

PEKING REVIEW

23

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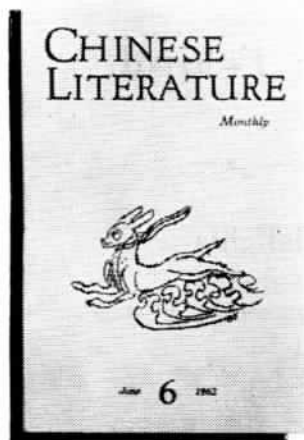
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PEKING REVIEW

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

June 8, 1962 Vol. V No. 23

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ROUND THE WEEK

Conference on Nationalities Work

A month-long conference was held recently in Peking to sum up the achievements and experience gained over the past few years in work among China's national minorities. The conference had before it ample material on the tremendous progress made here in every field in recent years. Matters of policy and tasks for the future were discussed.

The conference was convened by the Nationalities Committee of the National People's Congress and the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the People's Government. It was attended by representatives of 31 nationalities from 22 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Many leading members of the Communist Party and Government also attended and took part in the discussions.

In totting up the gains made, the conference attributed them to the Chinese Communist Party's policy towards nationalities, the help and support eagerly given them from every side, and the efforts made by the minority peoples and cadres themselves. The democratic reforms carried out in the minority areas and the advance of socialist construction under the guidance of the three red banners—the general line for the building of socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune—have brought about a fundamental change in the minority areas. The unity of the great Chinese family of nationalities is more firmly based than ever. Ideologically and politically, the minority peoples are more advanced than ever before. A new-type, socialist type of relationship has been created between the various nationalities.

The conference noted all these favourable conditions for implementing the Party's nationalities policy and achieving its goal—a prosperous and happy life for all the nationalities in China. In this connection, the conference pointed out how necessary it was to handle correctly relationships between the various nationalities in accordance with the policy laid down by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to strength-

en unity among the minority peoples themselves, to encourage their enthusiasm and initiative in the development of agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry and steadily improve their living standards.

In discussing future policy and tasks, the participants in the conference made many valuable proposals. Full support was voiced for the policies and tasks set out in Premier Chou En-lai's report on government work to the recent National People's Congress.

The conference put particular emphasis on carrying out the Party's policy of instituting national regional autonomy—a basic policy in solving the national question. Already implemented on a large scale, this policy has given magnificent results in the years since liberation.

Other questions like the training of cadres from among the minority peoples, the strengthening of the united front, the thorough implementation of the Party's policy of freedom of religious belief, the special characteristics of the various nationalities, and questions relating to trade, education and public health were all fully discussed. Concrete policies were proposed and measures mapped out for putting them into practice.

In all its deliberations the conference stressed the particular significance of further strengthening unity between the various nationalities on the basis of their common goal—the building of socialism—and described this unity as the basic guarantee of the victory of socialism. The conference itself symbolized this great unity. It will go a long way in mobilizing the minority peoples to achieve fresh victories.

Education Spreads in Tibet

In the wake of democratic reforms and economic growth, education in Tibet is making rapid progress.

Recent reports from Tibet show that an increasing number of children of former slaves and serfs are receiving an education. At present, about half the number



Miao Farmers Working for a Good Harvest

Woodcut in colour by Lei Shih-kang

of school-age children are at school; enrolment in primary schools has jumped from a few thousand before the democratic reforms started in 1959 to over 58,000 today.

Tibet has an ancient culture, but feudal serfdom held it back and retarded its progress for centuries. Before the peaceful liberation of the region in 1951, there was not a single school in the mountains and over 90 per cent of the working people were illiterate. The children of the serfs and slaves were doomed the moment they were born: there was no future for them but to step into their parents' shoes and scrape a bare living by working for the manorial lords and herd-owners as their forefathers had done for ages.

In 1952, the Central People's Government opened the first primary school in Lhasa, and later set up a few schools in the other big towns in the region. But, even then, large numbers of Tibetan children were unable to get an education; the local forces of reaction did all they could to hold up progress in this as in other fields.

It was only three years ago when the rebellion by the upper class reactionaries was quelled and democratic reforms were introduced in Tibet that schools began to be established on a large scale for the emancipated serfs and slaves, first in the towns and villages along the highways and later up in the remote areas of the Himalayas and on the vast grasslands in the northern parts of the region.

Since the Government provides free tuition and stipends to cover daily needs, the children of even the poorest families can now go to school. After two or three years' schooling, the children are able to read newspapers in their own language, write simple

letters and help with the book-keeping of the agricultural mutual-aid teams.

International Children's Day

On June 1, the Children's Palace at Jingshan Park in the heart of Peking made a gay picture with its multi-colour balloons, palace lanterns and red banners put up in honour of International Children's Day. It was crowded with over 20,000 Chinese youngsters and many young guests from other lands who gathered to spend the holiday there. In between listening to vocal and orchestral items arranged for them by the Children's Palace's Friendship Chorus and the Red Scarf Orchestra of the Central Conservatory of Music, the children chatted happily, gave impromptu performances, sang and danced, watched jugglers, acrobats and magicians and generally had a good time.

All Peking's parks provided free entrance and entertainment for the day, and there was not one that did not have its thousands of youthful holiday-makers. Crowds of school children and their teachers spent the day at the Revolutionary Military Museum, the Museum of Chinese History and the newly built National Art Gallery. Thousands more went to the sports clubs and gymnasiums to watch table tennis matches, gymnastic displays and basketball contests. The city swimming pools were free for the day to children. An exhibition of toys at the Tuancheng (Round City), at Beihai Park, attracted its share of wide-eyed youngsters. The toy shops there did a roaring trade.

In Shanghai, 4,000 children celebrated the festival on the large lawns at the China Welfare Institute's Children's Palace enjoying performances by well-known singers and dancers, film actors and actresses, puppeteers

and acrobats. Veterans of the revolution told tales of the early revolutionary days and scientists answered intriguing questions.

Canton's children had occasion for special rejoicings. President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam gave them a big present — a four-ton elephant

which was publicly displayed on June 1. Thousands of youngsters swarmed to the zoo to see the new arrival perform tricks at the bidding of its two Vietnamese keepers.

More Red Scarves

On International Children's Day, many children joined the Young Pioneers and for the first time proudly wore the red scarf which symbolizes a corner of the red flag of the revolution.

It was during the stormy days of the people's war against the Kuomintang reactionaries in the late 20s that China's children formed their own revolutionary organization. The first children's corps were organized in the revolutionary bases of central-south China. There are many stories about the heroic role they played on the guerrilla fronts and in the rear of the Japanese invaders.

In those days, they were numbered in the hundreds of thousands. Today as Young Pioneers they number 50 million all over the country. On International Children's Day their red scarves seemed to be everywhere. In Peking during the last twelve months alone, 182,000 children from nine to fifteen have joined their ranks, bringing the number of the city's Pioneers to 650,000.

The Pioneers were formed after liberation with the motto: "Love the country and the people; love labour, science, and public property." There is no change in their wartime, revolutionary spirit of serving the people, but their activities today are geared to our times of socialist construction. Together with the schools, the Pioneer organizations carry on a myriad activities that help develop their talent and initiative. It is China's seed ground for the new socialist society, the new socialist men.

Democratic Reform in Tibet

by CHANG CHING-WU

Following is a detailed summary of an article by the Representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet, published in "Renmin Ribao" on May 25, 1962, under the title "Correctly Carry Out the Policies of the Communist Party on Democratic Reform in Tibet." Some of the highlights of this article were covered in our last issue. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

A DEMOCRATIC reform movement was launched in Tibet after the armed rebellion staged by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata there was quelled. This movement has now been completed in the main. It has ended the most backward, the most savage and the most reactionary feudal serfdom known in China's history; it has led to the establishment of a social system of people's democracy which the masses have long wanted.

Democratic Reform — Urgent Demand Of Tibetan People

The feudal serfdom in Tibet was of an exceptionally backward and reactionary type. Under that system, the three categories of manorial lords—the former Tibetan local government, the monasteries and the nobility who constituted less than 5 per cent of the population in the region—owned the major means of production, that is: all the land and by far the largest part of the livestock. They led a life of luxury and extravagance. On the other hand, the serfs, who made up over 90 per cent of the population, had had no land for generations and only the smallest of herds. They were chattels of the lords who seized more than 70 per cent of their annual produce. The house-slaves, who accounted for about 5 per cent of Tibet's population, possessed nothing at all. Serfs and slaves were treated like animals. This is why the Tibetan people urgently wanted democratic reform, the overthrow of the feudal serfdom which had long fettered the growth of the social productive forces, and the establishment of the people's democratic system.

It is explicitly stipulated in the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet that democratic reform should be carried out in the region. But neither of the two important tasks of reforming the social system and reorganizing the Tibetan army, as stipulated in the agreement, was fulfilled owing to obstruction and sabotage by the former Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper strata. In spite of this, the Central Government, in order to give the reactionaries time to think things over and wake up from their wrong doing, announced at the end of 1956 that democratic reform would not be carried out during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) and that whether it would be carried out during the Third Five-Year Plan (1963-67) would be decided in the light of the situation at that time.

But the reactionary clique refused to come to their senses. Colluding with imperialism, they even went so far as to launch an all-out counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in March 1959. This rebellion was a counter-revolutionary war designed to suppress the Tibetan labouring people; it was a betrayal of the motherland. The putting down of the rebellion was a revolutionary war for the liberation of the Tibetan labouring people and in defence of the motherland. The war was one between the revolutionary classes and the counter-revolutionaries and certainly not one between nations. It was precisely for this reason that the quelling of the armed rebellion enlisted the active support and participation of the million Tibetan serfs and patriots of the upper strata and was rapidly brought to a successful conclusion. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Tibetan people launched a democratic reform movement throughout the region immediately after the swift suppression of the rebellion.

Victory for Policy of Democratic Reform

During the democratic reform, a policy of "buying out" has been followed in regard to the surplus means of production of those serf-owners or their agents who did not take part in the rebellion. Once bought out, these means of production are distributed among the serfs. The means of production of the serf-owners and their agents who took part in the rebellion were confiscated and distributed to the serfs. Since the participants in the rebellion betrayed the motherland and the people, the policy of redemption naturally did not apply to them. But this policy is firmly applied to people who did not take part in the rebellion, those who have shown that they are patriotic and are in favour of democratic reform. Since this policy takes the interests of the patriotic members of the upper strata properly into account and is in the fundamental interests of the Tibetan people and of liberating the productive forces, it is not only warmly supported by the patriotic upper strata, but has won complete endorsement from the masses of labouring people as well.

The policy of redemption does not mean that reform is "granted" from above, rather, it is based on rousing the masses and letting them carry out the reform themselves. In carrying out democratic reform in Tibet, the Communist Party adopts on the one hand, the method of buying out after fully consulting the upper strata; on the other hand, it fully arouses and organizes the masses to liberate themselves. The class line in Tibet's democratic reform is to rely on the serfs and slaves, unite all forces that can be united with, deal blows at the most reactionary, rebel serf-owners and their agents, and abolish serfdom. Leaders and cadres of Communist Party organizations and of the government at various levels have gone out to the villages to help the masses wage this revolutionary struggle. At "struggle meetings," the serfs have accused and settled accounts with the reaction-

ary serf-owners. Finally land is distributed, peasant associations and organs of state power established and the people's democratic dictatorship instituted.

Two Steps

Democratic reform in Tibet has been carried out in two steps. The first was the campaign to oppose the rebellion, unpaid forced labour and slavery and to reduce rent and rates of interest. The second is the distribution of land and other means of production, confiscated or bought out from the serf-owners, among the serfs and slaves. In the pastoral areas, only the herds belonging to the rebel manorial lords and herd-owners were confiscated and turned over to those who tended the herds or to the poor herdsmen. The policy towards the other herd-owners is one of not confiscating their herds, neither determining their class status nor struggling against them. The campaign to oppose rebellion, unpaid forced labour and slavery and the policy of benefiting the interests of both the herdsmen and herd-owners and assisting the poor herdsmen has been carried out to safeguard the herds, develop livestock-breeding and improve the life of the herdsmen.

The democratic reform movement has fundamentally changed the relations of production in Tibet and transformed ownership by serf-owners into ownership by individual peasants. Thanks to the establishment of these new relations of production, the long-stagnant social productive forces have been set free and the political enthusiasm and productive initiative of the labouring people, who are conscious that they are now the masters in their own house, soar to unprecedented heights. More than 90 per cent of the peasant households in the region have joined agricultural mutual-aid teams.* The peasants have launched a vigorous, patriotic campaign to boost production. They have given up the old method of extensive farming and improved their backward farm tools. In the past three years, they have built a large number of irrigation channels and reclaimed large tracts of wasteland. They have gathered in bumper harvests for three consecutive years. Livestock-breeding has also been doing well. The number of livestock has increased compared with 1959. Handicraft industry has been revived and developed. With the benefits of democratic reform and increased production, the living standards of the peasants, herdsmen and handicraftsmen have begun to improve.

Development of United Front

In the revolutionary struggle in Tibet, united front work is of the utmost importance. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet and before the quelling of the rebellion, the Communist Party worked hard to form a united front in the region. At that time, a section of the upper strata in Tibet was reactionary. They had all along colluded with imperialism and foreign reactionaries and plotted to split Tibet away from the motherland. Another section of the upper strata was patriotic. They had opposed this undermining of the unification of the motherland and maintained certain links with the people; they co-operated with the Central People's Government both before and

* These teams are an elementary form of transition from individual peasant production to socialist agriculture. The peasant household which joins a team still owns its own land and other means of production and carries on farming independently. The peasants engage in collective labour and make common use of certain draught animals and farm tools.—Ed.

after liberation and made important contributions to the peaceful liberation of Tibet and the implementation of the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. The third section, which is politically middle-of-the-road, was anti-imperialist and patriotic to a certain extent; they kept in close touch with the masses on the questions of nationalities and religion. To unite with them and win them over therefore served the interests of strengthening national unity and winning over the masses. Unity with leading patriotic individuals and the strengthening of the patriotic progressive forces isolated the secessionists and dealt blows to the traitorous reactionary forces; this unity played a very important role in consolidating the unification of the country and strengthening the unity of the various nationalities, above all, the unity between Hans and Tibetans.

The united front, however, had serious limitations before democratic reform. The people's democratic united front led by the Communist Party includes two alliances, namely the alliance between the working class and the other labouring people, mainly the peasants, and the alliance between the working class and those non-labouring people with whom co-operation is possible. Both alliances are indispensable. The former alliance is the basis and the latter, an allied force. During that period, feudal serfdom was left intact, the land question of the broad masses of peasants was not yet solved and the labouring people had not really gained democratic rights. Therefore, the worker-peasant alliance was not yet consolidated. At that time, only support of the Communist Party leadership, patriotism and opposition to imperialism were taken as the common political bases of the united front. Therefore, although the united front in Tibet of that time constituted in general a component part of the nationwide people's democratic united front and was quite broad in itself, it was actually only an anti-imperialist patriotic united front.

After the quelling of the rebellion and the institution of democratic reform, feudal serfdom was abolished, the peasants' land question solved, the people's democratic state power was established at various levels and the labouring people began to exercise democratic rights as masters in their own house. Only then did the worker-peasant alliance become steadily more consolidated and developed. In these circumstances, the united front led by the Communist Party in Tibet was developed, expanded, strengthened, consolidated and was raised to a higher level — it became the people's democratic united front in fact as well as in name.

Today, the patriotic section of the upper strata in Tibet is a part of the people, an ally of the revolution. Most of them have successfully taken the road of democratic reform; their political understanding and patriotic consciousness have been further enhanced and they are willing to remould themselves and contribute to the revolutionary cause of the Tibetan people — all this, thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party which united with and educated them patiently. The Party's united front policy will continue to be implemented so as to unite all the forces that can possibly be united and bring all positive factors into play.

The Question of Religion

The great majority of the Tibetans in the region have for a long time been believers in Lamaism. So here the

question of religion becomes one of a mass character involving the nationalities question. Since Lamaism is an important branch of Buddhism, it is also a question that is international in character.

Communists are atheists. But they understand clearly that religion has its deep natural and social roots. Their duty is first of all to liberate the masses from class oppression. They uphold the policy of freedom of religious belief. Whether to believe or not, or what religion to believe in are matters for the people themselves to decide. The Communist Party and Government will respect and protect them all and will never interfere in or settle this question of religious belief for the masses by means of administrative orders.

There is a strict line drawn between political questions and questions of religious belief, and everything is done to ensure political unification and religious freedom. In the stage of the democratic revolution, the main criteria for unity and co-operation between religious circles, on the one hand, and the Communist Party and the People's Government, on the other, are: support of the leadership of the Communist Party and the People's Government, patriotism and opposition to imperialism, observance of the laws and statutes of the Government, and support of democratic reform. This entirely conforms to the common political interests of the Tibetan people of all strata. In accordance with the policy of freedom of religious belief, the Communist Party and the People's Government respect and protect the religious beliefs of the people in religious circles and the masses, and the religious activities of the monasteries.

In the past the monasteries were controlled by lamas of the top ranks of the religious hierarchy who came from families of the nobility and tribal chieftains and enjoyed feudal privileges. Not a few of these lamas used the monasteries to plot and carry out rebellion and counter-revolutionary activities. Profound political and economic contradictions existed between them and the mass of labouring people. In the course of putting down the rebellion and carrying out democratic reform, the Communist Party on the one hand adopted a policy of religious freedom towards those lamas of the top ranks of the hierarchy in the monasteries and people in religious circles who did not take part in the rebellion, protected the monasteries under patriotic and law-abiding lamas, also patriotic and law-abiding people in religious circles, protected legitimate religious activities, and made appropriate arrangements for them both politically and economically. On the other hand, a campaign was launched in the monasteries against rebellion, feudal privileges and the system of feudal exploitation and oppression; a system of democratic administration was introduced in the monasteries. Since democratic reform in the monasteries was firmly carried out according to the principle of political unification and religious freedom, it was supported by the broad masses of the people as well as by patriotic individuals in religious circles.

During the course of democratic reform, Panchen Erdeni put forward five points for the work of the monasteries. They are: 1. the monasteries must give up ex-



Cadres helping Tibetan peasants harvest barley

Photo by Chen Tsung-tieh

ploitation; 2. the monasteries must implement democratic administration; 3. the monasteries must observe government laws and statutes and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China; 4. the monasteries must engage in production; 5. the Government will guarantee the livelihood of the old and young lamas and professional reciters of the scriptures. These five points are excellent and have been carried out step by step in the work of the monasteries. Also upon the suggestion of Panchen Erdeni, a group of learned lamas has been organized for research and profound study of the Buddhist scriptures.

National Regional Autonomy

The aim of introducing democratic reform in Tibet is to liberate its productive forces, develop Tibet's political, economic and cultural undertakings and raise the living standards of the Tibetan labouring people so that the Tibetans in Tibet may prosper in socialist China and join the ranks of the more advanced nationalities.

The Communist Party's basic policy on the national question is to bring about equality and unity among the nationalities. National regional autonomy is an essential sign of the realization of equality and unity among the nationalities. It means that a national minority administers its own internal affairs. This can be carried out in China only under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. The Party's policy of national regional autonomy has been written into the Constitution of China.

It is explicitly stipulated in the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet that national regional autonomy will be carried out in Tibet. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was estab-

lished in 1956. In spite of obstruction and sabotage by the reactionary clique of the Tibetan upper strata, working personnel and the People's Liberation Army in Tibet have firmly upheld the policy of national equality and unity, treated the Tibetans as equals, respected their customs and habits, helped them build highways, set up schools, hospitals, develop trade and granted them agricultural loans, thereby strengthening the unity between Hans and Tibetans and among the Tibetans themselves. As a result of the armed rebellion in March 1959, the State Council dissolved the former Tibetan local government and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region took over the functions and power of the local government.

In order to implement national regional autonomy, large numbers of minority cadres must be trained. Only when this has been done can the people of the nationality concerned exercise their rights as masters in their own house.

The preparatory work to set up the Tibet Autonomous Region is being stepped up. Among the 11 chairman and vice-chairmen of the Preparatory Committee nine are of Tibetan nationality. The administrative organs for the seven special administrative regions, one municipality and 72 counties of the Tibet region have been set up. In addition, 283 district and 1,009 township administrative organs have been established. In all there are today in Tibet over 6,000 cadres of Tibetan nationality, among whom over 300 hold leading posts as heads of special administrative regions, counties and districts. More than

1,000 of them have joined the Communist Party and over 2,000 have joined the Communist Youth League. When conditions are ripe, general elections will be held in Tibet to establish the people's congresses and the Tibet Autonomous Region itself.

While continuing to train large numbers of cadres of Tibetan nationality, it is also necessary to have a certain number of cadres of Han and other nationalities to help build a prosperous and happy new Tibet. Tibetan and Han cadres co-operate closely, respecting, confiding in, learning from and helping each other.

Tasks Ahead

The task that lies ahead in Tibet is to complete democratic reform thoroughly and prepare the conditions for socialist transformation. In order to fulfil this task, efforts are, first of all, being concentrated on leading the masses to develop production, bring about economic prosperity, improve the people's livelihood and rid the region of poverty and backwardness, the legacy of feudal serfdom. Among other things, efforts are also being made to educate the masses ideologically and politically in the democratic revolution, to educate them in patriotism as well as in the prospects of socialism, to strengthen united front work, to bring about unity with and to educate the people of the upper social strata, to expand Communist Party and Communist Youth League organizations, and to prepare actively for general elections and for the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Sino-Indian Relations

New Delhi's Dangerous Game

by CHOU CHUN-LI

SINO-INDIAN relations have further deteriorated recently.

On June 3, the Sino-Indian treaty on trade and intercourse between China's Tibet Region and India expired without a new treaty having been signed to replace it. The world press reports stepped-up Indian military activities along the Sino-Indian border. Indian armed intrusions into China's Sinkiang and Tibet have also increased. Indian troops have penetrated deep into China; they have set up new military posts on Chinese territory. Indian provocations against Chinese frontier guards have been frequent. In addition, the Indian Government is trying to whip up anti-Chinese feeling among the Indian people by using the Kashmir question and the planned Sino-Pakistan negotiations for a provisional boundary agreement between the two countries (see p. 11).

All this is happening at a time when China, despite the fact that she has right on her side in the Sino-Indian boundary controversy, is doing everything within her power to try and bring about a settlement of the dispute. Time and again the Chinese Government has offered to negotiate with the Indian Government on the boundary question and to maintain the status quo on the disputed

boundary pending agreement. The Indian Government has turned down all these proposals, making impossible demands as pre-conditions for negotiations.

Contrasting Attitudes to Treaty Renewal

The cause of the failure to hold negotiations for a new treaty to replace the 1954 treaty on trade and intercourse between China's Tibet Region and India vividly illustrates the contrasting attitudes of the two Governments towards Sino-Indian relations.

Six months ago, in December 1961, the Chinese Government sent a note to the Indian Government proposing that negotiations be held to conclude a new agreement to replace the old treaty. This was rejected by the Indian Government on the grounds that the prerequisite for such negotiations was the reversal of so-called "Chinese aggressive policies." A second Chinese note in March this year met the same rebuff, this time with the demand for the withdrawal of Chinese troops from so-called "Indian territory." This made it clear that the Indian Government had no desire to promote economic and cultural exchanges between the two countries and improve relations. All it wanted was to use the negotiations to force China to submit to its demands on the Sino-Indian boundary issue.

The Indian Government seeks to justify its stubborn and unreasonable stand on the pretext that China has "violated" the 1954 agreement and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In other words, it has used the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and the tension between the two countries, which it itself created, to reject the Chinese proposal. However, one thing is clear: it is China which is the wronged party both on the question of implementation of the 1954 agreement and on the question of the maintenance of the status quo on the boundary.

As is well known, China and India had been on good terms until the Indian Government changed its attitude towards Sino-Indian relations. Particularly after the rebellion in Tibet in 1959, the Indian Government flagrantly violated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the 1954 agreement. It openly supported the Tibetan rebels and crudely interfered in China's internal affairs. At the same time, it imposed an economic embargo on the Tibet Region of China and clamped down various restrictions on the Chinese trade agency in Kalimpong.

Yet, despite all this, the Chinese Government has persistently pursued a policy of entering into negotiations to settle its differences with the Indian Government. The proposal it made to negotiate a new treaty with India was aimed at relaxing Sino-Indian tension and creating a more friendly atmosphere between the two countries. It was hoped that since the Indian Government had rejected all earlier Chinese efforts to solve the boundary issue through negotiations, the settlement of other problems and improvement of Sino-Indian relations might create a favourable atmosphere for solution of the boundary issue itself.

What makes the Indian refusal to negotiate a new treaty even more ominous is the fact that the Indian Government, disregarding repeated protests from the Chinese Government, is doggedly provoking new border conflicts, encroaching on Chinese territory and aggravating Sino-Indian relations in every sphere.

More Military Provocations

In the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, India has not only refused to evacuate its military post in the Chip Chap river valley area in Sinkiang, China (see *Peking Review*, No. 18, 1962); but has gone ahead to set up still another one at Hongshantou (approximately 35°18' N, 78°05'30" E). This place is barely eight kilometres west southwest of the Chinese post (at approximately 35°19' N, 78°12' E) in that area.

For some time now, Indian troops have repeatedly intruded into the area west, northwest and southwest of the Chinese post and engaged in harassing activities. In the period between April 28 and May 17, 18 such cases were recorded. Indian aircraft also took part in these provocations. On May 10, for example, an Indian plane circled over the Chinese post for some 30 minutes, flying at no more than 400 metres from the ground.

In the **Ari district of Tibet, China**, Indian intrusions into Chinese territory have also been frequent, and there has been another case of provocative shooting.

On May 7, for example, five Indian military personnel intruded into the area around 34°16' N, 79°01' E (this is

The Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and India was signed on April 29, 1954, and came into effect on June 3 of the same year. It was effective for a period of eight years.

The famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were written into this agreement. This was the first time in international relations that they had been enunciated. The preamble to the agreement says: the Governments of China and India, "being desirous of promoting trade and cultural intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India and of facilitating pilgrimage and travel by the peoples of China and India, have resolved to enter into the present agreement based on the following principles: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) Mutual non-aggression, (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (4) Equality and mutual benefit, and (5) Peaceful coexistence."

The main points of the agreement were the following: The Government of India agreed to the establishment of Chinese trade agencies in New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong (the one in New Delhi was not established). The Government of China agreed to the establishment of Indian trade agencies at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok. The two Governments respectively specified several places as markets for trade and mutually agreed that traders of both countries known to be customarily and specifically engaged in trade between the Tibet Region of China and India might trade at the places specified. The agreement provided that pilgrimages by religious believers of the two countries should be carried on in accordance with custom, at specified places on each side. The agreement also stipulated provisions relating to the passes and route of travel to be used by traders and pilgrims of both countries and procedures governing travel across the border by diplomatic personnel, officials and nationals of the two countries.

the place where Indian troops provoked the Kongka Pass Incident in October 1959) and conducted armed reconnaissance. On the same day, another group of Indian military personnel intruded into the area at 34°18' N, 79°01' E.

Two days later, on May 9, troops from an Indian military strongpoint fired three shots at the Chinese post at Jechiung. This Indian strongpoint, situated in Chinese territory at a place south of the Spanggur Lake, was set up only recently by Indian troops and is only about four kilometres away from the Chinese post. An earlier provocation against the same Chinese post occurred on May 5. The incident was the subject of a Chinese protest note on May 11 (see *Peking Review*, No. 20, 1962).

Still another case of intrusion occurred on May 3 when four Indian soldiers even went about four kilometres beyond the boundary line claimed by the Indian Government and reached Goro (approximately 32°38' N, 79°34' E) in Tibet where they conducted reconnaissance for quite a time.

In the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, Indian military personnel on May 18 again intruded into Longju in Tibet. This followed an earlier provocation on April 28 (see *Peking Review*, No. 21, 1962).

Indian intrusions into Chinese air space have also increased. Counting only those verified, 67 flights took place within the period of 56 days from March 6 to April 30, 1962. These occurred over all sectors of the Sino-Indian border. Those over the western sector were the most serious. It is obvious that these flights were made in direct co-ordination with recent Indian provocations and intrusions on the ground.

Delhi Fears Truth

While all this is going on, the Indian Government has displayed an understandable fear of the truth. To prevent the Indian public from getting to know the facts of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, it has resorted to confiscation of news material.

Recently, the Indian Government issued orders to confiscate copies of two issues of *China Today*, a news bulletin published by the Chinese Embassy in India. These issues happen to carry the Chinese Government note to the Indian Government dated April 30, 1962, and a brief account of the contents of the report of the Chinese and Indian officials on the boundary question (see *Peking Review*, No. 16, 1962).

Announcing this in the Rajya Sabha on May 10, the Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Madame Lakshmi Menon alleged that these Chinese official documents published by the Chinese Embassy gave a "one-sided version" of the Sino-Indian boundary question. On May 21, Madame Menon again referred to this question in the Lok Sabha and accused the Chinese Embassy of "flagrant violation of the law of the land," "abuse of the hospitality of India" and "violation of diplomatic ethics." She admitted that there were established conventions about the rights of foreign missions to carry on propaganda in the host state, but declared that the news bulletin of the Chinese Embassy which "challenges the territorial integrity of India" was "not permissible."

In this respect, it should be pointed out that the Indian Embassy in China published in its news bulletin *India News*, on March 1, 1961, a one-sided and distorted Indian "summary" of the report of the Chinese and Indian officials on the boundary question. This issue of *India News* was widely distributed in China.

What is more, No. 16 of *Peking Review* was also banned from circulation by the Indian Government because it carried the full texts of notes exchanged between the Chinese and Indian Governments. On May 25, an organized group of Indians staged "demonstrations" outside the Chinese Embassy in India, burnt copies of *China Today* and *Peking Review* and abused leaders of the Chinese Government.

Regarding this crude suppression of information, the Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note dated May 29 to the Indian Embassy in China. "It is in conformity with international practice for an embassy to carry in its news

bulletins official documents and statements of its own government," it says. "The Indian Embassy in China has always done this, and so has the Chinese Embassy in India. Hence this right is reciprocal for both sides, and the question of 'defiance of the law of the land and abusing hospitality' does not arise at all." The Chinese note further points out: "In its note to the Chinese Embassy in India dated September 24, 1959, the Ministry of External Affairs of India declared that 'the Government of India would ask once again that the Embassy should refrain from publishing in its bulletin any material of whatsoever kind critical of India's policies unless they are official statements by the Government of China.' The Indian Government, however, has now gone to the length of ignoring its own declaration and confiscated the Embassy's news bulletin carrying two official documents, that is, the Note of the Chinese Government and a brief account of the contents of the report of the Chinese and Indian officials. This fact shows that it is totally lacking in good faith and has flagrantly violated the principles of international practice."

India's Lame Excuse

Referring to the fact that the news bulletin published by the Indian Embassy in China has all along carried documents of the Indian Government and speeches of its officials which attacked the Chinese Government, including the one-sided and distorted Indian "summary" of the report of the Chinese and Indian officials, the note says that the Chinese Government cannot understand why the Indian Government should think that its embassy in China can publish official documents on the boundary question while the Chinese Embassy in India cannot. It asks: Is it according to Indian laws and rules of conduct that it be free to attack others while others are not allowed to defend themselves?

The note exposes as wholly untenable the Indian Government's attempt to use as a pretext for its insulting attitude the allegation that the documents published in *China Today* "question India's territorial integrity." It says: "As is well known to the whole world, the Sino-Indian boundary question is a dispute between the two countries, and it was precisely because each side questions the views of the other on this question that the two sides have held meetings of officials to check the facts and explain their respective stands. The brief account of the contents of the report of the Chinese and Indian officials carried in the news bulletin of the Chinese Embassy is a correct representation of the facts of the Sino-Indian boundary question and the points of difference between the two sides. This is not to be compared with the 'summary' of the officials' report published by India, which distorts the facts." If the Indian Government were not aware of its own lack of justification, continues the note, there would have been no need for it to fear that readers of the news bulletin should get to know the true facts and the position of the Chinese Government. The note concludes that the suppression of the news bulletin of the Chinese Embassy by the Indian Government precisely exposes the weakness of the Indian Government: that is, that the position of the Indian Government on the Sino-Indian boundary question is based on fabrications and is arbitrary and does not stand up to a cross-checking with the facts and refutations.

Sino-Pakistan Boundary Negotiations

The following is an abridged translation of the "Ren-min Ribao" editorial of June 5 under the title "Sino-Pakistan Boundary Negotiations Are a Good Thing." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE Governments of China and Pakistan have announced that they will negotiate a provisional boundary agreement. This is heartening news to all who cherish peace in Asia.

Along several hundred kilometres between China and areas which are now actually controlled by Pakistan there is a boundary which has never been delimited or demarcated. There are practical problems on this section of the boundary which require settlement. Frontier guards of the two countries are patrolling on the two sides of the boundary. In some parts of the boundary, civilians of the two countries roam across the mountain passes. Under present conditions there can be no absolute guarantee that there will be no misunderstandings, or even border disputes. In the interest of peace in Asia, it is therefore very good that the Chinese and Pakistan Governments have decided to negotiate a provisional boundary agreement.

Imperialist-Created Kashmir Issue

Of course, the question of Sino-Pakistan boundary negotiations includes a particularly complicated factor: the areas actually controlled by Pakistan and bordering the Sinkiang region of China involve Kashmir. And the problem of the sovereignty over the whole of Kashmir is a question under dispute between India and Pakistan. Britain created this dispute when it separated India and Pakistan. The imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, have for over ten years been provoking bad blood between the two countries and have interfered under various guises in the Kashmir question, complicating the issue still more. To date this dispute remains unsettled.

The Chinese Government and people fully understand the national feelings of the Indian and Pakistan peoples on this matter. They have always hoped that these two neighbours would settle the Kashmir dispute through mutual consultations without outside interference. They cannot, because of the Indian-Pakistan disagreement, refrain from dealing with the question of the boundary between China and neighbouring Kashmir; on the other hand they have also given full consideration to the Indian-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir.

Sovereignty Over Kashmir Unaffected by Negotiations

In the press release issued by the Chinese and Pakistan Governments concerning negotiations over the boundary question, it was clearly stated that the two sides will, following negotiations, sign an agreement of a provisional nature on the demarcation of the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas, the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan. They have also agreed that "after the settlement of the dispute over Kashmir between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authorities concerned shall reopen negotiations

with the Chinese Government regarding the boundary of Kashmir so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace the provisional agreement."

This shows that the boundary negotiations between China and Pakistan do not in any way prejudice the issue of sovereignty over Kashmir. It also shows that the Chinese Government remains true to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, adheres to a policy of friendship and good neighbourliness and has always maintained a clearcut stand not to become involved in the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. This position of the Chinese Government is forthright and unimpeachable.

Unreasonable Indian Protest

What is surprising, however, is the fact that the Indian Government should protest against Sino-Pakistan boundary negotiations. The Chinese Government in its note of reply has refuted this adequately and comprehensively (see page 12). Any reasonable person, we believe, will understand and support China's stand. The Indian ruling circles are making use of the Indian people's feelings about the Kashmir issue to attack China, hoping thereby to whip up fresh anti-Chinese sentiment, and to cover up their arbitrary and arrogant action in refusing to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question and in aggravating border tensions. But they will never succeed in their purpose by such action.

As far as Sino-Pakistan negotiations for a provisional boundary agreement are concerned, anyone who cares to stop and think coolly over the question will have no difficulty in understanding that China cannot put aside the actual boundary question between China and Pakistan just because the Kashmir question has not been settled. Can anyone really imagine that if there is a delay of another ten years or more in settling the Kashmir dispute, China should throughout these years leave unsettled the existing boundary question with its neighbour Pakistan?

As far as the Sino-Indian boundary question is concerned, the Chinese Government has always been in favour of a peaceful solution through negotiations. While agreeing with the Pakistan Government to negotiate a provisional boundary agreement, it expressed to the Indian Government its sincere desire for a negotiated settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Indian Government, however, rejected this friendly approach. It is obviously not China's fault that no agreement has so far been reached to negotiate the Sino-Indian boundary question. In this situation is it possible for anyone to imagine that so long as the Indian Government refuses to negotiate the boundary question, China should not negotiate boundary questions with other neighbours?

China's Stand: Settlement of Dispute Through Negotiations

As in the past, the Chinese Government and people stand by their wish for a friendly settlement of the Kashmir question between India and Pakistan. Regarding the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese Government persists in its stand of striving for a peaceful settle-

ment through negotiations. The Chinese Government and people sincerely wish to establish and develop friendly relations with all neighbours; they sincerely wish for Sino-Indian and Sino-Pakistan friendship, for friendship between the sister countries of India and Pakistan, and for ever growing friendship among all the Asian and African countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference.

Since Burma and Nepal have already settled their boundary questions with China, and since Pakistan and

China have decided to negotiate, why can't the Indian Government agree to negotiate with the Chinese Government to solve the boundary question? There is no fundamental conflict of interests between the Chinese and Indian peoples and they should remain friendly for ever. We are convinced that the Sino-Indian boundary question will eventually be settled too, that the friendly relations between China and India will be restored and developed, and that the friendly relations between China and all other Asian countries will be developed and strengthened.

China Rejects India's "Protest"

On June 4, the Chinese Foreign Ministry published its note of May 31, 1962, to the Indian Embassy in China categorically rejecting the Indian Government's note of May 10 which unreasonably objected to Sino-Pakistan negotiations for a provisional boundary agreement.

The note points out that there is a boundary of several hundred kilometres between China's Sinkiang and the areas the defence of which is under the control of Pakistan, and that this boundary has never been formally delimited and demarcated. It is therefore entirely necessary, proper, legitimate and in accordance with international practice for the Chinese Government to agree with the Government of Pakistan to negotiate a provisional agreement concerning this boundary pending a final settlement of the Kashmir question. The note protests against the Indian Government's wanton slander and attempt, using the pretext of the Kashmir dispute, to intimidate China and oppose the Sino-Pakistan boundary negotiations. These activities of the Indian Government show that it is bent on making use of the Sino-Pakistan negotiations to whip up anti-Chinese sentiments and aggravate tension between China and India.

The text of the note is as follows:

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the note of the Ministry of External Affairs of India dated May 10, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

1. The Indian Government in its note has gone to the length of lodging a protest with the Chinese Government against Sino-Pakistan negotiations for a provisional boundary agreement and wantonly slandering and intimidating China. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the unjustifiable protest of the Indian Government and, from the Indian Government's completely unreasonable attitude of imposing its will on others, cannot but draw with regret the conclusion that the Indian Government is bent on making use of the Sino-Pakistan negotiations to whip up anti-Chinese sentiments and aggravate the tension between China and India.

2. The Indian note alleges that the Chinese Government accepted without reservation the position that Kashmir is under Indian sovereignty, that there is no common boundary between China and Pakistan, and that therefore China has no right to conduct boundary negotiations with Pakistan. This allegation is totally untenable. When did the Chinese Government accept without any reservation the position that Kashmir is under Indian sovereignty? The Indian Government could not cite any official Chinese document to prove this arbitrary contention but, basing itself solely on the guesswork and impression of Indian diplomatic officials who have been to

China, insisted that Chinese Government authorities had made statements to that effect. This is not only a unilateral misrepresentation of the fact but a conclusion imposed on others, to which the Chinese Government categorically objects. There is a boundary of several hundred kilometres between China's Sinkiang and the areas the defence of which is under the control of Pakistan, and it has never been formally delimited and demarcated. If one does not shut his eyes to the facts, how can he assert that there is no common boundary between China and Pakistan? Since both China and Pakistan are sovereign states, why cannot China conduct negotiations with Pakistan to settle the question of the actually existing common boundary so as to maintain tranquillity on the border and amity between the two countries? Long before it agreed with the Government of Pakistan to negotiate the boundary question, the Chinese Government had repeatedly proposed, and now still proposes, to conduct negotiations with the Indian Government for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. But the Indian Government has again and again turned down China's proposal, consequently the Sino-Indian boundary question remains unsettled and the situation on the Sino-Indian border becomes increasingly tense. Now the Indian Government not only refuses itself to negotiate a settlement of the boundary question with China, but objects to China's negotiating a boundary settlement with Pakistan. Does it mean that the Indian Government, after creating the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, wishes to see a similar dispute arise between China and Pakistan?

3. The boundary negotiations between China and Pakistan do not at all involve the question of the ownership of Kashmir. The agreement between the Governments of China and Pakistan made it crystal clear that after the settlement of the dispute between Pakistan and India over Kashmir, the sovereign authorities concerned shall reopen negotiations with the Chinese Government on the question of the Kashmir boundary so as to conclude a formal boundary treaty to replace the provisional agreement to be signed after the Sino-Pakistan negotiations. The signing of such an agreement will only help maintain tranquillity on the existing boundary between China and Pakistan, and will in no way prejudice a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. The Indian Government is wholly unjustified in objecting to boundary negotiations between China and Pakistan on the pretext of the Kashmir dispute.

4. With regard to the Kashmir dispute, it has been the consistent position of the Chinese Government to be impartial and to wish that India and Pakistan will reach a peaceful settlement. This has been, and still is, the Chinese position. The Indian Government is clearly aware of this. Suffice it to point out the fact that Premier Chou En-lai declared at a press conference in Calcutta on December 9, 1956, that the Chinese Government considered the Kashmir question "an outstanding issue between India and Pakistan." Furthermore, Premier Chou En-lai, together with the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike of Ceylon, made an appeal in their joint statement issued on February 5, 1957, to India and Pakistan to strive further for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question. This attitude of the Chinese Government of never getting involved in the dispute over Kashmir can in no way be distorted and is well-known throughout the world.

5. The Chinese Government has always refrained from making any remarks on the historical background of the Kashmir question. Nevertheless, the Kashmir question is after all a dispute between two legal governments, those of India and of Pakistan. China has diplomatic relations with India and also with Pakistan, and India, too, has diplomatic relations with Pakistan. The Chinese Government only hopes that this dispute between India and Pakistan will be settled by them peacefully, and has always been against anyone taking advantage of it to sow discord in the relations between the two countries. So far as China is concerned, nothing would be better than a peaceful settlement of this dispute by India and Pakistan through negotiation. However, more than ten years have passed and despite the best wishes and expectations all along cherished by China, this dispute between India and Pakistan remains unsettled. In these circumstances, anyone with common sense can understand that the Chinese Government cannot leave unsettled indefinitely its boundary of several hundred kilometres with the areas the defence of which is under the control of Pakistan merely because there is a dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. It is entirely necessary, proper, legitimate and in accordance with international practice for the Chinese Government to agree with the Government of Pakistan to negotiate a provisional agreement concerning this boundary pending a final settlement of the Kashmir question. What fault can be found with this? Yet in its note the Indian Government rudely slanders the Chinese Government's agreeing to open negotia-

tions with Pakistan as taking advantage of the difference between India and Pakistan and committing aggression against India. But unreasonable assertions can never hold water. The fact, on the contrary, is that the Indian Government itself is seeking to make use of the boundary question to sow discord in the relations between China and Pakistan. On May 7, 1962, Prime Minister Nehru openly admitted in the Indian Parliament that "we treated the Pakistan Government in a friendly way in these matters because we thought that any action which they might take should be in line with the action we were taking in regard to this border and should not conflict." Small wonder that the Indian Government should get so excited about Sino-Pakistan negotiations! Its scheme to sow discord in the relations between China and Pakistan has failed!

6. The excitement of the Indian Government will only bring results contrary to its expectations. Anyone in the world with common sense will ask: Since the Burmese and Nepalese Governments can settle their boundary questions with China in a friendly way through negotiations and since the Government of Pakistan has also agreed with the Chinese Government to negotiate a boundary settlement, why is it that the Indian Government cannot negotiate and settle its boundary question with the Chinese Government? Such a common-sense query is indeed rather embarrassing. But it is useless to get furious with China. As in the past, the Chinese Government still stands for a friendly settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through peaceful negotiations. The Indian Government's unenviable situation on this matter is of its own making. For example, the Indian Government's note says: "It is the India-China boundary which starts from the tri-junction of the boundaries of India, China and Afghanistan . . . and runs eastward up to the tri-junction of the boundaries of India, Burma and China." Pray, what kind of an assertion is that? Not only are the areas the defence of which is under the control of Pakistan negated, but even Nepal no longer exists, Sikkim no longer exists, and Bhutan no longer exists! This is out-and-out great-power chauvinism. The Indian Government should realize that it is now in the sixties of the 20th century and that the cursed era in which great powers controlled everything has gone for ever. Anyone who persists in an attitude of great-power chauvinism in international affairs will always knock his head against a stone wall.

7. The Chinese Government is deeply convinced that it is a good thing to hold boundary negotiations between China and Pakistan, which are in the interest of both friendship among Asian countries and peace in Asia. No slander of any kind can ever distort this fact. The position of the Chinese Government is not difficult for any reasonable person to understand. One who tries to make use of Sino-Pakistan negotiations to whip up anti-Chinese sentiments will only be lifting a rock to crush his own toes in the end. The Chinese Government hopes that the Indian Government will coolly think it over: Would it not be better to make some earnest effort towards a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, rather than wasting its strength in such fruitless quarrel?

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

In the "Kingdom of Coffee"

by TAN WEN-JUI

I WAS offered a cup of strong, black coffee the moment I stepped onto Brazilian soil. "How do you like it? Not bad, eh?" My Brazilian friend was anxious to know what I thought of his national beverage.

"Excellent," I said, "it certainly comes up to my expectations." This was no mere compliment; I certainly meant it. Brazilian coffee has an especially strong aroma that appeals even to those who usually don't drink coffee.

In the ensuing days in Brazil I drank at least six or seven cups of coffee a day: coffee at breakfast, coffee after lunch and dinner, coffee at "tea-time." When you called on a friend, coffee was served the moment you sat down; when you took a stroll along the streets, your Brazilian friends were sure to invite you to a roadside cafe for a cup of coffee at the counter; and most probably, you would be served a cup of coffee at the barber's too, while waiting your turn. When I was flying over the states of eastern Brazil, I saw vast expanses of the famous *terra roxa* soil sliced into countless dark-green coffee plantations. In the city of Sao Paulo, I saw coffee stacked in sacks to form a pyramid and women's bracelets and necklaces with beads of coffee beans. Brazil is indeed the "Kingdom of Coffee."

Land of Coffee

The native home of coffee is, of course, Ethiopia. Coffee-growing in Brazil has only 200-odd years' history behind it. No coffee was ever grown in the Americas until the 18th century, when, in 1727, coffee was brought to Brazil by a French officer from Martinique. Coffee trees were first planted in areas around the Amazon estuary in the north. It was only some time later that they finally found their "paradise" on the deep *terra roxa* soil in the southeastern hilly regions of Brazil which, on account of their fertility and moisture, are the most suitable for the cultivation of coffee. Today, the coffee plantations are concentrated in Sao Paulo, Minas Gerais, Espirito Santo and Parana. Sao Paulo state alone produces over 40 per cent of Brazil's total output and devotes two million hectares of land to coffee-growing. In all, some 3.82 million hectares of the nation's total 16 million hectares of land under cultivation are coffee-growing areas. Thus, Brazil has become the second native home of coffee and today produces more than one half of the world's total output, or between 30 to 40 million sacks (60 kilogrammes per sack) a year.

To date, coffee remains the foundation of the Brazilian economy, accounting for about 60 per cent of the country's total exports. In 1961, for instance, Brazil's total exports were valued at around U.S. \$1,200 million with coffee exports valued at more than \$700 million. With this money Brazil buys grain, raw materials, industrial equipment and the other sundry goods it needs.

The author is a member of the Chinese Journalists' Delegation which toured Latin America early this year.

Coffee is the fruit of the Brazilian farmers' toil. It takes at least two to three years to open up a coffee plantation — first to clear the ground, then to turn up the soil before the seedlings are planted. The life of the tenant-farmers and farmhands who run the coffee plantations after they are planted is just as hard and ill-paid as that of those who open up the plantations. A landlord who has land suitable for coffee-growing usually rents out the land to farmers under a special arrangement: the farmer undertakes to plant the coffee seedlings but is allowed to grow food crops on strips of land between the coffee trees. After a few years, when the coffee plants are ready for harvesting the plantation owner takes back the land, and employs agricultural workers to take care of the coffee plants, to do the picking, curing (drying) and get the crop to market. The plantation owners resort to all sorts of means to rack profits from these workers.

At the Capivari Coffee Plantation

One March afternoon, I paid a visit to Capivari, a coffee plantation some 120 kilometres from the city of Sao Paulo. Leaving the city by car, we sped northwest along a broad highway. It was scorchingly hot under the tropical sun. In two hours we came to Campinas, the second biggest city in Sao Paulo state. Just past Campinas we turned into a narrow, rough road lined with tall araucaria trees which provided cool and refreshing shade. Before long our car passed through the entrance of the coffee plantation.

Capivari, covering an area of some 200 hectares with 130,000 coffee trees, is not a small plantation, though it is not among the biggest in Brazil some of which have over one million coffee trees. Every year one and a half kilogrammes of coffee beans can be picked from each coffee tree; in other words, this plantation, with its 130,000 trees, produces approximately 200,000 kilogrammes of coffee. A full-grown coffee tree, I was told, bears crops for twenty, thirty years or even longer. At Capivari, I saw many plantations of neatly laid out, well-pruned coffee trees. Bordering each plantation were rows of tall trees serving as shelter belts against strong winds. All the coffee trees are more than ten feet high, with clusters of green fruit which would turn into scarlet coffee "cherries" at harvest time — two or three months later. The grounds on the plantation for drying and roasting were shipshape, ready for the coming harvest.

The overseer of the plantation, who was the descendant of a Japanese immigrant, took us around and told us all about it. Capivari, he said, had 80 workers who for nine hours' work received a daily wage of 200 cruzeiros (less than 60 U.S. cents). But the minimum spent on food for a family of four was 180 cruzeiros a day. It was, of course, difficult for them to keep body and soul together. Even though coffee in Brazil is the cheapest thing money

can buy, many plantation workers cannot afford real coffee, and so drink a substitute made from the husk of the coffee beans ground into powder. It was already sunset as we walked around the plantation. Tired workers, implements on shoulder, were shuffling home to their shanties on the plantation. Not far from the workers' living quarters I saw the plantation owner's luxurious villa where he came to spend his holidays every month. As someone in our company figured out, the owner of this plantation would have an annual income of over 100,000 U.S. dollars if all his coffee crops harvested in a year were sold. But the wages he paid to the workers never exceeded \$20,000 a year. After all other expenses had been paid he could still have a very handsome profit left. Some Brazilians say: both the imposing skyscrapers and the extravagance of the rich in Brazil are built on coffee beans.

Coffee Crisis

Coffee, as its main source of wealth, is today causing Brazil a lot of trouble. For many years now, about half the coffee produced in Brazil remains unsold every year. In 1961, for instance, apart from about 7 million sacks for home consumption, there were some 32 million sacks available for export of which only 16 million sacks were actually exported. How to deal with this huge amount of unsold coffee is a real problem. In the past, surplus coffee was poured into the sea but this, it was later discovered, killed the fishes and thus threatened to ruin the country's fisheries. So people had coffee buried instead; this, however, would spoil the soil and affect the country's agricultural production. So another solution was found: the surplus coffee was burnt and destroyed. Every year, tens of thousands of dollars' worth of petrol was used for this purpose. Coffee production in Brazil is now being kept down. In 1890, its output reached 51 million sacks; today, Brazil is producing one-third less. Even so, surplus coffee Brazil now has in stock still amounts to 50 million sacks. In other words, even if Brazil stops producing coffee for three successive years, it still cannot dispose of its coffee in stock.

Another thing that worries the Brazilians is the steady drop in coffee prices. Brazil is now producing over 30 million sacks of coffee per annum (about 1,800 million kilogrammes), even if the price of coffee goes down by one or two cents per kilo, the loss Brazil has to sustain is great. Since U.S. monopoly capital buys one half of the world's coffee output every year and 70 per cent of Brazil's annual coffee exports is sold to the United States, the price of Brazilian coffee is completely under Wall Street control. In recent years, while importing less Brazilian coffee, U.S. monopoly capital is also reducing its price. In 1954, Brazil sold its coffee at \$1.80 per kilo; in 1961, the price was 66 cents. Brazil last year exported some 152,000 sacks of coffee more than in 1960 but was paid \$2.35 million less. As a result, Brazil is facing a serious international payments crisis and is in a stringent financial predicament at home. Its indebtedness to foreign countries today has already surpassed \$2,300 million.

Future Prospects

More and more people in Brazil are now anxious to find new markets for their coffee at a better price. In



A pyramid of coffee in the city of Sao Paulo

Rio de Janeiro, we were warmly received by people of the Instituto Brasileiro de Café (I.B.C.), a government organ in charge of coffee production and sales. Its president was away negotiating coffee prices in the United States during our visit. So his deputy, Senhor Newton Ferreira de Paiva, and other senior officers of the association received us. We had just sat down in the reception room when Senhor Ferreira de Paiva immediately broke the ice by going straight to the point. His first question to us Chinese reporters was this: "Do you think it is possible for your people to change your habits a little and, say, drink less tea and more coffee?"

We had no wish to disappoint him nor did we intend to deceive him. So we just told him the plain fact: "In the Chinese countryside, it is difficult for the folks to give up their age-old custom of tea-drinking. But, in the city, as the people's living standard goes up, people may have wider tastes than before. As a matter of fact, today, it's not so very rare in the city for some people to drink coffee." On hearing this, he and his colleagues immediately began figuring out China's urban population. Presently, they told us excitedly: "You see, we can easily solve our problem if only your city residents consume every year half a kilogramme of coffee per person." The vice-president of the association finally asserted that he would work hard for the development of Sino-Brazilian trade.

On the next day, we read in a Brazilian newspaper the news of this interview with due emphasis on the possibilities of China becoming a major consumer of coffee and of Brazil's export of coffee to that country.

What exactly is Brazil doing to solve its coffee problem? While still there, we heard that the Brazilian Government planned to reduce the area of coffee cultivation, while studying the possibility of using coffee beans for making things other than a beverage, such

as plastics, for instance. We wish them success. But, first of all, they will have to wage a bitter struggle against the U.S. imperialist policy of economic aggression that lines its own pocket at the expense of others.

Report From Hopei

MOUNTAIN COMMUNE

— That Was a "No Man's Land"

by TENG WEN

THE peasants of the Panshan Mountains know how to fight. For centuries they fought feudal oppression while wresting a scanty living from an ungenerous soil in Chihhsien County of Hopei Province. Around the 1940s they helped the guerrilla forces to repulse the attacks of Japanese invaders and later played a valiant part in overthrowing reactionary Kuomintang rule. Now they are well to the fore in building the new socialist society.

Good harvests were few and far between in the old days. Grain and fruit were grown on terraces laboriously cut and built on the sides of the mountains but there was never enough to keep hunger at bay. Spring droughts and summer deluges menaced the crops every year. Irrigation was impossible since there were no reservoirs in which to store water or pumps with which to tap the streams in the valleys. The only way a man could get his produce to market was to carry it on his shoulders down the narrow tracks that crisscrossed the bare hillsides.

The people's burdens grew even heavier after Japan invaded north China in 1937. Hordes of enemy soldiers savagely raided the Panshan mountain villages, burning, looting and killing. The people, led by the Communist Party, fought back heroically and kept up their resistance until Japan's surrender in 1945. Since liberation the people have advanced steadily towards the goal of a prosperous life for all.

Progress was greatly hastened when in 1958, the 32 scattered villages in the region formed the Guanzhuang People's Commune. The story of their advance since then and of their earlier struggles to raise themselves from the depths of poverty and oppression is well worth telling.

Japanese Invaders Beaten Back

Early in the War of Resistance Against Japan in the late thirties, the Communist Party established a base in the Panshan Mountains. The local people rallied to its support. They formed the Panshan Militia Squad which ceaselessly attacked the invaders and their puppets. In 1942, a Japanese cavalry contingent which had made a surprise raid was completely wiped out by this squad fighting alongside a regular army detachment. In a large-scale campaign, this same squad helped a regiment of the Communist-led Eighth Route Army annihilate three puppet regiments.

The Japanese carried out ruthless reprisals. In the summer of 1942, they attacked again and again trying to

break down the people's resistance. Shihko Village was sacked and burnt to the ground and 26 of its people slaughtered. Everywhere the invaders went they looted and killed without mercy. Their aim was to force the people to desert Panshan thus cutting off support to the Party's anti-Japanese base there. This practically turned the district into a "no man's land."

The peasants suffered heavy losses, but they never gave in. Their hatred for the enemy increased; their cunning in attacking him became greater. When the enemy raided their villages, they hid in mountain caves. When the enemy withdrew they returned to till their fields. Their armed units continually harried the enemy dealing him heavy blows.

In 1945, Japan surrendered. But many villages in the Panshan Mountains lay in ruins. The fruit trees had been chopped down and weeds grew in profusion over the terraces. The only stock left were a few emaciated draught animals. The people lived in make-shift huts. Clothes and bedding were insufficient, as of course, was food. The people often had to mix chaff with their grain to eke out their portion. The reactionary Kuomintang carried out no work of rehabilitation. It was only two years later when the People's Liberation Army freed the area that the Panshan villages began to heal its war wounds.

Rehabilitation Begins

The key problems facing the peasants after they became their own masters were to find ways to lessen the effects of the spring droughts and to halt the erosion caused by summer flooding. Only then could they get assured harvests from the land. They first tackled these problems as far back as 1952 when they formed mutual-aid teams. Progress was steady but slow. Prior to 1958, about 400 tons of grain still had to be brought in annually to supplement home-grown produce.

Since the formation of the people's commune which has much greater ability to mobilize resources of labour and finance than the earlier forms of co-operation, there have been rapid advances. Four small reservoirs have been completed. A great many small projects have been built to conserve water and soil on the mountain slopes. The commune has sunk many deep wells equipped with modern pumps. These measures have brought four-fifths

of the farmland under irrigation. Crop yields have improved immensely.

A million trees have been planted during the last few years. The soft green of new forests now swathes the mountain sides. Orchards have been re-established and enlarged. Persimmon, walnut and pear trees yield the commune a tidy income. The overall reafforestation has helped a great deal to conserve water.

Productivity Up, Incomes Rise

Bringing more land under cultivation plus irrigation has pushed up the district's output. Even in poor years, the amount of grain and fruit harvested has shown a steady rise. Last year there was little rain during several months in the spring and early summer, but grain yields still rose slightly. The number of livestock has been going up over the past few years.

Guanzhuang is now more than able to feed its population. After storing adequate reserves, it even sold a big surplus to the state last year. This is a far cry from the old pre-commune days when grain had to be shipped in.

The peasants speak highly of their new roads. As a matter of fact, they are "roads to prosperity." Formerly only men with shoulder poles and baskets or mules could negotiate the steep tracks up and down the mountains. It was impossible to move large quantities of perishable goods quickly enough this way. Though there was a ready market in the county town not far away, heaps of fruit rotted in the orchards. Prior to 1958, the People's Government constructed a number of roads and bridges but many of the more remote areas were still inaccessible to carts.

During the past few years, the people's commune has built 55 kilometres of motor and cart roads linking the villages and leading to various depots from whence the produce is trucked to the county town. Laden carts of fruit and grain now move easily along the roads through the mountains. On the return trip they bring all sorts of daily necessities. Last year's fruit harvest was good. It would have taken at least two months to move it in the old days. The new road network made it possible to send fruit to the townfolks' tables within three weeks. Not only can the crops be profitably disposed of, but the time saved can be usefully spent on other productive tasks.

On the social side, since the neighbouring villages are now readily accessible, it is easier to arrange such community activities as meetings, classes or entertainments. There is much more visiting between families and friends. Nowadays, too, most of the villages have telephones. The old days of isolation are gone.

Revolutionary tradition is proudly maintained in these mountain villages. Former militiamen, getting on in years, still play a vital part in leading the people forward. The peasants put the same enthusiasm and drive into



Carting Manure in a Mountain Village

Sketch by Yung Tai

building the new society that they summoned up to throw out the Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reactionaries.

A Former Militiaman

A number of the leading positions in the people's commune are held by former militiamen of the famous Panshan Squad. Hale and hearty, 53-year-old Yu Lien-hai is one of them. He is a member of the commune's Communist Party committee and secretary of the Party branch at Chuanwayao Village. He was a former farmhand. When the Party called on the peasants to get organized and increase output and improve the people's living conditions, Yu Lien-hai led the way.

No one else can better appreciate the changes that have been wrought in his neighbourhood. Before liberation his whole family, like many others, lived in a mountain cave. The only clothes they had were those on their backs. To have enough to eat was a luxury unknown to them. Today they live in a brick house. Besides having adequate food and clothing, they own a bicycle, radio and many other personal possessions. The three adults in the family have all attended spare-time literary classes and can read the papers and write letters.

When they recall how they were deprived of schooling in their own childhood, Yu Lien-hai and the other older folks almost envy today's children. Up to the time of liberation, the Guanzhuang area had only one primary school. At present, practically all school-age children are enrolled at the 28 primary schools in the district. Recently they established their first middle school.

At the foot of the mountains is the revolutionary martyrs cemetery. Here sleep the district's heroes who died for the people's cause. A great monolith, a Hall of Remembrance and a museum near by honour their memory. The Guanzhuang people are proud of their present achievements but not for a moment do they forget or cease to pay homage to those who pioneered the way that is transforming their land from one of bleak poverty to one of prosperity and happiness.

MUSIC

Biggest Shanghai Festival

Shanghai's Spring Music Festival this year was notable for the number of new works—80—which were performed. They ranged from songs through chamber music to symphonies. There was certainly a big range too in the ages of performers: from 6 to 78 years.

This was the biggest local music festival ever held in China, even surpassing the one recently held in Canton. In the seventeen days of music making ended on May 21 some 1,400 musicians and singers from 27 local troupes or institutions gave 40 concerts in the downtown Music Hall and a new theatre in Minhang, a rising satellite town. Musicians from more than 20 cities in China attended the festival.

Since they began as an annual event in 1960, the Shanghai festivals have attracted increasing attention. This year so many wished to perform that they had to be strictly auditioned by a special jury. Nevertheless the items finally selected added up to 17 separate concert programmes including symphonies (three new ones), cantatas (two new ones), traditional Chinese music, operatic and light music, orchestral and solo works. Forty-two vocalists and instrumentalists gave solo performances.

Many New Works

Among the new works performed two of the symphonies aroused the greatest interest: *The Long March* and *Epic of a Hero*. Both derive their inspiration from the historic Long March of the Chinese Red Army in the 30s. Both create vivid musical images of the Red Armymen; they are brilliantly scored, rich in Chinese national flavour and grand in conception. Ting Shan-teh, noted composer and Vice-President of the Shanghai Conservatory, worked for three years on the five movements of *The Long March* symphony. He makes skilful use of folk songs of the revolutionary base areas and dance tunes of the national minorities who live on the route of the Long March. His musical idioms are felicitous and readily understood. The promise of the earlier movements, which we heard before, was fully sustained. Its first full

performance was ably rendered by the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Huang Yi-chun.

Epic of a Hero is a choral symphony, a form never before attempted by a Chinese composer. The lyrics for the choral part are taken from five poems written by Chairman Mao in the course of the Long March. Its composer Chu Chien-erh has come to this major composition after working for many years in a People's Liberation Army cultural troupe and writing many popular songs. He studied for five years at the Moscow Conservatoire and the *Epic*, composed in 1960, was his graduation work. It was revised many times before seeing its premiere at the recent festival.

No Shanghai composer ever attempted to write a symphony before liberation. But eight (including two symphonic poems) were written in the past four years alone. New symphonies were performed at each of the city's three spring music festivals.

Two new cantatas were performed at the festival. *Storm at Anyuan* by Ssutu Han, leader of the Shanghai City Chorus, and Hsin Shang-teh, depicts the revolutionary struggles of Anyuan (Kiangsi Province) miners during the 20s. *Golden Lake* by Chang Tun-chih, who graduates from the Shanghai Conservatory this summer, is a lyrical piece describing the building of water conservancy works by commune members in a minority area in Yunnan Province in the southwest.

The three-movement *Joy of a Bumper Cotton Harvest* was played at the festival by a 50-piece orchestra, using *huqin* (2-stringed fiddle), *pipa* (Chinese lute), bamboo flutes, pipes, *sheng* (mouth organ), *guqin* and *guzheng* (ancient zithers), gongs, drums and other Chinese instruments. An orchestra of traditional instruments this size was quite an innovation.

The new works presented at the festival differed greatly in form and content. But they had one thing in common: all were the result of the labours of composers who had lived for a long time among the masses. During the writing of his *Long March* symphony for example, Ting Shan-teh twice went to the provinces along the route of the Long March and called on veteran Red Armymen, scouts, commanders and political commissars

as well as peasants in the former base areas. Ssutu Han, Hsin Shang-teh and Chang Tun-chih went to the Anyuan Mines and the Yunnan minority area respectively; they worked alongside and lived among the miners and rural commune members, and performed for them. And the resulting works have deep roots in life. Dynamic and rich in meaningful music they were well received by festival audiences.

Music of All Ages and Countries

The festival programmes included an extraordinary variety of compositions. These ranged from all types of Chinese music both ancient and contemporary to the classical and modern music of many other countries. Chinese compositions included works by Nieh Erh and Hsien Hsin-hai, pioneers of Chinese revolutionary music; recent works in praise of the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune; folk songs and music of the minority peoples; and ancient tunes and songs dating back over 2,000 years. Some lovely revived ancient melodies for the *guqin* and *guzheng* were performed, thanks to the diligent efforts of researchers and musicologists who have uncovered and deciphered rare ancient scores. The singing of ancient songs was something new in Shanghai though Chinese history tells of many famous songs and singers and ancient Chinese poems were eminently musical and singable. At the festival, music lovers had the good fortune to hear some beautiful ancient songs of the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), Tang (618-907 A.D.), and Sung (960-1279 A.D.) Dynasties to the accompaniment of the *guqin*. These were lost for many years and were revived only recently.

Western music played ranged all the way from Bach and Beethoven to Johann Strauss. Also performed were folk tunes and folk songs of the socialist countries and many Asian, African and Latin American lands. Part of the items were played on foreign instruments and sung in the original languages. Some of the scores and musical instruments were gifts from foreign friends.

Five "Generations" on the Same Stage

The oldest performer on the festival concert stage was 78-year-old Lu



The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra performs *The Long March Symphony*.
Huang Yi-chun conducting

Chiao-sheng, a famous drummer who specializes in *kunqu* opera music. He and other septuagenarians were the first of "five generations" of musicians who took part in the festival. These veterans, mostly specializing in folk and operatic music, were all too often the "insulted and injured" in the old society. But all of them, disdaining retirement, are now teaching at conservatories or opera schools, helping to carry on the fine old traditions.

Next came veteran musicians who made their careers in the 30s or 40s such as soprano Chou Hsiao-yen, a vice-president of the Shanghai Conservatory, tenor Tsai Shao-hsu, pianist Wu Lo-yi and the harmonica player Shih Jen-wang. They are music professors and seasoned artists who regularly concertize and continue to improve their art. At the festival, they won some of the most enthusiastic applause.

The younger generation who came to the concert stage after liberation were more numerous. Many of them were rigorously trained in the music schools; but some very brilliant talents came from different walks of life. The alto Tung Ai-lin, for example, a prize winner at the Fourth International Youth Festival in Bucharest, was a typist-stenographer before liberation. She made her debut after liberation with an amateur chorus and was an immediate hit. She has since toured many countries in Europe and Asia.

Chinese flautist Lu Chun-ling (his nickname: "Magic Flute") was one of

the most popular soloists. He has captivated audiences in Moscow, Prague, Berlin, Vienna, Djakarta, Rangoon, New Delhi, and many other cities with his lovely playing. Before liberation he was a taxi driver. His first teacher was a cobbler who was his neighbour. He became a professional musician only in 1952. Today, at forty, he has started composing too. At the festival, he played his new work (op. 5) *On the Steppe* composed when he flew over the beautiful Inner Mongolian grasslands after a tour of the Scandinavian countries.

Then came youngsters in their late teens or early twenties—those who wore the red scarves of the Young Pioneers in the early days of liberation. But quite a number of them have already won national and even international recognition.

Most of them are pianists. Li Min-chiang, Ku Sheng-ying and Hung Teng, for example, were all international prize winners. Hung Teng, who won third prize at last year's International George Enescu Competition, is still a fifth-year student at the Shanghai Conservatory. She is a neat executant at her best with such classics as Bach and Mozart. This was amply demonstrated at the festival by her playing of Bach's *German Suite*.

Hung Teng's classmate Shen Jung is an accomplished violinist, a prize winner at the Second International Schumann Competition. Her exquisite tone and intelligent and imaginative execution was widely acclaimed at the festival.

Twenty-five-year-old Tsetan Dronma was the daughter of a former Tibetan serf who spent her childhood in back-breaking toil. Now she is a fourth-year student at the Shanghai Conservatory, getting the best music training China can offer. Hers is an ample soprano voice with ringing high notes of brilliant quality. Critics at the festival concerts hailed her as "an exceptionally gifted newcomer."

Juvenile talents made up the youngest group of performers. Eleven-year-old *erhu* (2-stringed fiddle) player Fu Yu-chun was already taking part in the festival for the third time. He played some of the most difficult *erhu* pieces with precision and polish. Twelve-year-old pianist Hsu Fei-ping played a polonaise and a mazurka by Chopin fluently. The audience was delighted by Shao Tan, a six-year-old girl who played Tchaikovsky and Shostakovich charmingly.

Promising young talents receive the best of care in China today. They are coached by experienced pedagogues and given every opportunity to hear good performances and perform in public themselves. Hsu Fei-ping, for example, is studying under Professor Fan Chi-sen, head of the piano department of the Shanghai Conservatory, even though Hsu is only a sixth-year pupil at the music school affiliated to the conservatory.

Shanghai has been one of China's musical centres for many years. But before liberation the only large orchestra it had was run by foreigners; only five of its members were Chinese and it gave a limited number of concerts each season. Today, there are some dozen professional orchestras, including a fine symphony orchestra; there are also many choruses and other ensembles. On an average this year there was a concert each day. No Shanghai musicians ever took part in international competitions before liberation. More than a score have won prizes at such competitions since liberation. At the time of liberation, the Shanghai Conservatory had 73 students and 22 pianos; it now has more than 1,000 students and 350 pianos. The Shanghai Spring Music Festival was organized in answer to the needs of a situation in which music is flourishing as never before and a host of excellent new musicians and singers are coming forward.

—CHANG FENG

SIDELIGHTS

Two Chips of the Old Block. "Papa, shall I draw a cat?" "Whatever you like," smiles father.

Little six-year-old Hei-ni makes a large black blob in the middle of the paper with a Chinese paint brush. She adds a brushful of water and watches how the ink blob spreads with satisfying fuzzy edges on the absorbent rice paper. A single stroke at one end of the blob and a thick fluffy tail appears. With a smaller brush she draws the cat's head, its mouth, and some handsome whiskers; lastly she gives it a pair of greenish eyes. Brush in hand, she surveys the effect, then carefully writes "Hei-ni" in the corner. Hei-ni likes to draw cats. One of her cats won first prize at the 2nd International Children's Art Exhibition sponsored by the London *Daily Worker* last year.

The little girl's 9-year-old brother Hei-man is an equally adept artist. His painting entitled *Selling Watermelons* won first prize at the 1st International Children's Art Exhibition in London and his *How Wonderful When It Snows* took second prize to Hei-ni's cat last year.

The children's father is the well-known artist Huang Yung-yu and their mother is children's story writer Chang Mei-hsi. When little more than toddlers, the children would take their father's brush and try to make pictures. At first, whether they

drew a man, a cat or a bird, the result was always like a potato. Their father is careful never to correct the shapes they draw but encourages them to observe things minutely and to use their own imagination creatively. Hei-man, however, likes to correct his little sister, to which she sometimes objects, saying, "You're not papa!"

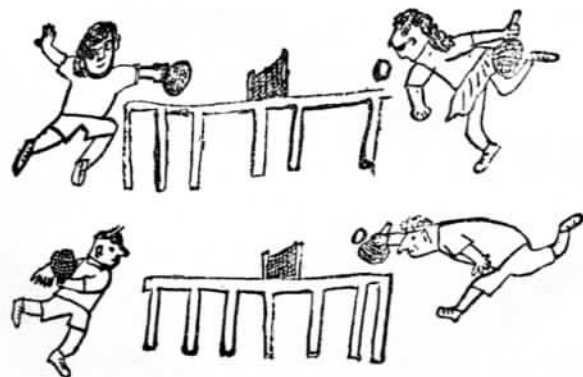
Hei-man draws with a bold hand, splashing whole sheets of white paper with ink. Hei-ni is more restrained, but has a good sense of colour. One of her oil paintings of three children looking at a flowering bush she named, after considerable thought: *You Can Look But You Musn't Pick*.

The children have wide interests. Last year their father and mother went to beautiful Hsishuangpanna in Yunnan and brought back many stories. In honour of the trip he didn't make, Hei-man filled an album with imaginative drawings of monkeys and peacocks—on banana trees. The youngsters are making their own library with many books of paintings and drawings and have their own puppet theatre.

County of Wrestlers. Moonlit nights in north China's Hsinhsien county town find the People's Square jampacked with cheering crowds who come to watch the free-style wrestling matches. Transport worker Chang Hai-yun walks into the arena, eyes his opponent, tightens his belt. The contestants clinch. A grip on the other's arm, a half turn, a sudden twist and the other is thrown over his shoulder and pinned to the floor. Five bouts later, Chang strides triumphantly home, a fat sheep slung over his shoulder.

In this famed "County of Wrestlers" wrestling bouts are as popular as a cup of after-dinner tea.

Wrestling started here in the Sung Dynasty when famous General Yo Fei introduced it to his armies as part of their military training. A retired soldier brought the sport back to Hsinhsien



At the 26th World Table Tennis Championships
Sketch by Huang Hei-man (8-year-old)

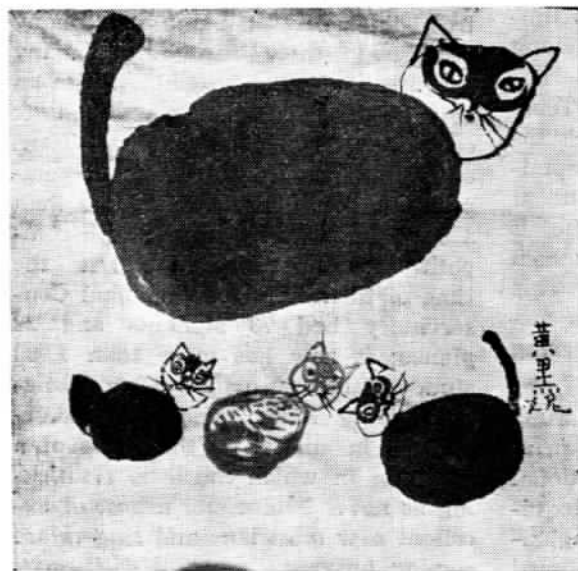
and it spread far and wide. Later in the early Ching Dynasty, the sheep-winning contest was initiated as a holiday activity: anyone who won six successive bouts took the prize. With seven centuries of tradition behind them no wonder some of the nation's best wrestlers like Tsui Fu-hai, Chang Mao-ching, Li Lan-tien, hail from here.

The Tree That Was a Traitor. Blue skies and summer breezes are bringing Peking citizens thronging to the parks. There, spreading, centuries-old trees offer intriguing interest as well as beneficent shade.

One such gnarled giant stands in Jingshan Park. Three hundred and twenty years ago, heroic peasants, rising against a corrupt and depraved feudal court, surrounded the Imperial Palace. The startled Ming Emperor Chungchen hastily attempted flight. Escape impossible, he hanged himself on a locust tree. The tree was tried and found "guilty of treason" by the succeeding feudal rulers and put in chains!

The Round City at Beihai Park's entrance was a tiny island in a lake 800 years ago. The emperors of past feudal dynasties found the trees so delightful that they conferred on one, an umbrella-topped pine, the title of "Duke Providing Shelter." Another whose branches dipped into the water was dubbed "Duke Probing the Sea." Two white pines gracing the entrance of a temple were entitled "White Robed Generals."

Since the trees were "dukes" and "generals" they were given a share of the riches squeezed from the people. Officials, laughing up their sleeves, pocketed the gold and silver asinine emperors awarded each year to their "tree-vassals."



Cats

By Huang Hei-ni (6-year-old)

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

The "Malaysian Confederation" Plot

The scheme to form a "Malaysian Confederation" is described by an article in *Shishi Shouce (Guide to Current Affairs)* as an attempt of the British colonialists to strangle the national-independence movement in the territories concerned and to maintain their position there.

The scheme was proposed by the Prime Minister of the Malayan Federation, Tengku Abdul Rahman, in May last year. The "confederation" is to be composed of the Malayan Federation, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei. Last November, the Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, reached agreement with Rahman on a merger of the Malayan Federation and Singapore. Following this, the British Prime Minister Macmillan and Rahman held talks in London. They decided on the formation of a "commission of enquiry" to sound out the opinions of the people of North Borneo and Sarawak on this scheme. It was hoped that the "Malaysian Confederation" could be set up before 1963.

Under increasing pressure from the people, in 1957, the British colonialists were compelled to recognize the "independence" of Malaya within the British Commonwealth, and in 1959 they had to agree to self-government for Singapore. The three states of North Borneo—Sarawak, Brunei and British North Borneo—are still British colonies. But their peoples are fighting hard for independence. In the past, the British colonialists tried to maintain their position through "divide and rule" tactics. Today, confronted with a vigorous anti-colonialist movement, they have to switch to a new fraud in the form of the "Malaysian Confederation." Britain's real aim, however, is to use the Rahman regime and the reactionary forces in the four other territories to suppress the national-independence movement and preserve its colonial interests. The Macmillan-Rahman joint statement last November declared that after the formation of the "Malaysian Confederation," Britain would continue to use Singapore as its military base and that the 1957 "de-

fence agreement" between Britain and the Malayan Federation would be extended to the whole territory of the proposed "confederation." It is clear, says the article, that the "Malaysian Confederation" is a conspiracy to enable the British colonialists to continue their occupation of Malaya and Singapore and to unify their military measures in Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo to suppress the national-independence movement in those areas.

The article points out that in putting forward the plan for the "Malaysian Confederation" on orders of his masters in London, Rahman seeks to satisfy his own ambitions. In the proposed "confederation," he does not want Singapore and the three other states of North Borneo to be considered as equals of the Malayan Federation but want them to be incorporated into it with the same status as its 11 existing states. Rahman's ambitions for territorial expansion are plain as a pikestaff.

The United States has shown great interest in Rahman's plan. Last December, a U.S. official expressed the view that that plan would not only help to bring greater stability to the area but would provide a solution to the difficult problem about the status of Singapore. The U.S. has been trying to bring Singapore under the thumb of SEATO, but Britain insists on exercising complete control over it. That is one reason why London is very much worried about this U.S. attempt to butt into the proposed "Malaysian Confederation."

Rahman's plan is strongly opposed by the people of all the five territories concerned. The People's Socialist Front, the biggest opposition party in the Malayan Federation, holds that the people's present task is to carry on their struggle against colonialism and for the independence of Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo. The Socialist Front of Singapore is opposed to Lee Kuan Yew's policy of selling Singapore down the river. Prominent leaders and many newspapers in the three states of North Borneo also oppose this neo-colonialist plot of Britain's and denounce Rahman's ambition to reduce

Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo to colonies of the Malayan Federation.

Turkey in Trouble

Two years ago, on May 27, 1960, Turkey's military junta headed by Gursel engineered a coup and the Menderes dictatorship collapsed. Eighteen months after the coup, on November 11, 1961, the military junta installed the government headed by Ismet Inonu. This government continued Menderes' policy of turning Turkey into a tool of U.S. aggression. It has now resigned. Reviewing the political situation in Turkey today, a Hsinhua dispatch comments that the Turkish policy of continued adherence to the aggressive blocs of NATO and CENTO has invited new encroachments on the country's sovereignty, further damaged its economy and brought great misery to the people.

Today there are more than 120 U.S. military bases in Turkey. These include air bases close to the Soviet border. Rocket-launching sites are being built at a feverish pace. Nuclear arms are being brought in. Turkey's armed forces numbering half a million men have been placed at the disposal of the aggressive Western bloc. This year, military expenditure accounts for more than half of the country's budget.

This crushing military burden has led to a steady deterioration in the nation's economy. Every year the government budget is deep in the red. The deficit for fiscal 1962 is estimated at U.S. \$130 million. The Turkish Government tries to live on Washington handouts but its foreign debts total U.S. \$1,500 million. The cost of living is soaring. Millions are jobless, while 80 per cent of the peasants own no land.

Neither repression nor the military junta's political manoeuvres can prevent the Turkish people from demanding political and economic independence for their country. They oppose the continuation of Menderes' treacherous policy and demand that their country throw off its crushing military burden. Since the end of last year strikes for wage increases and the right to sign collective contracts have become more frequent. The battle cry "Prime Minister resign!" was taken up by building workers in Ankara demonstrating against rising unemployment.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

W.F.T.U. Session

Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, addressing the 25th session of the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U. held recently in Budapest, voiced his agreement with Saillant's analysis of the international situation and developments in the trade union movement since the 5th W.F.T.U. Congress six months ago. The advance of all forms of mass struggle during the past six months proved the correctness of the "Trade Union Action Programme" adopted by the 5th Congress, he said.

The vigorous growth of the struggle of the working class and the people of other social strata in various regions was an important feature of the international situation during the period, Liu Chang-sheng pointed out. The struggle against imperialism and for world peace and national independence and in defence of democratic rights and the vital interests of the people had become better integrated. The fight for disarmament, against the resumption of nuclear weapons tests by U.S. imperialism and against the imperialist policy of aggression and the arms drive and war preparations had surged forward. "All these struggles dealt heavy blows at imperialism and monopoly capital, and became a mighty force in defence of world peace. Facts have again and again proved that the working class and people of other social strata, provided they unite broadly and take massive action, can win political and economic benefits, check imperialist aggression and safeguard world peace," said Liu Chang-sheng.

A conspicuous feature of the trade union movement in this period, he went on to say, had been the tremendous growth of workers' militancy. Sweeping strikes and demonstrations had taken place in the major capitalist countries.

During this period, the U.S.-led imperialists — the enemies of peace —

had been frantically active and were up to all sorts of trickery. Kennedy had paid some lip-service to "peace," but at the same time he had delivered warlike speeches and taken measures to step up his "global strategy" against the people of the world.

In such a situation, the most urgent task of the international working class was to strengthen its unity in joint struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for safeguarding world peace, Liu Chang-sheng said.

He pointed out that while the solidarity of the international working class was being strengthened every day, we must not lose sight of the fact that imperialism led by the United States, the AFL-CIO, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, were intensifying their activities to wreck the unity of the workers. The Yugoslav trade union leaders, he noted, were playing a special role in the destructive activities carried out by the imperialist agents. They had utilized the platform of the 5th Congress of the W.F.T.U. to publicize their preposterous arguments; they had worked behind the scenes to convene a so-called conference of neutral trade unions. Since the 5th Congress, they had worked still more energetically for this purpose and recently changed the name of this projected conference to the International Trade Union Conference. S. Vukmanovic, Chairman of the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, in February this year once again falsely accused the W.F.T.U. of being "exclusive" and following a "bloc policy." He shamelessly set himself up as the man who would "re-establish international trade union unity." "It is obvious that that conference is spearheaded against the W.F.T.U. and the entire progressive trade union movement. This cannot but arouse our serious vigilance," Liu Chang-sheng concluded.

Sino-Mongolian Treaty

Greetings were exchanged between Foreign Minister Chen Yi and the Mongolian Foreign Minister Pun Shagadar-surun on the 2nd anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Mongolian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance.

Both messages stressed that the signing of the treaty has further consolidated the friendship and unity between

the Chinese and Mongolian peoples which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It has played a significant part in strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and in the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

On May 30, the China-Mongolia Friendship Association gave a film reception in Peking to mark the occasion.

Sino-Rumanian Trade

The 1962 protocol on Sino-Rumanian goods exchange and payments was signed recently in Peking. Under the protocol, China will provide Rumania with rolled steel, pig iron, machine tools, mechanical equipment, minerals, light industrial products and other goods. Rumania will supply tractors, tank wagons and petroleum products to China.

Afro-Asian Co-operation

Delegates from China, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, India, U.A.R., Iraq, Iran, Mali and Morocco attended the 3-day council meeting of the Afro-Asian Organization for Economic Co-operation which ended on May 28 in Cairo.

Chi Chao-ting, Vice-Chairman of the China Council for Promotion of International Trade, speaking at one of the sessions, said that the organization had achieved an increased understanding of the conditions and requirements of each country. It had developed a common desire for Afro-Asian economic co-operation based on equality among the countries and the firm foundation of political and economic independence of all members.

On the question of granting the U.N. Economic and Social Council consultative status in relation to the organization, Chi Chao-ting pointed out that this development was inexpedient; it could have an unfavourable impact on Afro-Asian economic co-operation. Although there had been an increase in Afro-Asian votes, the basic character of the U.N. as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy had not changed. The U.S. was exerting greater efforts than ever to use the U.N. to carry out a new kind of economic penetration which had been correctly described by our African friends as neo-colonialism.

In conclusion, Chi Chao-ting stressed: "Any action taken in the name of

the Afro-Asian Organization for Economic Co-operation to establish relations with the U.N. Economic and Social Council or any of its subordinate or specialized agencies will have no binding force on China and naturally we shall undertake no obligations in this connection."

China-Ceylon Agreement

The economic aid agreement between China and Ceylon, due to expire

at the end of this year, has been extended for five years.

Under this agreement, signed in Peking in September 1957, the Chinese Government granted Ceylon 75 million rupees in economic assistance gratis to help replant rubber trees, to build a textile mill, and to buy rolling stock, as well as for other purposes. Part of the assistance fund still being unused, the agreement will be extended for five years from January 1, 1963, to the end of 1967.

Danish C.P. Congress

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on May 26 sent fraternal greetings to the Central Committee of the Danish Communist Party on the occasion of its 21st Congress. The message wished the Danish C.P. new successes in defence of peace in Europe and the world, in safeguarding the independence of Denmark and in winning democratic rights and protecting the vital interests of the people.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

The following programme scheduled for the coming week is subject to change.

PEKING OPERA

▲ **PUNISHING TZU-TU** During an expedition General Kungsun Tzu-tu of the ancient Chou court, because of his jealousy, treacherously kills another general Ying Kao-shou. Returning triumphant he says that Ying Kao-shou was killed by the enemy. However, Ying's spirit appears before the court and tells the truth. The murderer is punished. Experimental Peking Opera Troupe of the Chinese Opera School.

▲ **UPROAR IN HEAVEN** An episode from the classical novel *Pilgrimage to the West*. Produced by the visiting Peking Opera Troupe from Tientsin.

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BITTER HERBS** A play about the Shantung peasants who rose against oppressive traitors and landlords during the War of Resistance Against Japan. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

▲ **YANG SAN CHIEH ACCUSES** Based on an actual event in the Ching Dynasty. Yang San Chieh, a young girl of 17, on discovering that her elder sister had been murdered by her husband, braves the prejudices and taboos of the feudal society and takes the charge to court in an appeal for justice. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

MODERN OPERA

▲ **WANG KUEI AND LI HSIANG-HSIANG** Adapted from the long narrative poem by Li Chi. Written in 1945 while the poet was working in northern Shensi, it tells the love story of two poor peasants of the locality and their support for the people's revolution during the Second Revolutionary Civil War. China Coalminers' Cultural Troupe.

▲ **THE CLOTH SELLER (Arshin Mal Alan)** A comic opera by the famous Azerbaijan playwright, Uzer Gadhibekov, produced by the Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre. A wealthy Azerbaijan youth disguises himself as a wandering cloth seller and so succeeds in finding and marrying the bride of his own choice.

CONCERTS

The Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra presents a concert of symphonic music and vocal solos. Programme includes:

Tchaikovsky: *Swan Lake*

Rossini: *Overture William Tell*

Rimsky-Korsakoff: Selections from the opera *The Snow Princess*

Guest Conductor: Li Kuo-chuan

Soloist: Chung Wei (soprano), who makes her Peking debut after graduating from the Moscow Conservatoire.

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

SONG AND DANCE
A Song and Dance Ensemble from the Korean Democratic People's Republic will give several performances in Peking soon. Watch for dates and places!

BALLET

▲ **SWAN LAKE** Tchaikovsky's famous ballet produced by the Experimental Ballet Troupe of the Peking School of Dancing.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **THE PRESSGANG** A satirical comedy in Szechuan dialogue exposing how a landlord family bribes the local Kuomintang officials in order to escape conscription. The resulting situations bring many laughs. Jointly produced by the China Youth Art Theatre and the Szechuan People's Art Theatre.

▲ **CABAL AND LOVE** Schiller's masterpiece staged in Chinese. China Youth Art Theatre.

▲ **RICKSHAW BOY** Adapted from Lao Sheh's famous novel about the life of the dispossessed in old Peking. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **THE MAGIC BOAT** A fairy-tale play also by Lao Sheh. The wood-cutter Wang Hsiao-erh gets a magic boat which he uses doing good turns for others. The wicked and envious Chang Pu-san takes the boat and presents it to the lazy emperor who makes him prime minister. But Wang's good friends, the white cat, the stork and others help him. After fierce fighting he regains his precious boat. China Children's Theatre.

FILMS

▲ **BLOSSOMS IN THE SUN** A colour film for children. A group of children celebrates their festival, International Children's Day. It reflects the new outlook of China's children today.

▲ **AT THE SHARP TURN** A Soviet film about socialist ethics and human problems among the driving fraternity.

▲ **OPERATION "COBRA"** A Soviet film. There is a fascist spy operating in a Soviet border region. Alert Soviet border guards go into action to trap him.

▲ **DARCLEE** A Rumanian colour film describing the life and work of the well-known Rumanian woman singer, Darclee, one of the founders of Rumanian opera.

▲ **THE TENANT** A Spanish film. What happens when a house is condemned and

a poor tenant with a large family goes house-hunting in Spain.

▲ **ASPALDAS MOJADAS (WETBACKS)** Deceived by American publicity, a group of Mexican workers steal across the border into the United States. Awakened to the truth by real life, they are glad to return to their motherland. A Mexican feature film.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **NATIONAL ART** Commemorating the 20th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*. Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At National Art Gallery.

▲ **PEKING OIL PAINTINGS** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till June 17. At Beihai Park.

▲ **JAPANESE CALLIGRAPHY** Daily, 8:00-12:00 a.m., 2:00-6:00 p.m. till June 16. At Zhongshan Park.

▲ **FANS** Display of more than 600 different kinds of fans. Daily, 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till June 20. At the Round City, Beihai Park.

▲ **TOYS** Daily, 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till June 20. At the Round City, Beihai Park.

SWIMMING

▲ **OUTDOOR SWIMMING POOLS**

* The swimming pools at Shi Cha Hai, Workers' Stadium and Tao Ran Ting

Mon.-Sat. 12:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
3:00-5:00 p.m.

Sun. 9:00-11:00 a.m.
12:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
3:00-5:00 p.m.

* Summer Palace
Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

GYMNASTICS

Leading men and women gymnasts of China will give a display at the Peking Gymnasium on June 9, 7:30 p.m.



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