

PEKING REVIEW

44

November 2, 1962

HANDS OFF CUBA!

China Pledges Full Support to Cuba
In Opposing U.S. War Provocation

1. Government statement (p. 5).
2. *Renmin Ribao* editorial (p. 6).
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Nehru's Expansionist Philosophy

Renmin Ribao analyses Nehru's expansionist philosophy
in the light of the Sino-Indian boundary question (p. 10).

*Cinema, Sidelights and
Other Features*

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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報

LAND AND FOLK IN KIANGSI

— a Chinese Province in 1961



by **REWI ALLEY**

The well-known New Zealand writer gives you another brilliant report about New China, this time about his experiences in Kiangsi, in central China, where he travelled extensively in 1961.

Rewi Alley knows this area well. He lived there in pre-liberation days when it was under the Kuomintang, a time of hunger, official corruption, floods and general misery for the people. He tells its story as an old base of the revolution and introduces you to the unassuming men and women who are working there today to harness nature, to bridle its rivers and make the wastelands fertile in a new time when "a man is good if he makes life better for his fellows."

This is a follow up to the author's popular **CHINA'S HINTERLAND—IN THE LEAP FORWARD** published in 1961.

Illustrated with photographs by the author

pp. 96

Not a Dog

An ancient Tai ballad

Here is something new in folk ballads. It comes from the Tai minority of south Yunnan. The King is away heroically fighting off invaders. The Queen, a girl of the people, is lying in a coma after giving birth. Jealous courtiers remove her miraculously born babies and substitute a dog for them. Justice finally triumphs but the ending to this tale is not the usual "happy ever after" one, it suggests that without a basic change in the ruler and his court, king and commoner cannot live together in harmony and happiness. This is a story that breathes love for the poor and lowly, and an intense hatred for feudalism. It has been translated from the Tai spoken language into Han (Chinese) by literary workers among the Tais and then into English by Rewi Alley.

Delightfully illustrated in line and colour

pp. 147

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November 2, 1962

Round the Week

We Stand By Cuba

The hearts of the Chinese people are with the heroic Cuban people who stand rock firm in defence of their revolution and national sovereignty.

News of the U.S. military blockade and other aggressive moves against Cuba evoked immediate response.

The Chinese Government issued a statement condemning Washington's piratical crime in the strongest terms and voicing full support for Cuba's just cause. *Renmin Ribao* carried two editorials on the Cuban situation (the first editorial, dated Oct. 28, was entitled "People of the World, Go Into Action to Support the Cuban People and Smash the U.S. War Provocations!"; the second was entitled "Defend the Cuban Revolution!" see page 6). The China Peace Committee, the China-Latin America Friendship Association and many other national people's organizations cabled messages of solidarity to their Cuban counterparts. The democratic parties issued a joint statement pledging themselves to back Cuba to the hilt in its righteous cause.

Reports of the Cuban people's total mobilization to meet and beat the aggressors, of the stirring call of their leader Premier Fidel Castro, of the worldwide people's movement to support Cuba, and also of the naked imperialist words and deeds of the Kennedy Administration—in short, everything from and about the embattled and heroic island of freedom in the Caribbean Sea is top news in the national press.

As events have unfolded day by day, the Chinese people's anger against the Yankee aggressors has mounted steadily and solidarity between them and their Cuban brothers has deepened. Editorial comments and articles, mass rallies and gatherings, countless meetings at factories, in schools and people's communes have made clear where China's people stand.

Peking Rally

Typical of these demonstrations of solidarity was Peking's militant mass rally held in the Great Hall of the People.

Premier Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist

Party, and other Party and state leaders and Cuban representatives were on the tribune. More than 10,000 people, including marshals, generals, officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Cuban students and foreign friends from all parts of the world, were in the hall. An estimated 100,000 workers, cadres, commune members and students met in all parts of the city and followed the rally proceedings through radio network.

Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, addressed it, as did Regino Pedrosa Aldama, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Cuban Embassy in China; Liu Ning-I, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, who spoke on behalf of the Chinese people's organizations; and Yang Ming-hsuan, Vice-Chairman of the China Democratic League, who represented China's democratic parties.

Peng Chen's Speech

Peng Chen, in his speech, strongly condemned the latest series of U.S. imperialist war provocations against Cuba, declaring that "this is another brazen attack against revolutionary Cuba, another brazen provocation against the Latin American peoples and all other peoples who are fighting and upholding their national independence, and a serious crime against world peace on the part of Yankee imperialism." He warned: "If today the Kennedy Administration were allowed to act the bully in the Caribbean as if it were its own inland waters, then tomorrow it might well ride roughshod in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and other regions. If today U.S. imperialism is allowed to use piratical means against the Cuban people, then tomorrow, it may well resort to similar measures against all other peoples fighting for freedom and independence."

Paying warm tribute to the heroism of the Cuban people and the counter measures they have taken against the aggressors, the speaker pledged the Chinese people's all-out support for revolutionary Cuba. "Every provocation against Cuba by U.S. imperialism,"

he declared, "is a provocation against the Chinese people. No matter what mad steps U.S. imperialism may still take, the 650 million Chinese people will always remain the most reliable and loyal comrades-in-arms of the Cuban people and will for ever share their weal and woe. The Chinese people will do everything within their power to support the Cuban people's struggle in every way until they achieve final and complete victory." He stressed that "it is the unshirkable internationalist responsibility of the people of the socialist countries, of all revolutionary people and all peace-loving peoples and countries of the world to support and aid the Cuban revolution."

The speaker hailed the great significance of the Cuban revolution. "The great victory of the Cuban revolution is an event of major importance in contemporary international political life," Peng Chen said. "The Cuban revolution sets a brilliant example for all oppressed peoples of the world, particularly the peoples of Latin America. Using their own experience in revolution and the experience of revolutionary struggles of other Latin American peoples, the Cuban people wrote the great Havana Declarations. These two declarations have become the programme of the Latin American peoples for unity and struggle."

Cuba Invincible

Peng Chen expressed confidence in the invincibility of revolutionary Cuba. He said: "The experience of the Cuban people's struggle proves that the revolutionary will and revolutionary unity of an oppressed people are the greatest and most reliable force. It is the awakened, armed masses of the people who dare to fight and dare to win, not weapons vaunted by the imperialists and other reactionaries, that determine the course of history. Since, by relying mainly on their own strength, the Cuban people could secure victory for their revolution, consolidate its gains and carry it forward, they will certainly, by relying on their own heroic and staunch struggle and with the support and help of the peoples of the world, be able to shatter the military blockade and war provocations by U.S. imperialism."

Peng Chen explained why the U.S. imperialists are sure to lose and Cuba is sure to win. "In the final analysis," he pointed out, "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. How-

ever rampant they may be for a time, they can only end in defeat. In the international situation where the East wind prevails over the West wind, where the forces of socialism surpass those of imperialism, the forces of peace those of war, U.S. imperialism is faced with an insurmountable crisis. It has landed itself deeper and deeper into the vast ocean of the masses of the world's people. By carrying out all sorts of evil acts all around the world, U.S. imperialism is making enemies everywhere, and everywhere there are volcanoes under its feet. The more areas in which U.S. imperialism commits aggression and the more military bases it sets up, the more nooses there will be around its neck, and the more scattered its forces will become. Should Kennedy dare launch a new military adventure against Cuba, all over the world the people who are subjected to aggression and enslavement by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will launch an even broader campaign against U.S. imperialism. He who plays with fire will surely burn himself. Such will be the inevitable fate of U.S. imperialism."

Regino Pedrosa Aldama, Cuban Charge d'Affaires ad interim, conveyed to the rally his people's determination to defend their fatherland against the Yankee aggressors. He pledged: "Every Cuban has today irrevocably made up his mind to defend to death the sacred soil of his country and is

determined to annihilate all mercenaries or Yankee marines who dare set foot on Cuba." He pointed out that the criminal attacks on Cuba could only arouse the anger of the Cuban and all other peace-loving peoples against imperialism, that they could only make the Cuban revolution develop still more and become even more powerful. He ended his speech with these militant Cuban slogans: Fatherland or death! We will win!

The rally came to a climax when it unanimously adopted a stirring message addressed to Premier Fidel Castro expressing full support for the Cuban people's cause and full confidence in the invincibility of the Cuban revolution.

The movement to support the Cuban revolution against Yankee aggression is today a mighty national movement embracing the whole Chinese people. Rallies and meetings similar to those in Peking are being held in Shanghai, Shenyang, Tientsin, Wuhan, Canton and other major cities. Once again, the Chinese people have been aroused by U.S. imperialism's brazen war provocations against revolutionary Cuba. Cuba si, Yanquis no! U.S. will lose, Cuba will win! Long live the Cuban revolution! These slogans of support for the heroic Cuban people now resound through the length and breadth of our land.



Smash This U.S. War Provocation!

Woodcut in colour by Chao Yen-nien

Chinese Government Statement Supporting Cuba and Opposing U.S. War Provocation

October 25, 1962

The Chinese Government and people strongly protest against the piratical act of the U.S. imperialists, and are convinced that the heroic Cuban people are fully able to safeguard the gains of their revolution and carry it forward. Together with the other socialist countries and all other peace-loving countries, China will wage a resolute struggle against this war provocation by the U.S. imperialists.

ON October 22, 1962, U.S. President Kennedy ordered a naval blockade against the Republic of Cuba, declaring that the U.S. Navy would not hesitate to use force to intercept all ships proceeding towards Cuba and would not allow the passage of ships carrying what the U.S. authorities term offensive weapons. At the same time, the United States has adopted a series of measures of military provocation against Cuba and placed the United States army, navy and air force units around the world on alert. This is a most dangerous warlike step taken by the U.S. imperialists in order to strangle the great, revolutionary Cuba. The Chinese Government and people hereby express great indignation and strong protest against such outrageous piratical action and serious war provocation of the U.S. imperialists.

The pretext used by the U.S. imperialists for blockading Cuba is totally absurd. It is crystal clear that it is U.S. imperialism which is threatening Cuba. Who can believe that Cuba could pose a threat to the United States? In the face of ceaseless U.S. aggression and provocation, it is entirely necessary for Cuba to strengthen its defence. What weapons Cuba may have is a matter entirely within Cuba's sovereignty, with which the United States has no right whatsoever to meddle. As a matter of fact, a series of U.S. plots of aggression against Cuba have been defeated since the birth of revolutionary Cuba. The invasion at Giron Beach failed, and so did the attempt to force a number of countries to carry out an embargo against Cuba. As their dagger is out when other means are exhausted, the U.S. imperialists have revealed more and more their true colours as pirates. The U.S. war provocation against Cuba is another proof that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy to world peace, to all the oppressed nations and to the people of the whole world.

The U.S. imperialists attempt to strangle revolutionary Cuba by blockade or some further measures. But the heroic Cuban people have proved with deeds that they are fully able to further develop their revolution as well as win victory in the revolution and safeguard the fruits of revolution. The Cuban revolution which has struck root and grown on the soil of Latin America can never be blockaded or strangled. Premier Fidel Castro has ordered

a general mobilization in readiness to meet and smash all U.S. imperialist schemes of war provocation. Premier Castro said, "We shall know how to resist a total blockade.... We are calm in the knowledge that the aggressors will be exterminated." The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Cuban people in their sacred struggle to safeguard their fruits of revolution against U.S. aggression, and are convinced that the Cuban people, under the leadership of Premier Fidel Castro, will certainly be able to smash the U.S. imperialists' aggressive plot and war provocation.

The U.S. war provocation against Cuba seriously endangers world peace. People from every corner of the globe are voicing their angry protest. The Government of the Soviet Union issued a statement on October 23, pointing out that this act of aggression of the United States against Cuba entails extremely grave consequences, and declaring that the Soviet Union will do its best to smash the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialist bloc and to defend and strengthen world peace. The Chinese Government fully supports this just stand of the Soviet Government. Together with the other socialist countries and all other peace-loving countries, China will wage a resolute struggle against this war provocation of U.S. imperialism.

A warning must be served on the U.S. imperialists: Don't think that you can lord it over on the high seas and do as you will to Cuba. The great Cuban people are not alone. The entire socialist camp stands on Cuba's side. All the revolutionary Latin American people stand on Cuba's side. The peace-loving people and countries throughout the world stand on Cuba's side. Should you, U.S. imperialists, dare to start a war, the people of the whole world will never pardon you. By playing with fire you will only burn yourselves.

All peace-loving people and countries of the world, unite! Take all possible steps to support and help the Cuban people, oppose the U.S. blockade of Cuba and smash the U.S. war provocation!

Cuba is sure to win! The United States is sure to fail!

Defend the Cuban Revolution!

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial of October 31. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE most urgent task of the peace-loving people of the world at this present moment is to resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism's military provocations and threats of war against Cuba, to stay the bloody hand of the U.S. aggressors which is stretched out for an invasion of Cuba, and to defend the Cuban revolution.

Empty U.S. Promises Not to Be Trusted

After N.S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., announced the decision to withdraw the so-called "offensive weapons" from Cuba, the chief of U.S. imperialism, President Kennedy, indicated that the United States would agree to end immediately its present naval blockade of Cuba and give assurances against an invasion of Cuba. Now, instead of lifting its naval blockade, the United States is intensifying its military preparations for an invasion of Cuba. The peoples of the world cannot under any circumstances lightly put their trust in the empty promises of the U.S. aggressors; they must maintain the maximum vigilance.

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro has declared to the whole world that Kennedy's assurances against an invasion of Cuba will be merely empty talk if the following measures are not adopted in addition to the removal of the naval blockade: 1. cessation of the economic sanctions against Cuba which are conducted on a worldwide scale; 2. cessation of all subversive activities against Cuba; 3. cessation of piratical attacks launched from bases in the United States and in Puerto Rico; 4. cessation of all violations of Cuba's air space and territorial waters by U.S. aircraft and warships; and 5. withdrawal of the U.S. base at Guantanamo and its return to Cuba.

These conditions put forward by Premier Castro are fully justified and absolutely necessary. To ensure peace in the Caribbean, the Cuban people have every right to demand that the United States cease all aggressive activities which threaten Cuba's security. To uphold their sovereignty, the Cuban people are fully justified in demanding that the United States cease all criminal acts of encroachment and in rejecting all unreasonable claims infringing upon it. As Raul Castro, Vice-Premier and Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, has said, "We are for peace, for a peaceful solution of all differences. But what we cannot discuss is the sovereignty and rights of our people." He added, "Our sovereignty and rights cannot be discussed but should be fought for."

So Who Is Threatening Whom?

Everybody knows that the tension in the Caribbean is caused entirely by U.S. imperialism. Cuba has never

threatened the security of the United States. On the contrary, it is Cuba's security which is being increasingly threatened by the United States. Refusing to live under oppression and in shame, the Cuban people have risen in revolution, overthrown the Batista dictatorship and have resolutely taken the path of socialism—all this is within the sovereign rights of the Cuban people which no one has any right to interfere. At the same time, the Cuban revolution in no way constitutes a threat to the security of any other country.

But U.S. imperialism is bent on intervention against the Cuban revolution. It has publicly stated that its official policy is to "finish off" Cuba. To achieve this, it has committed the worst kind of aggression against Cuba, from economic blockade and subversion to outright invasion. So, who is menacing whom?

In face of these threats of U.S. imperialist aggression, the Cuban people are compelled to make great efforts to strengthen their national defence and safeguard the fruits of their revolution. Whatever measures the Cuban people take to meet external aggression are absolutely within their sovereign rights. No one has any right to interfere with them and they certainly do not constitute a menace to the security of any other nation.

The U.S. ruling circles, however, truculently want to interfere in the national defence of Cuba. Seeking to weaken the defence capabilities of the Cuban people, they want to forbid Cuba to possess this and that type of weapon. The U.S. imperialists have the effrontery to start a military blockade of Cuba on the pretext that the security of the United States is threatened. In addition, they are feverishly deploying their military forces for an armed invasion of Cuba. Cuba can now be struck at any time by U.S. armed aggression. So who is menacing whom?

In fact, peace in the Caribbean and the world is most seriously menaced because the United States is maintaining its military blockade and has intensified its war preparations. Therefore, for the maintenance of peace in the Caribbean and throughout the world, it is imperative that every threat posed by the United States to the independence and sovereignty of Cuba be removed and that every U.S. encroachment upon Cuba's sovereignty and interference in its internal affairs be stopped.

All Yankee Interventions Must Stop

The United States must immediately call off its naval blockade of Cuba. This must be done without delay. But this alone is not enough to remove completely the danger of a U.S. invasion of Cuba. As everybody knows, the naval blockade is only one of the measures taken by the United States in its aggression against Cuba. If the United States continues its economic blockade, its subver-

sive activities, its piratical attacks on Cuba, its violations of Cuba's air space and territorial waters and its occupation of the naval base at Guantanamo on Cuban soil, then the so-called U.S. assurances against an invasion of Cuba are no more than an empty promise. Raul Castro said rightly: "No matter what happens and what Kennedy may say, the Cuban people will continue mobilizing themselves until our Commander-in-Chief orders otherwise. We want concrete deeds, not words which we, from past experience, have no obligation and duty to believe."

And the deeds are as follows:

Hear how the politicians and the propaganda machines of the United States and the imperialist camp as a whole praise Kennedy for his overbearing attitude, and brag of the "major triumph" won by Kennedy's "firmness"; they even go a step further by calling for the simultaneous elimination of the missiles and the Castro regime.

U.S. Steps Up Invasion Preparations

See, too, how busily the U.S. ground, naval and air forces are preparing for an attack on Cuba! According to a UPI report, in and around the Key West base in Florida, which is only 90 nautical miles away from Cuba, Washington has deployed battle-equipped troops all along the 165-mile length of the keys, with lorries, arms and equipment and clusters of missiles while the target-finding radar system continuously sweeps the horizon to the south. Thousands of marines on board ships of the U.S. fleet in the Caribbean are waiting for orders to land on Cuba. The U.S. Air Force has been steadily augmenting the strength of its high-speed jet fighters and fighter-bombers in south Florida. A spokesman of the U.S. Defence Department openly declared on October 27 that U.S. planes would continue to intrude into Cuba's territorial air for reconnaissance activities. He also threatened that they would strike back if they were fired on by anti-aircraft guns. On the same day, 14,000 air force reservists were called to active duty by the U.S. Secretary of Defence; they were put on active service at various bases on the following day, forming air troop transport squadrons prepared for an invasion of Cuba.

These facts prove to the hilt that U.S. imperialism is stepping up, not relaxing, its military preparations for an invasion of Cuba; that the so-called assurances given by the United States that it will not invade Cuba are nothing but a hoax. As Raul Castro, Cuban Vice-Premier and Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, said in his October 28 speech, "Our people do not have a poor memory and our people remember that the same remarks were made very solemnly before the imperialist mercenaries' invasion at Giron Beach." In a commentary exposing the U.S. imperialist attempt to browbeat the people of the world into retreat at the expense of Cuba, the Algerian newspaper, *Alger Republicain*, has rightly said: "We must not expect 'good sense' from U.S. imperialism. We all know the value of that 'good sense.'"

Heroic Cuba Will Win

Premier Castro's statement of October 28 shows that the Cuban people, who have gained experience from their long struggle against U.S. imperialism, have seen through the vicious enemy they are facing. They know better than

anybody else how to deal with the U.S. imperialists' threats of aggression. The people of the whole world have seen once more from the recent developments in the Caribbean that the Cuban people are truly a great and heroic people. The sabre-rattling and brandishing of arms by U.S. imperialism, no matter how ferocious, and even its threats of nuclear war, cannot shake the Cuban people's great determination and confidence in the least. "Fatherland or death. We will win!" The 7 million Cuban people, led by their great leader Premier Castro, have demonstrated their revolutionary mettle of never surrendering to the aggressor or submitting to pressure; they have defended the honour of a socialist country. It is this heroic spirit of refusing to bow to a parade of force that has given encouragement to the revolutionary people throughout the world, curbed the arrogance of their enemies and put a damper on the U.S. imperialists' war cries. "The Cuban people would rather die for their socialist fatherland than submit to imperialism!" These are magnificent words! They will be for ever engraved in the revolutionary annals of the world's people. Such a heroic people can never be conquered. No one can strangle their revolutionary cause.

Awakened Masses Decide History's Course

The Cuban people's revolution started with seven rifles. From that time onwards, the word "submission" has never been part of their vocabulary. Their revolutionary experience has shown that the awakening and solidarity of an oppressed people is the mightiest and most reliable force. The course of history is determined by the awakened, armed masses who dare to fight and dare to win, and not by the arms which the imperialists and other reactionaries considered to be all-powerful. The Cuban people, by relying mainly on their own strength, have already been able to achieve victory in their revolution, consolidate its gains and carry it forward. So, with the support of the people throughout the world and through their own heroic and indomitable struggle, will the Cuban people be able to withstand any attack and defend their great socialist fatherland.

Yesterday, by their revolutionary struggle for emancipation, the Cuban people set a brilliant example to the oppressed people of the world and showed them that revolution was possible. Today, by their heroic struggle in defence of their revolution, they have again set a shining example to the revolutionary people of the world and showed them that the imperialists and other reactionaries, no matter how strong they may appear outwardly, are not to be feared. The fruits of the revolution must and can be defended.

The revolutionary people of the whole world and all those who cherish peace stand on the side of the Cuban people. The Cuban people do not and will never stand alone in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism—the most vicious enemy of the people of the whole world. The Chinese people cherish the deepest respect for and express the firmest support for the Cuban people who are faced with U.S. imperialist aggression. The Chinese and Cuban peoples are revolutionary comrades-in-arms who can stand up to any trials. No matter how hard the storm blows, the 650 million Chinese people will for ever stand by the Cuban people and, together with them, carry on the struggle to defend the Cuban revolution to the end.

China's Fair and Reasonable Proposals

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial of October 27, 1962, entitled "Fair and Reasonable Proposals." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE Chinese Government in its statement of October 24 put forward three proposals to end the Sino-Indian border conflict, reopen peaceful negotiations and peacefully settle the boundary question. [See *Peking Review*, No. 43, October 26, 1962.] This is another sincere effort made by the Chinese Government in accordance with its consistent stand for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

The Chinese Government's statement has attracted great attention throughout the world. Since the outbreak of the grave military conflict on the Sino-Indian border, many Asian and African governments and peoples who are concerned about peace in Asia and Afro-Asian solidarity have expressed deep concern, and the voices appealing for a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question by peaceful negotiations are growing louder. The statement of the Chinese Government not only fully conforms to the basic interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples but also to the common aspirations of the Asian and African peoples.

China Proposes: Disengage Armed Forces

A most essential point in the three proposals of the Chinese Government is that the armed forces of both sides should withdraw 20 kilometres from the line of actual control and so disengage.

The Sino-Indian boundary question is one left over by history and the boundary between the two countries has never been delimited. The Chinese Government has, therefore, always maintained that both sides should seek an overall settlement of the boundary question by taking into account the historical background and existing reality, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, through friendly consultations and in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation. Prior to an overall settlement, first of all border clashes should be avoided. The Chinese Government's proposal for the disengagement of the armed forces of both sides is indeed the most effective means of preventing border clashes.

As early as November 7, 1959, the Chinese Government proposed that the armed forces of both sides withdraw 20 kilometres from the line of actual control existing between the two sides and stop patrolling. The line of actual control at that time roughly coincided with the illegal McMahon Line on the eastern sector, and with the traditional customary line on the middle and western sectors.

It is to be regretted that time and again, at that time and later, the Indian Government rejected this proposal.

Nevertheless, the Chinese Government unilaterally still ordered its frontier guards to cease patrolling in the

border area in order to avoid contact with the Indian troops.

Under such circumstances, there should normally have been no more clashes between the armed forces of the two sides, provided the Indian Government respected the status quo on the border.

But the Indian side, instead of taking corresponding measures, regarded the forbearance and self-restraint exercised by the Chinese side as a sign that the latter was weak and could be bullied. It took advantage of the discontinuance of patrols by the Chinese frontier guards to send its troops continually deeper into Chinese territory, to establish dozens of aggressive strongpoints, repeatedly provoke armed clashes and finally launch a massive general attack on the Chinese frontier guards.

It is equal and fair to both sides to have their armed forces withdraw 20 kilometres from the line of actual control and so disengage. This will not prevent either side from maintaining its stand on the boundary question. Once the armed forces are disengaged, a favourable atmosphere for a peaceful solution of the boundary question can be created. In the course of the settlement of both the Sino-Burmese and the Sino-Nepalese boundary questions, the two sides adopted different methods to effect a disengagement of their armed forces and this promoted the overall settlement of the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese boundary questions. If this could be done in connection with the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese boundaries, why is it that the same cannot be done in the case of the Sino-Indian boundary?

Line of Actual Control

Now, the Chinese Government has renewed its 1959 proposal. The line of actual control between the two sides mentioned in the Chinese Government statement of October 24 is basically the line of actual control between the Chinese and Indian sides at the time when the Chinese Government put forward the proposal for the first time on November 7, 1959. This attests the most sincere desire of the Chinese Government to seek a cessation of the armed border clashes and a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. If the Indian Government agrees to the Chinese proposal, as stated in the Chinese Government statement, that both sides withdraw 20 kilometres from the line of actual control and so disengage, then Chinese troops in the eastern sector, which have in some places crossed to the south of the 1959 line of actual control while fighting in self-defence against attacks by Indian troops, will be withdrawn, through consultation between the two sides, to the north of the line; and in the middle and western sectors of the frontier, both sides should undertake not to cross the line of actual control, that is, the traditional customary line. What reason does the Indian Government have for not agreeing to such a just and reasonable proposal permeated with a spirit of utmost sincerity and magnanimity? How can the Indian

China's Messages to Asian and African Leaders

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi, in a message dated October 25 to President Ibrahim Abboud of the Sudanese Republic, thanked him for his concern over the Sino-Indian border conflict and expressed the hope that he would exert his influence to promote the realization of the three proposals put forward by the Chinese Government in its statement of October 24. President Abboud in his telegram to Chairman Liu Shao-chi dated October 23 had appealed to China and India to seek a peaceful settlement of the boundary question through negotiation.

Premier Chou En-lai, in his reply to President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic, thanked him for his concern over the Sino-Indian border clashes, and reiterated China's consistent stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. He informed President Nasser of the three proposals of the Chinese Government and expressed the hope that President Nasser would exert his influence to promote their realization. President Nasser, in a telegram dated October 21, had expressed his readiness to work together with other Asian and African countries to help China and India, in a way acceptable to both sides, in seeking a means of settling the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully.

Premier Chou En-lai also voiced the same desire in his messages dated October 24 to the heads of state or government of the Asian and African countries with

whom, President Nasser said in his telegram to Premier Chou, he had contacted for consultations. They are Indonesian President Ahmed Sukarno, Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, Guinean President Sekou Toure, Mali President Modibo Keita, King Hassan the Second of Morocco, Prime Minister of Ceylon Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Burmese Prime Minister Ne Win, Algerian Premier Ahmed Ben Bella and King Mohammed Zahir Shah of Afghanistan.

On October 26, Premier Chou cabled another message to Mali President Modibo Keita who had written to Premier Chou En-lai on October 24 in connection with the Sino-Indian boundary question.

In his reply to W.V.S. Tubman, President of Liberia, dated October 24, Premier Chou expressed the same hope that he would exert his influence to promote the realization of China's three proposals.

Premier Chou Sends Message to Nehru

On the same day that the Chinese Government issued its statement concerning its three proposals for settling the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully, Premier Chou En-lai sent a letter to Indian Prime Minister Nehru putting forward to him these proposals and expressed the hope that the Indian Government would make a positive response to them.

side describe this as asking India to surrender under threat of China's military might?

India's Pre-Condition Is Unacceptable

In contrast to this conciliatory attitude of China, the Indian Government, however, in its statement of October 24, has gone so far as to demand that the entire boundary line should first be restored to the situation before September 8, 1962, before it will agree to the holding of talks. This is a pre-condition which the Chinese side can on no account accept. China stands firmly opposed to the restoration of the situation of the entire boundary line before September 8.

Why? The reason is that as early as in 1959 and afterwards, the Indian side, taking advantage of the Chinese frontier guards' unilateral cessation of patrols, has by force of arms altered the situation on the boundary by intruding across the Chinese border along the entire boundary line and occupying large tracts of Chinese territory. In the western sector, as the Indian side itself has admitted, Indian troops have occupied 2,500 square miles of Chinese territory; in the middle sector, they have invaded the Wuje area; and in the eastern sector, they have made repeated incursions and even crossed the so-called McMahon Line, occupied the Kechilang River valley to the north of the line and set up many strongpoints there. Agreement to restore the situation on the frontier to that existing before September 8, as demanded by the Indian Government, would be tantamount to acknowledging as legal the occupation of vast tracts of Chinese territory by Indian troops since 1959. That means that China would

be making unilateral concessions, and not, as the Chinese Government has proposed, the two sides undertaking commitments on a reciprocal basis. If China should agree to this condition advanced by the Indian Government, it would indeed be a surrender under threat of the military might of India.

It must also be noted that in its statement the Indian Government scurrilously accused China of having occupied large tracts of Indian territory since September 8. This is utter nonsense, turning black into white. China did not commit any aggression on India, either before or after September 8. On the other hand, Indian troops repeatedly intruded into Chinese territory both before and after September 8, right up until they launched the massive general attack on October 20.

In its statement, the Indian Government referred to its note dated October 16 as one intended to seek peaceful negotiations. In reality, the Indian Government in this note demanded, in threatening tones, that China vacate large tracts of Chinese territory north of the so-called McMahon Line. It was on October 20, only a few days after the Indian Government delivered this threatening note, that Indian troops unleashed their massive general attack on the Chinese frontier guards.

China's Three Proposals

Thus it can be readily seen that the Indian Government's proposal for the armed forces of both sides to go back to the position where they were prior to September 8, is absolutely unacceptable. The three proposals set forth

in the Chinese Government statement are the fairest and most reasonable.

Has not the Indian Government said in its statement that India would negotiate "only on the basis of decency, dignity and self-respect"? The Chinese Government's proposals conform precisely to such a basis. To both sides, these proposals are reciprocal, not unilateral; they are equal, not demanding that one side submit to the other; they are mutually accommodating, not allowing one side to dictate to the other; they are based on mutual respect, not allowing one side to bully the other; and they are friendly and consultative, not arbitrary and arrogant.

Should the Indian side agree to the Chinese proposals, China and India can speedily designate and send out officials to negotiate on the disengagement of the armed forces of both sides and cessation of armed conflict, so that the Sino-Indian border conflicts can come to an early end and the armed forces of both sides can be enabled to disengage. This is an indispensable initial step towards a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

There is no doubt that if agreement can be reached in such negotiations and put into effect, this will help

create an atmosphere favourable to a meeting of the Prime Ministers of China and India. Then the Prime Ministers of the two countries could meet and hold talks and take the second step towards settling the Sino-Indian boundary issue through friendly negotiations. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai visited New Delhi and conferred with Indian Prime Minister Nehru in 1960. Now the Chinese Government would welcome the Indian Prime Minister to Peking. If this should be inconvenient to the Indian Prime Minister, Premier Chou En-lai would be ready to go to Delhi.

If the Indian Government cherishes the interests of the Indian people, cherishes the interests of the 1,100 million people of China and India, and takes to heart peace in Asia and Afro-Asian solidarity, then it should agree to the three proposals of the Chinese Government.

The Chinese people are convinced that the people of China and India who have between them a profound, traditional friendship, should be friendly towards each other in all the generations to come. The Chinese people will continue to make their utmost efforts and work together with the Indian people and the governments and peoples of various Asian and African countries for a speedy end to the border conflict, the reopening of peaceful negotiations and the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

More on Nehru's Philosophy in the Light of The Sino-Indian Boundary Question

by

The Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao"

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FOR several years past, Nehru has obstinately rejected the Chinese Government's proposals for settling the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully through negotiations, and has moved troops to make incursion after incursion into China's territory. On October 12, 1962, haughtily disregarding the consequences, he publicly ordered Indian troops to "free" the Chinese frontiers of the Chinese troops stationed there. Soon afterwards, aggressive Indian troops launched large-scale armed attacks in the eastern and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border, thus bringing about unprecedentedly serious military clashes between China and India.

China's Forbearance and Self-Restraint Mistaken for Weakness

China has always hoped to avert a conflict. Though we have every time exercised forbearance and self-restraint, what we least wished to see happen has come to pass. China has at no time occupied or intruded into any part of India; but the Indian side, which has occupied

vast tracts of Chinese territory, has been using force deliberately to change the state of the boundary and extend its aggression. China has proposed again and again to the Indian Government that negotiations be held at once without pre-conditions, but Nehru wants the Chinese troops to withdraw from large tracts of their own territory as a pre-condition for negotiations, thereby rejecting negotiations without any reason whatsoever.

Even after Indian troops had intruded time and again into Chinese territory in the western and eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian border, China's frontier guards strictly observed the People's Government's order to avoid conflict. They never fired the first shot even when under their very eyes they saw their territory being occupied by Indian troops, their links with the rear being cut off by Indian troops and strongpoints for aggression being set up by Indian troops only a few hundred metres, a few dozens of metres or only a few metres away. It was in these circumstances that many of our soldiers were killed or wounded by Indian troops. The Nehru government took our forbearance and self-restraint as an indication that we are weak and can be bullied. Indian troops pressed forward steadily and penetrated deep into Chinese territory, set up more and more strongpoints for aggression and

advance positions. After completing their dispositions for attack, the Indian troops finally launched a large-scale general offensive on October 20, 1962.

This series of facts, these recent developments in the Sino-Indian border situation, all add up to the inescapable conclusion: the present serious armed conflict is entirely due to deliberate provocations and aggression by the Nehru government.

The whole world is now closely following the Sino-Indian border incidents. It is now more than three years since the ruling circles of India, headed by Nehru, started the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. Why have they balked at a peaceful settlement and insisted on provoking China, going so far as to launch a large-scale armed attack against China? In order to lay bare the essential truth of the matter and elucidate the root cause and background of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, one needs to proceed from an extensive coverage of the facts and make a comprehensive historical analysis of them.

More than three years ago, this newspaper published an article entitled "The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy"* which discussed Nehru's "philosophy" in the light of intervention in China's Tibet by the Indian ruling circles. Now we propose to make a further inquiry into Nehru's "philosophy" in the light of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

I

Just like their interference in China's Tibet, the provoking of Sino-Indian border incidents by India's ruling circles headed by Nehru, leading to their large-scale armed invasion of China, is no accident. Both are determined by the class nature of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords whose interests are closely connected with those of the imperialists.

To explain this point, let us recall some history.

Readers are invited first to read the following passage written by Nehru in his book *The Discovery of India* in 1944.

... though not directly a Pacific state, India will inevitably exercise an important influence there. India will also develop as the centre of economic and political activity in the Indian Ocean area, in Southeast Asia and right up to the Middle East. Her position gives an economic and strategic importance in a part of the world which is going to develop rapidly in the future. If there is a regional grouping of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean on either side of India,—Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Siam, Java, etc.,—present-day minority problems will disappear, or at any rate will have to be considered in an entirely different context.

... the small national state is doomed. It may survive as a culturally autonomous area but not as an independent political unit. (Meridian Books Ltd., London, 3rd ed., 1951, pp. 510-511.)

Nehru's Dream About a Great Indian Empire

This enables one to understand two things clearly:

First, the goal pursued by this ambitious Nehru is the establishment of a great empire unprecedented in In-

dia's history. The sphere of influence of this great empire would include a series of countries from the Middle East to Southeast Asia and far surpass that of the colonial system set up in Asia in the past by the British empire.

Secondly, this ambitious Nehru believes that when the "regional grouping" with India as "the centre of economic and political activity" is set up, or, in other words, when the great empire conceived by Nehru comes into existence, "minority problems will disappear" in this region. According to Nehru, "the small national state is doomed," "it may survive as a culturally autonomous area but not as an independent political unit." In a word, it can only be a vassal in Nehru's great empire.

These remarks of Nehru were written 18 years ago. Nehru was dreaming of a great Indian empire long before India's proclamation of independence. This is a real "discovery" of the expansionism of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords of India!

These reactionary, expansionist ideas of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords form an important part of Nehru's philosophy.

"The Centre of Asia." India was for a long time under the colonial rule of British imperialism. The Indian big bourgeoisie is a parasitic class fostered by British imperialism. Its close relations with the British monopoly capitalist class are clearly seen in Nehru. Nehru said: "In my likes and dislikes I was perhaps more an Englishman than an Indian." (Michael Brecher: *Nehru, a Political Biography*, Oxford University Press, London, 1959, p. 50.) Fostered by the British imperialists, the economic forces of the Indian big bourgeoisie began to develop already under British rule. They developed further, especially after World War I and during World War II. As a large country, India was regarded by British imperialism as the economic and political centre of its colonial system in the East, and was called "the brightest jewel in Britain's imperial crown." This view of India held by the British imperialists was an insult to the great Indian people. However, the Indian big bourgeoisie which depended on British imperialism took over from the British imperialists this concept of India as "the centre of Asia," and this has led to Nehru's idea of a great Indian empire.

Chauvinistic and Expansionist Policy. After India's proclamation of independence, the Indian ruling circles headed by Nehru inherited and have tried their best to preserve the bequests of the British colonialist rulers; they have become increasingly brazen in carrying out their chauvinistic and expansionist policy. India is the only country in Asia that has a protectorate. The Indian ruling circles have used every means to interfere in the internal and external affairs of countries around India, to control their economy and trade and demand their absolute obedience. This is no secret. An article carried recently in the Nepalese weekly *Naya Samaj* says: "Nepal has always been friendly towards India, but India on the contrary has always looked with a threatening eye on the independence of Nepal. India does not favour Nepal's survival and progress as an independent nation. It has been India's wish that Nepal should surrender to India and agree to act in accordance with Indian directions and India is

*See *Peking Review*, No. 19, 1959.—Ed.

working to this end." It is not an isolated case, or towards Nepal alone, that the Nehru government adopts this chauvinistic and expansionist policy.

It is precisely from this expansionist viewpoint that the Indian ruling circles regard China's Tibet region as an Indian sphere of influence. In 1950, the fourth year after India's proclamation of independence, the Nehru government interfered with the Chinese people's liberation of their own territory of Tibet; later they instigated and backed up the treason and rebellion of the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in the Tibet region. It was from this series of concrete facts that we began to understand Nehru's expansionist "philosophy."

Nehru's policy on the Sino-Indian boundary question and the whole process by which he engineered the Sino-Indian border clashes have shed new light on the expansionist philosophy of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords.

The Sino-Indian Boundary Never Formally Delimited

It is a well-known fact that the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited, but that there is a traditional customary line which was formed long ago in the course of history. While it ruled over India, British imperialism continuously nibbled away at China's Tibet region, and so boundary disputes were of constant occurrence.

After India's declaration of independence, the Indian ruling circles regarded as India's both those Chinese territories which the British imperialists had occupied and those which they had wanted to occupy but had not yet succeeded in occupying. Taking advantage of the fact that in the period soon after its founding New China had no time to attend to the Sino-Indian boundary and that China's security was seriously threatened by the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Korea, the Indian ruling circles brazenly did what the British imperialists had not dared to do. They forcibly pushed India's northeastern boundary up to the vicinity of the so-called McMahon Line which China has never recognized, and occupied more than 90,000 square kilometres of China's territory. Following on this, they further crossed the so-called McMahon Line at several points.

Redrawing the Map. Again and again, the Indian authorities arbitrarily and unilaterally altered their map of the Sino-Indian boundary to incorporate large areas of Chinese territory into India. On March 22, 1959, that is, the fourth day after the reactionary clique of the upper social strata of the Tibet region started its rebellion and attacked the People's Liberation Army units in Lhasa, Nehru hastily wrote to Premier Chou En-lai, making territorial claims on China based on the map arbitrarily altered by the Indian Government. He demanded that there should be incorporated into India not only the more than 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the eastern sector and the about 2,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the middle sector, but also the over 33,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the western sector which had always been under Chinese jurisdiction. The total area so claimed is about the size of

China's Fukien Province, or four times as large as Belgium or three times as large as Holland.

Over the past three years and more, Nehru has insisted that China should accept these preposterous demands, and has persisted in the use of force continually to invade and occupy Chinese territory. Nehru's expansionist "philosophy" boils down to this: "The places I have occupied are mine, and so are those I intend to occupy. Since I was able to occupy an inch of your territory yesterday, I certainly can occupy a yard of your territory today." This is downright unreasonable, not to say utterly outrageous!

China's Unremitting Efforts for Peaceful Settlement

The Chinese Government has consistently held that, since China and India suffered the common experience of being subjected to imperialist aggression, with India having gained her independence and New China founded, they ought to live together amicably and solve their differences through peaceful negotiation. After the Indian side provoked border clashes in 1959, the Chinese Government on its own initiative proposed that talks be held between the Prime Ministers of the two countries. In April 1960, Premier Chou En-lai visited New Delhi with the desire to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question, held talks with Indian Prime Minister Nehru and made earnest efforts to reach a preliminary agreement that would help settle the boundary question. However, there was no response from the Indian side to the sincere efforts of the Chinese side. The subsequent meeting of Chinese and Indian officials also failed to produce the results as it should.

The Chinese Government has always held that even if the two sides cannot for the time being achieve a meeting of minds on the boundary question, this should not lead to border clashes. As early as in 1959, it repeatedly proposed that the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres all along the border and stop border patrols so as to disengage the armed forces of the two sides and avoid clashes.

After the Indian side rejected these proposals, China unilaterally stopped patrols on its side of the border in the hope of helping to ease the border tension. The adoption of this measure by China led for a certain period to some relaxation in the situation along the Sino-Indian border. If the Indian side had agreed to the Chinese proposal about the withdrawal of 20 kilometres by each side, it would certainly have been possible to avert the military clashes between the armed forces of the two sides. Even when the Indian side did not agree to withdraw, these clashes would have been prevented if the Indian side had respected the situation of the unilateral Chinese cessation of patrols, instead of taking the opportunity to invade China.

Nehru Says "No" to Disengagement. Contrary to our expectations, the Nehru government, taking advantage of the unilateral cessation of patrols by the Chinese frontier guards, pressed forward steadily all along the Sino-Indian border, penetrated deep into China's territory, built scores of aggressive strongpoints and continuously provoked armed clashes, first in the western and middle, then in

the eastern, sectors. It is easy for everybody to see that China has tried by every means to disengage the armed forces of the two sides along the Sino-Indian border, while the Nehru government, bent on maintaining military contact, has again and again adamantly rejected China's reasonable proposals.

Disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides would not prejudice the stand of either side on the boundary question; it is a practical and most effective method of avoiding border clashes. In the process of settling their boundary questions, both China and Burma, and China and Nepal, employed different ways to disengage the armed forces of the two sides and thus facilitated the peaceful and friendly settlement of the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese boundary questions. Why can't this method be applied to the Sino-Indian border as it was to the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese borders? For what reason has the Nehru government adamantly rejected the Chinese proposals and insisted on maintaining military contact? Does it not prove that the Nehru government is deliberately prolonging tension along the Sino-Indian border? Does it not prove that the Nehru government intends to provoke armed clashes at any time in order to attain its ulterior aims?

Whipping Up Anti-Chinese Hysteria. While pushing ahead with his policy of expansion into China, Nehru has continually used the boundary question to fan the anti-China campaign. A rough count shows that in the past three years Nehru has made more than 300 speeches on the Sino-Indian boundary question on various occasions. He used the most malicious language in attacking and vilifying China; he talked about Chinese "incursions into Indian territory," creation of "a clear case of aggression," "aggression being added to aggression," "expansion at the cost of India," "trying to flaunt her strength in a crude and violent way," "to keep a foot on our chest," and described China as being "imperialist," "expansionist" and "aggressive," and so on and so forth.

In addition to slandering China noisily on the boundary question, Nehru has mounted a series of attacks on China on much broader terms than the boundary question; he has also tried in the most despicable and sinister way to sow dissension between China and other countries.

Let Nehru Speak for Himself

Witness the following statements made by Nehru:

A strong China is normally an expansionist China. Throughout history that has been the case. [China's] population problem itself, the vast population and the pace of growth greater than almost any in the wide world . . . is likely to create a very novel and very dangerous situation not so much for India, but for India also. (November 27, 1959)

Even if we are a hundred per cent friendly with them, the fact remains that here is a mighty power sitting on our borders. That in itself changes the whole context, the whole picture. . . . So, we face each other there and we face each other in anger at the present moment, and we are going to face each other, not today or tomorrow but for hundreds and hundreds of years. (December 9, 1959)

Basically, the truth is that China has been expansionist whenever it is strong. But the present push also comes from rapid developments inside China, in military and industrial fields. (December 12, 1959)

A tremendous explosive situation is being created by the rapid growth, industrially, and in the population of China. (May 2, 1960)

China is at present affected by bad harvests, which is a terrible thing considering the growing population of China. . . . The continuous failure of harvest has created an explosive situation. (May 2, 1962)

What was Nehru driving at in these utterances? The meaning is:

(1) China should not become a strong country, but should remain a poor and weak one with an impoverished people beset with internal and external troubles, as it was under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism before liberation.

(2) China should not develop its industry rapidly, but should continue to be a backward, agricultural China.

(3) China should not have the necessary military strength to consolidate its national defence, though it is faced with aggression and the threat of war by U.S. imperialism.

(4) China should not have so large a population, still less increase its population.

(5) When China develops its industry rapidly, this will create "an explosive situation"; when China is affected by bad harvests, this too will create "an explosive situation."

(6) China should not be India's neighbour but should change its geographical location.

In short, it seems to Nehru that, unless China ceases to exist or moves to some other place, China and India are bound to "face each other in anger . . . not today or tomorrow but for hundreds and hundreds of years!"

We would like to ask: whose spokesman is Nehru? Is he speaking for the Indian people? By no means. The Indian people, including the Indian workers, peasants, politically conscious intellectuals, oppressed national bourgeois elements and open-minded public men and women, that is, the overwhelming majority of Indians, wish to have as their neighbour a powerful, prosperous, industrialized and populous China, where the people are the masters of the country, just as the Chinese people wish to have as their neighbour a powerful, prosperous, industrialized and populous India, where the people are the masters of the country.

Socialist China Is a Peace-Loving Country

The Chinese people have achieved complete emancipation and have taken the great path of socialist construction. A socialist China is, and will always be, a peace-loving country. How is it possible that we, who have eliminated the social roots of exploitation and oppression of man by man at home, should go abroad to invade and plunder others?

Our industrialization is socialist industrialization, industrialization for the wellbeing of all the people; besides,

we have inexhaustible resources and the world's biggest domestic market. How is it possible that our industrialization should initiate a "push" for expansion?

Our army is a people's army, an army dedicated to a just cause; it regards wars of aggression as crimes. Its purpose is to safeguard the interests of the people and consolidate the national defence. How is it possible that this army should invade other countries? And how is it possible that this army should invade our neighbour India?

No "Over-Population" Problem. China is indeed a country with a large population. But why should this constitute a menace to India? As a result of the victory of the people's revolution, China's social productive forces have been liberated completely, and so we can solve the so-called population problem and gradually raise the people's living standards by developing production on a large scale. Under the socialist system the problem of "over-population" simply does not exist. If there should be talk of a "population problem," then India is also one of the countries with the biggest population in the world. Moreover, while the density of the population of China is 67 per square kilometre, that of India is 148, more than double China's. We would like to ask Mr. Nehru: According to your logic, do you or do you not think that India's huge population is also a menace to other countries?

It is true that historically China had been powerful and had invaded other countries, but that occurred under the rule of the feudal landlord class. China today is a people's China, a socialist China; its social system is fundamentally different and its domestic and foreign policies are fundamentally different. A powerful and prosperous socialist China can only benefit peace and the fight against aggression, can only be of benefit to its neighbours and to friendship among nations. It will be a disadvantage only to the imperialists, who are aggressive by nature, and their lackeys. People throughout the world who love peace and uphold justice hold this view, and they believe that the more powerful and prosperous socialist China is, the better. Since Nehru so hates to see a powerful and prosperous socialist China, where does he stand? Has he not put himself in the very position of a lackey of the imperialists?

A Foreign Policy of Peace. China has all along pursued a foreign policy of peace and stood for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with all countries having different social systems. China has signed treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or treaties of peace and friendship with the Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana. Similarly, China has always wanted to live in friendship with India. But Nehru, on the contrary, holds that India cannot live in friendship with China. This runs diametrically counter to the wishes and interests of the Indian people.

China has had boundary questions left over from history with a number of its neighbours. For example, with Burma and Nepal too, China has very long boundaries which were not formally delimited in the past. But on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence,

in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and through full consultations, boundary treaties have been signed between the Governments of China and Burma and between the Governments of China and Nepal, thus bringing about a reasonable and friendly settlement of the complicated questions left over from history. Why then should it be impossible to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question? If Nehru really wanted to settle the boundary question, it should not have been difficult to do so. And even if it were to remain unsolved for the time being, this should not prevent the two countries from maintaining the status quo of the boundary and living in peace with each other. And what need could there be to slander and attack China endlessly and even to cross swords with China?

Nehru's Ulterior Motives. Nehru has his ulterior motives for refusing to make it up on the Sino-Indian boundary question over a long period of time and continuously creating tension. To understand this, we must examine the class nature of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords, represented by Nehru, whose interests are closely connected with those of the imperialists; we must examine the needs of the Indian reactionary ruling circles, represented by Nehru, in domestic and international politics; and we must broadly examine the background, both inside India and in regard to its international relations.

II

Everybody knows that before India attained independence, Indian society was colonial and feudal. The task facing the Indian people then was to carry out a national and democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism. The great Indian people waged a prolonged and heroic struggle for the complete overthrow of the colonial rule of British imperialism in India and for the genuine independence and liberation of their homeland. After World War II, the national-liberation movements carried on by the people of the Asian and African countries rose to unprecedented heights and the anti-British struggle of the Indian people forged ahead. The Chinese people always deeply sympathized with and highly esteemed the Indian people in their national-liberation struggle.

Characteristics of the Indian Bourgeoisie

The Indian bourgeoisie has a blood relationship with the British bourgeoisie and the Indian landlord class. But in its own class interests, it participated in the Indian people's anti-British movement in varying degrees at different stages. However, as determined by its economic position, it had from the very beginning a strong tendency towards compromise in the anti-British movement. In the national-independence struggle, the Indian bourgeoisie, on the one hand, carried on the non-co-operation movement against British colonial rule and, on the other hand, used the slogan of "non-violence" to paralyse the people's struggle and restrain their revolutionary movement.

In his *Autobiography* Nehru himself shows this characteristic of the Indian bourgeoisie. He writes that the Indian national movement "has been not a change of the social order, but political independence. . . . It is absurd to say that the leaders betray the masses because they do

not try to upset the land system or the capitalist system. They never claimed to do so.”*

In the course of the Indian people's movement for national independence, the British colonialists reached a compromise with the big bourgeoisie and big landlords of India and turned over their rule to the latter on conditions which basically kept the economic interests of the British colonialists intact. Thus, the fruits gained by the Indian people in their anti-British struggle were seized by India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords.

After India proclaimed independence, Nehru, who once represented to a certain degree the interests of the Indian national bourgeoisie, gradually, as the class struggle developed at home and abroad, became a loyal representative of the interests of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords of India. The Nehru government has substituted reactionary nationalism for the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, and tied up ever more closely with the imperialist and feudal forces. Of course, certain contradictions exist between India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords and foreign monopoly capital, whose interests are not in full conformity. Therefore, when the contradictions between imperialism and the Indian nation sharpened, the Nehru government, under the pressure of the masses of the people, showed a certain degree of difference from imperialism. But the class nature and economic status of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords determine that the Nehru government depends on and serves imperialism more and more.

Imperialist Grip on Indian Economy

India did not gain economic independence after its proclamation of independence. Imperialism still retained its economic influence in India. Foreign capital still controlled many vital branches of the country's economy. According to statistics submitted to the Indian Prime Minister by the secretariat of the Indian Cabinet in 1951, foreign capital controlled 97 per cent of India's petroleum industry, 93 per cent of the rubber industry, 90 per cent of match manufacture, 89 per cent of the jute industry, 86 per cent of the tea processing industry and 62 per cent of the coal-mining industry. Even in the cotton textile industry, which used to be called the national industry of India, 21 per cent was controlled by foreign capital. Although in the early days of independence, the Indian Government nationalized a few enterprises run by British capital by paying large sums in compensation, the fundamental interests of imperialism in India were not touched.

In recent years, foreign investments in India have increased rapidly. In June 1948, foreign investments in Indian enterprises (not counting bank investments) totalled 2,560 million rupees. This sum increased to 6,550 million rupees in 1960, that is, increased by 150 per cent within thirteen years. In 1948, foreign capital amounted to 34.8 per cent of the paid-up capital of Indian joint-stock companies. By 1960 this figure had increased to 38 per cent.

At the same time, the number of enterprises which are jointly owned by Indian monopoly capital and foreign capital but are actually under the control of the latter has also grown rapidly. According to a report in the Indian

journal *Economic Times* of July 23, 1962, such jointly owned enterprises increased by 103 in 1958, 150 in 1959, 380 in 1960 and 403 in 1961. By March 1962, the total number of such jointly owned enterprises had reached 1,240. It is the amount of U.S. capital that has increased most rapidly. From 1948 to 1959, British investments in India doubled but U.S. investments increased seven times. From 1948 to 1960-61, the proportion of India's imports from Britain decreased from 22.8 to 19.8 per cent, while the U.S. share increased from 16 to 27 per cent (not including the grains imported from the United States), thereby surpassing Britain.

Growing Dependence on Foreign Aid

What is particularly noteworthy is the fact that the Nehru government has become increasingly dependent on foreign aid. Foreign aid accounted for 9.6 per cent of total expenditure under India's first "Five-Year Plan," and for 20.6 per cent under its second "Five-Year Plan"; it will account for 30 per cent under its third "Five-Year Plan." According to the October 1961 and April 1962 issues of the *Foreign Aid* of the U.S. International Co-operation Administration and other U.S. official material, the "aid" which the U.S. extended or promised to extend to India between 1949 and the end of July 1962 amounted to U.S. \$4,754.2 million. If to this is added the "aid" extended to India during the same period by international financial organizations controlled by the United States, the grand total will reach U.S. \$6,598.2 million.

The overwhelming proportion of the large amount of foreign aid received by the Nehru government consists of loans repayable with interest and the annual interest rates of these loans run as high as 6 per cent. As a result, India's foreign debt burden grows heavier and heavier, and it becomes more and more difficult for India to extricate itself from its economic dependence on foreign monopoly capital. The Indian weekly *Link* wrote in its August 15, 1962 issue, "... instead of helping India to move ahead towards the goal of independent development, these foreign loans will for a long time remain a halter round the country's neck."

U.S. Taking Over British Monopoly Position in India

These facts prove that economically India has not freed itself from dependence on imperialism. What is different from the past is that U.S. imperialism is gradually taking over British imperialism's monopoly position in India.

The Nehru government has established a number of state-run enterprises in India which are nothing but state-capitalist enterprises dominated by the big bourgeoisie and big landlords and actually dependent on foreign monopoly capital. Such enterprises serve the interests of both the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords and of foreign monopoly capital. They are in essence Indian bureaucrat monopoly capital. This bureaucrat monopoly capital is developing. It develops at the expense of the Indian working people and even of the capitalist owners of small and medium-sized enterprises.

In 1960 Nehru openly called on the Indian people to "tighten their belts" in order to carry through his "industrial revolution." The living standards of the masses of

* Jawaharlal Nehru, *Autobiography*, The Bodley Head, London, 1949, pp. 366-367.

the Indian working people have been deteriorating in recent years. Prices have been mounting continuously and taxes increasing. The number of unemployed has become ever greater, and the life of the peasantry has become increasingly hard.

India's basic domestic problem is the peasant problem.

India's Peasant Problem

When they ruled India, the British imperialists, to serve their predatory ends, supported the feudal landlord class. The broad masses of the peasants were subjected to all kinds of exploitation in the form of rent, taxes and usury, and agricultural production was at a very low level.

After India's proclamation of independence, what policies did the Nehru government adopt in regard to the feudal land system?

In the initial period of India's independence, the Nehru government, in order to meet the needs of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords to concentrate power in their own hands, abolished the political privileges of some of the local feudal princes and the *zamindari* (tax-farming) privileges of some landlords, but the Indian feudal land system as a whole was preserved. According to the national *Sample Survey* of 1954-55 published by the Indian Ministry of Finance in 1958, land distribution in India was as follows: Poor peasants and farm labourers, comprising 75 per cent of all agricultural households, owned 17 per cent of all cultivated land; lower middle peasants, comprising 12.5 per cent, owned 16.5 per cent of the land; the better-off middle peasants, rich peasants and landlords working their own farms, comprising 8.5 per cent, owned 32.5 per cent of the land; while the feudal landlords and the more wealthy rich peasants, comprising only 4 per cent, held as much as 34 per cent of the land. As a result of large-scale evictions by feudal landlords in recent years, the concentration of landholdings has become even greater, and the ranks of the poor peasants and farm labourers have grown.

According to a survey of agricultural labour published by the Indian Ministry of Labour, in 1951-52 the number of peasant households which were in debt was 44.5 per cent of the total number of peasant households, and in 1956-57 the figure increased to 64.5 per cent. An official survey in 1960 showed that peasant indebtedness had grown to a total of 9,000 million rupees. *Yojana*, a biweekly published by the Indian Government, admitted in its October 1, 1961 issue that there had been no improvement in the status of the rural proletarians — the landless farm labourers; in fact, if there was any change, it was a change for the worse, as prices were all rocketing up.

Congress Party Losing Out

In view of the economic conditions mentioned above, the prestige of Nehru's Congress Party is steadily declining and dissatisfaction and opposition among the broad masses of the people are growing day by day. Big-scale strikes and struggles for land have flared up one after another. The victory won by the Indian Communist Party in Kerala in India's second general election in 1957, the struggle against hunger in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh in 1958, the struggle against taxation launched by the Punjabi peasants in 1959, the struggle for food waged by the one and a half million people of West Bengal in 1959, the

great strike staged by 500,000 employees of the central government in 1960, the struggles against taxation which swept the whole country and the struggles for land in many places in 1961 and 1962 — all these are important indications of India's ever sharpening class contradictions and social contradictions and of the deepening of the political crisis facing the Nehru government in recent years.

Nehru constantly slanders Marxism as being "out of date," and trumpets his philosophy of "tolerance," "non-violence" and "peaceful means." But the realities in India are a great mockery of Nehru's philosophy. Nehru is indeed tolerant of imperialism and the feudal forces, but he is not "tolerant" of the people and the progressive forces, nor "non-violent" towards them. Since coming to power, Nehru has used violence to suppress the masses of the people and the progressive forces; he has become an old hand at opposing communism and the people.

Brutal Repression

According to Indian official statistics, in the three years from the date of India's independence to August 1950, Indian troops and police opened fire on the masses on as many as 1,982 occasions, killing 3,784 people, wounding 10,000 and throwing 50,000 into jail. In the past few years, there has been an increasing number of incidents in which the Nehru government used violence against the masses. Nehru openly encouraged the reactionary forces in Kerala to use violence to overthrow the Communist-led government of Kerala in July 1959. His government has adopted large-scale measures of repression against the masses' struggles for the right to live; in the struggle for food in West Bengal in August and September 1959 alone, 80 people were killed, 3,000 wounded and more than 20,000 arrested. Prasad, the former President of India, at the Conference of Indian Governors of States held in Delhi on November 9, 1960, admitted that in the previous thirteen years, the number of incidents in which the police had opened fire surpassed the number under British rule.

The Nehru government has used extremely brutal measures of repression against many minority nationalities in India. Available information indicates that over many years Indian troops have killed tens of thousands of the Naga people in the northeastern part of India, and detained tens of thousands more in concentration camps. Even the *Observer* of London pointed out in a recent article that the Indian Government was carrying out a policy of "genocide."

Nehru wrote in his book *Glimpses of World History* in 1934 that "so long as capitalism can use the machinery of democratic institutions to hold power and keep down labour, democracy is allowed to flourish. When this is not possible, then capitalism discards democracy and adopts the open fascist method of violence and terror." (Lindsay Drummond Ltd., London, 4th ed., 1949, p. 826.) At that time Nehru did not know that these words, after a number of years, would serve as an apt description of his own policy.

Nehru's "Socialist Pattern of Society"

In view of the actual economic and political conditions in India, is not the building of a "socialist pattern of society" in India, as advertised by Nehru, an out-and-out hoax? Commenting on Nehru's "socialism," Harriman,

spokesman for the U.S. monopoly groups, said on May 4, 1959:

I think it is a good thing that they [Nehru and his like] use this word ["socialism"]. It is a highly popular word among the Asian peoples, where capitalism has become closely identified — almost synonymous — with colonialism. The Indians [Nehru and his like] have taken it away from the Communists.

Harriman's remarks serve to show what Nehru's "socialist pattern of society" is really worth.

With any country, a given foreign policy is necessarily the continuation of a given domestic policy. Like its domestic policy, the foreign policy of the Nehru government reflects its reactionary class nature.

At one time some actions of the Nehru government were helpful to world peace. It refused to join imperialist military blocs, turned down the imperialists' request to establish military bases in India and declared its adherence to the policy of "non-alignment." It stood for peaceful coexistence with socialist countries and joined with China in initiating the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Nehru government played a positive role in sponsoring the first Asian-African Conference.

Criticizing in a Small Way and Helping in A Big Way

However, even in that period, Nehru seldom voiced opposition to the major acts of aggression by imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, but constantly came out against the just struggles of the people of various countries, and against the socialist countries. On many important, key international questions, Nehru always stood on the side of imperialism, adopting in the main a policy of "criticizing in a small way and helping in a big way" towards imperialism. For instance, during the war of U.S. aggression in Korea, the Indian Government put forward a proposal in the United Nations in November 1952 supporting the forcible retention of prisoners of war by the United States. In the counter-revolutionary event in Hungary in 1956, Nehru maliciously slandered the Soviet Union and attacked the Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government.

When the U.S. and British imperialists sent troops to Lebanon and Jordan in 1958, Nehru openly spoke up for the U.S. and British aggressors, characterizing their act as "protecting their own interests." Nehru said that "he was sorry" about the death of Faisal, the common enemy of the Iraqi people. In 1958, in his article "The Basic Approach," Nehru vilified the Soviet Union for using "violence." He distorted the criticism of Yugoslav modern revisionism by the Communists of various countries as "interference in the internal affairs of other countries" and described the execution of the traitor Nagy by the Hungarian people as "contributing to world tensions."

With the changes in India's domestic situation and in the international situation in recent years, Nehru's foreign policy has leaned more markedly towards imperialism. In addition to intensifying its suppression and exploitation of the people, the Nehru government has relied more and more on imperialism as a major means of coping with the economic and political difficulties and crisis in India. On the other hand, in order to counter the influence of socialism, particularly that of

China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, to obstruct the national-liberation movements, and to fight for control of the intermediate zone, U.S. imperialism now attaches greater importance to the part played by Nehru. As the general crisis of capitalism deepens daily, U.S. monopoly capital is trying all the harder to penetrate into India and turn it into an important market for the export of U.S. commodities and capital. As a result, the United States in recent years has made an obvious shift in policy towards the Nehru government, from opposition to its policy of "non-alignment" to vigorous aid to it; from refusal to supply machinery and technical knowledge to the Indian big bourgeoisie to co-operation with the Indian big bourgeoisie in joint exploitation of the Indian people. In a word, U.S. imperialism pursues a policy of paying a high price to buy over the Indian big bourgeoisie represented by Nehru.

U.S. "Aid" to India — A Barometer of Nehru's Foreign Policy

An analysis of the figures of the "aid" granted to India by the United States and U.S.-controlled international financial organizations in the past ten years and more shows that their "aid" to India is a barometer of the foreign policy of the Nehru government, and particularly its policy towards China. Statistics show that in the period from 1949 to the end of the first half of 1956, their "aid" to India amounted to U.S. \$789.1 million, averaging U.S. \$105.2 million a year. In the period from the second half of 1956 to the end of the first half of 1959, when the foreign policy of the Nehru government gradually turned to the right, their "aid" to India was U.S. \$1,936.7 million, averaging U.S. \$645.5 million a year. And in the period from the second half of 1959 to the end of July 1962, that is, after the Nehru government had stirred up the anti-China campaign, their "aid" to India was U.S. \$3,872.4 million, an annual average of U.S. \$1,290.8 million.

It is precisely in these circumstances that over the past few years Nehru has practically thrown away the banner of opposition to imperialism and colonialism in international affairs, suited himself to the needs of U.S. imperialism, become a busy spokesman for U.S. imperialism, and even openly made Indian troops serve as an international policeman for U.S. imperialism in its suppression of national-liberation movements.

Here's the Record

Nehru neither supported nor sympathized with the great struggle of the Japanese people against the U.S.-Japan military alliance treaty in 1960, saying "it is not for me to discuss the issue."

After U.S. mercenaries invaded Cuba in April 1961, Nehru said that "India could not judge, nor was she in a position to judge, the international conditions of Cuba — who was right and who was wrong."

In March 1961, when Mali, the United Arab Republic, Ceylon, Indonesia, Morocco, Burma, Guinea and other Asian and African countries announced one after another the withdrawal of their troops from the Congo in protest against the use of the United Nations by imperialism for intervention in the Congo, the Nehru government, on the contrary, agreed to send a contingent of 3,000 Indian troops (afterwards increased to 6,000) as reinforcements

for the "United Nations Forces" in the Congo to suppress the national-liberation struggle of the Congolese people and assist U.S. imperialism in its attempt to swallow up the Congo. The Nehru government is in a way responsible for the fact that, after the murder of the Congolese national hero Lumumba, his successor Gizenga was imprisoned.

In September 1961 at the conference of the heads of state of the non-aligned countries, Nehru, going contrary to the opinions of the heads of many countries, held that the question of opposing imperialism and colonialism should occupy "a secondary place"; he disagreed with the adoption of "brave declarations" condemning imperialism and colonialism, and thus helped in a big way the Western countries, especially U.S. imperialism.

A Top Favourite of the Kennedy Administration. On May 29, 1961, the *U.S. News and World Report* in an article entitled "A Close Look at the Man U.S. Is Betting On in Asia" said that "Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, is turning out to be a top favourite of the Kennedy administration among statesmen of the world." But public opinion in Asia and Africa indicates that the role played by Nehru in international affairs has given him "a bad name." Even the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* admitted in its September 14, 1962 editorial that the Indian Government is "in an isolated position in international relations" and that "India has almost no friend in Asia." On September 22, 1962, the Indian weekly *Blitz* also said regretfully that among the Asian and African countries, "we Indians [read Nehru and his like] are becoming conservative, if not reactionary."

Nehru's "Non-Alignment" — A Mere Facade

Thus it can be seen that the policy of "non-alignment" publicized by Nehru has obviously become more and more a mere facade behind which he is actually carrying out a policy of opposing the national revolutionary movements of various countries, opposing socialism, and serving imperialism.

It is at a time when their entire home and foreign policy has become increasingly reactionary that the Indian ruling circles headed by Nehru have instigated the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, provoked China and finally launched large-scale armed attacks on China. They have done so because they persist in their expansionist policy and, by sabotaging Sino-Indian friendship and stirring up reactionary nationalist sentiment, attempt to divert the attention of the Indian people, intensify their exploitation and oppression of the people, and strike at the progressive forces. They have done so, too, because they seek to make use of the anti-China campaign to curry favour with U.S. imperialism and get more U.S. dollars. In a word, in the effort to satisfy their own needs and meet the demands of U.S. imperialism, the Indian ruling circles headed by Nehru have become pawns in the international anti-China campaign. This is the root cause and background of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute.

III

Marxism-Leninism points out that bourgeois nationalism under different conditions plays different historical roles. Marxism-Leninism has always drawn a distinction

between the nationalism of the oppressed nations and the nationalism of the oppressor nations, between progressive nationalism and reactionary nationalism, and has taken different attitudes to nationalism in accordance with this distinction.

The Dual Character of the National Bourgeoisie

In modern times, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, because of their contradictions with imperialism and the feudal forces, can take part in the revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle during certain historical periods and to a certain extent and therefore play a progressive role in history. As Lenin said: "Bourgeois nationalism . . . has an historical justification." During the period of the bourgeois national-democratic revolution in China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's policies of alliance with the Soviet Union, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the workers and peasants provide an outstanding example of progressive nationalism.

On the other hand, however, the bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, because of their class status, are inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism and are liable to waver in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. One section, the big bourgeoisie, whose interests are closely connected with those of imperialism and domestic feudalism, are the reactionaries among the bourgeoisie. Under certain circumstances, they may join in the national-independence movement, but, when the broad masses of the people have really stood up, when class struggle becomes acute, and when bribed by the imperialists, then they will betray the revolution, suppressing the people, the Communist Party and the progressive forces at home and selling out to imperialism and opposing the socialist countries abroad. The Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who have been overthrown by the Chinese people furnish a particularly glaring example of this.

Since the end of World War II, a number of newly independent countries led by bourgeois nationalists have emerged in Asia and Africa. Many nationalist states in Asia, Africa and Latin America have a common desire to oppose imperialism and colonialism and defend world peace, because they still suffer from aggression and intervention by imperialism and are victims of control and plunder by the new and old colonialists. They continue to struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism, establish and develop relations of friendship and co-operation with the socialist countries, and thus make positive contributions to world peace.

China's Policy Towards the Nationalist Countries

The Chinese people and the peoples of the nationalist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have all suffered from brutal oppression and plunder by the imperialists. China is now still subjected to aggression by U.S. imperialism, and its territory of Taiwan is still under the occupation of U.S. imperialism. It is only natural that the Chinese people should cherish a profound sympathy and concern for the peoples of the nationalist countries.

The basis of China's policy towards the nationalist countries is this: Firstly, the primary common task of China and all nationalist countries is to oppose their common enemy, imperialism and colonialism, especially U.S. imperialism. They must support one another in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. China has consistently given active support to the struggles waged by the various nationalist states against imperialism and colonialism. Secondly, it is necessary and entirely possible to establish and develop, between China and these countries, relations of friendship and co-operation on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It is necessary and fully possible to bring about, through friendly consultations, a reasonable settlement of all outstanding disputes among them in accordance with the Five Principles and the Bandung spirit.

Similarly, China stands firm in its desire to live forever in friendship with India. The relations of friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples have a long history. There is no conflict of vital interests whatsoever between the peoples of our two countries. In 1954 the Chinese and Indian Governments jointly initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and Sino-Indian relations built on this basis were once good. The Chinese people, like the Indian people, cherish the memory of the years when the two countries were on friendly terms.

But even in the period when Sino-Indian relations were good, the Indian ruling circles headed by Nehru repeatedly interfered in China's Tibet and harboured expansionist designs against it, thereby revealing their policy of reactionary nationalism. Then in 1959, when the rebellion of the reactionary clique of the upper social strata of the Tibet region instigated by Nehru was defeated and Nehru's expansionist dream about Tibet was shattered, and when he took a more reactionary line in all his home and foreign policies, Nehru immediately turned against his friend, switching from professions of friendship for China to frantic hostility to China.

Nehru's Philosophy of Life. Nehru believes that his fickle and erratic behaviour is in keeping with his "philosophy of life." In his book *The Discovery of India* Nehru said, "Life is too complicated . . . for it to be confined within the four corners of a fixed doctrine." (Meridian Books Ltd., London, 3rd ed., 1951, p. 16.) He also said, "It is never easy to reconcile a strict adherence to truth as one sees it, with exigencies and expediencies of life, and especially of political life." (ibid., p. 421.) He held that to take expediencies as a criterion of action was "the universal rule" in politics.

In a word, his expressions of friendship for you at a certain time conform to his philosophy; his ambition to face you in anger "for hundreds and hundreds of years" conforms to his philosophy; and his intention to get rid of you also conforms to his philosophy. This is the sort of "philosophy" Nehru has used in guiding his reactionary policy. Both his reactionary policy and erratic behaviour serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords of India and in Nehru's own words, are to bring "rich dividends" to them.

Marxist-Leninist Stand on Reactionary Nationalism

What stand should the Marxist-Leninists take on this policy of reactionary nationalism followed by Nehru?

Here a review of an episode in Chinese history of more than thirty years ago may be useful.

The Chinese people still remember that when the Soviet Union was the only socialist state in the world it was provoked and attacked by China's reactionary big bourgeoisie and big landlords represented by Chiang Kai-shek. At that time, despite the fact that the Soviet Government had given vigorous support to the Kuomintang of China, the Kuomintang reactionaries headed by Chiang Kai-shek, immediately after their betrayal of the revolution and their surrender to imperialism, whipped up a frantic anti-Soviet campaign simultaneously with their unbridled anti-Communist, anti-popular moves. In December 1927, the Kuomintang reactionaries forcibly and outrageously closed down Soviet consulates in various cities of China, arrested and killed Soviet diplomatic officials and broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. A year and more afterwards, in July 1929, the Kuomintang reactionaries, in violation of the "Sino-Soviet Agreements of 1924," manufactured the "Chinese Eastern Railway Incident" and arrested more than 300 Soviet nationals.

Although the Soviet Union repeatedly showed forbearance and proposed the holding of a meeting to settle the Chinese Eastern Railway question peacefully, Chiang Kai-shek took the self-restraint of the Soviet Union to mean that "the Soviet Union meekly submits, not daring to make the slightest resistance." In October of that year the army of the Kuomintang reactionaries attacked the Soviet border, stirring up an armed conflict between China and the Soviet Union. Thus, the Soviet Union was compelled to act in self-defence and defeated this military provocation of the Kuomintang reactionaries.

The Right Thing to Do. Did the socialist Soviet Union do the right thing at the time? History has long since rendered its verdict: It was the perfectly right thing to do. The Soviet Union's resolute counter-blow to the military provocation of the Kuomintang reactionaries not only defended the interests of the socialist state but also accorded with the interests of the Chinese people and of the revolutionary people of the world.

Sino-Indian relations today bear certain similarities to Sino-Soviet relations of more than thirty years ago.

The principles of China's foreign policy and of its policy towards India have been consistent. Despite incessant provocation by the Nehru government, China has still maintained an attitude of maximum restraint. It was only when the Nehru government had recently launched large-scale attacks that China was compelled to hit back in self-defence to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity and to repulse the attacks of the Indian reactionaries. It is fully necessary and perfectly just for China to do so, and it is the least a sovereign state should do. It is precisely for this reason that China has won the sympathy and support of the people of the world who cherish peace and uphold justice.

Yugoslav Modern Revisionists Stand Revealed As a Dirty Bunch of Renegades

After the Nehru government started the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, the Yugoslav modern revisionists,

renegades to Marxism-Leninism and lackeys of the imperialists, in utter disregard of the truth about the Sino-Indian boundary question, openly shielded and supported the outrageous anti-China policy of the Nehru government. On the Sino-Indian boundary question, Tito and his ilk have always hurled shameless slanders against China and become an echo of the imperialists and the Indian reactionaries. Moreover, Tito said that the Soviet Union should play a "pacifying" role in relation to China on the Sino-Indian boundary question. Does the Tito clique think that when a socialist country is invaded by the bourgeois reactionaries of a foreign country, another socialist country should stand by the bourgeois reactionaries and play a "pacifying" role in relation to the invaded socialist country? By this fallacy the Tito clique has further exposed itself as a group of renegades betraying socialism, hating socialist China and sowing dissension among the socialist countries.

Marxism-Leninism always points to the fact that bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two different world outlooks which represent two different classes and are fundamentally antagonistic to each other. While supporting progressive bourgeois nationalism, Communists must draw a clear-cut line between themselves and bourgeois nationalism and must combat reactionary bourgeois nationalism.

Chinese Communists Combat Reactionary Nationalism

More than thirty years ago, when the Kuomintang reactionaries launched that anti-Soviet campaign, the Chinese Communists were not caught in the toils of the reactionary nationalism of the big bourgeoisie. The Chinese Communists and progressives strongly protested against the anti-Soviet crime of the Kuomintang government. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a declaration on December 24, 1927, in which it solemnly stated:

The reactionary Kuomintang government absolutely does not represent revolutionary China and its orders to sever diplomatic relations with Russia absolutely do not represent the public opinion of the great majority of the Chinese people. The reactionary Kuomintang government regards the Soviet Union as an enemy, but we, the masses of the people, still regard the Soviet Union as a good friend of China and will always unite with it in fighting for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

Soong Ching Ling, leader of the revolutionaries in the Kuomintang, also sent a cable to the Kuomintang authorities at that time denouncing them as "criminals ruining the party and the nation." After the reactionary Kuomintang clique launched the anti-Soviet war in northeast China in July 1929, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued another declaration, resolutely calling on "the broad masses to rise against the war on the Soviet Union." In response to this call, the Chinese Communists and the broad masses of the people, despite ruthless repression and persecution by the Kuomintang reactionaries, courageously held mass meetings and demonstrations in resolute opposition to the anti-Soviet military provocation of the reactionary Kuomintang clique. For this, many Communists, workers, peasants, students and progressives laid down their lives with glory.

Well Done. Did the Chinese Communist Party do the right thing in resolutely opposing the Kuomintang reactionaries and supporting the socialist Soviet Union? Undoubtedly, it was perfectly right. It was none other than the Chinese Communists who thoroughly exposed the false propaganda of narrow nationalism fanned up by the Kuomintang reactionaries in their anti-Soviet campaign. It was none other than the Chinese Communists who upheld the truth and resolutely safeguarded the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples under extremely difficult conditions. Even today we feel proud that under those adverse conditions the Chinese Communists by their deeds during that incident proved themselves genuinely loyal to the interests of the Chinese people and to the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Today, the Communists and progressives of India are in a situation somewhat similar to that of the Chinese Communists and progressives more than thirty years ago. As a result of the reactionary policy of the Nehru government, the Indian Communist Party and progressive forces are subjected to persecution. Each time the Nehru government stirs up an anti-China campaign, he simultaneously mounts an attack on the Indian Communist Party and progressive forces. But large numbers of Indian Communists and progressives, large numbers of politically conscious workers, peasants, intellectuals and fair-minded people have not been deceived by the reactionary propaganda of the Indian ruling circles, nor have they knuckled under to their attacks. In the interests of the Indian people, they have, under extremely difficult conditions, stood firm for truth, justice and Sino-Indian friendship and waged unflinching struggles. History will prove that it is they who really represent the interests of the great Indian nation and people.

The Just Voice of the Indian People

No matter how clamorous the anti-China hullabaloo stirred up by the Indian reactionary clique and its supporters both at home and abroad may sound for a time, the just voice of the Indian people cannot be drowned. Here we should like to give an example and refer our readers to a letter to the editor, published in the Calcutta paper *Epoch* on May 16, 1962. This ordinary Indian wrote:

... If China has become an aggressor by occupying 12,000 square miles according to the Indian map, India also has become a greater aggressor by occupying 38,000 square miles according to the Chinese map. It would not be justified to hope that the other party would throw his map into the waste-paper basket and draw his boundary exactly according to our map. . . .

The most unfortunate aspect of the India-China boundary problem is that this has today become a weapon to fulfil political objects, not only delaying its solution, but possibly also leading the internal politics of the country onto an evil path by maintaining the problem. As a result of the second general elections [1957] there was an increase in strength of the left-wing forces and an Indian state went to the Communists. Since then we have been experiencing a gradually increasing trend of the Government towards the right. A considerable time before the appearance of the boundary problem Nehru called China undemocratic because China had solved its unemployment problem and made comparatively rapid progress. Later, warm praise of land reform in China by

the Malaviya Commission sent by the Government naturally alarmed the domestic feudal elements. Finally when the industrial goods of China became a hindrance to the Indian industrialists in reaping high profits on the east and west markets, it was almost to be presumed that relations would be aggravated on any pretext.

After that the boundary problem came along as a boon. It was not only that an opportunity was found to distort everything concerning China, but an easy path was opened for censuring the gradually increasing progressive movements in the country. Within a very short period the boundary problem was first turned into border penetration and afterwards border aggression. Since then we have been experiencing its application everywhere — in the interim elections of Kerala, in food movements of West Bengal, in the strikes of government employees, and finally in the third general elections [1962]. Probably many people still remember that during the food movement the walls of Calcutta were covered with posters "Don't make any movement, China is deploying her forces on the border with a view to conducting aggression!" This propagated Chinese aggression is one of the main reasons of the rise of the utter rightist force today in central and northern India after the third general elections. . . .

The issue becomes most clear when we study the newer reports of Chinese penetration. Nowadays, in most cases, these new posts are either not found afterwards, or even if they are detected, it is found afterwards that they were a few yards within Chinese territory [Nehru's speech in Rajya Sabha about Chinese "aggression" just on the eve of the election]. Or, it is found that the report is published in bold type on the first day and after two days it is published in small type that the report is "officially unconfirmed."

If China were expansionist how could she settle her boundary disputes with Nepal and Burma? Now it is prohibited even to raise these questions. It is being openly announced from all sides that not to call China an aggressor is treachery to the country. . . . But what are we, the ordinary Indian people, getting from this? Probably we shall get a little more U.S. aid from the budget to secure "democracy" in the East. But what next? What will be our answer to history? Peoples of newly awakened Asia and Africa from the Yangtze-Euphrates to the Nile-Congo have been advancing today at tremendous speed. Shall we be able to participate in the procession of peace and friendship by drowning this bitter cry from the past in the current of new life?

This Indian reader is but one among the millions of Indian people. How clearly he sees through Nehru's trick of deliberately using the boundary question to whip up the anti-China campaign! Furthermore, how ardent is his hope that the Indian people will remain friends with and march alongside the other peoples of Asia and Africa!

It is quite clear that the Indian people are clear-sighted. No deceit on Nehru's part can fool the broad masses of the Indian people.

Self-Styled Marxist-Leninists. But it is surprising that in India some self-styled Marxist-Leninists, such as S.A. Dange, trail closely behind Nehru and falsely accuse China of "encroachment" on Indian territory, alleging that "China has committed a breach of faith," that one must "support the Indian Government," etc. How far these so-called "Marxist-Leninists" have lagged behind the ordinary Indian people in their understanding! How far have they

departed from the interests of the Indian people, from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and from proletarian internationalism!

We Hope to See a Progressive, Democratic And Strong India

The Chinese people are by no means opposed to India, nor are the Indian people opposed to China. It is the common wish and interest of the people of China and India that they should respect each other, live together in friendship, and unite and co-operate with each other. As to how India should solve its economic and political problems, that is entirely the Indian people's own affair, and China has never interfered.

In this article we have touched upon certain aspects of the Indian situation in order to elucidate the truth, but we have never rejoiced over the difficulties facing the Indian people. On the contrary, we note with profound concern that since the Nehru government has ignored the sufferings of the Indian people and has aggravated the tension on the Sino-Indian border and extended the armed clashes, the Indian people will have to shoulder heavy military burdens in addition to the exorbitant taxes which are weighing down on them. Indian soldiers are being used as pawns by the selfish ruling circles; they are making meaningless sacrifices in the border clashes, while India's big capitalists and big landlords are taking the opportunity to feather their own nests. The Chinese people have the greatest sympathy for the broad masses of India's working people who are facing such sufferings. The Chinese people sincerely hope that the Indian people will free themselves from this lot, that India will soon become prosperous and strong, and that the Indian people will be able to lead a happy life. We hope to see a progressive, democratic and strong India on the continent of Asia.

It's Up to the Nehru Government. We are firmly convinced that all complicated questions between China and India left over from history can be settled, provided friendly negotiations are conducted in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Like the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese boundary questions, the Sino-Indian boundary question can be settled in a friendly way through peaceful negotiations. The Chinese people have never wavered in this conviction. We are willing to do everything possible and, together with the Indian people and all countries and people concerned with Asian peace and Afro-Asian solidarity, continue to work for the cessation of the border clashes, for the reopening of peaceful negotiations and for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Nehru government should make corresponding efforts on its part if it still has some respect for India's national interests and for the aspirations of the Indian people, and if it does not want to bruise its head against a stone wall in further expanding the border clashes to the advantage of the imperialists.

To safeguard and strengthen the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples not only accords with the common interests of the 1,100 million people of the two countries but also conforms to the common wish of the peace-loving people in Asia and throughout the world. No force can undermine or shake this great friendship. Nor can the clashes provoked by the Indian reactionary circles on the Sino-Indian border in any way undermine or shake

the true friendship between the people of China and India. It can be said that those people, whether inside or outside India, who whipped up anti-China campaigns in an attempt to sabotage Sino-Indian friendship can never gain anything from it; they will only expose their reactionary features and meet with utter defeat.

The Record

Indian Invasion of Chinese Territory

ON October 20 Indian troops launched a massive general attack on China's frontier guards on the eastern and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border. This general attack was long prepared by the Indian authorities and was a continuation and development of their long-term operation to nibble away at and occupy Chinese territory.

Around the time that China was peacefully liberating its Tibet region in 1951, the Indian Government seized the opportunity to make massive incursions into the areas on the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border south of the "McMahon Line." (This line was treacherously concocted by the British imperialists when they were ruling India.) In this way the Indian forces occupied an area of about 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory, an area about as large as China's Chekiang Province or three times the size of Belgium. In occupying this area the Indian troops simply drove out by force the local administrative personnel of the Tibet region of China.

But the Indian Government was not satisfied with this. The Indian authorities took a further step forward after the Chinese People's Government had quelled the rebellion of the upper-social-strata reactionaries in Tibet in 1959. Indian troops crossed to the north of the so-called McMahon Line, occupied Khinzemane, and at one time intruded into Tamaden and Longju in the Migyitun area and in that area provoked the first armed clash on the Sino-Indian border.

They had also continued to nibble and gnaw away at Chinese territory on the middle and western sectors. On the middle sector of the boundary in 1954 they intruded into Wuje for the first time. After 1954 they occupied Parigas in the western sector and Chuva, Chuje, Shipki Pass, Puling-Sumdo, Sangcha and Lapthal also in the middle sector.

It is worth noting that Puling-Sumdo in the middle sector is one of the ten places the Chinese Government agreed to specify as market towns within Chinese territory in the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade and Intercourse, the very agreement in which the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were initiated. In spite of all this, India occupied Puling-Sumdo.

In October 1959, the Indian troops provoked the second armed conflict on the border in the area south of the Kongka Pass on the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary.

To avoid border clashes, the Chinese Government in 1959 proposed that both China and India should with-

May the Himalaya and Karakoram Mountains bear witness to the great friendship between the peoples of China and India. Sino-Indian friendship which dates back to the immemorial past, though beclouded for the time being, will tower for ever like the Himalaya and the Karakoram.

draw 20 kilometres along the entire border and stop patrolling. Though India rejected these proposals China unilaterally stopped patrolling the border. The Indian side, however, took advantage of this to make further encroachments on the western and middle sectors of the boundary.

Since May 1961, the Indian forces have set up additional strongpoints in the Demchok area in the western sector and extended its encroachments on Chinese territory. In the middle sector Indian troops were stationed in Wuje in violation of the 1956 Sino-Indian agreement which stipulated that neither side should send troops into the Wuje area.

In 1962 India stepped up its aggressive activities against China. In the western sector the Indian troops gnawed away bit by bit at Chinese territory and engaged in armed provocations against the Chinese frontier guards in the Chip Chap Valley and Galwan Valley areas in Sinkiang, and the Pangong Lake and Spanggur Lake areas in Tibet. From last spring to early October this year, Indian forces set up an additional 38 strongpoints inside China on this sector. This brought up to 43 the number of aggressive strongpoints set up in this sector since May last year.

In the middle sector, Indian troops again violated the agreement by invading the Wuje area and establishing military strongpoints there.

In the eastern sector, the Indian forces further extended their incursions north of the "McMahon Line." Since June this year they occupied places including Che Dong, Jungputiu, Chekuopu, Kalung, Changto, Keningnai, Jihtingpu, Tang and Niangpa and repeatedly launched armed attacks on Chinese frontier guards.

Simultaneously with these increased incursions on the ground Indian planes have made ever more frequent intrusions into China's air space. Besides making reconnaissance flights, they have airdropped groups of military personnel and large amounts of military supplies to Indian aggressive strongpoints on Chinese territory. Between January and September this year, Indian aircraft made 499 sorties into China's air space.

Nehru Condemns Himself

Prime Minister Nehru's statements over the years are themselves a record of Indian aggressive activities on China's border. Speaking of India's strategy of nibbling away at Chinese territory on the western sector of the boundary, he said in the Lok Sabha on November 28, 1961:

It is a question of strong, armed groups—armies, yes,—relatively small groups going and either taking

possession of a place or removing somebody from some place. That is, the whole strategy has to depend on that conception.

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on December 5 that same year he said: "There are our military posts," "there are reconnaissance parties," "where we want to fight, we fight."

In statements made this year Nehru was even more outspoken. He said on May 3:

We have continued to send patrols and we have established a number of checkposts too. Sometimes our checkposts are behind their checkposts, behind their line . . . and this is rather annoying them, our progress in this way. . . .

He said on June 20:

India had opened some new patrol posts endangering the Chinese posts. . . . Our movements sometimes going behind the Chinese positions—have created some apprehension in the minds of the Chinese.

On August 14, he said:

We built a kind of rampart on this part of Ladakh . . . we have taken risks and we have moved forward.

On October 2 he declared that he would resort to armed force to deal with China. Ten days later, on October 12, he stated that he had issued the order to clear out the Chinese troops.

Factual Background

Changes in the Sino-Indian Boundary Line On Indian Maps

THE Indian Government has asserted that the Sino-Indian boundary line, which it claims unilaterally, is "well known" and "confirmed." But why was that boundary line modified several times in the past hundred years, cutting deeper and deeper into Chinese territory and why was that "undefined boundary" turned into a "defined boundary" on successive Indian maps? The Indian Government cannot possibly give the answer to this question.

The western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary: Prior to 1865, this sector of the boundary was drawn on Indian maps in about the same way as it is on Chinese maps, that is, in general agreement with the traditional customary line as indicated by the Chinese side.

On the official map published by the Survey of India in 1943, no boundary line was as yet marked on this sector.

A roughly marked coloured patch on the official Indian maps published in 1950 and 1952 outlined this sector of the boundary as India now asserts it to be. The 1950 map still carries the words "boundary undefined." But this undefined boundary suddenly became a defined one on the Indian maps published in 1954 and afterwards.

The middle sector: Official Indian maps published between 1880 and 1900 clearly showed in Chinese territory Sang, Tsungsha and Puling-Sumdo, places in this sector now being disputed. Moreover, this sector of the boundary is not marked on the official Indian maps published as late as 1950. These maps carry, instead, the words "boundary undefined."

The eastern sector: The so-called McMahon Line which was concocted by British imperialism in 1914 for the purpose of encroaching upon Chinese territory first appeared on Indian maps in 1936 in the form of boundary undefined. Until then, the Indian maps followed more or less the traditional customary line as indicated by China. For instance, the line marked on the map *Tibet and Adjacent Countries* published by the Survey of India in 1917 is in agreement with that marked on Chinese maps. Even after 1936, the so-called McMahon Line was not adopted on the official map *Tibet and Adjacent Countries* published by the Survey of India in 1938.

Nehru has said recently that the "McMahon Line" represents the Indian frontier and that "all our [Indian] maps say so." But he has forgotten that the map "India 1945" in his own book, *The Discovery of India* (English edition), shows the eastern sector of the boundary approximately in the same way as on the Chinese maps, instead of following the "McMahon Line."

The official maps of India published in 1950 and 1952 by the Survey of India have the so-called McMahon Line marked on them, but still in the form of an undefined boundary. It was only in 1954 that this line suddenly became a defined boundary line on the Indian maps.

This review of the maps published by the Survey of India at different times proves that India has pushed the boundary line claimed by it farther and farther into Chinese territory. Generally speaking, as these maps show, the boundary on all sectors marked on the official Indian maps published prior to 1865 is about the same as on the Chinese maps. The official Indian maps published between 1865 and 1952 acknowledged generally that the western and middle sectors of the boundary were undefined and so did not mark them, while marking India's boundary with other countries. Some of these maps defined as Chinese territory most of the places in the western and middle sectors which India now claims as its territory. With regard to the eastern sector, the so-called McMahon Line did not appear on the Indian maps published prior to 1936. Not until 1954 did the Indian authorities draw on their maps the entire boundary line as the Indian Government now unilaterally claims it to be, and mark it on their official maps as "defined boundary."

The changes in the drawing of the Sino-Indian boundary line on Indian maps reflect the territorial ambitions entertained by British imperialism and the Indian authorities and their actual encroachments upon Chinese territory. No Indian who really cherishes the honour of his country nor any other fair-minded person will believe that the boundary unilaterally claimed by the Indian Government is the real boundary between China and India.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

C.P.V. Anniversary Commemorated

October 25 was the 12th anniversary of the entry of the Chinese People's Volunteers into Korea to help fight U.S. imperialism. The Korean Embassy in Peking and consulates in other Chinese cities gave receptions to mark the occasion.

Premier Chou En-lai; Peng Chen and Chen Shu-tung, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Chen Yi, as well as high-ranking officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and many public leaders attended the reception given on October 25 in Peking by Zung Bong Koo, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Korean Embassy, to commemorate the anniversary.

Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese P.L.A., speaking at the reception pointed out that during the Korean war, the Chinese and Korean peoples, though inferior in equipment, fought stubbornly against U.S. imperialism, which was armed to the teeth, and finally compelled the enemy to sign an armistice. This was an event of far-reaching historic significance, he said. It exposed the nature of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger, exploded the myth of its invincibility and encouraged the revolutionary militant will of the people suffering from oppression and aggression and made an inestimable contribution to the lofty cause of world peace and mankind's progress.

Referring to Sino-Korean friendship, Senior General Lo Jui-ching thanked the Korean people for the constant support they gave the Chinese people and reaffirmed the Chinese people's support for the Korean people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for the peaceful reunification of their country.

Zung Bong Koo in his speech also described U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger. The victory in the Korean war showed the world that U.S. imperial-

ism, which prided itself on being the "most powerful" in the world and never having been defeated in war in history, had begun to chalk up a record of repeated defeats, he said. The Korean diplomat warmly praised the great achievements of the Chinese people in their socialist construction and expressed the Korean people's support for the Chinese people in their just struggle for the liberation of Taiwan and for the Chinese Government's constant and correct stand on the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border question.

More U.S. Provocations

During the past two months, U.S. warships and aircraft have intruded into China's territorial waters and air space on seven occasions.

On September 21, between 16:55 and 20:29 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters in the Pingtan area of Fukien Province. On September 25 between 12:30 and 12:47 hours, a U.S. military plane flew over

the area of Yunghsing and Shih Islands of the Hsisha group in Kwangtung Province; on the same day, between 12:50 hours and 12:53 hours another U.S. military plane flew over the Tung Island of the Hsisha group.

On October 2 between 13:15 and 13:37 hours, a U.S. military plane flew over the area of Yunghsing, Shih, and Wu Islands of the Hsisha group. On October 26 between 16:26 and 21:50 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters in the Tungyin area of Fukien Province; while on October 27 between 04:43 hours and 08:28 hours, a U.S. warship again intruded into the same area. On October 30 between 13:05 and 13:20 hours, a U.S. military plane flew over the area of Yunghsing, Shih and Tung Islands of the Hsisha group.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 215th, 216th, 217th, 218th and 219th serious warnings against these U.S. military provocations.

Afro-Asian Lawyers Denounce Imperialism

The Second Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference ended in Conakry on October 22. A general resolution endorsed at a plenary session called on the Afro-Asian peoples to unite further and wage "an unrelenting struggle against imperialism's policies of intervention, aggression, domination and war." It urged the Afro-Asian lawyers to stand together with the Afro-Asian peoples and to devote their greatest efforts to the struggle for complete national independence.

Addressing the conference, Chang Yu-yu, head of the Chinese delegation, condemned the Kennedy Administration's "global strategy" aimed at stamping out the national-liberation movement. To conceal its neo-colonialist features, it pretended to "sympathize" with and "support" the movement, he added. The Chinese delegate cited facts to show that U.S. imperialism had flagrantly violated the basic criteria of international law concerning respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries and non-interference in their internal affairs. He also condemned the U.S. Government for violating the basic principles of the U.N. Charter, manipulating the United Nations and using it as an instrument to push ahead neo-colonialism.

Chang Yu-yu, stressing the importance of the national-liberation movement to world peace, qualified as obviously mistaken the views, and the actions based on them, which used the need for a broad composition of the peace movement as a pretext for not supporting the national-liberation movement and for not wanting the oppressed nations to wage revolutionary struggles against new and old colonialism.

Chang Yu-yu continued to say that the obstacle to disarmament came from imperialism. For the people of those countries which were not yet independent, it was imperative that they conduct a national-liberation struggle which took various forms, including armed struggle, in order to win national independence. For those countries and peoples which were independent, it was necessary to strengthen their national defence in order to safeguard and consolidate their national independence. "We are resolutely opposed to such remarks as that the struggle for general disarmament is all-embracing and supreme or that the struggle for winning and safeguarding national independence is subordinate to the struggle for general disarmament."

SIDELIGHTS

The New Expert. Lan Chia-pi's college days moved on winged feet. Soon came the day when she stepped out of the gates of the Southwestern Agricultural College into life—a life she had chosen long ago.

Liu Chi-yun, the Party secretary of the Fengleli Production Brigade in a people's commune on the outskirts of Hsinhsiang City, Honan Province, and an old hand at vegetable-growing, was a little surprised at this new expert the Municipal Agricultural Bureau had sent. The last "expert" that had come had walked into his office, fired off a volley of questions, and gone off with a stack of statistics. That one had been no help to practical production work at all. This quiet, dark-haired girl followed him silently into the fields, worked beside him wordlessly, and jotted down in a notebook his observations about the plants. Thus it was the second day and the third. Each morning she came from town early and returned late at night. On the fifth day, when the girl suddenly asked him: "Comrade Liu, do you think you have a place for me to stay in around here? . . . I've brought my things," Liu decided that here, finally, was an expert after his own heart.

From that day on, Lan was received into the bosom of the brigade. What the young girl lacked in practical experience, she learnt from the peasants in the fields; what they lacked in book knowledge, she was able to supply. Together they ventured into new experiments in vegetable-growing, and little by little they were able to raise the yields of tomatoes, onions, potatoes and other vegetables.

In a letter to a friend, Lan Chia-pi wrote: "I am so glad I took that decision. Here in the countryside, I've found unlimited horizons. . . ."

Musical Island. Long known as an idyllic beauty spot, Kulangsu Island off the Amoy coast is also winning fresh renown as a place of music. Of a warm autumn evening musical notes come tumbling from many open windows. A good part of its 20,000 inhabitants are members of the orchestras, bands, choirs and gleeclubs organized by the island schools,

fishermen's production teams, factories, and street committees. Family concerts are popular. Island musicians give public performances where classical and modern Chinese music share the honours with Bach and Beethoven. It is not surprising that accomplished musicians like the pianist Yin Cheng-tung, second-prize-winner of the Second International Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow, and singer Wu Tien-chiu, bronze-medal-winner at the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna, come from Kulangsu Island, as well as many professors and conductors of the nation's big-name music conservatoires and orchestras.

Sweet Aromas. China is now turning out more than 300 kinds of perfumes and aromatic essences from spearmint to rare musk. They are used at home and abroad in the manufacture of cosmetics, soaps and other consumer goods, in the food industry, and in traditional Chinese medicine.

Only a few of these essences were produced in any quantity before liberation; now they are produced from natural raw materials in more than ten provinces including Kwangtung, Chekiang, Fukien, Yunnan and Szechuan. With the development of the chemical industry, Shanghai is now also turning out 200 kinds of synthetic aromatics.



Woodcut by Liu Hsien

Parties at Sea. A new cure for seasickness and loneliness—twin companions of the solitary passenger at sea—has been devised by the S.S. *Zhongxing No. 9* on the Shanghai-Tsingtao run. When night falls over the misty sea, the lights go on in the ship's big saloon. All passengers are cordially invited to a give and take party. Passengers with talent—spotted long ago by the ship's scouts when they came aboard carrying such things as tell-tale instrument cases—are cheered up to the footlights with good-natured urging. The hosts comprising the whole staff of the ship come out with opera, comic dialogues and the playing of musical instruments by sailors and cabin boys and conjuring tricks by the captain. The vessel will soon be celebrating its hundredth such party. Each time it comes into port, rehearsals of dramatic monologues and opera are as much a part of the ship's routine as deck-scrubbing and polishing the brasswork.

Everyone Happy. The bridge linking two villages of one production brigade was completed. Here in stream-enmeshed Chekiang Province there is a long tradition about how an opening ceremony should be carried out. A respected village elder was invited to officiate. He was Chung Yun-po, 81 this year, with many grandchildren and a stickler for good old customs. This morning Grandfather Chung would dedicate the bridge to the prosperity of his people's commune.

Loud cheers and more fireworks greeted Grandfather Chung when he appeared accompanied by the Party secretary and the production brigade leader. But at the head of the bridge, the three suddenly broke into an argument. Grandfather Chung insisted that the Party secretary and the brigade leader should lead the way. Old men have officiated for decades, but it didn't do much good until the Communist Party led us, was his reason. The Party secretary and the brigade leader insisted that it didn't conform to custom. The three stood there arguing until the brigade leader put up a proposal that won instant and hearty approval.

Then the bridge opening ceremony began. Amidst singing and cheering the procession marched over their bridge headed by Grandfather Chung and the Party secretary holding high the portrait of Chairman Mao.

Two Documentaries

"Over the Rapids." Seldom has a ten-minute documentary attracted as much attention as *Over the Rapids*, a simple short about rafting logs down a river. Film fans have been crowding to see it. The press has been generous in its praise. Some critics rate it one of New China's best documentaries in recent years, outstanding even among the many colourful and attractive shorts now being produced.

From the very first flashes on the screen, the audience is caught up in a swirl of action. Alongside the steersman on a lone racing raft we hurtle down the treacherous Luan Rapids of the Golden Creek in Fukien. The Golden Creek on the upper reaches of the Min River is one of the main log-floating routes from the timber lands in the hinterland to Foochow on the coast. It was also a trap for generations of rafters. We follow the camera eye to two dilapidated temples and their idols on the rocky cliffside. It was to these unresponsive earthen gods that the rafters once entrusted their lives and their hopes. Under a thick layer of dust and cobwebs, an ancient temple tablet still bears the words: "On the Luan Rapids the rocks rise thick as a for-

est; this year almost no rafts have come safely through."

One can picture the rafters of those days, ill-fed, oppressed, struggling in the toils of the dangerous currents and an even more hazardous life. . . . What a contrast that is with the river-riders of today: strong, robust and confident, guiding their craft with incredible skill through the seething waters and around the jutting rocks. These are obviously masters of the rapids and of their fate. Past the rapids we cruise with them through smooth waters to meet the huge dam and power station that rises high in their path—a new landmark of socialist construction. We spend with them minutes that seem an eternity as the raft traverses for over 500 metres a pitch-black tunnel in the dam. We hear with relief the calls of instruction and welcome of other rafters at the mouth of the tunnel and realize that today no rafter would be left to live or perish on his own: he is part of a strong collective that makes success sure.

In ten minutes, we are so identified with the rafters that our hearts swell with triumph and a sense of work well done when we finally reach the broad expanse of the lower reaches of the Min and join the thousands of other rafts peaceably moored, each a testimony to the skill of its steersman.

And we have had time too to enjoy the sights of strange-plumed birds

among the trees on shore, the egrets in flight over the waters, fish gliding in the clear depths. In the dusk, our raft moored for the evening meal. A light fishing craft stole quietly to the water's edge overgrown with tall reeds. Wild geese, startled out of their rest, rose into the evening sky. . . .

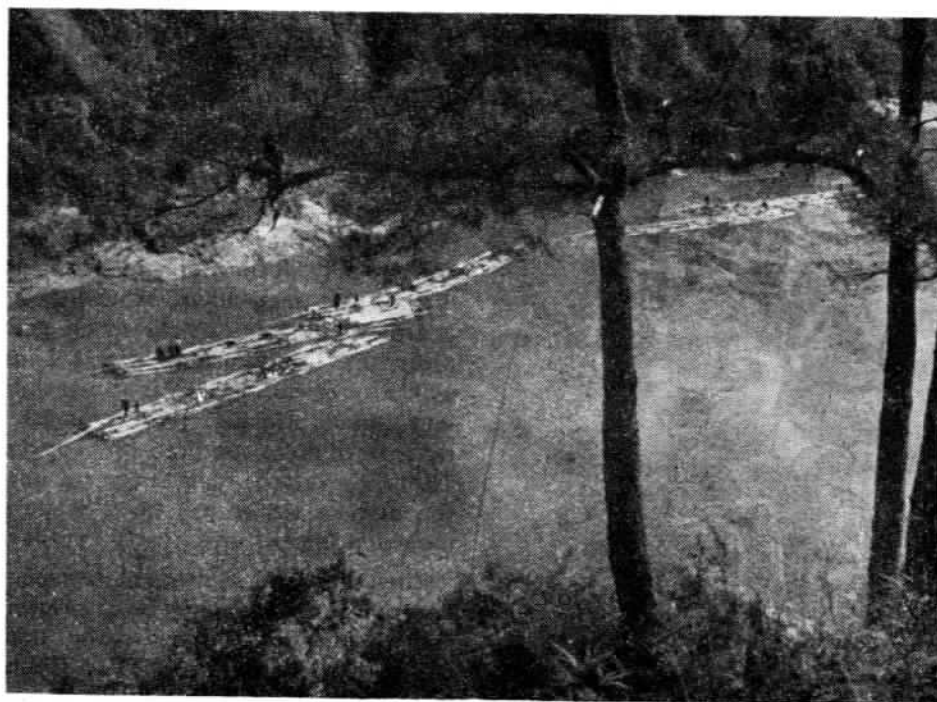
Produced by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Studio, the laurels for this film are jointly shared by its cameraman Fan Hou-chin and editor Lei Chen-lin. Some of the most exciting shots were made from a raft with the cameraman held at the waist by a sure-footed helper. Sky, trees, rocky cliffs, water, had rushed pell-mell into the view of the lenses. Living and working with the rafters to make this film, editor and cameraman have captured the adventure, the beauty and poetry of the rafters' life and work.

"Rainbows on Earth." In a more subdued and contemplative mood is *Rainbows on Earth*, a coloured documentary on Chinese bridges soon to be released by the same studio.

It stars the famous bridges which from ancient times have smoothed the way of the traveller and added so much charm to the Chinese landscape. It opens with the simplest, crudest and most rustic of bridges, passes on to artfully constructed bridges of bamboo or stone arches with typically Chinese forms, and ends with the most up-to-date bridges of the suspension type or of reinforced concrete construction.

The famous Chaochow Bridge in Hopei Province naturally captures us with its classic grace. Built between 605 and 616 A.D., this single-arch stone bridge is considered a perfect example of the open-spandrelled arch type and is still serviceable after 1,350 years. Its building is accredited to a Sui Dynasty stonecutter Li Chun, but legend has it that it was built by the famous carpenter Lu Pan in a single night. In early dawn after its completion, a god riding a donkey and another in a cart passed over it, leaving hoofmarks and wheelmarks in the stone. For good measure the film shows these celestial souvenirs imprinted on the bridge.

Then we go to the historic Lukou-chiao Bridge southwest of Peking. This 235-metre-long white marble bridge with 11 arches has carved marble balustrades and pillars topped with lions and cubs. This was the



On the Min River

bridge described by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo seven centuries ago as one of the wonders of the world. Reconstructed some 200 years ago, it stands today as a historic landmark of the place where in 1937 the Japanese imperialists fired their first shots in their war of aggression against the Chinese people.

There are beautiful shots of two well-known bridges of unusual design built around 1770 on the old site of the Summer Palace in Peking. The Jade Belt Bridge, a single-span "camel back" bridge, and the Seventeen-Arch Bridge.

The most famous bridge in contemporary revolutionary history, the Luting Bridge in Szechuan with its suspension iron chains, brings back the moving memory of Red Army soldiers on their Long March advancing foot by foot over the bare chains in the face of heavy enemy fire to win a crossing for the people's army.

Opening appropriately with the Chinese legend of the bridge formed by magpies which fly together once each year so that a pair of celestial lovers

may meet, the film ends with the new legend created by the Chinese people — the great Yangtse Bridge built just a few years ago.

This is an entertaining short. The camerawork is good and ably backed by the commentary and a musical accompaniment in traditional Chinese style. This latter, while unobtrusive, creates just the right atmosphere to enjoy a lucidly informative documentary showing some notably beautiful creations of the Chinese people.

SHORT NOTES

National Swimming Championships. Competition was keen at the National Swimming and Diving Championships held on October 20-23 in Nanning, Kwangsi: 226 swimmers from all parts of the country competed for honours in the 21 events. Three new national records were set: Lin Jan-ho did the women's 100 metres butterflystroke in 1 min. 16.9 sec.; Mo Kuo-hsiung did the men's 100 metres breaststroke in 1 min. 10 sec.; and Yang San-sheng did the men's 100 metres backstroke in 1 min. 5.8 sec.

At a contest after the championships, the records for the 400 metres medley relays for both men and women were improved. The new men's time was 4 min. 15.9 sec. and the women's was 5 min. 9.6 sec.

Children's "Weiqi" Championships. The ancient Chinese chess game of *weiqi* (known in Japan as *go*) is becoming more popular than ever before, many young enthusiasts are taking it up. The 1962 Children's Inter-City Championships recently held in Peking brought over 40 boys and girls to the capital to compete.

After ten days of tense competitions Fan Chiu-lin (Shanghai) won the boys' (8 to 11-year-olds) event while Wu Chuan-sui (Hofei, Anhwei Province) won the girls' competition. The boys' contest in the 12 to 15-year-old group was won by Hofei's Wang Ju-nan. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, who is a *weiqi* player himself, went to watch the championship play on two occasions and officiated at the prize-giving ceremony.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

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

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **CHANG YU BOILS THE SEA** A colourful fantasy. The daughter of the Dragon King of the Sea loves a young and handsome mortal, Chang Yu, a woodcutter. Her father forbids the union. With the aid of a magic pot, a gold coin and a fan, three treasures stolen from the underwater tyrant, Chang Yu boils the sea and makes it so hot for the king that he hastily gives his consent. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

▲ **CLEVER GIRL LIU** deals with the theme of marriage based on freedom of choice. The story takes place in the countryside in the days just after liberation, when feudal marriage ideas were still strong.

CONCERT

Nov. 3 Peking Concert Hall

RECITAL

by

Chung Wei — Soprano

Accompanied by Tu Ming-hsin at the piano.

Arias from famous operas and songs by Tchaikovsky, Mozart, Schumann, etc.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **RED CRAG** A new play adapted from the popular novel by Lo Kuang-pin and Yang Yi-yen. It describes the bitter struggle inside the notorious SACO prison between the political prisoners and the U.S.-Chiang agents and gaoers on the eve of Chungking's liberation. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **WU TSE TIEN** A historical play written by Kuo Mo-jo. A dramatic chronicle of how Empress Wu Tse Tien, China's woman ruler of the early Tang Dynasty, brings peace and progress to the country by her wise statesmanship. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **THERE'S A BIT OF FOOLISHNESS IN EVERY WISE MAN** One of A. Ostrovsky's plays staged in Chinese. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **PRINCESS WEN CHENG** Historical play by noted contemporary playwright Tien Han. Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty consents to the marriage between Princess Wen Cheng and Tibetan king Sron-Tsan Gampo. Despite the plots of traitors, the Tibetan-Han union is consummated and fraternal ties strengthened between the two nationalities. China Youth Art Theatre.

▲ **PAVEL KORCHAGIN** Adapted from N. Ostrovsky's famous novel *How the Steel Was Tempered*. China Youth Art Theatre.

▲ **YOUNG EAGLES** A six-act play produced by the Modern Drama Troupe of the P.L.A. Air Force. It tells how in 1952 the young air force of the Chinese People's Volunteers beats the invading U.S. air force on the Korean front.

▲ **THE SIEGE** A new play staged by China Coalminers' Modern Drama Troupe. Approaching an industrial city in northeast China, the People's Liberation Army skillfully makes use of the conflicts within the enemy camp to liberate the city by peaceful means, saving the city, its people and industry from harm.

FILMS

▲ **PRELUDE TO THE EASTWARD MARCH** A feature film in colour showing how the Communist-led New Fourth Army wages a vigorous and successful struggle to expose the Kuomintang defeatists and reactionaries and rally the people and all patriots for a united resistance to the Japanese invaders. "August 1" Studio.

▲ **WITH ONE HEART** A new feature tribute to the close and militant unity between the Chinese workers and peasants in their struggle for liberation. Changchun Studio.

▲ **OUR VILLAGE LADS AND LASSES** A story of how the young people of a village win through in a battle to bring water from a distant spring to irrigate their fields. Changchun Studio.

▲ **AN EAGER LONGING** A Rumanian film. An ex-serviceman leads the land reform in his home village and frustrates the plots of the reactionaries who seek to regain power.

▲ **AH FU AND HIS LOVE** A Vietnamese feature film. The story of a hired labourer's struggle against his oppressors and his love for the girl who helps him escape from the landlord's clutches.

▲ **HE IS STILL ALIVE** A Korean film dedicated to the heroism of a medical corps in the fight against the Japanese invaders in 1936.

▲ **REVOLUTIONARY STORIES** A Cuban film of three shorts about the struggle of the Cuban people in different periods.

▲ **THE GHOST GOES WEST** A British comedy. Directed by Rene Clair. Strange things happen when an American capitalist buys an ancient haunted castle in Scotland and takes it to the States — and its ghost goes with it.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **"NEW BUDS"** Works by the 1962 graduates of the Central Fine Arts Institute and Peking Arts college. Paintings in traditional Chinese style, oil paintings, water colours, graphic art, etc. Daily (except Mon.), 9:00 a.m.-5:30 p.m. till Nov. 11. At the Artists' Union Gallery.





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