suffered at their hands. The serfs in Lhasa, Chamdo, Loka, Gyantse and other towns and villages asked the first People's Liberation Armymen or cadres of the Military Control Commission they ran into when they will be liberated, meaning, when will the reforms come. They poured out their hearts to the armymen and implored them to help them achieve emancipation at once.

It will be remembered that in the first days of the peaceful liberation of Tibet the working people of the region already indicated their hopes for democratic reforms. But the reforms were deferred. Even a year or so ago many Tibetans were still saying: "The Liberation Army's here and we consider ourselves liberated, but only half. Only when we have the reforms can we call ourselves completely liberated." So when the order of the State Council issued on March 28 became known, people in the foothills of the Himalayas, along the valleys of the Tsangpo River and the villages west of the

## Meetings After the N.P.C. Session

The Council of National Defence held its first plenary meeting on May 5 with Chairman Liu Shao-chi presiding. Huang Ke-cheng, Vice-Minister of National Defence, made a report following which the meeting held a general discussion.

Earlier, the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress held its first meeting on May 3 with Chu Teh, the new Chairman, presiding. The meeting adopted resolutions approving the cultural co-operation agreement with the Viet-nam Democratic Republic and the cultural co-operation agreement with the Korean Democratic People's Republic. With the approval of these agreements China now has cultural co-operation agreements with all socialist countries.

## G.O.M. Tea Party

Premier Chou En-lai was host to an unusual function the other day. When the National People's Congress and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference ended their sessions, he gave a tea party for some 300 Grand Old Men, members of the C.P.P.C.C., from various parts of the country who are all over 60. In his opening words to greet his guests, he said jocularly that he had thought of such a party last year but didn't dare give it; but this year, he said, he felt he was within right—he has turned 60.

Greybeards, long beards, all the marks of age and experience and wisdom were there; the oldest man was 90 and the youngest 60. Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Mayor Peng Chen were invited but not qualified as G.O.M., because they are not yet 60. They were described as "candidate members" of the tea party.

Of the 1,071 C.P.P.C.C. members, 383 are over 60 years of age. This, Premier Chou En-lai said, is an indication of the strength of the people's democratic united front. Although these members are ripe in age, they are still young in spirit and wish to do more for the country, nevertheless the Premier suggested that they pay attention to having proper rest after work. Since many of them have lived through and seen much of

the old China he thought it would not be a bad idea if they could see fit to pass on their rich knowledge and experience to the younger generations. Living in this new era in China, the Premier said, old people stare age in the face and will not give in to it, they want to do more for the building of socialism and communism in China. That's it, said Kang Sheng, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party's Central Committee, that may be the reason why about one-third of the people here do not sport any beards—a remark which brought the house down.

## Campaign for Greater Production and Economy Unfolds

Following the conclusion of the session of the National People's Congress, people in all parts of China are making special efforts to press on with the campaign to increase production and practise economy in all fields of productive endeavour called for by the Congress. Industrial workers in Liaoning Province stated at a recent province-wide meeting that they will chalk up new records in producing more at less cost to greet the forthcoming tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic. The Iron and Steel Works of Taiyuan, Shansi Province, has set a new target—to turn out 1,800 tons of steel daily by July 15, which is more than double its present output. These are but two examples of the enthusiasm that is sweeping the factories and farms in China to do better than *annus mirabilis* 1958.

The campaign to increase production and practise economy is not a new one in China, but this year it is coupled with the technical revolution. That is to say, the campaign for greater production and economy is anchored in the technical revolution and in introducing technical reforms. Of course, such a campaign has always aimed, as in the past, at tapping potentialities in equipment, raw materials, capital, manpower, etc. But great emphasis is laid at present on exploiting more fully the resources of technological skill, so as to be better able to substantiate the principle of socialist construction—more, faster, better and more economical—in a still more effective way.

Kinsha River sought out the People's Liberation Army for information about the policy and time of reform. Many wrapped their letters asking for reform in white silk *hata*. Such is the intensity of feeling of the Tibetans for reforms and a new life, ready to wage the necessary struggle to achieve this end.

## Yatung Begins Its New Life

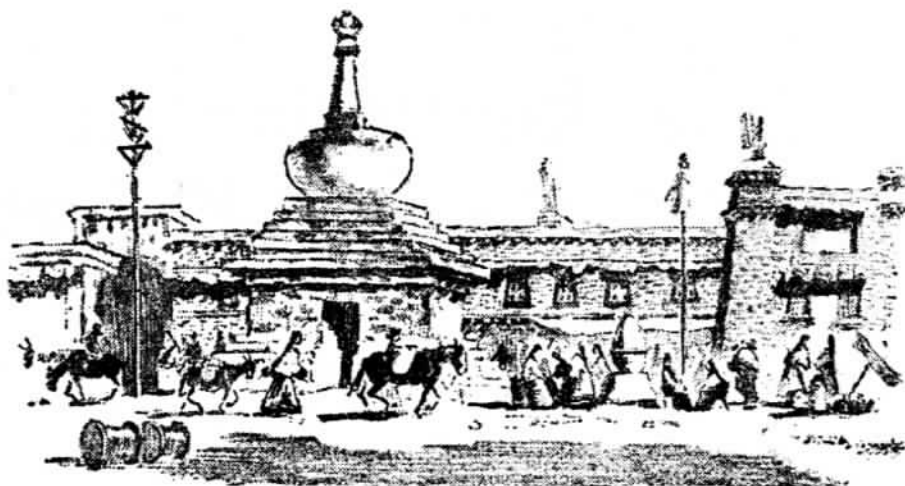
Yatung is a typical reborn town. Rid of rebels, it breathes freely once again. With much to do to build anew, and much more to look forward to, Yatung is in a festive mood. The inhabitants, and especially the young men and women, celebrate the deliverance of the town from the rebel bandit forces, wining and dancing in the village squares in their most colourful costumes.

Grannies and grandpas put out the purest white *hata* to decorate the picture-frames of Chairman Mao Tse-tung as a token of their affection and respect, and children, too, go picking fresh flowers from the Himalaya foothills to put them before the picture of their beloved leader in their homes. The womenfolk who had not dared to show their faces for fear of molestation by the rebels are seen out again, working and singing in the fields, singing of the bright future that now opens before all of them with the suppression of the reactionary forces.

Nestling at the bottom of the Himalayas on the southern tip of the Tibet region, Yatung has had a chequered history. It bore the brunt of several British invasions in the 19th century and early this century and has been victimized by the international adventurers who blustered their way into Tibet in the name of trade or some fancy "humanitarian" causes. When the rebels struck in March they terrorized the Yatung area. Suffering was writ large on the faces of the inhabitants. The People's Liberation Army came; the rebellion was quelled; Yatung was given a new lease of life. The mountain of oppression, as the Tibetan working people call the reactionary clique, is now removed from their backs, and this time, they say, for good.

## P.L.A. Helps Tibetans with Their Farming

Tibetan peasants are now making a major effort to catch up with their farming timetable. It is rather late for the spring ploughing and sowing; however, officers and men of the People's



Parkor — Lhasa's main street

Drawing by Niu Wen and Li Huan-min

Liberation Army are giving the peasants a big hand while pressing on with the mopping-up campaign. The Military Control Commission in the area organized the local inhabitants, soldiers and government office workers to repair conservancy works after the quelling of the rebellion. It showed them how mutual aid in farming could be used to advantage to solve the difficulty of lack of draught animals, since most of the peasants' animals had been seized by the rebels. In many places, the army lends its cavalry horses to the local peasants for farming.

Following the dissolution of the reactionary local government and, with it, the disappearance of the oppressive *ula* (corvée system) and other extortionate services, the Military Control Commission has taken a number of measures for the benefit of the masses. In response to the demands of the local peasantry, it has declared that all who till the land owned by the former local government or members of the reactionary clique of the upper social strata are entitled to harvest and own the crops they cultivate. In Kaishuhsika, for example, the former serfs of rebel leader Surkong Wongching-Galei have organized themselves into four teams to work the land collectively. They work with a will, for in the old days out of the 800 *khals* of land they tilled for the serf-owner they had to surrender all the crops reaped on 500 *khals*. Now for the first time Tibetan peasants will enjoy all the fruits of their own labour.

Thanks to the peasants' enthusiasm born of their new emancipation, farming in the whole of the Loka area is forging ahead in spite of the late start. At present the valleys and ravines south of the Tsangpo River are humming with activity. The slogan here is to strive for a bumper harvest and not waste one inch

of land, while going all out to help the P.L.A. put down the rebellion in all parts of Tibet.

## Rebel Forces in Loka Collapse

The ready support from the local inhabitants was an important factor in the People's Liberation Army's swift successes over the rebel forces in the Loka area. The masses of Tibetan working people know for whom the P.L.A. is fighting and they gave every help they could to the people's forces coming their way. They acted as guides, scouts and transport teams for the P.L.A. in difficult terrain. At one place, for instance, when the local population learnt that the rebel forces were falling back they destroyed the bridges to cut their retreat. This close understanding and co-operation between the P.L.A. and the local inhabitants hastened the end of the rebel forces in the Loka area, which was the stronghold of the rebellion.

Since the campaign to quell the rebellion started, the P.L.A. has enjoyed wide support from the peasants, herdsmen and other working people in the region. In the villages where they passed through Tibetans gathered along the wayside to welcome the troops. Old people chanted sutras and prayed for victory and their safe return. Bouquets and *hata* were presented to the troops. And many urged and demanded that the P.L.A. avenge the suffering inflicted on them by the rebels.

In the meantime, large numbers of rebel forces who were pressganged into the ranks of rebellion, many of whom were ordinary working people or even lamas, had surrendered upon learning that the P.L.A. would treat all prisoners who laid down their arms leniently. Some just ran away and went back to their villages. So, hounded and doomed, the rebel forces in all parts of the Loka area collapsed.

# The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy

by

The Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao"  
May 6, 1959

*On May 6 "Renmin Ribao" published the following commentary by its Editorial Department. We inserted it as a supplement in those copies of our May 5 issue which had not yet been mailed out. Since we are certain that all readers of "Peking Review" will want to have this basic article, we are publishing it in this issue of our magazine.—Ed., "Peking Review."*

**T**HE war of rebellion unleashed by the handful of traitors in Tibet has in the main been quelled. With the ignominious defeat of the rebels, the sanguinary conflict they created has ended over the overwhelming portion of Tibet. Now Tibet faces a peaceful revolution, that is, the democratic reforms in Tibet referred to in the resolution of the National People's Congress\* and which the broad masses of people in Tibet have long expected and urgently demanded. This is a revolution—the continuation in Tibet of the great people's revolution which swept the Chinese mainland around 1949. Because of obstruction by the former local government of Tibet, this revolution has all along been delayed in Tibet during the past eight years since the peaceful liberation of Tibet. The revolution to be carried out following the putting down of the rebellion will be a peaceful one, that is to say, a revolution without bloodshed. The Tibetan people will pursue a policy of redemption towards those of the upper classes in Tibet who have not taken part in the rebellion—almost the same policy adopted in the Han areas towards the national bourgeoisie. Ample conditions exist for the Tibetan people to do so, because they are backed up by China's hundreds of millions of people, who have already completed democratic reforms and the socialist transformation.

At present, public opinion in many countries of the world is quite vocal about the question of Tibet. This is an excellent thing. The 1,200,000 people living on the roof of the world, to whom no serious attention has ever been paid before, have every right to enjoy the honour of holding the attention of the whole world, and to be enlightened and steered in the course of worldwide discussions. Some foreigners say that the rebellion of the handful of reactionaries in Tibet is a "revolution," a "nationalist," "anti-aggressive," "anti-colonialist" and "anti-imperialist" "revolution" and that these reactionaries are entitled to "full" and "inviolable" autonomy or "independence." On the other hand, they describe the put-

ting down of the rebellion by the People's Liberation Army with the active support of the Tibetan people as "armed intervention," "aggression," "colonialism" and "imperialism," an action of a "Hitler." Talking like this are the Western imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries, like Nobusuke Kishi, Syngman Rhee, Sarit Thanarat, Ngo Dinh Diem and Chiang Kai-shek in Asia (nevertheless Chiang Kai-shek does not favour independence for Tibet, but demands that Tibet pledge its allegiance to Taiwan). There are certain sections of the bourgeoisie in some capitalist countries, whose political attitude in general is different from that of the above-mentioned people, but who go along with imperialism on this question. Certain bourgeois elements in India are such an example. All the afore-mentioned people are a minority in the world as well as in their own countries. But they control considerable propaganda machines and appear to be kicking up quite a big fuss for the time being. A greater number of people in the world say that the rebellion in Tibet is reactionary and that putting down the rebellion is a just action. The people of the socialist countries unanimously support the Chinese people's struggle against the rebels. Even in the capitalist world, the majority are on the side of the Chinese people. They include the working people of all lands, people who stand for justice and progress, and those national bourgeois who are fighting foreign aggression and foreign intervention. These national bourgeois understand that approving foreign interference in Tibet would mean approving foreign interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia, Ceylon, Cambodia, Nepal, Iraq, Cuba and many other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, or approving encroachment on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of these countries. However, in some capitalist countries, this voice of righteousness for the time being does not sound so loud as the noisy clamour of the anti-Chinese propaganda machines. Some people feel sorry: here we have the fine People's Republic of China; here we have the fine Sino-Indian friendship; would it not be better if there had been no rebellion in Tibet! These people are well-intentioned, but they fail to see that as the rebellion in Tibet broke out and was rapidly stamped out, a bad thing has been turned to good account. The revolution in Tibet has been accelerated by this rebellion and with the democratization of Tibet the history of foreign intervention in Tibet will finally come to an end. This is absolutely necessary for the true consolidation of Sino-Indian friendship. In short, not only the people of

\* Full text published in *Peking Review*, No. 17, April 29, 1959.—Ed.

Tibet and of China as a whole should carefully examine and draw lessons from these different opinions but the people of many capitalist countries, particularly those capitalist countries where there has been much ballyhoo on the Tibet question, will also examine them and draw the lessons they need.

Here we would like to talk about the statement made by Mr. Nehru in the Indian *Lok Sabha* on April 27. (The Editorial Department's Note: Since writing this commentary, we have read Prime Minister Nehru's May 4 speech in the Indian *Rajya Sabha*. The principal points contained in that speech did not go beyond the scope of his April 27 speech. Therefore, we have made no revisions or additions.)

This was the seventh time since March 17 up to the end of April, that Mr. Nehru had spoken on the question of Tibet in Parliament. Mr. Nehru has on many occasions expressed his sympathy with the so-called "aspirations of the Tibetans for autonomy" and his opposition to what he called "armed intervention" by China. His statement of April 27 is somewhat more systematic. And its full text appeared in our paper on April 30. For the convenience of our readers, we here again quote certain passages from this statement which, to a very large extent, can be taken as a summary of his views on the rebellion in Tibet and on India's role:

The circumstances were undoubtedly difficult. On the one side there was a dynamic, rapidly moving society; on the other, a static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform. The distance between the two was great and there appeared to be hardly any meeting point. Meanwhile change in some forms inevitably came to Tibet. Communications developed rapidly and the long isolation of Tibet was partly broken through. Though physical barriers were progressively removed, mental and emotional barriers increased. Apparently, the attempt to cross these mental and emotional barriers was either not made or did not succeed.

To say that a number of "upper strata reactionaries" in Tibet were solely responsible for this appears to be an extraordinary simplification of a complicated situation. Even according to the accounts received through Chinese sources, the revolt in Tibet was of considerable magnitude and the basis of it must have been a strong feeling of nationalism which affects not only the upper class people but others also. No doubt, vested interests joined it and sought to profit by it. The attempt to explain a situation by the use of rather worn-out words, phrases and slogans, is seldom helpful.

When the news of these unhappy developments came to India, there was immediately a strong and widespread reaction. The government did not bring about this reaction. Nor was this reaction essentially political. It was largely one of sympathy based on sentiment and humanitarian reasons, also on a certain feeling of kinship with the Tibetan people derived from long-established religious and cultural contacts. It was an instinctive reaction. It is true that some people in India sought to profit by it by turning it in an undesirable direction. But the fact of that reaction of the Indian people was there. If that was the reaction here, one may well imagine the reaction among the Tibetans themselves. Probably this reaction is shared in other Buddhist countries of Asia. When

there are such strong feelings, which are essentially not political, they cannot be dealt with by political methods alone, much less by military methods. We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet; we have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China; but at the same time we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet, and we are greatly distressed at their hapless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China, in their wisdom, will not use their great strength against the Tibetans but will win them to friendly co-operation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given about the autonomy of the Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease.

Nehru did not explain what kind of society in Tibet he referred to as a "static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform." But this is precisely the starting point of the whole question. Our discussion must and can only begin here.

**T**IBETAN society is a serf society based on manorial estates. In Tibet, the main means of production — all the land and most of the cattle belong to three kinds of feudal estate-holders or serf-owners, namely, the officialdom (the feudal government), the monasteries and the nobles. These three kinds of serf-owners only account for approximately 5 per cent of the population, that is, about 60,000 of the 1,200,000 population of Tibet. None of the peasants have any land of their own; few of the herdsman have cattle of their own. They can only toil for the serf-owners. Together with their children, they have for generation after generation belonged to different serf-owners. Part of the estates of the serf-owners are especially set aside for service to the feudal government. The serfs that are assigned to cultivate such land have to do various kinds of corvee for the feudal government. Military service is also borne by some of the serfs on such land. The rest of the estates are the so-called "self-managed land" of the serf-owners. On this kind of manorial land, the serfs have to cultivate all the land for the estate-owners with their own draught animals and farm implements (sometimes also having to bring their own food), while the lords only allot a small piece of inferior land (about three-tenths of the land of the lords) to the serfs as payment. The serfs spend the great bulk of their time every year working on the land of the serf-owners, and also have to do all kinds of corvee for them. On the above-mentioned two kinds of estates, more than 70 per cent of the income obtained from the toil of the serfs goes into the pockets of the serf-owners through exploitation. It is generally difficult for the serfs to live on their incomes and, therefore, they are forced to borrow on usurious terms from the serf-owners. A great many serfs are unable to repay the debts they have incurred, and there are even some debts hundreds of years old. The serfs not only have no political rights, they do not even have ordinary freedom of movement. They must get permission from the lord of the manor for even a short term of absence. The nobility in Tibet is hereditary. At present there are two or three hundred noble families in Tibet. Their positions vary according to the amount of their property. The big nobility make up around one-tenth of this number, or some twenty-odd families; they

each own dozens of manorial estates and thousands of serfs. In the feudal government of Tibet, the power has always been in the hands of these big nobles. The distinctions of rank between nobles and serfs are extremely rigorous. On seeing nobles, the serfs have to avoid them or bow and stick out their tongues as an expression of awe. When they speak they have to follow a definite pattern of speech with no slips. The nobles torture at will the serfs who run away and are recaptured or who are considered to have otherwise violated the law. Besides the commonest form, flogging, there are even such frightfully cruel tortures as gouging out the eyes, cutting off the nose and the hands, hamstringing and chopping off the kneecaps.

Monasteries occupy an important place in Tibet's social life. The proper religious activities of the monasteries and the people's freedom of religious belief must at all times be protected and respected. But up to the present all rulers of the monasteries in Tibet are at the same time serf-owners. The exploitation of the serfs by the monasteries through usury and trade is even harsher than that by the officialdom or the nobles. The monasteries have an additional kind of exploitation of the serfs carried out in the name of religion. Distinctions of rank in the monasteries are also strict. The poor lamas that come from serf families and the small lamas are also the exploited in the monasteries. The monasteries also have various instruments of torture and prisons. They can punish the serfs and the lower-ranking lamas at will. The cruelty of such punishment is not different from that imposed by other serf-owners.

Roughly speaking, the nobles and the monasteries each hold around 30 per cent of all the land in Tibet. The rest, approximately 40 per cent, belongs to the feudal government.

**I**T is natural that, based on such a reactionary, dark, cruel and barbarous serf system, the political and religious hub in Tibet was a tiny collection of the biggest serf-owners. All kinds of shocking corruption and internal strife inevitably arise among these biggest serf-owners. Countless cases of murder and poisoning have occurred among part of the high-ranking power-wielding officials surrounding the Dalai Lama, in their fight for power and gain. The Dalai Lama is by no means highly respected unconditionally by these people as Nehru says. Quite to the contrary, they often make the Dalai Lama their puppet, impose their opinions on him, and even do him to death when they deem it necessary. For example, it is well known that the Eleventh Dalai Lama met with sudden death in the Potala Palace in 1855 when he was only 18 years old. After that, in 1875, the Twelfth Dalai Lama also died a sudden death in the Potala Palace at the age of twenty. After the British imperialists' invasion of Tibet, the reactionary rulers of the upper social strata in Tibet resorted to even baser and crueller methods of squeezing out those not in their own gang. In 1923, the Ninth Panchen Lama was forced to flee Tibet to the interior of the country for the rest of his life. In 1947, the Rabchen Hutuktu, regent for the Dalai Lama for eight years, was arrested and strangled to death in prison. In the same year, the father of the present

Fourteenth Dalai Lama now in Mussoorie was poisoned for his patriotic ideas by reactionaries who had connections with foreign countries, in order to facilitate their control over the Dalai Lama. In 1950, Living Buddha Geda who worked for the peaceful liberation of Tibet was poisoned in Chamdo and his body was burned in order to destroy the evidence. All these notorious crimes were committed by stooges of foreign interventionists within the Tibetan ruling clique.

This society was indeed static in the past. Not only was the economy depressed and the culture backward, but even the population was unable to increase. However, the system of this society was not in the least "moderate" or "humane." It is a thoroughly backward, reactionary, cruel and barbarous system!

**M**AY we ask all those vociferous self-styled sympathizers of the Tibetan people: Just who are the "Tibetan people" you sympathize with? Whose autonomy or independence is the autonomy or "independence" of Tibet you propagandize? Whose defeat is the defeat of the rebellion in Tibet which you weep and mourn over? It can be seen that many of the so-called "sympathizers" are only usurping the name of the Tibetan people, the name of Tibetan autonomy and the name of humanitarianism. It is not the Tibetan people they sympathize with, but those who for generations have oppressed, exploited and butchered the Tibetan people, those chiefs of the cannibalistic system in Tibet. When the big serf-owners in Tibet gouged out the eyes and hearts of the serfs, these people who made sympathizing their special job did not feel it a tragedy and did not demand of these serf-owners moderation and humanitarianism. When these big serf-owners launched armed attacks on the People's Liberation Army stationed on the soil of their own country, when they used savage methods to butcher captured P.L.A. fighters and People's Government personnel, these sympathizers only cried "bravo," and blustered that these serf-owners could carry on a one-hundred-year guerrilla war; they did not demand of them moderation and humanitarianism. Only when the People's Liberation Army went over from the defensive to the offensive against those beasts who persisted in rebellion, that is to say, only when this cruellest and most savage serfdom in the world finally met with crisis as a result of the defeat of the rebellion of the armed bandits, only then did all the hue and cry of "tragedy," "sympathy," "humanitarianism," "autonomy" and "independence" flood forth like a torrent bursting through sluice gates. From this it can be seen that except for some who are under a misapprehension, those who uttered such cries are precisely the defenders of the most reactionary serfdom and the most barbarous big serf-owners, precisely the enemies of the freedom and liberation of the Tibetan people. And it is precisely for this reason that this counter-revolutionary "holy alliance" of the Metternich type has bound together the U.S. State Department, British colonialists, Syngman Rhee of south Korea, Ngo Dinh Diem of south Viet-nam, Chiang Kai-shek of China and India's reactionary parties—the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh Party. There is nothing strange about all this.

What surprises us is that the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, on the one hand, obviously has major con-



traditions with many disreputable characters in that alliance and understands that their plots and tricks are detrimental to India, to Sino-Indian friendship and to Nehru himself; on the other hand, he has involuntarily been pushed by that alliance into an important role in their so-called sympathy-with-Tibet movement, enabling them to look on with glee like someone watching tigers fighting from a hilltop. We feel greatly distressed at being forced now to argue with Mr. Nehru in our comment. Mr. Nehru, the respected Prime Minister of our friendly neighbour, India, is one of the statesmen who enjoy prestige in the world. In particular, we cannot forget that he is a friend to China and an opponent to the imperialist policy of war and aggression. Furthermore, he has also made a number of enlightened statements on social progress. For instance, in his autobiography written in prison in 1934-35, although he showed many misconceptions and prejudices towards communism (he admitted himself to be "a typical bourgeois," "with all the prejudices" fostered in bourgeois surroundings), he admitted, nevertheless, that owing to the application of scientific methods in the study of past history and current events, "the most revealing and keen analysis of the changes that are taking place in the world today come from Marxist writers." He also wrote:

Economic interests shape the political views of groups and classes. Neither reason nor moral considerations override these interests. Individuals may be converted, they may surrender their special privileges, although this is rare enough, but classes and groups do not do so. The attempt to convert a governing and privileged class into forsaking power and giving up its unjust privileges has therefore always so far failed, and there seems to be no reason whatever to hold that it will succeed in the future.

Nehru put it quite right here. But what a different tune he sang in his statement on April 27, 1959! Either he has completely cast away the views he once expressed, or else he really did not understand the scientific Marxist methods which he had thought he understood. Now he blames us for not having been able to convert the privileged ruling class in Tibet into forsaking power and giving up its privileges. Moreover, he tries to write off at one stroke the class analysis of Tibetan society as "worn-out words, phrases and slogans," and describes the two extremely antagonistic classes of serfs and serf-owners as a single society "fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform." Of course, we find it impossible to agree with this attempt of Nehru's. The class antagonism in Tibetan society is a living fact. It is by no means a matter of words, phrases or slogans, to say nothing of being worn-out. Reforms naturally call for action, and they should naturally be in the interests of the overwhelming majority who demand reforms and detrimental only to the tiny minority who stubbornly oppose reforms. As the situation stands in Tibet, reforms should benefit first of all the 1,140,000 people who account for 95 per cent of the population. As for the 60,000 who make up the other 5 per cent of the population, the situation with them also varies. Only a tiny minority of them resolutely oppose reform, to the extent of launching a rebellion and refusing to repent to the last. As we have said, the majority of the 20,000 or so rebels are labouring people who have been coerced or hoodwinked into joining the rebellion (as is the case with all counter-revolutionary armies). If the

Khambas who account for about one-third of the rebels are subtracted, the Tibetans who took part in the rebellion were only a little over one per cent of the 1,200,000 population of Tibet. To think that the entire upper class in Tibet rebelled is not correct. Furthermore, among these 60,000 there is quite a section of enlightened persons who approve of reforms. Therefore, it is necessary to differentiate among the members of the upper class, too, and to give them appropriate treatment accordingly; we have always adhered to this policy. To say that all those in the varying circumstances we mentioned above have the same fear of reform and the same mental and emotional barriers to reform does not accord with the facts. As for the overwhelming majority who demand reforms, why should they be fearful of reforms and have mental and emotional barriers?

**I**N discussing Tibetan society, although Nehru does not oppose reforms and does not deny the part vested interests played in the rebellion, still on the whole he not only fails to touch on its extremely cruel system of exploitation, but virtually lumps together the vast majority of the exploited with the tiny minority of the exploiters. On this basis, he denies that a handful of upper-strata reactionaries are responsible for the rebellion in Tibet, describes the just action of the Chinese people in putting down the rebellion as a "tragedy" and expresses sympathy for the rebellion. Thus, he commits a most deplorable error. As friends of India and as the people whose affairs Nehru is discussing, we deem it necessary to point out this error. If one agrees with Nehru's logic, not only the revolution in Tibet, but the whole Chinese revolution would be impermissible. It will be recalled that before liberation the area of China inhabited by the Han nationality had basically not emerged from the orbit of feudal society, although it was not serfdom. It, too, had always been called a static, unchanging, isolated society. Some people also sneered at us for proceeding from a worn-out, outdated, and extremely simplified imported ideology — Marxism-Leninism — which was said to be entirely unsuited to specific Chinese conditions. They asserted that our reform movement would meet with resistance from the entire society, the whole nation. They even declared that we split the nation, betrayed the motherland, and that we were agents of so-called "red imperialism" acting on orders from Moscow, and so on and so forth. Now, history has rendered its verdict: It is we who are right, not they. All the attacks and slanders against the communists have gone completely bankrupt. Under the leadership of the proletariat, China, once static and unchanging, has all of a sudden become a China full of vitality and moving swiftly forward — a proof that Marxist-Leninist analysis is applicable anywhere on earth. The static state of the past was merely due to the fact that the development of the forces of production was shackled by the backward relations of production. Marxist-Leninists and communists truly represent the interests of the nation and the motherland, while the handful of anti-communist elements who claimed to represent the interests of the whole nation proved indeed to be agents of imperialism, although they temporarily hoodwinked a section of the masses. We believe that Prime

Minister Nehru is not likely to oppose this conclusion from Chinese history. But according to Nehru's logic on the Tibet question, if his sympathy were not simply confined to the "Tibetan people" but extended to the whole of the "Chinese people," then the whole Chinese revolution would become a many times more distressing and unprecedentedly great "tragedy." During the period of the Chinese people's Liberation War, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and the Kuomintang troops greatly outnumbered the 20,000 Tibetan rebel bandits, there were many more "reasons" to say they were not merely "upper-strata reactionaries," and the war was on a much bigger scale. In a word, it should have warranted much stronger "sympathy." Yet, so far as we know, when Prime Minister Nehru sympathized with the whole of China he did not sympathize with the "big serf-owners" of the Han people; nevertheless, when he sympathizes with Tibet, which is a part of China, his sympathy goes to the "little Chiang Kai-sheks" in Tibet. How is this most glaring contradiction to be accounted for?

**P**ERHAPS Mr. Nehru will say that we are not doing him justice, because what he said was limited to Tibet and the Tibetans are different from the Hans. This is to say, the Han people, in leading the revolution among the Tibetan people, would inevitably meet with national barriers. The Tibetans are different from the Hans—that's perfectly true. And that is not all: the Mongolians, Uighurs, Chuangs, Huis, Miaos, Koreans and many other minority nationalities of China are all different from the Hans. The Chinese communists and the Chinese Government are confronted with the question of minority nationalities in the country. We have approached this question with extreme caution. For nearly ten years we have trained up indigenous cadres among the various national minorities, and have seriously carried out education against Han chauvinism among the Han people, especially among the Han cadres, the Han members of the Communist Party and the Han officers and men of the People's Liberation Army. We adopted a method unprecedented in the capitalist world: We persuaded the Han people in multi-national areas where they were in the majority to establish minority nationality autonomous regions. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region and many autonomous *chou* and autonomous counties were established in this way. In Tibet, we displayed especially great patience in order to win the co-operation of Tibetan upper-strata elements. For eight long years since the peaceful liberation of Tibet we maintained intact the former local government of Tibet, its complete system, its army and even its currency and persuaded the people of Tibet not to carry out for the time being the reforms they urgently demand. If the Central People's Government had not given the former local government of Tibet any right of autonomy as alleged in the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama, then those reactionaries, whose treason had been established, would have been arrested and punished long ago and the democratic reforms in Tibet would not have been put off up to the present. The Central People's Government adopted such an attitude of extreme magnanimity towards the reactionaries that even after the outbreak of the rebellion in Lhasa, and after learning that

the Dalai Lama had been abducted from Lhasa, the troops of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army did not start the counter-attack until seven hours after the rebel bandits had launched a direct armed attack on the Military Area Command headquarters. Quite clearly, by then the reactionaries had blocked all roads to peaceful settlement, and the only possible recourse left open was resolutely to launch a punitive expedition and put down the rebellion. Since the People's Liberation Army had the strength quickly to put down the rebellion in the Lhasa area, if it had chosen to make the first move, it could certainly have surrounded the Norbu Lingka in good time and prevented the rebel bandits from abducting the Dalai Lama. Any sensible person need only think for a moment and he will understand this, and will pay no attention to the fairy tales about two or three mortar shells fired in the direction of the palace and falling in a nearby pond. The policy adhered to by the Central People's Government and the People's Liberation Army from beginning to end not to fire the first shot in the face of such a serious situation precisely shows that the communists have always dealt very carefully with the question of nationalities, and in particular have exerted the maximum efforts to win over the upper-strata elements in Tibet. Such a policy can only be carried out in earnest by the revolutionary proletariat. The bourgeoisie or other exploiting classes could never carry it out, even if they wanted to.

**H**ERE, in the relations between nationalities, the fundamental keypoint is still the method of class analysis. Mr. Nehru hopes that we "will win them to friendly co-operation." No doubt this is a good idea, though it was meant by Mr. Nehru as an indirect charge that we have not done so and are not doing so. In point of fact, only the revolutionary proletariat can find a thorough and correct solution to historical national problems. Disputes and barriers between nationalities are in the main created by the exploiting classes and can never be eliminated by them. But under the correct leadership of the revolutionary proletariat, it is entirely possible for the working people of different nationalities to eliminate, through certain efforts, all the disputes and barriers left over from history and enter into a cordial, fraternal friendship. Chinese history has witnessed long-standing national oppression and national strife. Mongolian and Manchu rulers once oppressed the Hans, Uighurs and Tibetans; Han rulers, too, oppressed the Mongols, Manchus, Uighurs and Tibetans. This state of affairs has been radically changed since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic led by the proletariat. The Hans, who form the overwhelming majority of the population and the main revolutionary force, now still have to send personnel to Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. They no longer go there to oppress and exploit the national minorities, but rather, together with the revolutionary cadres of the local nationalities, to help the working people there to win freedom and liberation from the oppressors and exploiters of their own nationalities and to achieve democracy and socialism, that is, to lay the foundation for the flourishing economy and culture of the national minorities. The communist personnel of the Han nationality who work in those areas, including the Han officers and men of the People's Liberation Army, do not

ride on the backs of the people of the national minorities there and lord it over them; on the contrary, they go there to work, together with the revolutionary cadres of the local nationalities, as the servants of the people of the national minorities. They share the weals and woes of the labouring people of the national minorities and fight for their rights and happiness in disregard of difficulties and perils. Thus, the working people of the national minorities and those upper- and middle-strata elements of the national minorities who are patriotic and favour reforms, have united with the working people of the Han nationality and overthrown, as the Han people did, the reactionary rule of the upper-strata reactionaries of their own nationalities. Thus, the sources of national disputes and barriers disappeared and friendly co-operation among different nationalities was placed on a really solid foundation. This is the process which has been carried out in Inner Mongolia, in Sinkiang, in Ninghsia, Kansu and Chinghai of the northwest and in Szechuan, Kweichow, Yunnan and Kwangsi of the southwest. In the course of this process, the personnel who lead the reforms make every effort to unite with people of various strata among the national minorities who approve of reforms, and maintain close co-operation with them before, during and after the reforms. True, it would be impossible not to have struggles, and armed rebellions occurred in the Tibetan-inhabited areas in Szechuan, Kansu and Chinghai. But, as we have pointed out elsewhere, the rebellions in these Tibetan-inhabited areas were directed and instigated precisely by the reactionaries in Tibet, taking advantage of their special position.

**I**N Tibet, where the rule of the big serf-owners had not been changed in the course of the peaceful liberation, it was still possible for them to utilize their legal position to direct the old Tibetan army and the Khamba rebels and other reactionary political organs which defended the system of serfdom and continue to collude with some foreign interventionists. It is for this reason that reforms have not been carried out there and it was even possible to launch this rebellion. But in spite of all this, the Tibetan people have time and again eagerly demanded reforms since the entry of the People's Liberation Army troops into Tibet. The long-suffering Tibetan people were not afraid of reforms; they were fearful lest the Central People's Government delay reforms year after year by being too accommodating to the big serf-owners of Tibet! Messrs. Humanitarians of the world should know that the serfs in Tibet are also human beings. It is impossible to make them believe that the monsters who brutally exploit them, flog them and gouge out their eyes are their protectors. Nor is it possible to make them believe that the People's Liberation Armymen who warm-heartedly and amiably help them in their labours and treat their diseases, who do not take from them so much as a needle or a piece of thread, are their enemies. There lies the fundamental reason why the rebellion was entirely without support from the Tibetan people and was utterly routed in the twinkling of an eye, in spite of the national and religious signboards held up by the rebels, the difficult terrain with high mountains and precipitous valleys, and the many different kinds of foreign aid

they got. In putting down the rebellion, the People's Liberation Army confiscated the official seals of the feudal government, the arms of the rebel bandits and the court whips — serf-owners' instruments of torture. The Tibetan people everywhere greeted this with the joy of hailing rain after a long drought. How they have suffered under the oppression of these three things! They volunteered to serve as guides for the People's Liberation Army troops, and of their own accord supplied them with information about the bandits, and helped them to round up remnant rebels and to search for arms. The People's Court in Lhasa alone has received hundreds of rifles collected and turned in by the people themselves. In many villages of the Loka area, the people gathered together as soon as they learnt that the People's Liberation Armymen were coming, to present them with *hata* (ceremonial scarves), to bring them crimson peach blossoms and fresh willow wands and at the same time poured out to them bitter tales of rape, plunder murder and arson by the rebel bandits and asked the People's Liberation Army to avenge them. At Kung Ketsong, the rebels had dug four ditches across the highway in an attempt to prevent the advance of the People's Liberation Army. But as soon as the rebels were gone, the local inhabitants filled the ditches up. When the People's Liberation Army troops arrived at Lintze, the local inhabitants immediately organized a pack animal caravan of their own accord to help them carry ammunition and rations and move on with them as they mopped up the remnant bandits. Such moving examples are endless. When the rebellion was put down, the broad masses of people very quickly assisted the People's Government to restore order and, with the assistance of the People's Government, quickly went back to production. Spring ploughing in the Loka area, though delayed for half a month by the harassment of the rebel bandits, was finished with the assistance of the People's Liberation Army troops without delaying the sowing. Large numbers of people there are now taking manure to the fields, sowing and repairing irrigation canals and ditches. They are singing long-forgotten songs of joy. The peasants are everywhere asking when the land will be distributed. After it was announced, in response to popular request, that whoever sows could reap the crops this year on the land formerly belonging to the chief rebels, the serfs of the big serf-owner Surkong Wongching-Galei, one of the chief culprits in abducting the Dalai Lama, at Kaishuhsika immediately of their own accord organized the labour power into labour mutual-aid teams to cultivate all the land jointly to strive for a bumper harvest. It is very clear that the Tibetan peasants are confident that the day is fast approaching when they will stand on their feet and be their own masters on Tibetan soil. Excuse us for being so lengthy here . . . however, let all well-intentioned people who care about Tibet see for themselves how different all this is from the picture that met the old-type Chinese armies that entered Tibet from the Ching dynasty on! What a sharp contrast it presents to the picture met with by the British aggressive forces storming Lhasa from India! Therefore how can one describe the just action of the People's Liberation Army, together with the Tibetan people, in suppressing the rebel bandits who committed murder, arson and all other manner of evils as national oppression and national aggression.

Mr. Nehru asserts that there appeared to be hardly any meeting point between the Han and Tibetan societies and that the attempt to break down the mutual mental and emotional barriers was either not made or did not succeed. So far as the Tibetan working people are concerned, this question has been answered by the facts and will be answered in greater quantity and more vividly in the future. Even for the people of the upper strata in Tibet, the mental and emotional barriers have undergone varying degrees of change for many of them. The three letters to General Tan Kuan-san written by the Dalai Lama secretly and entirely of his own volition when he was held under duress and the speeches of Panchen Erdeni, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Shirob Jaltso, Ngawang Jaltso and Lozong Tsewang at the National People's Congress furnished a part of the obvious evidence in this respect. Standing on the side of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet are many patriotic members of the upper and middle social strata in Tibet. Lhasa's middle and primary school pupils, a large number of whom are children of families of upper and middle social strata, went back to class as soon as the rebellion was quelled, and their number now is much greater than before the rebellion. It can thus be seen that there is no ground to call the rebellion a national "revolution" and to describe the putting down of the rebellion as a national "tragedy."

IT is possible that some Indian friends who bear China no ill-will misunderstood, for a time, China's position and policy, owing to the long-time influence of biased propaganda, and to the fact that they have not seen the true conditions of life in Tibetan society and the activities of the People's Liberation Army first-hand, while their newspapers rarely publish full Chinese data. However, facts speak louder than eloquence and the truth will prevail in the end. We are fully confident that those Indian friends who labour under misapprehensions for the time being and who still hesitate to believe what we are saying now will ultimately arrive at an objective conclusion. We hope that Mr. Nehru will be one of them. Of course, Mr. Nehru has great confidence in himself, and he has his own set of independent views on the question of Tibet. He is inclined to assume that the powerful group in the former local government of Tibet are a flock of milk-white lambs. So even after they had attacked us, he still held that we were to blame. We cannot demand that our foreign friends must see the Chinese scene the way we do, much less can we demand that Mr. Nehru change his philosophical, historical and political viewpoints. Obviously, there exist contradictions in Mr. Nehru's thinking. But we do not propose to discuss how these contradictions are to be resolved. On such matters, we could engage in a friendly debate, or we need not debate at all. Both our households have plenty to do. We are busy enough minding our own business, and why should either of us poke his nose into the other's business? When Mr. Nehru was in Peking, he said with good reason: "Any attempt to impose the will of one nation on another or the ways of life of one people on another must necessarily produce conflict and endanger peace." However, the point now is, that a group of Indians, unfortunately including Mr. Nehru, insist that we do things according to their opinions.

We are very good friends and neighbours and can easily live in peace with each going his own way. If your way of doing things yields good results in India, it will not be too late for us to learn from you. Where, indeed, is the need for this urgency, not even scrupling to resort to certain acts of interference which impair friendship? We have thought it over and over again and are still unable to figure it out.

PRIME Minister Nehru denies that India has interfered in Tibet. He recalls the course of events before and after India's independence and partition to show that India has never had "political or ulterior ambitions" in Tibet. We acknowledge that Nehru's remarks conform with reality in the sense that the Indian Government has no desire to annex Tibet or send its armed forces to intervene in Tibetan affairs. India has all along recognized Tibet as a part of China and that the Chinese Government enjoys sovereignty over Tibet. India concluded with China in April 1954 the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and India based on the five principles, and later withdrew its troops from Tibet and handed over its post and telegraphic installations. The Chinese people view all this with satisfaction. However, interference by one country in the internal affairs of another may take diverse forms. To say that the Indian Government has not interfered in China's Tibet in any way in the past and at present is not convincing.

It may be recalled, as this newspaper reported, that the Indian Government intervened through diplomatic channels in October 1950 when the Chinese Government ordered its troops to enter Tibet. At that time, the Chinese Government, while ordering its troops to enter Tibet, asked the local government of Tibet to send its representatives to Peking for negotiations. This was exclusively an internal affair under Chinese sovereignty. The Indian Government, however, delivered three notes to the Chinese Government, on October 21, October 28 and November 1, 1950, declaring that "the invasion by Chinese troops of Tibet cannot but be regarded as deplorable" and with "no justification whatever" and that the Indian Government deemed it "most surprising and regrettable." It was further alleged in these notes that Chinese troops' entry into their own territory of Tibet "will give those countries in the world which are unfriendly to China a handle for anti-Chinese propaganda at a crucial and delicate juncture in international affairs"; that on the question of restoring Chinese representation in the United Nations, it "will have serious consequences and will give powerful support to those who are opposed to the admission of the People's Government to the United Nations and the Security Council"; that it "may prejudice the position of China in the eyes of the world," while the "peaceful negotiations (between the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet) can hardly be synchronized with it"; that it will not be "in the interests of China or of peace," has "greatly added to the tensions of the world and to a drift toward general war," and has "affected these friendly relations (between India and China) and the interests of peace all over the world." In this regard, the Chinese Government in its reply notes to the Indian Government pointed out that in enter-

ing Tibet, the People's Liberation Army was exercising the nation's sovereign rights, that the Tibet question was China's internal affair, and that no foreign interference was to be tolerated. This had nothing whatsoever to do with the Chinese People's Republic's right of representation in the United Nations. If those countries which were unfriendly to China went so far as to exploit the question of representation in the United Nations for the purpose of threatening China against exercising its sovereign rights on its own territory, that would only confirm once again their hostility towards China. Only after the Chinese Government had repeatedly made known this solemn attitude in resolute terms, and especially after the People's Liberation Army had scored an important victory in the Chamdo area, wiping out the main forces of the Tibetan army which attempted to bar its advance into Tibet, only then did the delegation of the local government of Tibet which remained in India arrive in Peking for negotiations in the latter part of April 1951. After negotiations, the seventeen-article agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet was finally concluded in May of the same year.

It may not be pleasant to recall this episode. However, facts are facts. How can it be said that the Indian Government has never interfered in Tibet?

**UNFORTUNATELY**, such interference still continues in certain forms. Such interference is all the more regrettable since it has taken place after the Chinese and Indian Governments jointly declared that relations between their two countries should be guided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Take Prime Minister Nehru himself for example. In his statements and remarks made since the rebellion in Tibet there are not a few friendly indications, but there are some utterances which, we feel, cannot be said to be conformable to the five principles of peaceful coexistence. For instance, he said: "The agreement between Tibet and China on the autonomous status of Tibet and the assurances given to India had not been kept by Peking. Armed intervention was taking place there" (April 13); "I do earnestly hope that the Tibetan people will be able to maintain and be able to enjoy their autonomy and not be oppressed and suppressed by others" (April 14). It may be asked, to describe China's putting down a rebellion in its own territory as "armed intervention," as "oppressing and suppressing" their "autonomy," and to say that "the assurances given to India" have not been kept—how can it be said that all this is not interference? The Indian Government insists that the Dalai Lama is not held under duress by the rebels but is the head of the rebels. If this is so, did not the impressive welcome extended to the Dalai Lama by the Indian Government and the visit to Mussoorie by Prime Minister Nehru himself mean giving a welcome to and holding a meeting with the leader of a rebellion in a friendly country? Because the Indian Government has never pursued a clear-cut policy of non-interference, it is quite understandable why both Madame Indira Gandhi, President of the ruling National Congress Party, and Madame Sucheta Kripalani, General-Secretary of the Party, have declared that Tibet was a "country" or an "autonomous country," and why the "People's Committee in Support of Tibet"

which was formed by most of the political parties in India including the National Congress Party openly demanded that the Tibet question be submitted to the United Nations, and why Indian papers openly slandered the Chinese Government as "practising banditry and imperialism," insulted China's head of state as an "abominable snowman" and demanded the convening of a so-called tripartite conference of India, Tibet and China on the pattern of the Simla Conference to settle the Tibet question, which is purely China's internal affair. After the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet and even before, certain political figures and papers in India launched a smear campaign against China of a scope reminiscent of the intervention of U.S. political and press circles in the execution of counter-revolutionary criminals in Cuba. We must ask, applying such political pressure to the internal affairs of a friendly country—can this be considered conformable to the five principles?

**P**RIME Minister Nehru says that the Indian reaction on the question of Tibet is essentially not political but instinctive, largely one of sympathy based on sentiment and humanitarian reasons, also on a feeling of kinship derived from long-established religious and cultural contacts with the Tibetan people. We understand that the Indian people have a feeling of kinship for the people of China's Tibet. Not only that, the Indian people have a feeling of kinship for the whole of the Chinese people. When Premier Chou En-lai visited India, the ardent slogan "Indians and Chinese are brothers" was heard everywhere, and these scenes and sentiments seem like a matter of only yesterday. But how can feelings towards the people in Tibet be used by certain political figures as a pretext for impairing feelings towards the Chinese people and for interference in China's internal affairs? This kind of logic is fraught with obvious dangers, because if such logic can stand, then when Tibet has taken the road of democracy and socialism, the road of strength and prosperity, could not a "people's committee to support Assam" and a "committee for Uttar Pradesh affairs" be set up to interfere in the affairs of India's state of Assam or Uttar Pradesh under the pretext of ancient religious and cultural links? Could not the government of the Autonomous Region of Tibet or the Government of China as a whole declare deep sympathy with the people of Assam or Uttar Pradesh as a basic policy and in pursuance of such a policy find fault with this and that in the affairs of these states? If the Indian Government can demand certain assurances from the Chinese Government on the grounds of deep sympathy and ancient links with the Tibetan people, could it not on the grounds of deep sympathy and ancient links with all the people of China make the outright demand for certain assurances from the Chinese Government as regards all its internal affairs? Similarly, could not the Chinese Government, also on the grounds of deep sympathy and ancient links with the Indian people, demand certain assurances from the Indian Government as regards its internal affairs? Where would peaceful coexistence and the five principles be? Would not the world sink into the chaos of mutual interference? We believe that our friends in India would no more welcome or tolerate such an international order than we do.

When India's interference in China's Tibet on these two occasions is taken into account, it is not difficult to see that although the Indian Government has no desire to occupy Tibet or make Tibet formally independent, it really strives to prevent China from exercising full sovereignty over its own territory of Tibet. In this respect certain political figures in India have followed the tradition of the British Government of the past—they only recognize China's "suzerainty" over Tibet, like India's "suzerainty" over Bhutan and Sikkim. What they call "autonomy" for Tibet is different from national regional autonomy as laid down in clear terms in the Constitution of China, different from the national regional autonomy practised in Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kwangsi and Ninghsia; rather it is a kind of semi-independent status. True, Tibet is not a province but an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China, with greater powers and functions than a province as laid down in the Constitution and by law; but it is definitely no protectorate—neither a Chinese protectorate, nor an Indian protectorate, nor a joint Chinese-Indian protectorate, nor a so-called buffer state between China and India. The People's Republic of China enjoys full sovereignty over the Tibet region just as it does over the regions of Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kwangsi and Ninghsia; there can be no doubt whatever about this, and no interference by any foreign country or by the United Nations under whatever pretext or in whatever form will be tolerated. Consequently, any question concerning Tibet can only be settled by China and in China, and not in any foreign country. Any status of semi-independence for Tibet would be detrimental to the Tibetan people, to the Chinese people, to the Indian people, to Sino-Indian friendship and to Asian peace. It would only serve the interests of the traitorous, reactionary big serf-owners of Tibet and their foreign interventionist backers, as well as of the expansionists and imperialist schemers who seek to sow discord between China and India. China and India are two peace-loving countries whose friendship is of long standing. Our two countries have every reason to live together in harmony, and refrain from aggression and interference, and not a single reason for mutual conflict, or for wanting to set up any buffer zone; and if establishment of such a buffer zone were pressed for, it would indeed create a truly deplorable conflict where none existed before. In view of the attitude of the Indian Government on this question, in view of the statements by certain Indian figures who are by no means irresponsible, we think it vital for the consolidation of Sino-Indian friendship to make this point absolutely clear. In his April 27 statement, when Prime Minister Nehru referred to the five principles he mentioned only "mutual respect" (which is undoubtedly necessary), but did not mention "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty" (those are the original words from the five principles, and moreover are preconditions for any sort of mutual respect). We hope that this was only an oversight.

**I**NTERFERENCE in China's internal affairs by certain political figures in India is not fortuitous. It bears the sign of the times. India is a country that has gained independence after shaking off the colonial rule of British imperialism. It desires to develop its national economy

in a peaceful international environment and has profound contradictions with the imperialist and colonialist forces. This is one aspect of the picture. Another aspect is that the Indian big bourgeoisie maintains manifold links with imperialism and is, to a certain extent, dependent on foreign capital. Moreover, by its class nature, the big bourgeoisie has a certain urge for outward expansion. This is why, while it opposes the imperialist policy of intervention, it more or less reflects consciously or unconsciously, certain influences of the imperialist policy of intervention. In international affairs, the Indian Government, headed by Prime Minister Nehru, has been reflecting generally the will of the Indian people and playing an important and praiseworthy role in opposing war and colonialism and safeguarding peace, in carrying out a foreign policy of friendship with China, with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries, of not joining in the military blocs of United States imperialism. But for historical reasons India's big bourgeoisie has inherited and is attempting to maintain, certain legacies from the British colonialist rulers. Of course, the great Indian people are not in the least responsible for this dual character of the Indian bourgeoisie. We also believe that not only the Indian people, but all far-sighted and wise members in the Indian Government, acknowledge that the way for India lies in progress, in looking forward not backward. We, as they do, hold that for the authorities of a country which gained independence not long ago and is now still subjected to threats from imperialist interventionists to interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbour is a regrettable phenomenon in contemporary international politics.

**T**HERE may be difference on this point or that between us and Mr. Nehru but there is not likely to be any difference of opinion on this: China has not interfered in India's internal affairs. It was only after a large volume of slanderous utterances had appeared in India that the Chinese people began to hit back. Prime Minister Nehru in his April 27 statement rightly censured certain Indians' statements and actions intended to undermine the friendly relations between China and India. Unfortunately, he followed this up with a concentrated attack on the public opinion in China which opposed interference. Nehru says that "the comments and the charges made against India by responsible people in China" are "regardless of truth and propriety" and "used the language of cold war." But China's charge of Indian interference, as already stated, is well-founded. The suspicions voiced by Chinese public opinion about the authenticity of the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama are also based on facts. The numerous loopholes and traces of forgery in that statement are still there objectively. It is very obvious that those Tibetan reactionaries who abducted the Dalai Lama to India, together with those Tibetan reactionaries who have assembled in Kalimpong for a long period of time carrying on traitorous activities, are sparing no effort to make use of the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama to bar the way to the Dalai Lama's return to his motherland, and this does not conform with the desire repeatedly expressed by Prime Minister Nehru.

As to attaching importance to truth and propriety, we regret that much that was said about China by some

political figures and publications in India in the past month and more can by no means be considered as showing regard for truth and propriety. The people of our country took note of the fact that Prime Minister Nehru more than once exerted a restraining influence in this respect. This is undoubtedly beneficial to Sino-Indian friendship. But when he accused the Central People's Government of China of violating the seventeen-article agreement and spoke about China's so-called "assurances" to India and so forth, we, after all, cannot say that his remarks showed regard for truth and propriety. Speaking of the language of cold war, some Indian political figures and publications have slandered China as "a new and sinister form of imperialism" and "expansionist imperialism" and attacked China's putting down the rebellion in Tibet as "military intervention," "colonization" and "banditry." Is not all this precisely the "language of cold war"? Towards such "language of cold war," we, for quite a long time, exercised forbearance time and again, exercising the maximum self-restraint. Our papers maintained almost complete silence. It will be recalled that as late as April 18, Premier Chou En-lai issued an earnest appeal for upholding Sino-Indian friendship at the Second National People's Congress. But, sad to say, all it got in return was a great clamour about the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama and even more unbridled attacks on our government and people. When further retreat was impossible, we had to rise and hit back. Some people try to use "freedom of speech" to justify India's slander campaign against China. But why do they not think for a moment: cannot the Chinese people have freedom of speech too? Tibet is our territory. The question of Tibet is our internal affair. If even foreigners can have so-called instinctive responses on this question, how indeed could the people of our country not have instinctive responses? At present, it seems that the slander campaign against us in certain foreign countries is already ebbing, and reason is once again getting the upper hand; but there are still a tiny number of people trying to continue fanning the flames. We can tell these people plainly: So long as you do not end your anti-Chinese slander campaign, we will not cease hitting back. We are prepared to spend as much time on this as you want to. We are prepared, too, if you should incite other countries to raise a hue and cry against us. We are also prepared to find all the imperialists in the world backing you up in the clamour. But it is utterly futile to try to use pressure to interfere in China's internal affairs and salvage the odious rule of the big serf-owners in Tibet. The more violently all the anti-communist, anti-Chinese elements in the world vilify us, the more clearly will they reveal their true colours, and the better lesson will they provide for the people of the whole world.

AS we said before, a great many people in the world today are talking about the Tibet question, from a great many different standpoints. Prime Minister Nehru is different from many persons who obviously bear ill-will towards China. He disagrees somewhat with us on the Tibet question. But in general he advocates Sino-Indian friendship. Of this we have no doubts whatsoever. We have made such a detailed reply to Prime Minister Nehru's reproaches (touching, of course, in not a few parts of the

article also on those people who obviously bear us ill-will) precisely because we are fully confident that differences can be reduced and the argument can be settled. The argument may have been a bit sharp, because the vital interests of our motherland and the Tibetan people are involved. But we still hope that, in substance, our argument will benefit mutual understanding between our two peoples and the friendship between our two peoples and two governments and that in the use of language friendship and propriety have not been overlooked. We are in full agreement with those warm words to the Chinese people spoken with such feeling and sincerity by Prime Minister Nehru: "We have every desire to maintain friendship between India and China" and "it would be a tragedy if two great countries of Asia, India and China, which have been peaceful neighbours for ages past should develop feelings of hostility against each other." Sino-Indian friendship is of long duration and rests on a solid foundation. Our basic interests are the same and our main enemy is also the same; we will certainly not forget our common interests and fall into the trap of our common enemy. Although it is regrettable for this argument to have taken place, we firmly believe that it will not result in feelings of hostility, nor will it shake the friendship between our two countries. Prime Minister Nehru has announced that India has no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet. We warmly welcome this friendly statement. Once the Indian side stops its words and deeds of interference in Tibet, the present argument will also come to an end. China never has interfered and never will interfere in India. We would like solemnly to assure all Indian patriots who are concerned for the security of India that a democratic and prosperous Autonomous Region of Tibet as a member of the big family of the people of various nationalities of China is bound to be a factor for consolidating and strengthening friendship between China and India: It certainly will not be, nor can it possibly be, any sort of "menace" to the Republic of India. The peaceful, good-neighbour policy of socialist China is for ever unshakable and the friendship of the nearly 1,100 million people of our two countries is for ever unshakable, just as the Himalayas are unshakable. All the drivel poured out by the slanderers is utterly groundless. When Prime Minister Nehru visited China in October 1954, he said: "China and India are great countries facing similar problems who have set out resolutely on the road to progress. To the extent that they will understand each other shall depend the well-being not only of Asia but of the whole world. The tensions in the world today demand that we should jointly work for peace." It is our wish that the peoples of our two countries for ever remember the truth pointed out here by Prime Minister Nehru. Like the Chinese people, the great Indian people have always treasured Sino-Indian friendship. We are firmly convinced that the slanders poisoning Sino-Indian relations will be recognized as such and repudiated by the broad mass of the Indian people as the true facts become known and common efforts are made by all personages concerned in both countries. China and India, and the peoples of the two countries, will continue their friendly co-operation in the cause of peaceful construction and will continue to join hands in their struggle for peace in Asia and the whole world.

# How the Tibetan Reactionaries Sabotaged the 17-Article Agreement

*In our last issue, we published a series of three historical background articles: "Tibet: An Integral Part of China"; "Imperialist Schemes in Tibet"; and "The Peaceful Liberation of Tibet." The following article is a continuation of this series.—Ed.*

**E**LSEWHERE in this issue you will find the full text of the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet concluded in 1951. It is a milestone in the modern history of the Tibet region. Since it was signed, each and every one of its seventeen articles has been adhered to scrupulously by the Central People's Government. The same cannot be said for the clique of reactionaries of upper social strata in Tibet who dominated the local government of Tibet and sabotaged the agreement consistently.

Articles 1, 3 and 12 of the agreement stressed that the local government of Tibet should unite the Tibetan people, drive out the aggressive imperialist forces which had penetrated into Tibet, and carry out national regional autonomy. But in actual fact, the Tibetan rebel clique worked for exactly opposite ends. It continued its collusion with imperialists and foreign reactionaries and schemed for so-called "independence"—a phony slogan designed to cover up their attempts to split the motherland and turn Tibet into a colony of the imperialists. On the eve of the Lhasa rebellion, the rebel clique openly forced people to sign "independence declarations"!

## Rebels Prevented Regional Autonomy

The Tibetan rebel clique, as the record now makes clear, only pretended that it wanted regional autonomy. In actual fact it consistently plotted to frustrate the early realization of regional autonomy. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region was set up in April 1956 in accordance with the decision of the Central People's Government after full consultation and complete agreement with the former local government of Tibet, the Panchen Kampo Lija\* and the People's Liberation Committee in the Chamdo area.\*\* Over 90 per cent of the members of the Committee were Tibetans. They included officials of the three organizations cited and representatives of the principal Tibetan monasteries and sects, various eminent Tibetans and members of the people's organizations in the Tibet region. The former local government of Tibet had a very big representation on the Committee, while functionaries of the Central People's Government did not exceed one-tenth of its total membership. All the meetings of the Committee but two were

\*The organization which administers the area under Panchen Erdeni.

\*\*Founded in January 1951 to administer the Chamdo area following its liberation in 1950.

presided over personally by the Dalai Lama, who had been appointed its Chairman. Yet at all times, the former local government of Tibet only feigned support for the work of the Preparatory Committee, which tried to carry out its work through co-operation with it.

There are many concrete instances proving that the former local government of Tibet tried its best to sabotage the decisions of the Committee. When a decision was made in December 1957—in fact on the suggestion of the Dalai Lama and passed by unanimous vote—to end the imposition of tax which some Tibetan functionaries and students paid as *duichuns* (serfs who had fled from their masters), the former local government of Tibet obstructed its execution. It continued to impose these levies and even threatened to put to death anyone who dared ask for exemption. As a result, this decision which helped the common Tibetan people could not be carried out.

The former local government of Tibet also sabotaged the decision of the Committee to set up schools and training classes, send students to other parts of the country and delegations to visit Peking and other cities, although these measures were urgently needed to raise the cultural level of Tibet and prepare for regional autonomy.

Articles 2 and 8 of the agreement provided that the local government of Tibet should assist the entry of the People's Liberation Army into Tibet and consolidate the national defence, that the former Tibetan army should be reorganized by stages into the P.L.A. and become part of the national defence forces. It is almost eight years since the agreement was signed, yet not a single unit of the Tibetan army was reorganized. On the contrary, the reactionary Tibetan rebel clique actually expanded their troops and time and again schemed to harm and even wipe out P.L.A. units in Tibet, until it openly launched a full-scale attack on the P.L.A. in Lhasa on March 20.

## Tibetan People Want Reforms

Article 11 of the agreement provided that the local government of Tibet should itself carry out reforms. As is well known, Tibet still has one of the most backward social systems in the world—serfdom. In the manors of the local government of Tibet, aristocrats and monasteries, the serfs eke out a most pitiful existence. They are robbed of almost all the fruits of their labour and live under the iron-fist rule of the serf-owners, who apply at will tortures of the darkest medieval days. It has long been the



most pressing need of the Tibetan people to put an end to this inhuman social system. The former local government of Tibet, however, in total disregard of the agreement, opposed any reform most violently. Through all these eight years, serfdom with all its brutalities has remained intact.

It is clear that without reform Tibet cannot achieve prosperity and progress. The Central People's Government, of course, has always upheld the necessity for reform in Tibet. The question was when and how. Waiting patiently for a change in attitude on the part of the local government of Tibet and giving it ample time to think things out, the Central People's Government announced at the end of 1956 that democratic reforms would not be carried out for the next six years, i.e., before 1962. In this way, the Central People's Government adhered to the letter and spirit of Article 11 of the agreement which stipulated that there would be no compulsion. At the same time, it was explained to the masses of the Tibetan people who eagerly want reform why this patient policy was pursued.

### Construction in Tibet

During this period, the Central People's Government took steps to improve the livelihood of the Tibetan people. In the eight years since the agreement, it effected a great deal of economic and cultural construction in Tibet despite obstructions by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata. Suffice it to mention only some well-known achievements here. In eight years, more than 7,000 kilometres of highways were built on the Tibetan plateau. These include the Sikang-Tibet, Chinghai-Tibet, Sinkiang-Tibet and Lhasa-Yatung Highways. Bridges were constructed over the Lhasa and Nyangchu Rivers. A host of medium and small industrial undertakings, including a hydro-power station, a small iron works, a serum factory, a tannery, a borax factory, a motor-vehicle repair plant in Lhasa and a thermal power plant at Shigatse were set up. Many hospitals have been opened, providing free medical treatment to the Tibetan people. Various schools, the first of their kind in Tibet, have been started. Large sums were given to peasants and herdsmen in the form of interest-free loans, and many farm tools were distributed free of charge. Large sums of money were given for relief to flood refugees. The Tibetan people are the direct beneficiaries of all these measures.

Articles 4, 5 and 6 of the agreement stipulated that the Central People's Government would not alter the existing political system and the status of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni. This was strictly adhered to. Tibet's political system remained as it was before the peaceful liberation. No change was made in the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama, moreover, was elected Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, thereby becoming a leading member of the state. As mentioned



Tibetans welcome news of the seventeen-article agreement (1951)

Woodcut by Li Shao-yen and Niu Wen

earlier, he was also appointed Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. Following Tibet's peaceful liberation, the ecclesiastical and secular officials of the former local government of Tibet remained in office as before. Not a single internal matter of Tibet was dealt with except through the former local government. Even when rebellious activities started around May and June last year, the Central People's Government took no measures except to enjoin the former local government repeatedly to do its duty and put down the rebellion.

### Religious Beliefs Respected

The Central People's Government has always adhered to the policy of respecting the freedom of religious beliefs, in Tibet as well as in other parts of the country. In accordance with Article 7 of the agreement, all P.L.A. units in Tibet and the personnel sent to Tibet make it a rule to respect the religious beliefs, and customs and habits of the people of Tibet strictly. In the past few years, all the lamasteries in Tibet, of all sects, have been protected. No change has been made by the Central People's Government in their revenues. Their religious activities have proceeded as before. At the important lamaist festivals, representatives of the Central People's Government in Tibet gave considerable alms to the lamas of the monasteries. The Central People's Government even provided the lamasteries with transport facilities when they wanted to buy goods from distant areas. Such a policy of respect for the religious beliefs of the Tibetan people and protection for the lamasteries has been widely acknowledged and warmly praised by Tibetan lamas and laymen of all strata.

Last but not least, the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet very strictly carried out all the various provisions in the agreement. They have been fair in all buying and selling and have not taken even a needle or thread from the people. This has won high praise from everyone among the Tibetan people.

Such is the record of scrupulous observance of the 17-article agreement by the Central People's Government and the perfidious violations by the former local government of Tibet. It is backed up by facts which cannot be glossed over or denied because the people in Tibet are

witness to them. The recent armed rebellion launched by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet and the former local government of Tibet under its control capped all previous violations and finally scrapped the agreement entirely.

### For Your Reference

## The Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet

*This historic agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet signed in Peking on May 23, 1951 is very much in the news. We reproduce here the full text of the agreement for the convenience of our readers.—Ed.*

THE Tibetan nationality is one of the nationalities with a long history within the boundaries of China and, like many other nationalities, it has performed its glorious duty in the course of the creation and development of our great motherland. But over the last hundred years or more, imperialist forces penetrated into China, and in consequence also penetrated into the Tibetan region and carried out all kinds of deceptions and provocations. Like previous reactionary governments, the Kuomintang reactionary government continued to carry out a policy of national oppression and sowing dissension among the nationalities, causing division and disunity among the Tibetan people. The local government of Tibet did not oppose the imperialist deceptions and provocations, and adopted an unpatriotic attitude towards our great motherland. Under such conditions, the Tibetan nationality and people were plunged into the depths of enslavement and suffering.

In 1949, basic victory was achieved on a nationwide scale in the Chinese people's War of Liberation; the common internal enemy of all nationalities—the Kuomintang reactionary government—was overthrown; and the common external enemy of all the nationalities—the aggressive imperialist forces—was driven out. On this basis, the founding of the People's Republic of China and of the Central People's Government was proclaimed. In accordance with the Common Programme adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Central People's Government declared that all nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal, that they shall establish unity and mutual aid and oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the People's Republic of China will become a big fraternal and co-operative family, composed of all its nationalities; that within the big family of all nationalities of the People's Republic of China, national regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national

minorities are concentrated, and all national minorities shall have freedom to develop their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their customs, habits and religious beliefs, while the Central People's Government shall assist all national minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational construction work. Since then, all nationalities within the country, with the exception of those in the areas of Tibet and Taiwan, have achieved liberation. Under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the direct leadership of various higher levels of people's government, all national minorities are fully enjoying the right of national equality and have established, or are establishing, national regional autonomy.

In order that the influences of aggressive imperialist forces in Tibet might be successfully eliminated, the unification of the territory and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China accomplished, and national defence safeguarded, in order that the Tibetan nationality and people might be freed and return to the big family of the People's Republic of China to enjoy the same rights of national equality as all the other nationalities in the country and develop their political, economic, cultural and educational work, the Central People's Government, when it ordered the People's Liberation Army to march into Tibet, notified the local government of Tibet to send delegates to the central authorities to conduct talks for the conclusion of an agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

In the latter part of April 1951, the delegates with full powers of the local government of Tibet arrived in Peking. The Central People's Government appointed representatives with full powers to conduct talks on a friendly basis with the delegates with full powers of the local government of Tibet. As a result of these talks, both parties agree to conclude this agreement and guarantee that it will be carried into effect.

1. The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out the aggressive imperialist forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the motherland—the People's Republic of China.

2. The local government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defence.

3. In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Tibetan people have the right to exercise national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government.

4. The central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The central authorities also will not alter the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama. Officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual.

5. The established status, functions and powers of Panchen Erdeni shall be maintained.

6. By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of Panchen Erdeni are meant the status, functions and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th Panchen Erdeni when they were in friendly and amicable relations with each other.

7. The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference shall be carried out. The religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected, and lamaseries shall be protected. The central authorities will not effect any change in the income of the monasteries.

8. The Tibetan troops shall be reorganized by stages into the People's Liberation Army, and become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China.

9. The spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

10. Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce shall be developed step by step, and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

11. In matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities. The local government of Tibet should carry out reforms

of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.

12. In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-Kuomintang officials resolutely sever relations with imperialism and the Kuomintang and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.

13. The People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall abide by all the above-mentioned policies and shall also be fair in all buying and selling and shall not arbitrarily take a single needle or thread from the people.

14. The Central People's Government shall conduct the centralized handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet; and there will be peaceful coexistence with neighbouring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty.

15. In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the Central People's Government shall set up a military and administrative committee and a military area command in Tibet, and, apart from the personnel sent there by the Central People's Government, shall absorb as many local Tibetan personnel as possible to take part in the work.

Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the military and administrative committee may include patriotic elements from the local government of Tibet, various districts and leading monasteries; the name list shall be drawn up after consultation between the representatives designated by the Central People's Government and the various quarters concerned, and shall be submitted to the Central People's Government for appointment.

16. Funds for the military and administrative committee, the military area command and the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall be provided by the Central People's Government. The local government of Tibet will assist the People's Liberation Army in the purchase and transport of food, fodder and other daily necessities.

17. This agreement shall come into force immediately after signatures and seals are affixed to it.

# Highway Transport Expands

by YANG CHAO-CHIEH

**H**IGHWAY and other forms of transport are considered one of the "advance detachments" of China's economic forward movement (the others being the fuel industries: electric power, coal and oil). This is because their development helps pave the way for rapid economic growth.

In the "big leap year" of 1958 highway construction forged ahead, and the volume of traffic increased at a truly tremendous pace. In that one year, 150,000 kilometres of new roads were built, bringing the national total to

more than 400,000 kilometres — five times the distance open to traffic in 1949, just before the liberation. With the exception of very few in the remote areas, all counties in the country are now served by motor transport; whereas in pre-liberation days less than half were reached. The volume of highway transport more than doubled in 1958 compared with 1957.

This quick development was made necessary by the big leap in industry and agriculture. It came in two waves. The first was in the spring when the peasants,

building irrigation works and accumulating farm manure on a scale without precedent, laid down roads and invented or improved many types of vehicles to move earth and bring fertilizer to the fields. In Hunan Province, in the first five months of last year, many cross-county roads were constructed and old roads improved—ranging from those suitable for motor transport to dirt roads—and a huge number of vehicles of various kinds were manufactured, replacing the traditional methods of transport, carrying by pole or on men's backs.

### **In Support of Steel**

The second, a higher wave followed the nationwide drive to double steel output. Of the new motor roads, 40,000 kilometres were built specially to serve iron and steel production—including the myriad small furnaces, iron mines and coal workings, many of them located in the mountains, newly set up by the people. In Szechuan Province, in forty or so days towards the end of last year, 6,190 kilometres of highways, wooden "railways" and overhead carrier-cables were built, forming an integrated transport network connecting 1,600 sites where coal and iron were mined or iron and steel furnaces clustered.

During 24 days last November, the people of Honan, a province often in the headlines for its outstanding economic achievements, built or improved 6,942 kilometres of highways—equivalent to 71 per cent of the total constructed there in the entire First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957). During that period, 850,000 people turned out to build roads every day. The work was well organized and the roads thus built, especially those serving the iron and steel sites, were of high quality. The people, working with great enthusiasm, also planted trees along the highways. In the country as a whole, millions of trees were put in last year to provide shade and beauty along the motor roads.

Highway building in 1958 was yet another example of the potency of the "mass line"—reliance on the initiative of the masses in economic construction as in other fields.

China's highways form an integral part of the national transport system—connecting with her railways, river and sea ports, air fields and local roads. The many long-distance trunk highways, particularly those in the border areas where there are as yet no railways, are overland routes of major importance, particularly for the economic development in areas inhabited by the national minorities.

Most of the highways, however, are feeder roads within provinces linking the main railways and river ports to the countryside. Short-distance transport along them is of special importance since industry as well as agriculture is being developed energetically by the people's communes and the exchange of goods is not only increasing in volume but constantly involving wider areas.

### **"Motor Trains"**

"Motor trains"—lorries hauling from one to several trailers—are now a common sight on China's highways

in mountainous and hilly regions as well as on the plains. They were introduced in a campaign by the drivers themselves, when highway transport capacity lagged behind the rapid increase in freights. Trailers in themselves are nothing new. But when a Peking driver hauled 46 of them, with a total load of 143 tons, people began to realize the true potential of the lorry not merely as a carrier but also as a tractor. Later, record hauls of 166 tons and 182 tons were made in Heilungkiang and Kwangsi respectively. These, of course, were exceptional instances. They were experiments to show what a lorry could do. In most cases, a lorry pulls from three to five trailers.

Naturally many technical problems were involved. To facilitate the safe running of "motor trains," 90,000 kilometres of roads were improved last year—gradients and curves being reduced and road surfaces reinforced. Highway transport personnel undertook to improve their techniques of driving and maintenance. Tests showed that a 4.5-ton lorry hauling trailers with a load of 64 tons on level ground can travel at a speed of 12 kilometres an hour—about one-third its ordinary speed—but move 14 times its ordinary load. The economic value is obvious—especially when there are not enough lorries to do the jobs waiting for them. These things explain why the "motor train" campaign spread rapidly in all parts of the country. By the end of 1958, trailers in service were seven times the 1957 figure. Their number is growing to meet rising needs this year.

Improvements on vehicles owned and operated by the people's communes in the countryside also played a big part in the transport drive last year. Many were fitted with ball-bearings, raising efficiency from 3 to 5 fold. Numerous two-wheeled horse carts were transformed into four-wheelers, greatly increasing capacity and stability and reducing the strain on the animals.

### **Maintenance, Loading and Unloading**

Striving for the full utilization of all vehicles, maintenance workers devised many ingenious tools that raised the quality and cut the time of repairs and overhauls. Many lorries were kept running, and in good shape.

New loading and unloading tools made by the workers included wooden travelling cranes, lifts and packing machines. Loading and unloading have been semi-mechanized in many stations, thus strengthening what was hitherto a weak link.

This year, with the economy geared for an even bigger leap forward, the volume of freights will also be much larger. To cope with the situation, highway transport workers have initiated a movement to greatly increase the cargoes hauled by each lorry in a month safely and at low cost.

The people's communes have set up special transport corps. The work of all types of vehicles is being coordinated to serve the expanding economy. New routes are under construction to make out-of-the-way mountain regions and the few remaining roadless counties accessible by highway. Existing roads are being improved to carry "motor trains."

# LIAO SHIH-KANG

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

"THIS is my address. Don't forget to send us data on your hard alloy cutting tools when you get back."

As I came up to Liao Shih-kang's hotel room, he was seeing off his friend Wang Chung-lun. Both are model workers. They had come from opposite ends of the country to attend the recent session of the National People's Congress in Peking, the former from Chungking in the southwest, the latter from Anshan, northeast China's steel centre. They had much in common and so had naturally come together to swap experience.

Liao is 29 years old with smiling eyes and dark complexion. He won national fame during the First Five-Year Plan by completing an 11-year work quota in a little more than four. During the big leap of 1958, one of his many innovations raised efficiency 137-fold. In the first quarter of 1959, besides being active in many fields as a people's deputy, he made 62 important proposals improving production techniques. Now he is touring the country giving others the benefit of his experience and publicizing the drive for greater efficiency.

## From Peasant Boy to Worker

Liao is an unaffected young man. He poured me a cup of tea and started talking about the People's Congress and his recent trip to West Lake at Hangchow; he showed me a poem he had written in praise of the lake. He contributes to *Red Rock*, a local literary magazine. His hobbies include photography and motor-cycling. Few would guess that only six years ago, this self-possessed young worker was a peasant boy with only three years of schooling.

He told me he had been born into a poor tenant peasant family and began doing odd jobs in the field when he was just a little more than a toddler. In the old society, even the fertile soil of the west Szechuan plain didn't keep the Liaos in food and their landlord satisfied.

Shih-kang was just turned 20 when liberation came. His family received land in the land reform and life steadily improved. New horizons opened up as the national economy grew by leaps and bounds. Shih-kang hoped to become a tractor driver or a factory worker. In 1953, when the First Five-Year Plan began, his ambition came true. The township government sent him to a technical school in Chungking. He graduated from this to enter a machine-tool plant in the same city.

The next year an emulation campaign to improve techniques swept the country's factories. Wang Chung-lun, a model worker in northeast China, completed five years' work in one by his invention of a universal fixture for his slotting machine. News of this feat set Liao Shih-kang thinking: "Could he, an apprentice with only six months' factory experience, emulate Wang?"

Finally he figured out that by increasing the number of cutting tools on his milling machine from five to eight and by tending two machines instead of one, he could treble his productivity. When he talked this idea over with the plant's Communist Party secretary and veteran workers, everyone encouraged him to make a try. The administration gave him two milling machines and assigned a technician to advise him. The first try was a success. That day, he turned out 983 details, more than three times his usual output.

## No End to Progress

Success opened new possibilities. He went on to increase the number of machines that he tended, first from two to three and then to four. When, however, in 1955, he asked permission to tend six machines, the team leader became sceptical and agreed to allow him only a single try. Unfortunately, Shih-kang turned out 17 rejects at that test. It was clear that further advance in this direction wasn't all that easy.

Failure increased the number of sceptics, but the experiment went on, for the plant's Communist Party Committee came out squarely behind Liao's initiative. It was only natural for the vanguard of the working class to back trail-blazers in production. The reasons for the failure were analysed. Liao got ready for a second try: re-arranging the milling machines and the necessary tools and carefully planning the route of his rounds of the machines. When the machines were started up one after another and the coils of metal came from beneath the cutting tools, with Liao methodically tending them, the onlookers heaved a sigh of relief. It was a success.

But there is no end to progress. By November 1955, Liao was tending eight machines by himself. And this he did unhurriedly for he had thoroughly mastered the techniques involved.

A year later, this son of a poor peasant joined the ranks of the advanced detachment of the working class—the Communist Party. It was the Party that had freed him, given him a new life and freed his mind and potentialities. He was working for social progress as well as for his own well-being. He found he could serve the motherland and the people better in the Party. He now turned his attention to devising new tools. In the First Five-Year Plan, he had a total of 105 technical innovations to his credit and, by the last quarter of 1957, was already working on jobs scheduled for 1963.

The rectification campaign, the successful struggle against the bourgeois rightists and the tremendous upsurge in industrial and agricultural production that followed were inspirations to Liao. Everybody in his plant was planning to do his share in the national effort to effect a big leap in industry. He too drew up his own

plan — to complete five years' work in two. Liao related the following incident with a wry smile and a frown.

"One day Sun Ke, deputy secretary of the plant's Communist Party Committee, stopped by my machine and asked whether I had drawn up my leap-forward plan.

'Yes,' I answered.

'How long do you plan to fulfil the tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan?'

'Two years,' I answered, feeling a bit proud.

'Couldn't you make it shorter?'

'What, still shorter?' I was surprised.

'Yes, still shorter. Apprentice Tseng Kuang-huei plans to finish his work in a single year and young Liao Ssu-jung plans to finish his in three months! Don't you want to emulate them?'

'Three months!' This took me even more by surprise. 'What kind of a job is he working on? How does he propose to do it?' I asked.

'Ssu-jung is boring holes. Now he plans to punch rather than bore them. He reckons that'll raise efficiency 20 times.'

I got back a bit of my self-confidence and said:

'Twenty times is nothing. One of my innovations in 1957 raised efficiency 70 times.' But then I saw the deputy secretary's knitted brow, and sensed there was something wrong. He only said:

'Seventy times! Not bad, eh? But once you look backward instead of forward, conceit creeps into your heart. You no longer move forward, not to talk about leaping forward.'

That's how I realized I was getting a bit dizzy with success. But the Party woke me up in time. I buckled down to work with a will."

### Collective Effort

At that time Liao was operating a single milling machine making parts for sewing-machines. By carefully analysing the work, he drew up a plan to increase the number of jobs that could be processed simultaneously, increase the stroke of the cutting tools, shorten the time for setting up and removing each job, tend four machines instead of one and take care of five inter-related work processes; this would raise efficiency 13-fold. He took this plan to the members of his work team. They suggested further improvements.

Armed with this leap-forward plan, he took part in the local conference of outstanding workers. At the conference, hundreds of *dazibao* were posted by workers from other plants declaring that they would emulate Liao Shih-kang. This spurred him on to revise his plan and make it even more forward looking. He decided to tend five machines and further increase the number of jobs processed simultaneously. In the upshot, with the help of a technician, a way was found to process 15 jobs on a machine simultaneously. This was increased again to 20 on the suggestion of members of the plant's designing department. As a result of this collective effort, the time required for completing five years' work was reduced to two months, seven and a half days!

In those days, people were leap-forward conscious and it had become a habit for them to help each other

find new ways of raising labour productivity. When Shih-kang went to the hospital to see Huang Cheng-hao, his foreman who was bed-ridden at the time, the latter suggested that he might look still farther ahead and introduce even bolder new methods. This started Shih-kang thinking along a new line: why not punch the sewing-machine parts instead of using the slower process of milling? He went to a friction press operator to learn the technique of punching with a press. With the help of veteran workers, he solved the problems of non-uniformity in thickness and surface roughness in the punched jobs and succeeded in raising efficiency 137-fold. On the basis of this and other improvements, he revised his leap-forward plan for the eighth time in the year.

For his achievements in production, Liao Shih-kang was awarded an outstanding worker's title and elected a people's deputy to the National People's Congress.

### Spreading Advanced Techniques

*A single flower isn't spring.*

*Only when a hundred flowers bloom,*

*Is the season of life in full swing.*

These are lines from one of his poems and he has taken them as his motto in helping others.

When he learnt that Liu Mao-chiao, a fellow milling-machine operator in his plant, wanted to break his own record of one man tending eight machines, he immediately went to Liu and offered help. The two studied the problems involved together. Liao suggested that the machines be arranged in two rows instead of one and that an automatic tool-retracting mechanism be installed. By adopting these suggestions, Liu created a new record of one man tending ten machines.

In the latter part of 1958 when Liao was in Peking attending the National Conference of Active Young Builders of Socialism, he took time out to help workers at an engineering works in Peking master the technique of high-speed cutting and assisted in the invention of a polishing machine to eliminate manual polishing in a meter and instrument works. As soon as he returned to Chungking, a "sowing team" was organized under the guidance of the municipal committee of the Communist Party in which Shih-kang and other outstanding local workers visited plants in the city to sow the seeds of advanced techniques.

Since March this year, Liao has been going further afield, touring the country under the sponsorship of the Communist Youth League, as one of a group of young innovators, spreading advanced techniques. During his visit to the Peking No. 1 Machine Tool Works, he demonstrated his own methods and suggested 25 technical improvements. One of these proved to be 137.5 times more efficient than the old method employed there. While helping others, he seizes every opportunity to learn from the others as well. When he discovered that a comb-type cutting tool used in the Peking No. 1 Machine Tool Works was ten times more efficient than those used in his plant, he immediately wrote home about it. By all accounts he has sown well on this trip and reaped well too. In this year of a fresh leap forward he plans to introduce twice as many innovations as last year and make an even greater contribution to speeding the country's socialist construction.

# SINO-HUNGARIAN TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION

*A delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government led by Dr. Muennich Ferenc visited China from April 27 to May 7, 1959. It toured Peking, Shanghai, Wuhan and Hangchow, visited factories, people's communes and schools, and took part in the review of the May Day parade in Peking. The Party and government leaders of the two countries held talks during the delegation's visit. On May 6 a treaty of friendship and co-operation was signed in Peking. Following is a translation of its text. — Ed.*

**T**HE Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the Presidium of the People's Republic of Hungary, desirous of strengthening and developing the brotherly friendship and co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Hungary under the guidance of internationalism and on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit,

determined to do their utmost for the safeguarding and consolidation of world peace and to make every possible contribution to ensuring the security of all the peoples of Europe and Asia,

firmly convinced that the strengthening and development of friendship and co-operation between the two countries corresponds with the interests of the Chinese and Hungarian peoples as well as with the interests of peoples throughout the world,

have resolved to conclude the present treaty on the above-mentioned basis and have for this purpose appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Chairman of the People's Republic of China: Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Chou En-lai,

The Presidium of the People's Republic of Hungary: Prime Minister of the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government of the People's Republic of Hungary, Dr. Muennich Ferenc.

The plenipotentiaries, having examined each other's credentials and finding them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

## Article One

The two Contracting Parties shall, in a spirit of genuine co-operation and in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, take part in all

international actions aimed at upholding world peace and the security of all peoples.

## Article Two

The two Contracting Parties shall, in a spirit of brotherly co-operation, consult each other on all important international questions of common interest to both countries, while paying special attention to safeguarding the territorial integrity and security of their countries.

## Article Three

The two Contracting Parties reaffirm their determination to continue to strengthen and develop political, economic and cultural co-operation between their countries in accordance with the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

## Article Four

This Treaty is without prejudice to any obligations the People's Republic of China or the People's Republic of Hungary may assume towards other countries.

## Article Five

This Treaty shall remain in force until the two Contracting Parties agree on its revision or termination.

## Article Six

This Treaty shall be ratified and shall come into effect on the day of exchange of instruments of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Budapest.

Done in Peking on May 6, 1959, in duplicate, each in the Chinese and Hungarian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

(Signed)

**CHOU EN-LAI,**

*Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic  
of China*

(Signed)

**MUENNICH FERENC**

*Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic  
of Hungary*

# ARCHITECTURE

## Repairing the Palace Museum

The Peking Palace Museum, one of the greatest repositories of art and antiquities in China, and also one of the finest examples of traditional Chinese architecture, is now in the midst of the most extensive repairs it has undergone in the last two hundred years.

The museum includes the whole central complex of buildings and courtyards of the former "Forbidden City." These were built between 1406 and 1420 and cover an area of 720,000 square metres. They were kept in repair during the flourishing periods of the Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (1644-1911) dynasties which maintained them as the imperial palace, but no comprehensive repairs were done after the disaster of the Opium War. With the decline of the Ching dynasty the whole place became more and more dilapidated. In the latter years repairs were limited to the Inner Court, the emperor's personal apartments. So far as concerns the three main halls, the throne room, ante-chamber and banquet hall, they haven't been repaired properly for a century or more.

Now these three halls and their stylobates, covering an area of 25,000 square metres, and the rows of rooms and verandas flanking the east and west sides of their courtyards will be restored to all their former magnificence. For decades past these latter have been used as storerooms and have suffered worse than the halls. When completed they will house art and artifacts from the Neolithic period to the present century—giving a bird's-eye view of the history of Chinese art over four thousand years. To house specific branches of art—ceramics and porcelains, paintings, bronzes, sculpture, handicrafts and jewellery—the museum has opened galleries in smaller surrounding palace buildings which have been renovated over the past nine years. This year, it will add displays of the industrial arts of the Ming and Ching dynasties and inscriptions, calligraphy and embroideries of several dynasties.

The utmost care is being taken to preserve the original character of the buildings. The whole process of repairs is being supervised by a research group of specialists and experienced artisans. Traditional Chinese architecture makes lavish use of painted decoration. Every bit of woodwork on columns, walls and eaves is painted and decorated. In repainting the intricate woodwork of these halls, all the relevant historical documents have been consulted and a careful study made of the designs on

the ceilings and inside walls of the three main halls which were repainted during the 17th century. The interior painting is also being restored to its former beauty. Wet cleaning cannot be used because this damages the lightly bound paint. I saw a worker plying a vacuum cleaner and when this failed to do the job he took a ball of dough and rolled it lightly over the surface of a beam to remove the recalcitrant dust.

The original structure and form is, of course, retained throughout. The corners of roofs are traditionally decorated with glazed ceramic fairies, dragons, phoenixes, the *qiling* (a fabulous one-horned animal), and other shapes. Broken figures are being replaced by exact replicas. In the same meticulous spirit, carpenters are mending the fine lattice-work and the exquisitely carved dragons playing in clouds on the numerous doors and windows. This is complicated work which requires the combined skills of very experienced carpenters, masons and decorative artists. Soon after liberation, the museum curators sought out "Glazed Tile" Chao, the family that ever since the 15th century has been making the special green and yellow glazed tiles for the roofs and walls of the palace buildings, at Mentoukou to the west of Peking. Their special kiln has been restored.

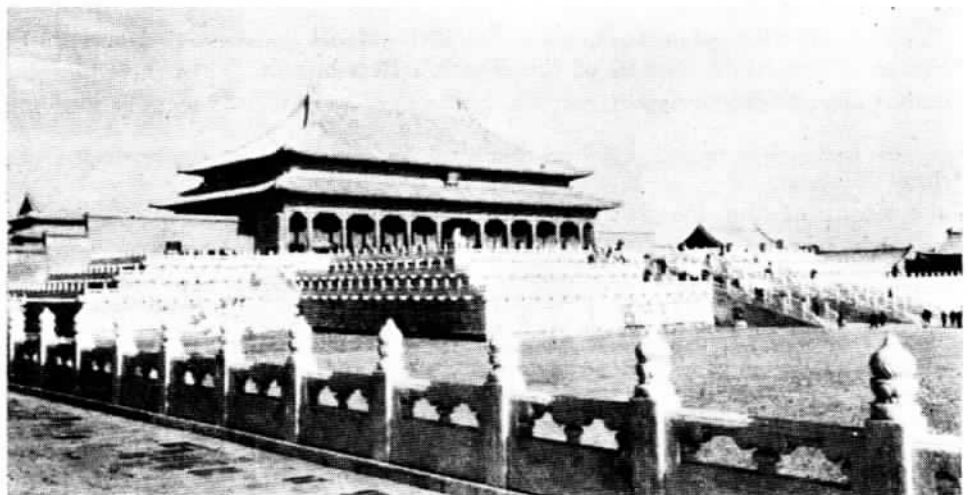
It is not known who made the special white bricks used for paving the stylobates in front of the main halls. These pavements have not been repaired for two hundred years and today they are weather-worn and crumbling. After a lot of tramping, the museum personnel finally found artisans at a kiln in Shaho Township which once made similar blocks for the emperor's Summer Palace in Peking's suburbs. But they had not made such bricks for over forty years. It took several trials before they succeeded in producing blocks of the required quality.

Wherever possible, artisans are employed who worked on the imperial palaces before.

The Forbidden City was sacked by the foreign interventionist troops in 1905. The Palace Museum, established in 1925, was plundered of much of its treasures and ancient relics by reactionary rulers, warlords who overran Peking, the Kuomintang bandits and the Japanese invaders. In the years before liberation, the whole place was left to go quietly to rack and ruin. Soon after liberation, the work of repair and restoration began. Tons of weeds were dug up out of its courtyards, gardens and roofs. More than 200,000 cubic metres of garbage were carted away. An overall plan for its restoration was worked out and has been carried out step by step during the past nine years. Altogether, more than six million yuan has already been spent on this work by the People's Government. The present course of repairs will take five years.

At liberation cynics wondered what use a people's government would have for this enormous structure that even emperors found to be a costly white elephant. In the past nine years, however, much has been done to improve it and turn it into an enormously popular museum. It attracts thousands of visitors annually from all parts of the world. Last year, over two million people visited its halls. In the first two months of this year, it had already been visited by over 300,000 people. Those who saw it before will remember that it was grand even in its weed-encumbered decay. Its russet red, pale yellow and grey lines and shapes were never to be forgotten. Today in those parts that have already been restored, magnificent colour has been added to magnificent line and form. Visitors will soon be seeing these palaces in greater splendour than ever before.

—KAI HSIEH



Tai Ho Tien (Hall of Supreme Harmony), one of the three main halls of the Palace Museum being restored



# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## **Sino-Soviet Friendship Association Meets**

Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, was elected Chairman of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association at its third national conference held recently in Peking.

In an address to a meeting attended by leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and state, and by a delegation from the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association which had come to China specially for the occasion, Soong Ching Ling declared: "Nothing on earth can shake the solidarity between the great Soviet Union and China. Nothing whatsoever can shake the solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Our friendship and unity are invincible in the face of all enemies.

"No force on earth can separate our two peoples and hamper the continuous growth and consolidation of the friendship and co-operation of the peoples of our two countries.

"The friendship and unity between the Soviet Union and China, and among all the peoples of the socialist countries, are the source of the great strength that assures the victory of our cause in building socialism and communism. This is precisely what the imperialists and all other reactionaries fear the most."

The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, founded in 1949, has done a tremendous amount of work in promoting Sino-Soviet friendship and encouraging and helping the Chinese people to learn from the Soviet Union. It has carried on extensive and constant education among the people on the significance of Sino-Soviet friendship, arranged for exchanges of delegations with the Soviet Union, and given extensive publicity to the achievements and experience of the Soviet Union in building socialism and to the happy life and noble spirit of the Soviet people. Centres to direct and organize these activities, and Russian language night schools, have been set up in all provinces and cities of China.

## **Algerians' Visit Ends**

The Algerian Military Delegation completed its visit to China on May 6. In a farewell message, its leader Omar Oussedik declared that his delegation

was returning home with far richer experience and an even firmer determination to battle the French colonialists.

The representatives of fighting Algeria were greeted with the greatest warmth everywhere they went. In Peking, they were received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai, and attended the May Day celebrations. In a banquet in their honour, Marshal Chen Yi reiterated to the guests the whole-hearted support of the 650 million Chinese people for Algeria's cause of national independence. He declared that through their own experience, the Chinese people are convinced that with unity between the Algerian people and army and steadfast prosecution of the liberation war to the end, the colonialists will eventually be driven out of Algeria.

During its tour of more than a month, the Algerian delegation visited many cities in east, south and northeast China.

## **Goodwill Mission to Indonesia**

A Chinese military goodwill mission of high-ranking officers headed by General Yang Cheng-wu, Deputy Chief-of-Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, is completing a three-week visit in Indonesia. The delegation was received by President Sukarno and Premier and Minister of Defence Juanda. It called on Indonesian Army Chief-of-Staff Lieutenant-General Nasution, Navy Chief-of-Staff Vice-Admiral Subijakto, and Air Chief-of-Staff Lieutenant-General Suryadarma.

Speaking at a reception given in their honour in Djakarta, General Yang Cheng-wu said that his delegation had brought with it the good will of the Chinese people and armed forces for Indonesia and hoped to learn during their visit something of the experience and knowledge of Indonesia's three services. He pointed out that the armed forces of the two countries had many points in common: both were brought up in the struggle for national independence and freedom; China's Taiwan and Indonesia's West Irian are yet to be liberated and the security of the two countries is still being threatened by imperialism.

During its three-week stay in Indonesia, the delegation toured Java, and other islands, and visited military institutes, training centres, and various industrial enterprises and beauty spots.

## **Canton Trade Fair**

Brisk trade marked the Chinese Export Commodities Fair in Canton. From April 15, opening day, to May 5, transactions to the tune of 18,740,000 pounds sterling were negotiated. They cover a wide range of goods, including silk, tea,

oils, animal products, handicrafts, mineral ores, cotton and linen textiles and machinery and instruments.

Altogether more than 20,000 types of export goods are on display at the fair. Many are the latest products of last year's big leap forward.

Chinese import companies whose representatives also attended the fair have signed many contracts with foreign traders. Negotiations are under way to import more goods needed for China's construction.

More than 1,600 businessmen from 38 countries and regions have so far attended the fair, including Indonesia, Burma, Tunisia, Argentina, Chile, Switzerland, West Germany, Britain, France and Canada.

## **SHORTER NOTES**

Active preparations are under way for the founding of an Asian-African Society. With the developing friendship and co-operation between China and the other Asian and African countries, there is an intense and widespread interest in these countries with which China has long-standing cultural and historical ties.

Over thirty Chinese scholars and experts in the related fields attended the first preparatory meeting for the society. Comprehensive research in the history, politics, economy, social conditions, philosophy, art and literature of the Asian and African countries is planned.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Honorary President of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, is visiting China.

In Peking, he was received by the Panchen Erdeni when the latter was teaching sutras at the Kwangchi Monastery. He told the Panchen that he had visited many Buddhist temples during his tour of China and was rejoiced to find that the Chinese Government had given great help to Buddhism in China. Dr. Malalasekera, who is Ceylonese Ambassador to the Soviet Union, was received by Premier Chou En-lai.

A monument in the form of a tall granite column was recently unveiled in Havana to commemorate the Chinese who laid down their lives in the Cuban Independence Wars of 1868 and 1895. Inscribed on a bronze plaque at its base are the words: "There was no Chinese traitor, there was no Chinese deserter" — a quotation from the Cuban national hero Gonzalo de Quesada Arostegui, leader of the revolutionary junta in 1895.

Hundreds of Chinese workers, brought to Cuba by the Spaniards to work on sugar plantations, joined the Cuban freedom armies and won great admiration for their valour and loyalty.

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## Malayan Government Slanders China

The slanderous attacks made on China in the Malayan Government's March 28 white paper "is another extremely unfriendly act against the Chinese people," writes *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (May 3).

He points out that there is no factual basis to support the Malayan Government's charges about China's so-called subversive activities. The white paper resorts to crude perversions and distortions, and uses quotations torn from their context. The recent ban on the importation of classical Chinese novels dubbed "subversive" by the Malayan authorities is an example showing how absurd these charges are.

It is common knowledge that it is the imperialist bloc headed by the United States that is engaged in subversion and infiltration against Southeast Asian countries including Malaya, Commentator continues, yet at the behest and instigation of the imperialists, the Malayan Government has seen fit to hurl a spate of slander against the Chinese people who have always sympathized with and supported the national independence movements in Southeast Asia. Such lies will not deceive the people of Malaya and other Southeast Asian countries.

Commentator stresses that the Chinese people have always attached importance to the development of traditional trade and cultural ties with the Malayan people on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and are making untiring efforts to foster this. The Malayan Government, however, has not only failed to make any contribution to fostering the growth of relations between the two countries but, on the contrary, has time and again put obstacles in the path of their development.

Commentator cites as examples the recent measures of restriction and discrimination imposed by the Malayan Government against trade with China, its deportation of large numbers of Chinese residents in Malaya, its closure of the Bank of China branch in Malaya and now the official white paper. These acts of the Malayan Government, which are contrary to the wishes of the Chinese and Malayan peoples and to the national interests of Malaya, are rousing increasing criticism and dissatisfaction among the Malayan people, Commentator notes, and concludes: "In line with their consistent friendship for the Malayan people

and their spirit of unity and co-operation with all Asian countries, the Chinese people hope that the Malayan Government will change this unfriendly attitude."

## Japan's Present Situation

"The first feature of Japan's present situation is that the ruling clique is splitting up and it is impossible to stabilize the political situation," says an article in *Shijie Zhishi* (World Culture) No. 9.

In its analysis of the present situation in Japan, the article points out that in the winter of 1958, the struggle of the Japanese people against the "Police Duties Law Revision Bill" weakened the power of the Kishi clique, increased its difficulties and isolation. This was the signal for a resurgence of the struggle for power between the factions inside the Liberal Democratic Party which polarized into two groups—the "mainstream" and the "anti-mainstream."

The second feature of the situation in Japan is that the ruling clique is still utterly unable to extricate Japanese capitalism from the economic crisis. The crisis of over-production has not ended and Japan's market is shrinking.

At the same time, because of the deepening of the economic crisis of the capitalist world headed by the United States, the Western countries, in an effort to expand exports, last year carried through their scheme for the free exchange of currency, and established the "common market." This was a new blow

against the Japanese monopoly capitalists who are themselves attempting to ease their economic crisis by expanding exports. As a result, while the struggle for markets has intensified among the capitalist countries, the contradictions between the Japanese and U.S. monopoly capitalists have continued to deepen.

But there exists the wish for some sort of temporary compromise between the U.S. and Japanese monopoly capitalists. The latter's "Southeast Asian Development Plan" which contravenes the basic interests of the U.S. monopoly capitalists was at first treated pretty coolly. But last April Eisenhower, in his address at Gettysburg, expressed support for Japanese expansion into Southeast Asia. He asked the Southeast Asian countries to supply raw materials to Japan and asked the Western countries to open their markets to Japan. But at the same time he strongly hinted that Japan should not encroach on the United States' own markets. The reason that the U.S. is now interested in Japan's "Southeast Asian Development Plan" is due, first of all, to its overall strategic requirements and secondly, to its wish to rescue the Kishi government from collapse.

The third feature of the situation in Japan is that since the beginning of this year the struggle of the Japanese people for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality and for improvements in their living standards has been spreading steadily throughout the country. In March, this struggle entered a new stage. The Japanese Socialist Party decided to take united action with the Japanese Communist Party in this struggle. This is the first time such a decision has been taken in recent years, and is of great

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Sauce!

The United States has banned the transit of Chinese shrimps and soya sauce bought by Canadian firms. Canadian lorries transporting commodities marked with Chinese characters are forbidden to pass through U.S. territory.

The Toronto daily *Globe and Mail* comments that this is the first time it has heard of soya sauce constituting a national menace to a country.

### By Their Tails Shall Ye Know Them

Fourteen years after the defeat of Hitler Germany, former Nazi diplomats are heading fifty-one out of a total of seventy West German embassies and legations abroad. Eighty per cent of the Bonn Republic's high-ranking foreign ministry officials are former Nazi diplomats.



significance to the strengthening of the unity of the democratic forces in Japan.

In the upsurge of the anti-U.S. struggle, even patriotic persons within the ruling class have come out on the side of justice. On March 30 this year, the Tokyo District Court ruled that the U.S. troops stationed in Japan and the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" violate the Japanese constitution.

In March this year, delegations of the Japanese Communist Party and the Japanese Socialist Party successively visited China. The joint statement issued

by the Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties and that issued by the leader of the Japanese socialists' delegation and the President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs have won the support of the Japanese people of various social strata and given fresh impetus to their movement for peace and neutrality and the restoration of Sino-Japanese relations.

The growth of the struggle of the Japanese people gave the traditional spring campaign of the Japanese working

class enhanced political significance. Besides demanding higher wages, the workers are raising the political slogans of opposition to revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and the demand for its abrogation; they are demanding the restoration of Sino-Japanese relations and the resignation of the Kishi Cabinet.

The Japanese ruling clique is heading for disintegration and more difficulties while the Japanese people are uniting into an ever stronger force, the article concludes.

## 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

▲ **DRAWING LOTS FOR LIFE OR DEATH** A magistrate is ordered by a local military commander to sentence an innocent girl to death. Once rescued by the girl's father, he determines to save her life. His daughter and god-daughter offer to die in her place. The three selfless girls draw lots to decide who will make the sacrifice needed to save the lives of the rest. The timely arrival of a just inspector saves the situation. Produced by the Mei Lan-fang Peking Opera Troupe.

May 12, 7:30 p.m. *Minzhu Theatre*

▲ **YU TANG CHUN** A well-known opera based on the love story of a famous Ming courtesan, named Yu Tang Chun. Produced by the Mei Lan-fang Peking Opera Troupe.

May 15, 7:30 p.m. *Guang He Theatre*

### PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BY THE KINSHA RIVER** A new play produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre. An episode from the famous Long March. It tells how the Red Army exposes a Kuomintang plot and unites in friendship with the Tibetans as it crosses the Tibetan region by the Kinsha River in 1936.

May 12-17, 7:30 p.m. *Da Zhong Theatre*

### MODERN OPERA

▲ **THE HEAVENLY MAID AND THE MORTAL** A modern opera adapted from an old fairy tale about the romance between a heavenly princess and a brave young peasant. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

May 16 & 17, 7:30 p.m. *Tianqiao Theatre*

### SONG AND DANCE

▲ **FOLK SONGS AND DANCES** of China's many nationalities performed by the Central Song and Dance Troupe.

May 17, 7:30 p.m. *Shoudu Theatre*

### THEATRE

▲ **THE MISER** The comedy by the great French dramatist, Moliere. Produced in Chinese by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

May 12-16, 7:30 p.m. *Shoudu Theatre*

▲ **NAMELESS ISLAND** A new play produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. Adventure on the Fukien front; how the People's Liberation Army foils the enemy.

May 12-22, 7:30 p.m.

*China Youth Art Theatre*

▲ **THE MAGIC ASTER** Adapted from an ancient fairy tale. The magic aster of the valley falls in love with a girl and they live happily. Envious of their happy life, the girl's wicked sister, who wants to take her place, kills her. But the good animals of the valley, the birds, monkeys and squirrels help to put things to rights. Produced by the China Children's Theatre.

May 12-17, 7:30 p.m. *Peking Theatre*

### FILMS

▲ **CHRYSANTHEMUMS ON THE MOUNTAIN** During the campaign for intellectuals to work among the people, a young student is sent to the revolutionary base where he was brought up. He recalls how the people fought against the Japanese invaders there. Produced by the Haiyan Film Studio.

May 14-16, *Xin Zhong Guo, Guang He Theatre*

▲ **BORN OF THE STORM** Adapted from N. A. Ostrovsky's famous novel of the same title. A story of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian youth against the foreign invaders during the Civil War. A Soviet film dubbed in Chinese.

May 12-14, *Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong*

May 15-18, *Guang An Men, Peking Workers' Club, Zhongyang*

▲ **STUBBORN VORONINA** Fourteen-year-old Voronina leaves her family to become a sailor. This is the story of how she triumphs over difficulties and makes good. A Soviet colour film dubbed in Chinese.

May 12-14, *Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Shoudu Cinema*

May 15-18, *Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong*

▲ **THE GOOD SOLDIER SCHWEIK** A Czech film based on the famous satirical novel by

Jaroslav Hasek (1883-1923) about the immortal Schweik, symbol of the people's opposition to the decaying Austrian Empire. Dubbed in Chinese.

May 12-14, *Xin Zhong Guo,*

*Guang He Theatre*

May 15 & 16, *Shengli, Xi Dan Theatre*

▲ **LA P... RESPECTUEUSE** (The Respectful Courtesan) A French feature film about a girl of the streets who stands up with the Negroes against the wealthy forces of "law and order" in the fight against racial discrimination in a southern state of the U.S.A.

May 12-14, *Guang An Men, Peking Workers' Club, Zhongyang*

May 15-18, *Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Shoudu Cinema*

### EXHIBITIONS

▲ **EXHIBITION OF REPRODUCTIONS OF THE YUNG LO MURALS** Open daily 9:00 a.m. - 5:30 p.m.

At the *Central Institute of Fine Arts*

▲ **GRAPHIC ART EXHIBITION** by the Chanchiang Artists of Kwangtung. Open daily 9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

At *Summer Palace*

▲ **THE HSU PEI-HUNG MEMORIAL HALL** An exhibition of the late painter's collection of works by famous contemporary artists. Open daily 9:00-12:00 a.m., 2:00-5:00 p.m. till May 15. At 16 East Shou Lu St., Dong Dan.

### ACROBATICS

The China Acrobatic Troupe will give you a thrilling programme of aerial acrobatics, gymnastics, feats of strength and amazing acts of magic.

May 13, 7:30 p.m. *Peking Workers' Club*

### SPORTS

▲ **TABLE TENNIS** The Czechoslovak Table Tennis Team will compete with the "Peking" Team on May 12 at Peking Gymnasium.

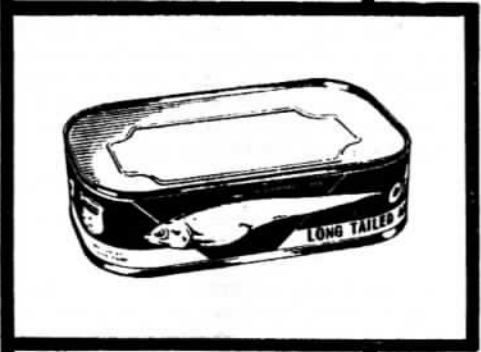
▲ **TRACK AND FIELD EVENTS** The Rumanian Track and Field Team is visiting Peking and will compete with Chinese teams. Watch for dates and places!

# Ma Ling

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