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(Enlarged Edition)

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National Agricultural Conference

A national agricultural conference was convened by the Ministry of Agriculture in Peking in the latter half of last month. Its participants—experts and leading cadre of agricultural departments from all over the country—reviewed the situation in the rural areas, discussed the major current tasks and swapped experience on increasing production. Summing up the proceedings, Minister of Agriculture Liao Lu-yen said at the close of the conference that the overall situation on the agricultural front was good and that prospects for next year were bright.

The rural people's communes are now more firmly consolidated; and with general conditions in the countryside improving steadily after the difficulties caused by natural calamities in recent years, a new upsurge in agricultural production is in the offing. This optimistic keynote at the conference was backed up by reports from various parts of the country. The sowing of winter crops, for one thing, was carried out this autumn better than it was last year. As winter set in, another big water conservancy campaign aimed at bringing more land under irrigation has been unfolding in one place after another. Good headway is also being made in the accumulation of manure and making of compost by the peasants. All these are favourable factors making for a good harvest next year.

There are, of course, difficulties to be overcome, the conference noted, particularly in areas which have suffered from foul weather in the past two or three years. It stressed the importance of further consolidating the collective economy of the people's communes, raising the level of the productive forces, improving and extending scientific research and expediting the technical transformation of agriculture.

The conference discussed at length the tasks for 1963. It called for measures to bring into full play the peasants' enthusiasm in production and to bring about an all-round increase in farm output—in grain and cotton, and in oil-bearing and other industrial crops. Special stress was put on increasing cotton output; cotton growers throughout the country are exhorted to overfulfill next year's production plan.

Particular attention was drawn to the modernization of China's agriculture. This is a long-term task which will boost the labour productivity of China's agriculture and ultimately change the face of China's farms. The conference called upon agricultural departments and institutes of agricultural science and all branches of industry concerned to produce more farm machines, fertilizers, insecticides and all necessary equipment to suit different topographical, soil and crop needs. Research work on good crop strains and farming techniques, it was noted, should be geared to suit the needs of mechanization. More technical personnel should be trained; more seed growing stations and centres to spread technical knowledge should be set up and their work improved.

The importance of increasing the number of livestock along with the development of agriculture was also fully discussed.

The conference over, the participants have returned with renewed energy to their respective provinces. The tips and confidence they gained at the conference will give fresh impetus to the nation's efforts to achieve an all-round increase in agricultural production next year.

News From Tibet

The first democratic elections ever to take place in Tibet continue. They are being held at the primary level in one area after another. The latest were in the city of Lhasa. Many of the voters here, as elsewhere in Tibet, were former serfs and slaves electing their deputies to the local people's congresses for the first time in history since they were emancipated in 1959.

November 26 was election day in Lhasa's second electoral district. The voters there turned it into a gala occasion. Dressed in their best and carrying banners and sheaves of dyed barley—symbols of a good harvest—they streamed to the polling booths. More than half of them were former
beggars or social outcasts under the regime of feudal serfdom that held sway here only a little over three years ago.

Before the actual voting took place, voters in each district held meetings to discuss and familiarize themselves with the election regulations and the qualifications of the candidates who were chosen from among the workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, lamas and merchants. They have come to the fore and maintained close ties with the masses, particularly since the democratic reforms which began in 1959.

Ten townships on the outskirts of Lhasa have completed their elections. They sent two hundred and twenty deputies to the people’s congresses at the township level. These in turn elected the best of their number to be the members of the township people’s councils—the local people’s governments.

Good Harvests. This year again, good harvests have been reported from Loka and other places in Tibet, including the Himalayan settlement of Phari, 4,500 metres above sea level. Over 90 per cent of the Tibetan peasants have now organized themselves into mutual-aid teams. This and the introduction of better farm implements and improved techniques have helped to produce more grain.

Peasants around Phari gathered in a good harvest for the third year running. Here, the cultivation of grain and vegetables began only three years ago. This year’s good harvest was gathered on an area about 30 per cent larger than last year, and this despite a prolonged cold spell while the crops were growing.

A still better harvest than last year’s rich harvest was reported this year from Sangacho County on the banks of the Nu and Tsayul Rivers which flow across the highlands of southeastern Tibet. Yields for rice, *qingke* barley, buckwheat, maize and other crops showed a 2 to 3 per cent increase. Peanuts, soybeans, tobacco, tea and ramie, all newly introduced crops to this area, also did well.

These successes are, among other things, due to the help given by the government in the form of interest-free loans and new farm tools and to the collective efforts of the peasants who, with their mutual-aid teams, have gone in enthusiastically for irrigation projects and adopted improved farm techniques to raise yields.

With increased production, peasants’ incomes have increased too. Trade has been brisk everywhere in Tibet following the harvests. More farm implements and draught animals were sold this year than in previous years, and there is a steadily bigger demand for consumer goods.

The Tibetan breakthrough to a better life is no isolated case. Guided by China’s policy for the nationalities, other national minorities living in other parts of the country are chalk- ing up similar successes. Another fine example is provided by the Koreans in northeast China. (See p.21.)

**Forum on Confucianism**

A national forum on Confucianism was held last month in Tsinan, capital of Confucius’ home province of Shantung. It was jointly sponsored by the Shantung Society of History and the Shantung Research Institute of History. Over 160 scholars and students of Chinese history and philosophy from 17 provinces and municipalities in various parts of the country took part. They included Lu Chen-yu, Feng Yulan, Chou Yu-tung, Kuan Feng and others. They presented more than 110 papers on various aspects of Confucian thought and teachings. Forums and discussions are a regular feature among academic circles today, but seldom has there been a conference of this kind held on such a large scale.

The forum lasted a week; discussions were held sometimes in small groups and sometimes at large meetings. There were animated exchanges of opinions, presentations of differing points of view based on years of painstaking research, and heated debates on controversial questions. In the spirit of “letting a hundred schools of thought contend,” speakers took part in keen and interesting give-and-take aimed at clearing up controversial points.

The subjects under discussion varied widely, ranging from Confucius’ ideas on politics, philosophy and education to his teachings relating to literature, philology, history and psychology. One of the papers presented dealt with his influence on Western philosophy, but most of the contributions were on the nature of society in Confucius’ time, the class he represented and the class nature of his thought, his world outlook and methodology, his role in history and other related questions. One of the main purposes of this forum was to discuss how best the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method could be used in critically assimilating China’s cultural heritage. This was keenly discussed.

After the forum, the participants went to Chufu, Confucius’ home town, to visit the Confucian ancestral temple and cemetery.
An Unshakable Principle

The following is a translation of the “Renmin Ribao” editorial of December 10, 1962 greeting the opening of the Six-Nation Colombo Conference. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

In accordance with the decision announced by the Chinese Government on November 21, the Chinese frontier forces on December 1 started withdrawing on their own initiative along the entire Sino-Indian border and will, according to pre-arranged plans, evacuate the areas in which they have been stationed and withdraw to positions 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control of November 7, 1959. The whole world can see once again that the Chinese Government and people live up to their words. In the past ten days or so, China has taken the lead in two steps: the first is its initiative in implementing a ceasefire and the second its initiative in withdrawing. The measures initiated by China have brought the border clashes to a halt and somewhat eased the grave situation. Peace-loving countries and peoples of the world over earnestly hope that the Indian Government will respond to the Chinese Government's peace efforts and will take corresponding measures so that both China and India will jointly create the necessary atmosphere for a settlement through negotiations of the Sino-Indian boundary question, that is fair and reasonable to both sides.

Regrettable Indian Response

But the response from India to this day has been extremely regrettable. Leaders of the Indian Government thus far still clamour for a long-drawn-out fight against China. The Indian Government has accepted more and more U.S. arms and dispatched large numbers of troops to the Sino-Indian border. It has been stepping up the persecution of Chinese nationals in India and taking further measures to poison relations between the two countries. It has not only taken these steps in response to the Chinese Government's peace efforts but has also continued to insist as the pre-condition for negotiations on reversion to the situation which existed when India occupied large tracts of Chinese territory prior to September 8, 1962. It has even attempted to alter the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 and has demanded that in accordance with the line as altered by India, China should evacuate still more of its own territory.

All just-minded people the world over can now see the striking contrast between the conciliatory and reasonable stand of the Chinese Government and the obstinate and unreasonable stand of the Indian Government.

It is generally known that the Chinese Government on October 24 put forward three proposals for the cessation of border clashes, the resumption of peace negotiations, and a settlement of the boundary question. The gist of the three proposals is: the armed forces of both sides withdraw to positions 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control of November 7, 1959, and in this way a disengagement zone of 40 kilometres in width will be established. This embodies an unshakable principle in which the Chinese Government has always persisted, namely, that the boundary question should be settled by means of negotiations, and that it is impermissible for one party to use force to bring about a fait accompli and impose it on the other party. In other words, the Chinese Government will under no circumstances accept the encroachments on Chinese territory which the Indian side had made since 1959 by crossing the line of actual control of 1959. At the same time, the Chinese Government will in no way impose on India the situation created by the crossing of the 1959 line of actual control in the advances made by China during the recent counter-attacks launched in self-defence. To take the line of actual control of November 7, 1959, as the base line from which to separate the armed forces of both sides is most fair and reasonable from any point of view. Here we would mention the following five reasons:

China Made Great Concessions

(1) The line of actual control of November 7, 1959 took shape on the basis of the area then under the administration of the Chinese and Indian sides. It is an objective fact, clear to both sides. It is simple and easy to use this line as the base line for the disengagement of the armed forces of both sides.

(2) By proposing the November 7, 1959 line of actual control as the base line for the disengagement of the armed forces of both sides, China has made great concessions to India. This is because before November 7, 1959, India had invaded and occupied, in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory south of the illegal McMahon Line and north of the traditional customary line, and 2,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the middle sector. That is to say, the November 7, 1959 line of actual control was formed after India had occupied large tracts of Chinese territory and extended the limit of its administration far into Chinese territory. The Chinese Government would leave the settlement of the question of India's occupation of these Chinese territories to future negotiations, rather than make India's withdrawal from these Chinese territories a prerequisite for negotiations.

(3) According to this Chinese proposal, the Chinese frontier forces have not only to withdraw in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border from nearly 20,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory beyond the 1959 line of actual control into which they recently advanced in the counter-attack launched in self-defence, but in addition have to withdraw another 20 kilometres from the November 7, 1959 line of actual control along the entire Sino-
Indian border. This position is actually far behind that held by the Chinese frontier guards on September 8, 1962. This is further evidence of China's whole-hearted sincerity in seeking a peaceful settlement and its high respect for India's dignity and sense of decency.

(4) According to the Chinese proposal a demilitarized zone with the complete disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides will be formed along the sides of the November 7, 1959 line of actual control. This is a most effective way of preventing any recurrence of border clashes and guaranteeing tranquility on the border. The adoption of this measure will not prevent either party from asserting its stand on the boundary question; but will only create a good atmosphere favourable to the holding of peaceful negotiations by the two sides.

(5) To take the November 7, 1959 line of actual control as the base line for the disengagement of the armed forces of both sides means that the Chinese frontier forces withdraw in the eastern sector from large tracts of land beyond the November 7, 1959 line of actual control to which they recently advanced in the counter-attack they launched in self-defence, and that the Indian side would not reoccupy the Chinese territory in the western and middle sectors which it had occupied after November 7, 1959. This is a concrete measure to implement the principle of settling the boundary question through negotiations and not permitting the use of force to create a fait accompli. It is equitable, fair and reasonable to both sides.

However, the Indian Government has insisted on the restoration of the boundary situation as it prevailed before September 8, 1962. What does it mean?

The Boundary Situation Before September 8, 1962

In the first place, the boundary situation before September 8, 1962 was brought about by India, which, taking advantage of China's immense self-restraint and forbearance, and using armed force to violate the line of actual control, had, since November 7, 1959, occupied still more Chinese territory. To put it specifically: after 1959, Indian troops crossed the line of actual control in the western sector, set up 43 aggressive strongpoints within Chinese territory, and occupied over 4,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory; in the eastern sector Indian troops crossed the line of actual control and invaded Chinese territory in the area of the Kechilang River. Therefore, recognition of the state of the boundary as it prevailed before September 8, 1962, is tantamount to recognition of the legality of India's aggression. China can never agree to this.

Also, India's insistence on reoccupying over 4,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the western sector, and China's Kechilang River area in the eastern sector, shows that India's principle is: any place it had occupied should belong to it. One is tempted to ask: If this Indian principle is valid, then is India prepared to agree that the Chinese frontier guards do not withdraw from nearly 20,000 square kilometres south of the illegal McMahon Line into which they have advanced, apart from the fact that these areas have always been part of Chinese territory? Obviously, India considers that this principle is applicable only to itself and is not prepared to agree to apply it on a basis of parity between the two sides. China opposes this principle completely, whether or not it is on a parity basis, because recognition of this principle, in essence, is recognition of the fait accompli brought about by the use of force.

Furthermore, India has insisted on the restoration of the state of the boundary before September 8, 1962 as the prerequisite for negotiations. This prerequisite implies that India not only wants to keep the Chinese territory which it had occupied before November 7, 1959 but wants to reoccupy those Chinese areas it had occupied in the period between November 7, 1959 and September 8, 1962. By asking China to accept such a prerequisite India is asking China to satisfy most of its territorial demands on China even before negotiations start. One cannot understand what justification there is for India to act like a victor, and fail to take a proper measure of itself after its armed attacks on China suffered such a heavy blow.

Furthermore, restoring the boundary situation to what it was before September 8, 1962 would also mean reverting to a situation in which the border positions of Chinese and Indian armed forces interlocked: a dangerous situation in which Indian troops had penetrated deep into China's border territories along the entire Sino-Indian border, set up aggressive strongpoints in the rear of Chinese checkpoints, remained close to Chinese frontier guards, and, from there, launched large-scale attacks against them. India's insistence on restoring such a situation proves its determination to keep the armed forces of the two sides in contact, to keep up tension along the border, and to rekindle armed conflicts as the opportunity arises.

The boundary question should be settled through negotiations and neither party can be permitted to use force to face the other with a fait accompli. This is an unshakable, basic principle for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. China's proposal to take the November 7, 1959 line of actual control as the base line for the disengagement of the armed forces of both sides fully accords with this principle and is fair and conciliatory. India's insistence on the restoration of the boundary situation to what it was before September 8, 1962 constitutes a complete violation of this principle, and is vainglorious and unreasonable. Only by steadfastly upholding this principle can the Sino-Indian border conflict be brought to an end and the Sino-Indian boundary question be settled peacefully. Any violation of this principle would only lead to an extension of the border conflict and would sabotage the prospects for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. There can be no bargaining over this principle. China has never bargained with India over this principle nor will she do so in future. The Chinese Government has solemnly stated that the key to the question as to whether the border conflict can be terminated and peaceful negotiations reopened is whether or not disengagement of the armed forces of both sides and taking the November 7, 1959 line of actual control as the base line are agreed upon.

For Afro-Asian Solidarity

All who are concerned with Afro-Asian solidarity and Asian peace, hope that the Indian Government will not, on the strength of U.S. imperialist aid, cling to a blind
faith in the use of force to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question. On the contrary, it should return to the conference table by agreeing to the Chinese Government’s proposals. For the sake of Afro-Asian solidarity and the common interests of Afro-Asian countries in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, leaders of many Afro-Asian countries have exerted their influence and made positive efforts to promote the reopening of negotiations between China and India. The Chinese people are sincerely grateful for this.

China, India, and other newly developing countries in Asia and Africa have all suffered for a long time from imperialist aggression and oppression and all face a common task in opposing imperialism and colonialism. All of us eagerly desire to engage in peaceful construction and to change the state of poverty and backwardness of our respective countries. We also have the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference as criteria by which to govern our mutual relations. Therefore, it is entirely possible for Asian and African countries to settle among themselves through negotiations the questions left over from history. We are very happy to see today in Colombo the opening of the Six-Nation Conference sponsored by the Prime Minister of Ceylon. We earnestly hope that the friendly Asian and African countries at this conference will be able to make useful contributions towards bringing about direct negotiations between China and India. We also earnestly hope that the Indian Government will abandon its unreasonable demands and respond positively to China’s peaceful proposals.

The Sino-Indian Border Conflict

Preposterous Indian Statements Refuted

To take the November 7, 1959 line of actual control as the base line for separating the armed forces of the two sides provides a key to the termination of the border conflict and the reopening of peaceful negotiations. Restoration of the situation on the boundary as it was on September 8, 1962, is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese Government. China hopes that the Indian Government will quickly and positively respond to the three measures taken by the Chinese Government on its own initiative, and return to the conference table at the earliest possible date.

Following is the text of the remarks made by the spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on December 8, 1962, refuting the statements made by a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on November 25, 26 and 27. Emphases are ours. — Ed.

The Chinese Government issued a statement on November 21, announcing three measures which it would take on its own initiative to bring about a turn for the better in the grave situation of conflict on the Sino-Indian border and to promote the realization of its three peaceable proposals of October 24, 1962. In line with the Chinese Government’s decision, the Chinese frontier guards have carried out a ceasefire along the entire Sino-Indian border since 00.00 hours on November 22, and, since December 1, have started to withdraw on China’s own initiative towards positions on the Chinese side 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959.

Chinese and African countries and all peace-loving countries and people of the world eagerly hoped that the Indian Government would respond in a positive way and take corresponding measures. But 17 days have elapsed and the Indian Government has not yet made a positive response. In order to delay an answer, the Indian Government has continually raised meaningless and trouble-making questions, asking for clarifications from China. Moreover, on three successive days — November 25, 26 and 27 — a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs made statements distorting and slandering the peaceable proposals and major efforts of the Chinese Government. This behaviour on the part of India cannot but attract grave attention.

Notwithstanding the fact that India had seized large tracts of Chinese territory prior to November 7, 1959 and had since then made further inroads into Chinese territory culminating in its large-scale armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards on October 20, 1962, the spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs falsely counter-charged China with having invaded and occupied Indian territory. He insisted that negotiations can be held only if there is a reversion to the situation which existed when India had occupied large tracts of Chinese territory prior to September 8, 1962. He even tried to alter arbitrarily the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 and demanded that, in accordance with that line as altered by India, China evacuate still more of its territory. In order to expose the absurdity and unreasonable nature of India’s position, I wish now to make the following remarks concerning the matters in question:

(1) Who actually has occupied whose territory?

No amount of sophistry by the Indian spokesman can change the facts. The so-called McMahon Line is a line

December 14, 1962
which British imperialism tried to impose on China and which no Chinese government has ever recognized. All just-minded people of the world consider this line to be illegal. It has never been the boundary between China and India. The traditional customary line as pointed out by China has long been recognized internationally. The 90,000 square kilometres of territory south of the illegal McMahon Line and north of the traditional customary line has always belonged to China. Prime Minister Nehru asserted in the Indian Lok Sabha on November 8 that this area “had not been in their (Chinese) possession ever in the long history of ten thousand years.” Yet as late as November 21, 1962, the London Times published a map showing that, long before the fabrication of the illegal McMahon Line in 1914, there had been in this region a frontier similar to the traditional customary line as pointed out by China. As a matter of fact, it was not until around the time of the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951 that India advanced on a massive scale to the north of the traditional customary line and completely occupied the 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory south of the illegal McMahon Line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border. The Indian Government tried to make people believe that it had controlled this region for scores of years. But it can by no means deny the fact that it was not until February 1951 that India occupied Tawang. In August 1959 India even crossed the illegal McMahon Line and occupied Khinzemane which lies to its north. In the middle sector of the Sino-Indian border, India had long ago taken over from British imperialism the occupation of Sang and Tsungsha on the Chinese side of the traditional customary line, and, in addition; after 1954 occupied Chuva, Chuje, Shipki Pass, Puling-Sundo, Sangcha and Lapthal, all of which are likewise on the Chinese side of the line. These eight places comprise a total area of approximately 2,000 square kilometres. In the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, India, after 1954, occupied Parigas, which is on the Chinese side of the traditional customary line. Thus, by November 7, 1959 India had already occupied more than 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory.

However, this does not satisfy the Indian Government. It takes the position that the more than 92,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory already under Indian occupation should belong to India, and that it is impermissible for China to object. Any objection by China is slandered as an ambitious claim on Indian territory. On the other hand, the Indian Government holds that the 33,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the Aksai Chin area and Rudok Dzong in the western sector of the border, which has never been under Indian occupation, should also belong to India and must be ceded by China. When China refuses to cede these areas, it is slandered as having encroached on Indian territory. This is indeed a position of colossal arrogance.

However, India not only again and again refused to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations, but used force to realize fresh territorial claims on China. Beginning in 1961, and particularly during 1962, it took advantage of China's unilateral discontinuance of border patrols to nibble away Chinese territory and set up 43 strong points of aggression in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. In face of Indian provocations, the Chinese frontier guards maintained the utmost forbearance and self-restraint. It was only when Indian roads had steadily increased without any let-up that the Chinese side, in May 1962, resumed border patrols and set up a number of additional posts in the western sector of the border to resist Indian invasion. The Indian spokesman has, however, misrepresented China's action of setting up new posts in its own border areas as proof of the past absence of Chinese administrative jurisdiction there and maligned China as having moved forward the Chinese Sinkiang-Tibet Highway, a gigantic engineering project, through this area in 1954-57?

In pursuing such insatiable territorial ambitions, the Indian Government has not only inherited wholesale the ambitions of British imperialism, but even gone beyond them.

(2) Who has stood for a settlement of the boundary question through negotiations, and who has used force to alter the status quo of the boundary?

As described above, India had already seized large tracts of Chinese territory prior to November 7, 1959. However, the Chinese Government still adhered to its consistent stand and advocated settling through negotiations the question of these Chinese territories occupied by India and the question of the Sino-Indian boundary as a whole. To create a favourable atmosphere for negotiations, the Chinese Government proposed on November 7, 1959 that the armed forces of the two sides should, using the line of actual control then existing between the two sides as the base line, withdraw 20 kilometres each, stop patrols, disengage and avoid armed clashes. It should be emphasized that the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 took shape after India had occupied large tracts of Chinese territory and extended its administration deep into China. For China to offer this line as the base line for separating the armed forces of the two sides represented an enormous measure of tolerance and accommodation on its part.

China has made every possible effort to attain a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations. Nearly all the proposals for negotiations since 1959 have been put forward by China on its own initiative. After India rejected the proposal for the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides and the cessation of patrols, China unilaterally announced the cessation of its patrols within 20 kilometres on its side of the November 7, 1959 line of actual control in order to avoid clashes. The Sino-Indian boundary question is, after all, a boundary question between two Asian countries. China had thought that, however obstinate the Indian side might be, since China had made these efforts, the issue, though remaining unsettled for a time, would not develop into a large-scale armed conflict.
boundary with the Chinese forces. This is preposterous in the extreme.

As a result of China's forbearance and self-restraint, India was able to make some headway in its aggressive activities in the western sector of the border, and so in the eastern sector too it took advantage of China's unilateral discontinuance of border patrols, crossed the illegal McMahon Line and intruded into the Kechilang River and Che Dong area north of the Line which had always been under China's administrative jurisdiction. This was a serious new provocation by India.

The Indian side asserts that the illegal McMahon Line in this area should run along the so-called Thagla ridge as defined by India and, completely reversing right and wrong, alleges that it is the Chinese frontier guards who intruded into India's Dhola area, i.e., the Kechilang River and Che Dong area, by crossing the boundary as defined by India. The Chinese Government has never recognized the illegal McMahon Line, nor ever given India the right to define the Sino-Indian boundary in the eastern sector. But since India advanced to the illegal McMahon Line, both sides have been clearly aware of each other's extent of administrative control in the eastern sector. That is to say, there in fact existed between the two sides a line of actual control formed by the extent of each side's administrative control, and that was the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 as pointed out by China. If India takes exception to China's exercise of administrative jurisdiction in the Kechilang River and Che Dong area, the only thing it can do is to have the McMahon Line on the original 1914 map, and not McMahon Line revised according to some geographical principle laid down by India itself unilaterally. The Indian spokesman dared not admit that the so-called Thagla ridge could not be found at all on the original 1914 map, nor dared he answer the following question: What grounds did India have to seize the Kechilang River and Che Dong area north of latitude 27°49.6'N since, according to the original 1914 map, this is the latitude of the western extremity of the illegal McMahon Line?

The Indian troops' seizure of the Kechilang River and Che Dong area north of the illegal McMahon Line constituted a naked aggression and provocation against China. Despite this, China did not forgo its efforts for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. While lodging a protest on September 16 against the Indian intrusion and demanding the withdrawal of the Indian troops from Chinese territory, China, for the third time within three months, put forward, on October 3, its proposal for negotiations. However, all the efforts made by China were of no avail. Taking China's forbearance and self-restraint as indicating that China was weak and could be bullied, India made a series of miscalculations in regard to China. It not only rejected China's proposal for negotiations, but openly massed large numbers of troops and prepared for attacks on a still larger scale, in a deliberate attempt to realize its territorial claims by force of arms. On October 5, the Indian Ministry of Defence announced the establishment of a new corps under the "Eastern Command" for the sole purpose of dealing with China. On October 12, Prime Minister Nehru declared that he had given the order to free Chinese territory of Chinese frontier forces. Then, in the early morning of October 20, the Indian troops eventually launched massive general attacks in line with the Indian Government's orders. It was only then when they had been subjected to repeated frenzied attacks by the Indian troops, when they had been pressed beyond endurance and left with no room for retreat, that the Chinese frontier guards had to strike back resolutely in self-defence. All the relevant facts show that this large-scale border conflict was in its entirety prepared in advance by the Indian Government in cold blood. But after the Indian aggression was severely beaten back, the Indian spokesman, assuming a pitiful manner, pictured India as the victim and smeared China as the aggressor. Such clumsy tactics can deceive no one. The people of the world do not have such short memories. They remember how arrogantly and gloatingly India trumpeted the success of its aggressive moves in the western and eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian border. Also, they have not forgotten the flagrant military preparations and audacious war propaganda which India made prior to October 20. The fiasco of an aggressive plan cannot turn the aggressor into a victim.

(3) The line of actual control of November 7, 1959 is fair and reasonable, and it is absolutely unacceptable to restore the state of the boundary to what it was on September 8, 1962.

In order to stop the border conflict, reopen peaceful negotiations and settle the boundary question, China renewed its proposal to separate the armed forces of the two sides with the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 as the base line. The Chinese side had already shown great forbearance when it first put forward this proposal in 1959. After 1959, India violated this line of actual control and further occupied more than 4,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory by armed force. China did not accept India's encroachments on Chinese territory, and resolutely demanded India's withdrawal from these newly occupied areas of Chinese territory. India's aggressive moves led to the expansion of border clashes. Fighting in self-defence, Chinese frontier forces recovered these Indian-occupied areas of Chinese territory, and in the eastern sector advanced into nearly 20,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory south of the November 7, 1959 line of actual control. But the Chinese Government has not on this account changed its stand. It still proposes that the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 be taken as the base line for disengaging the armed forces of the two sides. This amply demonstrates that the Chinese Government's proposals are fair and conciliatory.

The Indian Government insists on reverting to the state of the boundary prior to September 8, 1962. This means that, besides retaining Chinese territory which it had occupied prior to November 7, 1959, India wants to reoccupy the Chinese territory which it had further invaded and occupied after November 7, 1959. The state of the boundary as of September 8, 1962 incorporates these further Indian encroachments on Chinese territory after November 7, 1959; it represents the posture from which India launched large-scale armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards. Restoration of this state of affairs is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese Government.
The Chinese proposal that the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 be taken as the base line for separating the armed forces of the two sides embodies an unshakable principle, namely, that the boundary question can only be settled through negotiations, and not by using force to bring about a fait accompli. In line with this principle, the Chinese frontier guards have already begun to withdraw in the eastern sector from the areas of nearly 20,000 square kilometres beyond the 1959 line of actual control to which they recently advanced, despite the fact that these areas are all part of Chinese territory. On the same principle, India should certainly not reoccupy the more than 4,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory which it had invaded and occupied after November 7, 1959 by crossing the same line. This principle is fair and reasonable to both sides. India's aim in insisting on reverting to the state of the boundary prior to September 8, 1962 is to make China recognize the fait accompli which India had brought about by violating the November 7, 1959 line of actual control by armed force. This would not only run counter to the aforesaid principle, but would render it impossible to terminate the border conflict. The Indian spokesman uttered the slander that the withdrawal of the Chinese frontier forces on China's own initiative is deceptive and is intended to expand their occupation. Anybody with common sense would ask, if this were true, why should the Chinese frontier forces evacuate the large tracts of Chinese territory south of the illegal McMahon Line, withdraw to the north of the November 7, 1959 line of actual control and further withdraw another 20 kilometres from the 1959 line of actual control along the entire Sino-Indian border? The Chinese Government wishes to emphasize that the key issue which will decide whether the border conflict can be terminated and peaceful negotiations reopened is whether or not a disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides is agreed upon, and whether or not the 1959 line of actual control is accepted as the base line.

(4) India knows no limits in its territorial ambitions and has raised even more unreasonable demands.

The Indian Government is not satisfied with restoring the state of the boundary to that obtaining prior to Sep-
AGGRESSION ELIMINATED BY THE CHINESE FRONTIER FORCES AND THE POSITIONS THEIR COUNTER-ATTACK IN SELF-DEFENCE ALONG THE SINO-INIAN BORDER

1. THE WESTERN AND MIDDLE SECTORS

SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE ENTIRE SINO-INIAN BOUNDARY

THE WESTERN SECTOR

THE MIDDLE SECTOR

2. THE EASTERN SECTOR

LEGEND

The traditional customary line

The line of actual control between the two sides as of November 7, 1959

The illegal McMahon Line

The line to which the armed forces of each side should withdraw as proposed by the Chinese Government, 20 kilometres from the 1959 line of actual control

Positions stationed by the Chinese frontier forces

Area seasonally occupied by Indian troops

Other place names

2. THE EASTERN SECTOR

Drawn by Reamin Ribo, November 30, 1962

December 14, 1962
nember 8, 1962. The Indian spokesman has again put forward the even more unreasonable demands raised by Prime Minister Nehru in his letter of November 14, 1962 to Premier Chou En-lai. That is, while requiring China to agree to Indian forces reverting to their positions prior to September 8, India demands that Chinese frontier forces withdraw not only to their positions prior to September 8, but even further in the western sector to the so-called position of November 7, 1959 as unilaterally defined by India for the Chinese frontier forces. In other words, China is required to evacuate another five to six thousand square miles (13 to 15 thousand square kilometres) of Chinese territory.

The Indian spokesman said that the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 is not as China has described it, but should be as stated by Prime Minister Nehru in his letter of November 14, 1962 — that is to say, in the eastern and middle sectors, it should run along the Himalayan watershed, with Che Dong, Longju and Wuje under Indian jurisdiction, and in the western sector it should be "along the line connecting their [China's] Spanggur post, Khurnak Fort, Kongka La and proceeding northwards to join the main Aksai Chin road." This is indeed a fantastic assertion.

As pointed out by China, the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 coincides in the main with the illegal McMahon Line in the eastern sector; while in the middle and western sectors it coincides in the main with the traditional customary line. This line was formed in accordance with the extent of each side's administrative control at the time; it was an objective fact which no amount of fabrication by the Indian side can change. We have explained and proved in the above that the Kechilang River and Che Dong area north of the illegal McMahon Line in the eastern sector has been under China's effective jurisdiction. Longju, which is north of the line, though at one time occupied by Indian troops, was recovered by China back in August 1959, and has since then remained under China's administration. The Indian allegation that Longju is not under either side's administration is utterly groundless.

As for Wuje in the middle sector, in order to seek a settlement of the dispute between the two sides through negotiations, China reached an agreement with India on the non-stationing of either side's troops there, but has never agreed to India's demand for the withdrawal of Chinese administrative personnel. The Indian allegation that Wuje is still under Indian administrative control is also wholly groundless.

In regard to the western sector of the border, up till 1958 India had never questioned China's exercise of jurisdiction over the Aksai Chin area. Although in the past China did not maintain many posts in this area, Indian armed personnel were arrested by Chinese frontier guards as soon as they intruded into this area on two occasions in September 1958 and July 1959; and when armed Indian personnel intruded into Kongka Pass and provoked a border conflict in October 1959, they were immediately repulsed. In 1961-62, India set up 43 strong-points of aggression in this area, but they were all confined to the area within 20 kilometres on China's side of the line of actual control in which the Chinese frontier guards had discontinued their patrols. All this fully proves China's effective jurisdiction in this area.

However, India has deliberately confused the location of frontier posts with the extent of administration. It asserts that the frontier posts maintained by China at that time should serve as markers for the November 7, 1959 line of actual control in the western sector of the border. The area on the Chinese side close to the line of actual control in the western sector of the border is very difficult terrain and sparsely populated. In ordinary conditions, there should have been no need to set up many posts there. Before the massive Indian invasion, China had treated this sector of the boundary as one of friendship, therefore, it was all the more unnecessary to dot the line with posts. Moreover, it is general knowledge that the extent of administrative jurisdiction is by no means determined by the presence or absence of posts. Does India regard all those parts of Indian territory where there are no posts as not within the sphere of India's administrative jurisdiction?

In point of fact, China had, long before November 7, 1959, set up not only the three posts at Spanggur, Khurnak Fort and Kongka Pass mentioned by India, but also four other posts in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. The specific locations of these posts were Shenhsienwan (approximately 35°24'N, 77°49'E) near Kararakoram Pass, Tienwientian (approximately 35°19'N, 78°12'E) in the Chip Chap Valley, Hot Springs (approximately 35°25'N, 78°55'E) northwest of Kongka Pass, and Nyangzui (approximately 33°58'N, 78°53'E) north of Pangong Lake. These seven posts, with the northernmost in the vicinity of the Kararakoram Pass and the southernmost in the vicinity of Spanggur Lake, are all in close proximity to the line of actual control. The India side alleged that in November 1959 there were no Chinese posts of any kind either at Samzungling, Dephra, Shinglung and Qiziljiga, which are north of the Kongka Pass, or at any place to the west of these locations, consequently it held that China should evacuate this area of five to six thousand square miles (13 to 15 thousand square kilometres). But the three Chinese posts at Shenhsienwan, Tienwientian and Hot Springs cited by China were precisely located to the west of the above four places mentioned by India.

Whether it is in the western, the middle or the eastern sector of the border, China's exercise of effective jurisdiction over the areas on its side of the November 7, 1959 line of actual control is a fact which no amount of sophistry or fabrication can nullify. No matter what pretexts it resorts to, India cannot arbitrarily relocate inside Chinese territory the objectively existing line of actual control, nor can India mask its ambitions to achieve territorial expansion by these means.

The Indian spokesman also quoted Prime Minister Nehru's letter to the effect that once China's frontier forces withdrew to the so-called positions of November 7, 1959 defined by India and India's troops returned to their positions of September 8, 1962, this would by and large meet the problem of disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides. If this should indeed be termed disengagement, what would its meaning be? It would mean...
that Indian troops would advance into Chinese territory, whereas the Chinese frontier forces would have to withdraw in big strides from Chinese territory. The fact that India has raised such brazen demands while fully aware that it is impossible for China to accept them only shows that India is determined to keep the armed forces of the two sides engaged and to stir up afresh the armed conflict.

In sum, the Indian Government’s fundamental position on the Sino-Indian boundary question runs like this. India considers that it has the right to define the Sino-Indian boundary while China can only accept its definition and must not raise any objection. India considers that it has the right to realize its territorial claims by armed force while China should simply endure this and must not strike back in self-defence. India even considers that it has the right to define the limits of China’s administrative control and to fix the specific location of the line of actual control while China must simply stand ready to surrender more of its territory and must not point out the objectively existing line of actual control on the basis of respect for each side’s extent of administration. It is this attitude of India’s which is indeed aggressive, arrogant and expansionist. In history there have been quite a few cases of rabid exponents of big-nation chauvinism and expansionism, but seldom has history seen big-nation chauvinism and expansionism of a type so lacking in proper self-appraisal as that of the Indian ruling group.

(5) A piece of advice for the Indian Government: Don’t trust blindly to force of arms!

China and India are two big countries in Asia. There is no conflict of fundamental interests between them. It is desirable and entirely possible to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question in a friendly way through peaceful negotiations. We advise the Indian Government not to trust blindly to force of arms. The Sino-Indian boundary question cannot be settled by relying on armed force. This is the case now, and will also be the case in the future, even though more foreign aid may be forthcoming. The measures taken by China on its own initiative have opened up an avenue towards the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The whole world awaits a positive response from India. It will not do to delay a direct reply, still less to raise even more unreasonable demands. We request the Indian Government to ponder soberly the fact that the efforts made by China on its own initiative are tremendous and its proposals conciliatory. It is our hope that the Indian Government will not go its own way heedlessly, that it will take to heart the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples, quickly and positively respond to the three measures taken by the Chinese Government on its own initiative, and return to the conference table at the earliest possible date.

What Has India Done About China’s Peace Proposals?

by CHOU PAO-JU

THREE weeks have gone by since November 21 when the Chinese Government announced its proposals for a ceasefire and the withdrawal of its forces along the entire Sino-Indian border. That is ample time for thought, yet the Indian Government has so far failed to make any reply to these proposals. What has New Delhi been doing all this time?

Prime Minister Nehru stated in Parliament that his government would give “full consideration” to the Chinese proposals, but in the same breath he insisted again that “the position as it existed prior to September 8, 1962 shall be restored.” On November 22, 23 and 27, on December 4 and 10, he once again declared that India would fight “a long-drawn-out war” with China. At the same time, Indian Minister of Interior L.B. Shastri was forbidding Indian citizens to talk about the Chinese proposals. He warned them “against relaxation of war efforts in view of the ceasefire by China and the consequent lull at the front.”

The Indian authorities have continued to whip up war hysteria and have solicited and received military assistance in ever larger quantities from the United States and other Western countries. They have speeded up the reorganization of India’s armed forces in preparation for renewed attacks on China.

There have also been indications of Indian troops engaging in fresh armed provocations against the Chinese frontier guards and disrupting the unilateral Chinese ceasefire. On November 27 and 28, Indian troops pressed forward towards the ceasefire line of the Chinese frontier guards. On December 4, several Indian soldiers in a jeep provocatively crossed over the 1959 line of actual control in the area of Spangpur Lake on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. Indian military aircraft, too, engaged in provocations by intruding into Chinese air space not only over the eastern and western sectors but even as far as such important Tibetan cities as Lhasa, Gyantse, and Shigatse. On December 10 alone, there were nine Indian air intrusions. The Chinese Foreign Ministry on the same day sent a note of strong protest to the Indian Embassy in Peking, pointing out that these incidents were extremely grave, demanding that the Indian side cease all provocations immediately, and declaring that otherwise the Indian Government must assume responsibility for all the consequences that may arise.

New Delhi Worsens Relations

On December 6 the Indian Government announced that it had decided to close the Indian Consulates-General at Lhasa and Shanghai on December 15, 1962 and
Chinese Premier Greets Colombo Conference

Premier Chou En-lai warmly welcomed the conference of six Asian and African countries, which opened in Colombo on December 10, and expressed the hope that it "would contribute to promoting direct negotiations between China and India."

On the eve of the Colombo conference, Premier Chou sent a message of greetings to the Ceylonese Prime Minister Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike and the conference participants. It stated: "The Chinese Government has always adhered to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung Spirit and persevered in safeguarding the solidarity of the Asian-African nations. The Chinese Government has always held that it is desirable and entirely possible to secure a fair and reasonable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through peaceful negotiations between China and India. The outbreak of the armed conflict on the border between China and India was something the Chinese Government and people were most unwilling to see. The Chinese Government has, on its own initiative, carried out the measures of a ceasefire and withdrawal and begun to release wounded and sick captured Indian personnel. The measures taken by China on its own initiative have halted the border conflict and eased the situation to a certain extent. At this moment, the Chinese Government is glad to see that six friendly Asian and African countries are holding a conference and undertaking consultations with a view to promoting the reopening of negotiations between China and India. The Chinese Government sincerely wishes the conference success."

Earlier, in a message to Madame Bandaranaike, Premier Chou thanked the Ceylonese Premier for her constructive proposal in initiating the conference.

Speaking at a public occasion on the day the conference opened, Premier Chou reiterated his greetings to the conference. "The Chinese Government," he declared, "consistently holds that Asian and African countries should settle mutual questions through peaceful negotiations. Acting on this, the Chinese Government has unremittingly sought a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question."

Stressing the significance of the solidarity of the Asian and African countries, the Chinese Premier said: "China is always opposed to the attempts of the Western powers, and especially the United States, to utilize differences among Asian and African countries to sow discord among them. We hope that all the Asian and African countries will strengthen their solidarity and make it for ever impossible for the imperialists' schemes to succeed."

had requested China to close its Consulates-General at Calcutta and Bombay from the same date.

The above-mentioned consulates-general were set up by agreement between the two Governments. The action now taken by the Indian Government one-sidedly and without prior consultation with the Chinese Government constitutes a unilateral tearing up of an agreement between the two countries. Such an act on the part of the Indian Government can only be regarded as a calculated move to worsen relations between the two countries and impair the interests of the two peoples.

The Chinese Government on December 8 lodged a strong protest against this with the Indian Government.

The Chinese Consulates-General in Calcutta and Bombay have for a long time now been placed under close day-and-night surveillance by Indian armed police. They have in fact been practically cut off from the outside world. Chinese residents in India have been cruelly persecuted. Thousands of them have been arrested and locked up in concentration camps merely because they are considered "security risks." The Chinese Foreign Ministry in its note of December 8 pointed out that such treatment as has been meted out to Chinese in India, including the staff of the Chinese Embassy and Consulates, is rarely seen even when a war has been formally declared between two countries.

The Indian Government's unscrupulous obstruction of the normal functioning of the Chinese Consulates-General in Calcutta and Bombay has made it impossible for these two Chinese Consulates-General to continue their work. The Chinese Government has therefore decided to close both of them on December 15, 1962 and to withdraw their staff. But, the Chinese note says, this decision does not in any way signify that the Chinese Government accepts the Indian Government's unreasonable demands or agrees to the Indian Government's unilateral actions. The note solemnly declares that the Indian Government must bear full responsibility for all the ill effects and consequences this action on its part may produce in relations between the two countries.

Stalling for Time

What is the aim of the Indian Government in withholding its reply to the Chinese proposals for more than three weeks now? How to explain the Indian Government's action in worsening Sino-Indian relations?

AP disclosed in a dispatch from New Delhi on November 26 that India was "stalling for time to rebuild its badly smashed army" before rejecting the Chinese Government proposals. A DPA dispatch said that political circles in New Delhi believed that "Nehru would like to delay his answer to Peking as long as possible so as to
gain time to build up India's defence and to discuss the next steps with the United States and Britain. This is regarded as the most likely reason for his stubborn silence so far.” The Indian newspaper Hindustan Times in an article by its editor also expressed apprehension that acceptance of the Chinese proposals would adversely affect the Nehru government's control at home and procurement of aid from the West. The article called for tighter grip at home and more aid from abroad to cover the "gaps" in India's "defences."

For this purpose, the Indian Government, while avoiding a positive response, tried to sidetrack the issue by raising three “questions” on November 21 and five more "questions" on November 23, asking the Chinese Government to "clarify" its clearly formulated statement. When China clearly answered these “questions” one by one, the Indian Government, on November 30, raised some more points in relation to China's answers, asking for "further elaboration."

The so-called “questions” raised by the Indian Government on November 21 and 23 clearly revealed its intention to raise pointless difficulties. Though, for instance, it is clearly stated in the Chinese government statement that Chinese frontier guards will withdraw in all the three sectors of the Sino-Indian border to positions 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control which existed between China and India on November 7, 1959, the Indian Government asked for “clarification” if this withdrawal referred to the western sector only. Again, for instance, though it is clearly stated in the Chinese government statement that, after withdrawing, the Chinese frontier guards will be far behind their positions prior to September 8, 1962, the Indian Government raised the question: will the Chinese withdrawal to positions 20 kilometres behind the "McMahon Line" be behind the positions of September 8, 1962 as suggested by the Indian Government?

However, in spite of the Indian Government’s obvious attempts to raise pointless difficulties, answers were given by the Chinese Foreign Ministry in its memorandum to the Indian Embassy in China on November 25 and also by the Chinese Embassy in India in its memorandum to the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on November 26.

Deliberately Creating Confusion

Despite the fact that the Chinese Government's statement has made the matter explicitly clear, the spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs alleged on November 25 that "a certain amount of confusion has been caused" by the statement. Then, after the Chinese Foreign Ministry and the Chinese Embassy in India answered in most clear-cut terms the "questions" to which the Indian Government had sought clarifications, the spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs again said on November 29 that "clarifications we have received are confusing."

The question clearly does not lie in the vagueness of the Chinese Government's statement or its clarifications,

Chinese Frontier Guards Continue Withdrawal

The first group of sick and wounded captured Indian soldiers released by the Chinese frontier guards numbered 64. During the hand-over at Bomdila on December 5, the Chinese side informed the Indian side of the emergency measures which had been taken to save the lives of the Indian sick and wounded and of their medical treatment and living conditions. A copy of the list of names of these sick and wounded, together with their case histories, was given to the Indian side.

The doctors sent by the Indian Red Cross Society to take back the sick and wounded expressed themselves satisfied with the medical treatment given by the Chinese side. Many of the sick and wounded, during the hand-over, waved a farewell to the Chinese personnel from their stretchers.

The above-mentioned facts, and especially the continuing withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards on their own initiative, fully demonstrate the faithful implementation of the Chinese Government's decision by the Chinese frontier guards and the sincere efforts made by the Chinese Government to put a speedy end to the Sino-Indian border clash, reopen peaceful negotiations and settle the boundary question peacefully.
but in the confusion deliberately created by the Indian Government. The object the Indian Government has pursued in thus creating confusion is simply to put off giving a reply to the measures which China has taken on its own initiative. “It should be pointed out that what is really vague is the attitude of the Indian Government,” declares the Chinese Foreign Ministry’s memorandum dated December 9. “The Indian Government faces a series of questions to which it cannot long avoid a frontal answer.”

Three Questions

The Chinese Foreign Ministry’s memorandum of December 9, apart from giving clear-cut answers to questions raised in the Indian memorandum of November 30, demands from the Indian Government a clear and definite reply to the following three questions:

The first question is: “Does the Indian Government agree or not, to a ceasefire?” After pointing out the fact that Indian troops and aircraft have recently engaged in provocations against the Chinese frontier forces, the memorandum says, “It is now up to the Indian Government to clarify whether the Indian troops intend to continue their provocations against the Chinese frontier forces.”

The second question is, “Does the Indian Government agree or not that the armed forces of the two sides should disengage and each withdraw 20 kilometres from the November 7, 1959 line of actual control?” It adds, “The Indian Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mrs. Menon, openly declared in Colombo on December 4 that India would move its troops right up to the so-called McMahon Line and that India must gain control of the passes in the ‘Northeast Frontier Agency.’ It must be stressed that China is withdrawing her frontier guards from the nearly 20,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory north of the traditional customary line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border in order to urge the Indian Government to make a positive response and seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. It is now up to the Indian Government to clarify whether the above statement made by the Indian Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs represents the official reply of the Indian Government to the fact that the Chinese frontier guards have ceased fire and begun to withdraw on China’s own initiative.”

The third question is: “Does the Indian Government agree or not that officials of the two sides should meet and discuss matters relating to the 20-kilometre withdrawal by their respective armed forces from the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 to form a demilitarized zone, the establishment of checkpoints by each party on its side of the line of actual control as well as the return of captured personnel?” The memorandum says that “the Chinese side is prepared, in the officials’ meeting, to discuss with the Indian side any specific details relating to the above-mentioned matters.”

The Chinese Foreign Ministry in its memorandum expresses the hope that the Indian Government will give a clear and definite reply to these questions.

Socialist Solidarity

Greetings to Two Party Congresses

The Chinese Communist Party sent a representative, Chao I-min, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the C.C.P., to attend the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party held in Rome and a delegation, led by Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the C.C. of the C.C.P., to attend the 12th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party held in Prague. Chao I-min and Wu Hsiu-chuan in the course of their speeches to the congresses delivered messages of greetings from the Chinese Communist Party.

Chao I-min paid tribute to the leadership which the Italian Communist Party has given to the just struggle of the Italian people. Wu Hsiu-chuan congratulated the Czechoslovak Communist Party in leading Czechoslovakia to tremendous achievements in socialist construction.

Dealing with the international situation, both speakers pointed out that it was extremely favourable to the peoples of the various countries, that the growing strength of the socialist camp stood in sharp contrast to the accelerating decline and disintegration of the imperialist camp and that the powerful national and democratic movements sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America were dealing heavy blows to imperialism and colonialism.

China Backs Cuba’s Struggle

The two delegates reiterated China’s pledge of resolute support for Cuba’s struggle against U.S. imperialism. The recent criminal acts of aggression and war provocations against Cuba had once again fully exposed to the people of the whole world the ferocious features of U.S. imperialism as the “world gendarme,” Chao I-min declared. Citing the deeds of U.S. imperialists as a proof that the nature of imperialism would never change, he stressed the fact that the defence of world peace called for a resolute struggle against imperialist policies of aggression and war. “We are convinced,” he declared, “that the outbreak of a world war will be prevented so long as the forces of the socialist camp, the national-liberation movements, the workers’ movements in the capitalist countries, and all peace-loving countries and peoples in the world form a broad united front and wage a persistent, blow-for-blow struggle against the policies of aggression and war of imperialism headed by
the United States. The greater the development of the revolutionary forces, the greater the safeguard for world peace. The struggle of the peoples of the various countries for national liberation, democracy and socialism is of tremendous significance for the cause of defending world peace."

Wu Hsiu-chuan in Prague called attention to the profound lesson the Cuban events had taught the revolutionary peoples of the world. "They have shown," he said, "that Kennedy does nothing but evil. No illusions whatsoever can be entertained about this representative of the U.S. monopoly capitalists. The Cuban events have also shown that U.S. imperialism looks strong but is actually weak; that it bullies the faint-hearted but fears those who are firm. What U.S. imperialism fears most is the revolutionary struggles of the people of Cuba, of the rest of Latin America and of the world as a whole."

The only way to defend world peace, Wu Hsiu-chuan noted, was to unite all the great forces that exist today to shatter the imperialists' plan for launching world war. "This," he emphasized, "is precisely what the revolutionary Cuban people have done; it is precisely the way they have won victory in their struggle. They have adopted a completely correct method. They have committed neither adventurist nor capitulationist errors. Only by resolutely trusting the strength of the people and firmly relying on their struggle as the heroic Cuban people have done, can the arrogance be knocked out of the aggressors and world peace be defended."

**Tito Group in the Role of Cat's Paw**

Chao I-min and Wu Hsiu-chuan in their speeches both underlined the importance of the struggle against the modern revisionists represented by the Tito group of Yugoslavia. No country, Chao I-min said, could carry its revolution to victory without properly integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in that country. "But no matter how great may be the differences between the revolutions of various countries," he pointed out, "and the complexity of the revolutionary situation in each country, to win victory in the socialist revolution it is imperative to follow the common historical path pointed out by Marxism-Leninism, the path of proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, the path of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction summed up in the Moscow Declaration." It was of great importance to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause of the peoples throughout the world to expose consistently, in accordance with the spirit of the Moscow Statement of 1960, the true features of the Tito group as renegades, he declared. The betrayal of the cause of international communism by the modern revisionists represented by the Tito group, he said, served the need of U.S. imperialism to get the help of all reactionary forces in pursuing its counter-revolutionary policies. He added that the revisionist line of the Tito group had caused the Yugoslav people to lose their socialist gains and led to the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, that this group engaged in disruptive activities against the socialist camp and the world communist movement as well as against the national-liberation movements, and that, in propagandizing its ideas about "peaceful growth" into socialism so as to benumb the revolutionary will of the proletariat, the group was in fact demanding that the peoples of all countries should give up the idea of revolution and reconcile themselves for ever to capitalist enslavement.

**Marxist-Leninist Stand of Chinese C.P.**

The two delegates affirmed the stand of the Chinese Communist Party in safeguarding unity between the fraternal Parties and between the fraternal countries. "Unfortunately," Chao I-min said, "at this congress of your Party, once again a unilateral and groundless attack has been launched against a Marxist-Leninist Party—the Albanian Party of Labour—and against a socialist country—the People's Republic of Albania. This cannot but cause us the deepest regret. It is equally regrettable that at this congress of your Party a direct attack has been launched on the Marxist-Leninist standpoints of the Chinese Communist Party. Since you have publicly blamed the Chinese Communist Party, we are compelled to declare frankly that we Chinese Communists do disagree with those views held by certain comrades of the Italian Communist Party on a number of important questions, such as the theory of "structural reform," the viewpoint on the problem of Yugoslav revisionism, the attack on the Albanian Party of Labour which adheres to Marxist-Leninist principles, and also on some important international problems. We hold that these viewpoints are not in accord with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, not in the interests of the international communist movement, not conducive to the internationalist unity of the proletariat, to the struggle against imperialism and to the struggle in defence of world peace, and are also not in conformity with the vital interests of the Italian people. It is impossible for us to go into details here. We should like to discuss them on another occasion in a comradely way with the comrades of the Italian Communist Party." He added: "We have consistently believed that for one Party to turn its congress into a platform for public attacks on another fraternal Party is an act that is destructive of the international unity of the proletariat and one that runs completely counter to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. This is certainly not a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude."

Speaking at the Czechoslovak Party Congress, Wu Hsiu-chuan said: "We feel deeply pained by the practice of one Party making use of the rostrum of its congress to
launch open and one-sided attacks on another fraternal Party—a practice which was started a year ago and has since then been repeated several times. We have long pointed out that such an action can only deepen differences and impair unity and can only grieve those near and dear to us to the delight of our enemies. Unfortunately your congress has once again repeated this practice undermining the international solidarity of the proletariat by launching public and unilateral attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour. We cannot but express deep regret over this. We sincerely hope that everyone will treasure the common interests of the cause of the proletarian revolution and our struggles against our enemies, abide by the principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and, through the proper channels, eliminate differences and re-establish unity.”

**Pen Probes**

**Blabberwock in Africa**

SENATOR Allen Ellender touring U.S. embassies and consulates-general in Africa apparently wasn’t pleased by what he saw and heard. So, he decided to give the local people a piece of his mind. He called a press conference in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, and the piece of mind he presented fell with a resounding thud.

Many African countries had been “given their independence too early,” the senator told his startled audience. Why, he said, “I have yet to see any part of Africa where Africans are ready for self-government. The average African is incapable of leadership without white assistance.” The senator was against the African demand for the dissolution of the Central African Federation. (“It would be sad for countries like the Rhodesian Federation to depend on an African majority to rule.”) He thought that South Africa was “on the right road,” though it has started its apartheid policy “too late.”

Africa’s reaction to this insult was immediate and unequivocal. In Uganda, which the senator was going to visit, the Government refused him entry and declared him “a prohibited immigrant.” Ethiopia followed suit. When the senator passed through Dar-es Salaam, the Tanganyikan Government wouldn’t even let him off his plane at the airport. In Kenya, the leading nationalist organization KANU declared that Ellender was “not welcome with his dirty creed.” African newspapers demanded an apology from the American Government.

The U.S. State Department tried to get over the embarrassment by a lame explanation that “the senator was speaking for himself.” But was he? After all, Ellender is a leading member of Kennedy’s Democratic Party and the chosen representative of the Louisiana racists. He is also a member of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee. Judging from U.S. policy towards the Congo, Angola and South Africa, loose-mouthed Ellender was merely blustering out aloud what the Kennedy Administration has been trying to carry out in effect on the quiet.

**Santa Sam**

WITH Yuletide approaching, upper class emporia of the United States have stocked a few special gifts for well-heeled Santa Claws. A New York paper provides a list of the more thought-provoking kind. Item:

Special offer for lovers of the exotic: genuine Chinese junk (please note, made in Hongkong and therefore not Red), $11,500; or jade carved screens from a Chinese emperor’s palace costing a cool $1,000,000.

For carat-conscious ladies: giant-emerald ring (big enough to take a bath in), $125,000; or 128½-carat Tiffany stone set on a diamond ribbon clasp, $512,000.

For children who have been very, very good: a doll’s mink coat, $400; a mechanical magician who makes a little lady disappear, $3,500.

For lady dogs and their escorts: white mink for daytime wear, $125 and up; dog earrings, $2.95; tuxedo outfit, with a bow tie, $25; four-legged pajamas for Him, $5; four-legged pajamas for Her (with lace cuffs), $8.50; an entire pet wardrobe, contained in a chew-proof Canine Case of black alligator with plastic fittings, $500;

And such utility gifts as a sterling silver frying pan, $320; gold-mesh checkbook cover, $350; or a gold letter knife, with coral handle set with diamonds, sapphires, emeralds and turquoises, $3,500.

While Santa Claus dispenses these baubles in the area of Park Avenue and Beverly Hills, etc., in this goodwill season, J.F.K. and the Pentagon also have their own special brand of expensive gifts which they are only too glad to supply. . . . C.O.D. of course.
A Handicraft Town’s Rebirth

by SUN CHING

WEIFANG lies almost midway on the mainline railway from the port of Tsingtao to Tsinan, capital of Shantung Province. It is not a large town, but it is one of the best-known handicraft centres in China. Its exquisite silver-inlay lacquerware, fine embroideries and woodblock-printed New Year pictures, copper fishing wires, thimbles and knife blades for carpenters’ planes have long enjoyed a fine reputation in many parts of the country. Some of its handicrafts are also exported.

Weifang handicrafts have a long history. The embroidery trade dates back more than 300 years. The silver-inlay lacquerware trade is over a century old. The metal-working trade has a history of some 200 years and in its most flourishing period it reputedly employed 3,000 smiths. The list of other crafts is too long to enumerate in detail. It includes a wide range of household hardware and ornaments, kitchen utensils, small farm implements, handicraft tools, textiles, and sundry other goods which play a big role in supporting the current production drive in the rural people’s communes and in meeting growing demands for household articles and other mass consumption goods.

Craftsmen Wage Slaves

Weifang is well placed as a handicraft centre. At a road junction, on a mainline railway at the base of the Shantung Peninsula between Laihouchow Bay and Kiao-chow Bay, it stands at a natural transport hub. Its handicraft trades get ample supplies of raw materials from the surrounding country districts and enjoy a big local market in populous Shantung. Under the social-economic conditions of the last hundred years before liberation, however, Weifang’s handicraft industry fell under the control of mercantile capitalists. By cornering raw materials and sales outlets, by usury backed by all the force of the laws of a reactionary state and economic system and just plain gangsterism, they got the craftsmen into their clutches, forcing them to part with their products at knock-down prices and turning them virtually into wage slaves.

The majority of the craftsmen in those days were still farmers. Farming their miserably small, debt-burdened plots in the suburbs and the outskirts of the town was not enough to keep them, so during slack farming seasons they would go to the town to try and supplement their meagre earnings by working at a handicraft. They soon found themselves at the mercy of the middlemen. Most of them were lodged in ramshackle thatched huts built on the sand banks of the Pa-liang River that flowed through the town. The huts were so low that a man of average height could barely stand erect in them. Here the craftsmen lived, slept and toiled. Before daylight the smiths would already be working their bellows to start their small furnaces, and they would still be striking iron with heavy sledge hammers when the stars came out. Sparks dropped onto their feet burning the skin black, for few smiths could afford even the crudest protective gear. And even with all this labour, most craftsmen could hardly make ends meet. As the general economic situation deteriorated in Kuomintang times, many were forced to close shop, emigrate, go back to try to scratch a living on their farms or take to begging. Many crafts were ruined. The silver-inlay lacquerware trade, for example, had 150 artisans at the height of its development; on the eve of liberation only five remained in the trade and even so, their wares found few customers.

Regeneration

In April 1948 Weifang was liberated and its craftsmen embarked on the road to a common prosperity. The People’s Government immediately gave energetic aid to them to curb excessive exploitation by the merchants. Its trade and industrial departments made loans available to the craftsmen, saw to it that they got raw materials and arranged for better distribution of their wares. Thus, many crafts revived and got back on their feet; many craftsmen returned to their old trades.

The chief economic weakness of the Weifang craftsmen was the unorganized, individual nature of their way of work. It was this that exposed them to exploitation by middlemen and resulted in their division into poor and better off, into masters and employees, in a word, to class differentiation among them. To end this weakness, the People’s Government led them first to form handicraftsmen’s supply and marketing groups or co-ops, which organized their supplies of raw materials and sold their products, and later to form producers’ co-ops in which they pooled their tools and worked together. (See Peking Review, No. 43, 1962.) Thus, step by step they took the path of socialist transformation. This was practically completed in 1956. By that time all the craftsmen were organized into co-ops of one form or another and distribution was handled either by them, by state trading organizations or supply and marketing co-ops.

Today there are over 100 such handicraft producers’ co-ops in Weifang with twice as many repair service centres. These are supplemented by itinerant repairmen who bring their services right to the customers’ doorsteps.

Guided by the Communist Party and the People’s Government, socialist co-operation has brought about a great flourishing of Weifang’s handicrafts. The silver-inlay lacquerware trade, which on the eve of liberation had almost died out, gained a new lease of life. Many veteran artisans, who had been forced out of their trade and reduced to begging, returned to join the co-operative engaged in their old trade. Today this has grown into a fairly large co-operative factory with scores of members.
and 130 apprentices. It takes redwood or walnut boards, covers them with highly polished reddish-purple or black lacquer and inlays them with designs of birds, animals, flowers or landscapes in silver or gold. It makes these in 120 different shapes including boxes, trays and plaques and uses 1,600 designs. These are sold and highly appreciated in many parts of the world. This renaissance is typical of Weifang’s handicrafts.

The more workaday wares Weifang makes have forged ahead even more rapidly. The metal-working trades last year alone produced over 267,600 hoes, sickles, picks and shovels — the “four major hand tools” still being used on China’s farms today. The output of household articles has increased by leaps and bounds. Over 50 new lines of products have been developed in recent years, including carpets and scissors, and such entirely new products as bakelite buttons. Weifang handicraftsmen as a whole — whose number has doubled since liberation — turned out 560 varieties of goods totalling 14,220,000 items last year, an increase of 180 varieties and 1,890,000 items over the preceding year.

Improved Techniques

Technical innovations play a big role in this unprecedented flourishing of Weifang handicrafts. While new techniques have been introduced every year since liberation, the technical innovation movement surged to a new high in 1958-60. Without sacrificing anything of the fine workmanship for which they are famous, the Weifang craftsmen have, wherever possible, replaced manual work or heavy manual labour by more efficient mechanized or semi-mechanized processes. In this period alone they put forward 5,000 proposals to rationalize production. More than half of these have been put into effect and given a big boost to output.

The case of the Xinhua (“New China”) Metal-Working Co-operative Factory is typical. This was originally a small co-operative group producing copper fishing wires, iron wires and other metal goods. To draw the wires, they used a crude wooden winch operated by seven or eight men milling round and round all day long. As the men themselves said: “We walk a thousand li a day in one place.” Their other tools included hand-operated bellows, sledge hammers and hand shears. The men had long hoped for some relief from the heavy toil involved in using these primitive tools, so it was no wonder that they showed the greatest enthusiasm when, in the winter of 1957, the Communist Party and People’s Government led the way in the movement for technical innovations to solve just those problems.

There were no trained engineers or technicians among them, so the co-op members themselves formed a technical committee composed of veteran craftsmen who knew something about bench work or had a smattering of other modern industrial skills. This group studied proposals made by the rank-and-file members, did research itself and went out to modern factories to learn new techniques. In a couple of months, they succeeded in devising wire-drawing machines, mechanical shears and a dozen other items of equipment that considerably lightened the work and raised efficiency 11-fold. Their factory today has 76 machines, 60 of which they designed themselves. Three-quarters of the members are using machines.

Similar advances have been made in other trades. Most Weifang handicraft co-ops are today equipped with such modern machine tools as lathes, milling, punching, grinding and drilling machines. Since 1957 the number of handicraft co-operators using modern machines has increased 5.5-fold.

Better Life

The growing prosperity of the Weifang handicraft shops and factories has utterly changed the scene along the Pailiang River. New, spacious workshops and buildings stand where the old dilapidated thatched huts used to be. Since 1958, new housing has been built with a total floorspace of 33,000 square metres. The craftsmen today have regular, steadily rising incomes; they get free medical care and their children are at school.

Yao Tien-sheng, shop foreman of the Xinsheng (“New Victory”) Farm Tools Co-operative, comes from a long line of blacksmiths. The family, however, was so poor that his grandfather was the only one of three brothers who could afford to get married. His father took up the blacksmith’s trade at the age of 13 and died in poverty. Tien-sheng himself began work in the smithy at 14 and, although he became a highly skilled artisan, he fared no better than his father. No matter how hard he worked, he could not get himself out of debt. Each year when the Chinese Lunar New Year came around, even to give the family a token celebration, he had to go to the iron merchant he dealt with for a new loan. When he was 30, because of a debt of 50 yuan, a court ruling authorized his creditor to take his ramshackle house in which many generations of the Yaos had lived. His first wife died of malnutrition and it was only by sheer
luck and tough efforts that the rest of the family was able to survive to see the liberation.

Today at 59, Yao Tien-sheng heads a workshop of some 80 craftsmen. He has a steady income and a happy family—he married again in 1950. Both his grown-up sons have good jobs, go to spare-time schools, are married and have children. Tien-sheng himself has learnt to read and write too.

The present generation of Yao’s as of many other families is thus the first to say goodbye to poverty, to get an education and enjoy a fair livelihood. But more than that, like the rest of Weifang’s artisans, they see bright prospects before them. Thus inspired they are playing a worthy role in the building of national well-being and developing Weifang’s crafts with greater zeal than ever before.

National Minority Region

YENPIEN: A Decade of Progress

by CHIN CHUN-FU

In the Yenpien Korean Autonomous “Chou” in China’s northeast, Koreans and Hans, working shoulder to shoulder, have scored remarkable successes in the common cause of socialist construction.

ONE million, one hundred thousand people live in the Yenpien region, an area about the size of Holland, in the southeast corner of Kirin Province, northeast China. Slightly more than half of them are Koreans, one of the largest national minority groups in China. Here, in accordance with the policy of implementing regional autonomy in the national minority areas, the Yenpien Korean Autonomous Chou was established in September 1952.

Dominated by the towering Changpai Mountains, this area embracing six counties and the capital city of Yenpien, is, in the main, a hilly region. However, it is not so short of farmland thanks to the large tracts of low-lying, fertile land along the middle and lower reaches of its numerous rivers such as the Hallan and the Hunchun. It has a continental climate with a frost-free period of from 110 to 160 days each year. More than half of the region’s land is covered with forests, which besides useful timber produce fine furs and such exotic and valuable medicinal products as ginseng root, deer antlers and tiger bones. Yenpien boasts of a big range of mineral resources too.

Socialist Construction

Like other parts of the country, Yenpien launched out on socialist construction even while the socialist transformation of its farming economy, handicrafts and capitalist enterprises was still being carried out. By 1956 its peasants had all joined farm co-operatives of a socialist nature and the socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was triumphantly completed. The establishment of socialist relations of production in its economic life cleared the way for rapid advances in every other sphere of Yenpien’s life too.

The former industrial backwardness of the region has been ended. New lumbering centres have been set up and industrial expansion has gone ahead fast in paper making, coal mining, in the building material and the power industries, and in machine repairing. A number of factories have also been established to make farm tools, knitted goods, leather and leather goods and porcelain.

As a result of this growth, the output value of industry in the region last year increased by 69 per cent compared with 1952 and now accounts for a significant proportion of its gross industrial-agricultural output. Today the region produces twice as many types of major industrial products as it did ten years ago.

Along with all this has gone the development of a network of highways, postal routes and telephone lines.

Since 1952 the people of Yenpien have put in a great deal of work to utilize their area’s rich water resources and open up its wastelands. They have built a large number of reservoirs and dams on their rivers to expand the area under irrigation by 80 per cent. Today 850,000 mu of farmlands are irrigated. Part of them have been turned into paddyfields. These water conservancy works have quickly paid for themselves in controlling floods and waterlogging, and checking losses of water and soil. Many of them also form the basis for the building of small hydro-electric stations. In the past 10 years there has been a big increase in the number of rural hydro-electric power stations and of power-driven pumps.

Improved farming techniques and the use of more farm machines are two more of the major factors responsible for the remarkable rise in the area’s grain output. The average annual grain output between 1958 and 1961 was nearly 18 per cent larger than it was during the First Five-Year Plan period (1953-57). The past decade has witnessed a substantial growth in the acreage of orchards, primarily those planted to pears.

Education and Culture

Educational developments in Yenpien today present an utter contrast with the picture before the area was liberated in 1945. At that time, there were only a few primary schools, a handful of middle schools and no institutions of higher learning at all. When the Japanese imperialists occupied Yenpien between 1931 and 1945, Korean students were not even allowed to learn their own language in the schools. Most of the working people could not afford to send their children to school anyway and as many as 80 per cent and more of the young and the middle aged were illiterate.

Today the autonomous chou has a network of primary and middle schools covering every part of the region.

December 14, 1962
With the exception of a few isolated districts, every rural people’s commune has a regular or agricultural middle school and every production brigade in each commune has a primary school. Over 90 per cent of school-age children are attending school. Spare-time education is widely organized in factories, mines and rural districts. Yenpien also has a university, an agricultural college and a medical college. There is one college student for every 210 Koreans in the chou.

Students of the Korean nationality attend classes given in their own language. The Chinese (Han) language is also taught in their schools. At the same time, the educational needs of the Hans, Huis and Mongolians living in the region are also taken special care of. For instance, while a district is waiting for a new school to be established for the Hans, schools primarily for the Koreans will make arrangements to open classes for Han students.

The Korean people in Yenpien have their own newspapers, journals and broadcasting stations. Their cultural tradition is preserved and developed and they have produced a large number of fine literary and art works that bear the stamp of their national character. The famous Fan Dance, a prize winner at a World Youth Festival, is one of the many popular new items perfected on the basis of Korean folk dance.

Medical Care

Pre-liberation Yenpien had only six public hospitals with about 100 beds. All in the towns, they were inaccessible to the peasants because of location alone, let alone the prohibitive cost of accommodation. Now, in addition to a modern and well-equipped hospital attached to the Yenpien Medical College, there are 22 other hospitals run by the counties, factories and mines. In the countryside, every people’s commune has its clinic and not a few of them are well equipped. For instance, the Luozigou People’s Commune, 110 kilometres away from the nearest county town, has installed X-ray equipment in its clinic.

The chou now has 1,800 fully qualified doctors of both Western and traditional Chinese schools and medical workers with a secondary medical education. They average one for every 640 inhabitants.

Special care is provided for women and children by the 600 maternity and child welfare centres staffed by midwives and nurses. They give systematic prenatal care. Women workers and employees, as elsewhere in China, enjoy 56 days’ maternity leave and free medical treatment and hospitalization during confinement.

Improved medical services have stamped out such endemic diseases as smallpox and plague. The mortality rate from all endemic diseases has dropped by 80 per cent since liberation.

Regional Autonomy

Ever since the founding of the autonomous chou, the local authorities have made energetic efforts to train governmental and other cadres from among the Korean people. Now nearly three-fifths of Yenpien’s cadres are Koreans, and Koreans provide about the same proportion of the leading members of the people’s administrations at various levels. There are also a large number of Korean professors, engineers, doctors, writers, musicians and other talented artists. In performing their duties, local government organs in Yenpien use both the Korean and Chinese (Han) spoken and written languages. Any important problems concerning the Korean people or other local national minorities are always first put to them for discussion and then solved in the light of the opinions collected. In this way, the chou government is able to take care of the special needs of the nationalities in working out specific measures for the region.

The People’s Government has given financial aid to the Yenpien area on a big scale. In the past 10 years it has allocated large sums for capital construction in the region and provided large subsidies to help development in this Korean community and in its cultural and public health work. In the supply of commodities, priority is given to items particularly liked or needed by Koreans.

The local authorities of Yenpien see to it that the self-governing rights of the Koreans are fully protected while the equality of all the nationalities is ensured. It has become a generally observed rule among the nationalities there that the numerically larger nationality will help the minority ones, and that the advanced will help the less advanced for the common prosperity of all. Here in Yenpien national misunderstandings and discrimination are now just memories of the past. The socialist relations of unity, friendship, mutual help and co-operation have been firmly established between the Yenpien nationalities, and it is on this firm basis that they are advancing with confidence to the future.
SIDELIGHTS

Artist — Peasant Commune Member.

Back in 1952 the art department of the South China Literary and Art Magazine in Canton received a story told in pictures drawn by a new contributor. Impressed by the vigour and acute observation of life shown in them and the obvious talent of the narrator, the magazine published the picture-story under the title “People’s Militiaman Li Sheng.” This was the first appearance in print of a picture-story drawn by Kuo Tung-chiang, a peasant of Tungkuan County, Kwangtung Province. Since then, Kuo has taken full advantage of the opportunities offered him by a state which encourages and fosters the people’s art to study and develop. He now has over 40 picture-story books to his credit. The latest, The Fisherman’s Daughter, won him the first prize at the recent province-wide amateur art contest held in Kwangtung.

Kuo Tung-chiang liked to draw even as a child. But before liberation just to start him off at a drawing school in the city would have cost the price of 20 piculs of grain, far beyond the means of a poor farmhand’s son. During the land reform movement soon after liberation, Kuo found good use for his talent for drawing. He joined the propaganda team and made cartoons and posters. It was then that, looking through magazines and periodicals, he found many articles and drawings contributed by workers and peasants. This encouraged him to try his hand at drawing “People’s Militiaman Li Sheng.” After its publication, he continued to study drawing avidly in his spare hours, tirelessly sketching and recording the great changes that he saw taking place in the villages. The village Party committee took a keen interest in his efforts. He was first assigned to work in the art department of the county to gain experience and training and later sent to study in Canton’s Art Academy. Now he is a council member of the Canton branch of the All-China Artists’ Union. When he is not before his drawing-board, you’ll find him in the fields of the commune with his peasant colleagues, where he finds the inspiration for his best artistic work.

Risen From Ruins. A new garden city is attracting attention 150 kilometres southwest of Canton. Sunwui, where half the houses were once reduced to ashes by the Japanese invaders, has arisen again more beautiful than ever. Shady boulevards, scenic parks and lakes, lovely dwelling houses gay with potted flowers on their porches, a new hotel, department store, cinema and stadium, have sprung up out of the ashes.

This subtropical city was once known mainly for its handicrafts including the famous Sunwui palm fan and locally grown oranges and tangerines. It has not yet developed these claims to fame but is now also a manufacturer of farm machinery, power equipment, chemicals, glass, cement, paper and other industrial products. Its new reservoir supplies it with water, power and a varied menu of fish. Its overall urban construction plan, like that of other Chinese towns, keeps an eye on practical needs, public amenities and the claims of beauty too.

Travellers’ Companion. One occupation which seems to attract young women in particular is that of broadcasting on board passenger trains. Trains in this country have their own public address system to inform and entertain passengers throughout the greater part of the day and evening.

Tang Chiang-chuan, the 20-year-old announcer on the express running north and south between Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi, and Fengating at the southern tip of the province, is a typical announcer. Her job begins with a cheery greeting to all the passengers as soon as the train receives the signal to depart. From then on till the end of the journey she is several hundred passengers’ cheerful guide and travelling companion, announcing the stops, transport connections, the time of the day, relaying news from national and local broadcasting stations, selecting and playing records appropriate to the time, place and mood, and pointing out various places of interest along the route with bright brief descriptions.

Almost four years ago, fresh out from high school when she started this work, Tang Chiang-chuan was faced with two big handicaps: her thick Hunan accent and her ignorance of Shansi customs and opera which most of her passengers like to hear. But a public servant is a public ser-

A Load of Fans and Baskets

Woodcut by Yang Na-weil

December 14, 1962
MUSIC

New Orchestral Sounds

China is hearing the sounds of a new Kweichow Province orchestra based on the lusheung, the Miao people's national musical instrument, and it increasingly likes what it hears.

Ten years ago the lusheung, a type of mouth organ, was known to few beyond the mountains of southwest China where the Miao people live. Then the Kweichow Song and Dance Troupe began to see and investigate its possibilities. Finally, in 1959, after a considerable amount of experimental work, it formed the new orchestra. Since then, wherever it has been heard it has captivated audiences with the brilliance and variety of its orchestral colour, its distinctive national style and rich expressive power. Musical circles now speak of the appearance of the new orchestra as a major event in the nation's musical life.

The lusheung is a part of the ancient folk culture of the Miao people. A wind instrument, it has a ball shaped wind-chest into which are inserted a number of bamboo pipes fitted with reeds. Today it comes in many different types: from the contrabass lusheung more than four metres long to the small soprano lusheung just about half a metre long. The number of bamboo pipes in a lusheung now varies from one to 13 and they are made in different keys.

The lusheung was originally a solo instrument; but the new types of lusheung offer a considerable choice of timbre. Some sound smooth and clear like the wood winds; others sing deliciously, somewhat like the strings; others have a powerful and brilliant tone, rather like the brass. A combination of them therefore makes a versatile and expressive ensemble and supported and supplemented by such percussion instruments as Chinese drums they form an orchestra with a wide range of musical possibilities.

Kweichow's new lusheung orchestra has already built up a sizable repertoire of both traditional and new compositions. It also plays transcriptions of music from other lands. One favourite is the "Dance of the Cygnets" from Tchaikovsky's ballet, Swan Lake.

The story of this new orchestra is typical of the way the folk art of China's national minorities has been cared for and fostered since the revolution. Music plays such a part in the Miao people's life that, as you approach a Miao hamlet more likely than not the first sound you hear is a pleasant tune played on the lusheung. This folk instrument is found ubiquitously wherever people are gathered together to spend their leisure and enjoy themselves. It is the indispensable accompaniment of weddings, and other festive occasions. Most Miao men are good lusheung players. And no proper Miao serenade is without a lusheung. Every year the Miao communities hold a big festival for music, singing and dancing to the lusheung. It was at the call of the lusheung that the Miao people once assembled for a rising against the oppressive rule of the Ching emperors. For this reason, lusheung playing was officially discouraged and even banned for a time. But the Miao people hid their instruments away and kept the tunes in their hearts. They greeted the liberation with the music of the lusheung.

Like other aspects of the people's cultural life lusheung music has received the warm encouragement of the cultural departments of the People's Government. Teams of musicians were sent to the Miao areas to learn how to play and make the lusheung as well as study the instrument's history and collect popular airs. One result of their work was a splendid collection of about 50 lusheung airs from seven districts — dance tunes, songs of worship and ancient melodies.

Some seven years ago the Kweichow Song and Dance Troupe began using lusheung in its orchestra but only as an auxiliary instrument and mainly to give ornamental colour to local melodies. This was when the great possibilities of the instrument were first sensed. The original lusheung was limited in range, tone and capacity for modulation, Nevertheless, convinced of its possibilities, the Kweichow troupe's musical instrument reform group set out to overcome these shortcomings and develop it as a modern instrument. They have done a great deal of work on it since 1958. They experimented with many modified forms of it. By increasing the number of pipes on each lusheung to 11 and then to 13 from the original maximum of six, they succeeded in doubling the range of the instrument from one to two octaves. A player can now freely modulate on a new lusheung over this whole range and, since all the advantages of the old lusheung are preserved and essentially the same system of fingering is used, any competent folk artist used to playing the old lusheung can soon learn to play the improved instrument without much difficulty.

By 1959 the Kweichow troupe had improved the instruments sufficiently to be able to create the new orchestra.
They added bass pipes and bamboo flutes, moon-shaped guitars and drums as auxiliary instruments to produce a more varied and richer orchestral colour.

The new orchestra’s qualities are particularly well demonstrated in its accompaniment to *The Manto Flower*, a recently produced full-length dance-drama of the Miao people. This story about the tragic love of a young Miao couple was so successful that it was last year made into a film. There is no doubt that its success both on the stage and screen is due in no small measure to the music. This is admirably responsive to the changing moods of the drama and gives it an authentic national musical background. Among other outstanding items on the new orchestra’s repertoire are several fine Miao dance tunes, and the traditional melody recorded on a gramophone disc as *Tiger Hunter*. In addition to collecting and editing traditional tunes, composers attached to the Kweichow Song and Dance Troupe are also writing entirely new compositions for the *lusheng* orchestra.

Most of the 22 musicians of the orchestra are young people trained by the troupe itself. Its young soloist, Tungtankan, plays brilliantly in the traditional style. His solo renderings of *Spring Comes to the Miao Mountains*, *Pastorale* and other melodies have become firm favourites among music-lovers far beyond the Miao mountains.

—WANG AN

**BOOKS**

**Shanghai Dockers’ Stories**

It was spring, 1944, in Japanese-occupied Shanghai. Chen Yung-fu, manager of one of Shanghai’s largest aquatic food companies, strode through the busy business office into a room at the back. Inside he greeted two men in an urgent voice: “Comrades, a new assignment!” A shipment of military equipment has to be got through Japanese-held Woosung, at the tightly blockaded Yangtze estuary, to the Communist-led New Fourth Army fighting the Japanese in central Kiangsu. How this underground Communist Party group led by Chen and a score of patriotic dockers and boatmen stole it past under the noses of the Japanese with some unwitting help from puppet harbour police is a vivid and exciting story of *Storm Over Shanghai Harbour*.

In 21 stories it sketches the history of the Shanghai dockers’ struggles in the century before that great port’s liberation. The book opens with “The Story of the Opening of Shanghai Port,” which describes the 1842 attack of British warships on Waoeung. The Woosung forts fought to the last man. But Shanghai fell, and then Nanking. It was aboard a British warship that the Manchu government representatives signed away China’s sovereignty and Shanghai became one of the “treaty ports” controlled by the foreign invaders. Thus began the bitter, heroic struggle of the Shanghai people against imperialism and the betrayers of their country. Shanghai dockers, under the triple yoke of imperialist, bureaucrat-capitalist and feudal oppression, became a key detachment in this struggle.

*Storm Over Shanghai Harbour* is collectively written by men of the Shanghai Harbour Affairs Management Bureau. It is a true account of actual events and people. The facts were collected with the help of the Shanghai Historical Research Institute and the city’s Revolutionary History Museum, and especially from old dockhands. Many of the people mentioned in the later stories are still working in the port.

In the vivid and vigorous language of the worker-narrators, the 21 stories arranged in chronological order each describes a separate incident in the long battle for freedom, yet each story is so told as to lead naturally onto its successor. This makes the whole a single, closely linked work filled with the excitement of real-life struggles. If the first story is one of heroism in battle, the third describes a different kind of heroism—the stubborn, unbending will of the common man.

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Entitled “The Dented Wall,” it tells the moving story of four poor fishermen, the Chang brothers, who refused to budge from their homestead on the east bank of the Whangpoo* to make way for the building of a foreign-owned warehouse. Despite threats and offers of money, the Changs stood firm. When the warehouse wall was finally built, it showed one stubborn dent—made by that solitary, heroic house.

“Hand-to-Hand Battle,” “The Earliest Struggle,” “Unity Is Strength,” “The Eve of the Uprising” and “The March Storm” describe the Shanghai dockers’ class awakening and maturing and their first struggles. As one old docker said, dock labour was not “work,” it was “selling one’s life blood.” He recalls the whiplash and extortions of the gang-bosses, the exactions of the money-lenders; the tattered rags for clothes and sackcloth for shoes. He describes howle the dockers were staggering under 300-jin loads along a cat-walk precariously balanced 30 feet from the ground on two mounds of coal. Such callous disregard of the most elementary precautions cost many a docker his life. Goaded beyond endurance by these conditions, the dockers rose in self-defence. Sixty-four Hupeh dockers on one wharf tried striking for more wages. They were promptly given the sack:

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*The Whangpoo River runs through Shanghai into the Yangtze estuary.*

*Cover design of “Storm Over Shanghai Harbour”*
hundreds of workless men eagerly replaced them. The 64 were puzzled. Right was on their side, why did they fail? This question was only answered after 1921, when the Communist Party of China was founded. Under its leadership, the dockers got organized. They joined their strength to that of other workers and patriots of Shanghai in the famous anti-Imperialist demonstrations of the "May 30 Movement" of 1925. Subsequently they took part in the three armed uprisings led by the Communist Party which overthrew the warlord regime in Shanghai and gave power to the people. The book describes the dockers who, arms in hand, formed a part of the workers' picket guards that maintained revolutionary order in the city. For the first time the dockers tasted the freedom and power that came of struggle. But victory was short-lived. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution. Shanghai lay under a white terror. But the dockers had learnt how to fight.

In following stories, the book tells of the series of struggles waged by the dockers against Chiang Kai-shek reaction after 1927, against the Japanese Imperialists after their invasion of Shanghai after 1937, and against Kuomintang rule again after victory over Japan in 1945. Unity was their weapon. United as one man, they struck successfully against the Japanese and Kuomintang bosses despite armed repressions. Time and again they delayed the unloading of Japanese ships, got war material out to the Communist-led forces despite the strict blockade imposed by the aggressors, and foiled the Kuomin- tang's schemes to ship away on the eve of liberation machines, food and ammunition stored in the wharf warehouses.

When liberation finally came, the dockers were ready. "Dawn" describes the first exciting days when, the Kuomintang having fled and the P.L.A. not yet come into the city, the dockers took up arms again to safeguard the food warehouses from hoodlums. "Riding on the Waves" ends the book with a description of the enthusiastic work of sailors and crewmen to fit out and repair the S.S. Chiangling "Liberation" - the first ship to leave Shanghai port after it came into the hands of the people.

China and the World

Sino-Pakistan Ties

On December 10, Premier Chou En-lai was guest of honour at a dinner given by the newly appointed Pakistan Ambassador Nawabzada A.M. Raza. In their speeches at the dinner, both Ambassador Raza and Premier Chou referred to the friendly discussions being held for the delimitation of the boundary actually existing between China and Pakistan, and looked forward to continued advancement of the friendly relations between the two countries.

Premier Chou En-lai said that in these discussions, "satisfactory progress has already been made. We are confident that, both parties acting in a spirit of equality, co-operation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, will surely be able to bring the negotiations to a speedy and fruitful conclusion."

China consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace and stood for the development of friendly and good-neighbourly relations with all its neighbours, said the Premier. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan, the friendly relations between the two countries had developed normally on the basis of the Ten Principles laid down at the Bandung Conference. In the past few years, thanks to the joint efforts of the two Governments and peoples, the friendly relations between them had been further promoted, he noted.

"We hope," Premier Chou continued, "that our two countries will pursue the efforts to strengthen our friendship as well as our friendly co-operation in the economic, cultural and other fields. This will not only conform to the common desire of the peoples of our two countries, but also facilitate the enhancement of Asian-African solidarity and the consolidation of Asian and world peace."

Referring to Pakistan's relations with India, Premier Chou said, "the Chinese Government has always entertained the hope that Pakistan and India would settle their dispute over Kashmir through negotiations. We are glad to see that Pakistan and India have reached agreement on the holding of such negotiations. We wish that the negotiations between Pakistan and India achieve positive results."

Sino-Vietnamese Trade Co-operation

The recent signing of a Sino-Vietnamese treaty of commerce and navigation, a 1963 trade protocol and other agreements marked the further development of mutual support and co-operation between China and Viet Nam in the economic and trade fields on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. They also marked a further strengthening of the friendship and unity between the two peoples.

Signed by Yeh Chi-chuang, Minister of Foreign Trade, for the Chinese side and Phan Anh, Minister of Foreign Trade and head of the visiting Vietnamese Government Trade Delegation, the 1963 trade protocol stipulates that China will supply Viet Nam with ferrous and non-ferrous metals, minerals, farm produce, chemical products, machinery and other products. Viet Nam, on its part, will supply China with fuel, minerals, farm produce, forest products, chemical products and machinery.

While in Peking, the Vietnamese delegation was received by Premier Chou En-lai, and entertained by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien.

Speaking at the banquet given by the Vietnamese Ambassador Tran Tu Binh to mark the signing of the treaty and protocol, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien expressed thanks to the Vietnamese people for their support to China's revolutionary struggles and socialist construction. He paid high tribute to the Vietnamese people's success in socialist construction.

Ambassador Tran Tu Binh in his banquet speech stressed the significance of the Sino-Vietnamese treaty of commerce and navigation and trade protocol in further strengthening the close ties of co-operation between Viet Nam and China.

Referring to the unity and friendship between the two peoples, the Ambassador said that no force could split them apart. He reaffirmed the Vietnamese people's full support for the Chinese Government's policy and proposals for settling the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully.
Founding of Tanganyikan Republic

The proclamation of the founding of the Republic of Tanganyika was warmly hailed by the Chinese people.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent messages to President Julius Nyerere greeting him on the occasion.

Remin. Ribao in an editorial hailed the founding of the Tanganyikan Republic as a "great event in the political life of the Tanganyikan people." The paper stated that independent Tanganyika had given sympathy and support to the anti-imperialist struggle of the African peoples still under colonial domination. The Tanganyikan people were boycotting South African goods to support the South African people's anti-colonialist struggle and giving active support to the just struggle for national independence waged by the peoples of Kenya, Zanzibar, Southern and Northern Rhodesias, Angola and other African countries; they were contributing to the solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples.

The editorial said that though China and Tanganyika were far apart geographically, friendly relations between the two countries had started centuries ago, and had only been interrupted by the imperialists' invasion of Tanganyika. Following the independence of Tanganyika, diplomatic relations had been established between them. The editorial expressed the conviction that in the future the friendship formed between the two peoples in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism would be further strengthened.

A representative of the Chinese Government took part in the activities in Dar-es-Salaam celebrating the founding of the Republic of Tanganyika.

Finnish National Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent greetings to President Kekkonen on the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Finnish Republic. Speaking at the National Day reception given by the Finnish Ambassador Joel Toivola in Peking on December 6, Vice-Premier Chen Yi congratulated the Finnish Government and people and pointed out that the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Finnish Government was conducive to preserving world peace. He thanked the Government and people of Finland for their consistent support of the demand that China be restored its rightful seat in the United Nations.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi emphasized that since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Finland, the two countries had all along maintained friendly relations; he expressed confidence that these relations would be further developed and strengthened.

Gifts to Cuba

The Chinese press and publishing workers last week presented to Cuba the Chinese edition of Revolutionary Works by Fidel Castro and other publications, films and tape recordings demonstrating the Chinese people's firm support. These gifts were sent to the National Directorate of the Cuban Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, the Cuban Revolutionary Government and Fidel Castro, the great leader of the Cuban people. Together with these gifts went congratulations to the Cuban people on their great victory against U.S. imperialism.

The gifts included Chinese editions of The Havana Declarations and the mass-circulation pamphlet No One Can Stop the Cuban People From Advancing, issues of Remin Ribao and other national Chinese papers of the past month giving extensive coverage to Cuba, news photographs, documentary films and tape recordings of the mammoth demonstrations to support Cuba which were held in Peking and other parts of China.

WHAT'S ON IN Peking

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

PEKING OPERA

The Trial of Yu Teng Chun Yu Teng Chun, famous Ming courtesan, falsely accused of murder, sets out to Tarung for trial. It turns out that the judge is none other than her true love. She is finally cleared and becomes his wife. Peking Opera Company of Peking.

MUSIC FESTIVAL

A festival of Western and Chinese vocal and instrumental solos at Peking Concert Hall Dec. 21-27. Singers and musicians from all over the country will participate. Watch the press for programmes.

Ballet

The Fountain of Bakhchisarai. This classical ballet composed by B. Asafiev tells the tragic fate of a young Polish girl captured and loved by a khan of the Crimea. Performed for the first time in China by the Experimental Ballet Troupe of the Peking School of Dancing.

Modern Drama

The Capture of the Wei Hu Mountain. Adapted from Chu Po's novel Tracks in the Snowy Forest. A tale of action and suspense. A People's Liberation Army man in disguise wins his way through the labyrinth of traps laid by the Hawk, a notorious bandit chief in the Wei Hu Mountain, to test newcomers to the band. He succeeds in becoming the confidant of the Hawk and then brings about his capture. Peking People's Art Theatre.

NEWS


The Next Spring. A new play by the Liangon Art Theatre. It tells how officers and engineers of the Chinese people's navy together with the shipyard workers build a modern warship.

The Peking Man. One of the plays written by Tsao Yu. It depicts the decline of a feudal family in Peking in the 1930s. The Central Drama Institute.

School for Women (L'Ecole des Femmes). One of Molieres famous comedies staged in China by the Central Drama Institute.

Films

Locust Tree Village. A feature in colour mirroring life in China's new countryside as the peasants make their way along the road from the mutual-aid team to the people's communes. "August 1st" Studio.


Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc.

Five Days and Nights. A G.D.R. film. It tells how in 1945 after the German city of Dresden was liberated, Soviet officers and artists helped the German people to rescue the precious paintings of the Dresden Museum from destruction.

Midsummer Night's Dream. A Czechoslovak widescreen cartoon film in colour adapted from Shakespeare's comedy.


A Man After God's Heart. Maitre Apris Dieu. This French film tells how a ship's captain group of Jews on his ship escape from the German fascists.

Exhibitions

National Photographic Art Exhibition Daily (except Mon.), 9:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m. till Dec. 21. At Artists' Union Gallery.

G.D.R. Industrial Art Exhibition Daily (except Mon.), 9:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m. till Jan. 2, 1963. At Peking Exhibition Centre.

December 14, 1962

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WHITE SIDE WALL

Warrior Tyres

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