

INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

Few events this year have caused as much distress to all those who wish to see the complete liberation of Africa and Asia, as has done the border dispute between the two great Asian countries, India and China. The subject is a difficult and confusing one, bedevilled by a host of complex legal, historical and political factors.

With a view to providing our readers with as much useful information as possible, we are printing an article recently received by the well-known American reporter and authoress, Anna Louise Strong, who has spent the whole of her adult life writing about the struggles for freedom and reconstruction of the peoples of Europe and Asia, and who has been a lifelong propagandist for Chinese and Indian independence.

The article, it should be noted, was written before the latest exchange of Notes between Nehru and Chou En-lai, which to a considerable extent have borne out her statement that the Chinese are eager to settle the matter round the conference table.

FOR the first time in history the Tibetan people have been holding mass-meetings in Lhasa on the Roof of the World to denounce the invasion of their land by foreign troops.

And while in the Western press it is the accepted view that Chinese troops invaded Tibet and suppressed Tibetans, the mass meetings are denouncing Indian troops. Nor do the accusations come from former serfs, who might be expected to support their Chinese liberators. They come from Living Buddhas, from former officials of the Tibetan local government, from a nephew of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, from aged dignitaries who themselves took part in that notorious Simla Conference in 1913, and who now arise from the past to compile its history.

Indian troops, they state, have since 1951 increasingly invaded Tibet, occupying its farmlands and winter pastures, driving out or jailing Tibetan officials, forbidding the population to pay to Lhasa the taxes and labour duties they have given for centuries without a break. The Indians use as excuse a so-called borderline, which a British official drew some 45 years ago, but which neither Peking nor Lhasa ever acknowledged and which Britain never dared claim or put on its maps till 1942, because it was clearly illegal.

(The article then deals briefly with examples of the American policy of "containing" Peking.)
But since I myself have just returned from Lhasa to Peking, I must take up the case of the Tibetans. For this is a conspicuous case not only of how conflicts arise between nations that need to be friendly—like India and China—but of how Britain, in common with other imperialists, indulged in drawing borders which cut the living bodies of nations in half, and brought havoc down the years.

INDIA MAKES ISSUE

THE argument over the Sino-Indian border has been smoldering for years, but has not erupted into flame because neither side wanted to make it an issue.

It is now apparent that for the past eight years Indian troops have been steadily encroaching on territory that the Chinese believe belonged to China, and that Peking has not even announced this to the world because Peking did not wish to increase tension. The first Indian advances into disputed territory began in 1951, when the Chinese People's Republic, only recently established, was involved in a war in Korea in which she badly wanted India's friendly neutrality. In subsequent years China and India were building the Bandung policy throughout Asia, and both avoided controversy.

Controversy has now erupted, not from China but from India, in Indian claims that Chinese troops are invading India's territory.

(The article next sets out the his-

tory of the anti-Chinese campaign in India, and summarises Chou En-lai's "courteous, firm and detailed" letter replying to the Indian charges.)

"NATURAL BORDER"?

THE disputed area totals some 130,000 square kilometers, 90,000 (34,000 square miles) at the eastern end of the border, the smaller part at the western end. The total is thus about four times the size of Massachusetts, an amount of territory which no government would willingly give up without clear cause. The eastern end is the area where the British officer MacMahon drew in 1914 a British-desired border, which Nehru still defends as "natural border" because it follows the high crest of the Himalayas.

Diplomats sitting in offices may find it "natural" to follow a mountain crest, but Tibetan herdsmen, who want to move downhill as the winter comes on, do not find it "natural" to be shut off from the area which is winter pasture; nor did the Tibetan Government in Lhasa find it "natural" when the long southern, and hence sunny, slope of the Himalayas was taken away from their otherwise bleak country, and the provinces of Lo and Takun, known as "Tibet's granary," were cut in two.

In short, the Tibetans resisted and the British never dared take it or claim it officially. That was left for India under Nehru, who expressed "sympathy for the Tibetans" as a main national policy, to do.

Nehru has claimed that China, using its new might, seeks to revive the claims of past centuries. This rather overstates the case. If Peking went back even one century the claims would be much more serious. Less than a century ago, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim were paying tribute to Peking; but today Peking accepts the fact that these are either independent kingdoms or Indian protectorates.

It will startle Americans to know that even Gilgit, a spot in Kashmir presently held by Pakistan invaders and given to the U.S.A. as a missile base, was paying tribute to Peking less than a century ago. Peking today makes no claim to any of these places, because they were lost to British aggression in the days of the Chinese Empire, and have now been for decades administered by governments whose centre of gravity lies in India or Pakistan.

MAIN CONTEST

THE main contest lies in areas where, China claims, Britain and/or India drew boundaries unilaterally and fairly recently, justified neither by China's agreement, nor by actual seizure and administration, over any extended period.

The long border falls naturally into three sections: the western end, between India's Ladakh and China's Sinkiang and Tibet, a central part between India's Punjab and Uttar Pradesh and China's Ari, and the south-eastern border, east of Bhutan, where MacMahon drew that notorious line.

● The western region, containing a contested area of 38,000 square kilometers, is important because it holds the pass from Tibet into Sinkiang where China recently built a connecting highway. New Delhi announced that this road crossed Indian territory. Peking replied that it did not. In September 1958, Chinese border guards encountered fifteen Indian soldiers in this area, but when these admitted that they were trespassing to do reconnaissance work, they were escorted back over what the Chinese considered the border. There was no serious follow-up by India and nobody in China seems to know just where India got the border line shown today on Indian maps, since the early British maps, notably one made in 1854 by a John Walker for the East India Company, follow the border now claimed by China rather than that now claimed by India.

● In the central part of the border, between India's Punjab and Uttar Pradesh and China's Ari, the divergence between the boundary claimed by either side is not very wide, but is measured in natural features and populated places rather than in square kilometers. Several spots are disputed here; the oldest dispute going back thirty to forty years. At that time Britain occupied Sang and Tsungsha against the protest of the inhabitants and held them against repeated protests from Lhasa. Since 1951, however, Indian forces have gone further than the British and have seized seven additional places formerly listed as Chinese territory, namely Parigan, Chuva, Chuje, Shiki Pass, Puling-Sumdo, Sangsha and Pathal. Peking sent notes of protest but "in the interests of peace," which meant specifically, the interests of Indian neutrality in the cold war, and Indian help in the Bandung agreements—did not announce the seizures to the world.

● By far the most important contested area lies east of Bhutan where India claims—and occupies—some 34,000 square miles, the whole southern slope of the Himalayas, cutting deep into Tibet's winter pastures and the farming areas of Loka and Takun, known as "the granary of Tibet." The authority given by Nehru is the so-called MacMahon Line, which India claims was agreed to in the Simla Conference, attended by delegates from China, Britain and Tibet and has been a valid border ever since. China replies that

the British did not even dare mention it at the Simla Conference, but agreed with a Tibetan delegate "behind the back of the Central Government of China," and that it was later repudiated even by Lhasa, while the entire Simla Conference was repudiated by the Central Government of Peking.

The line was therefore only a draft, never became legal, never was marked on the ground or definitely defined, and Britain never dared claim it, either in actuality or on maps, until decades later.

The entire area paid tribute in taxes and labour service to Lhasa until the Indian troops entered by force in 1951.

If one asks why China did not make more effective protest when India marched into the area in 1951, one notes that not only the basic desire of China for friendship with India operated, but that when India entered this territory in February 1951, Peking had not yet signed the Agreement with the Dalai Lama by which the People's Liberation Army was recognised by Tibetans as its border army of defence.

IT WAS THEREFORE ON THE LOCAL TIBETANS THAT THE IMPACT OF THE INDIAN OCCUPATION FELT. THEY HAVE COME OUT WITH THEIR ACCOUNTS IN THE RECENT MEETINGS IN LHASA.

(Next week: Tibet Presents Its Case)

Japanese Demonstrate Against Treaty Revision



On November 27 more than 4 million Japanese from all walks of life joined in a gigantic nation-wide demonstration against the revision of the Japanese-U.S. Treaty. The Right-Wing Kishi Government have declared their intention of pushing a Bill through Parliament to revise the clauses in the Treaty which restrict Japanese rearmament.

These pictures recently received by New Age, show dramatically the determination of the demonstrators not to allow the Bill to go through.

On the top can be seen a portion of the huge crowd that gathered outside the Diet (Parliament) to make their protest. In the bottom picture another portion of the crowd can be seen after they had battled their way past thousands of police to present their petition on the steps of the Diet itself.



SPORTLIGHT BY JOE GQABI

NTSELE TAKES BANTAM CROWN

"KILLER" MADELA K.O'd.

ERIC NTSELE (117½) of Orlando, become the new South African bantamweight champion when he knocked out "Killer" Madela (115½) of Natal in the fourth round of a scheduled 12-round title fight at the Durban City Hall on the 11th December.

The title was left vacant when the former title holder, Sexton Mabena relinquished it so as to concentrate in the featherweight division in his search for fame and fortune in the fistic world in England.

Ntsele is expected to defend his newly won crown against "Sugar"

Makololo, the Cape champion early in February or March next year. But there is a snag, and I learn it is giving promoter Tiger Kid Shaik a headache. Makololo is due to meet lanky south-paw Peter Moledi, of Johannesburg next Monday in the Cape Town City Hall. If Moledi beats Makololo, as he is most likely

to, he will get the chance of meeting Ntsele. Tiger Kid Shaik is not happy about it, as he hopes to give this chance to the local boy.

Moledi has made an impressive come back to boxing, winning both his fights inside the distance.

"Sugar" Ray Goes Union

ARE sportsmen becoming class conscious? Nobody knows that better than "Sugar" Ray Robinson, who is recognised only in the States of New York and Massachusetts as the World Middleweight champion. Reports have it that Robinson plans to form a union of professional athletes in all kinds of sports.

"Athletes deserve more money than they get, and if they organise, they can get it," Robinson is reported to have said. He has discussed the matter with Mr. George Meany (president of American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organizations), who has "encouraged" him.

"An athlete has to make money when he is on top. Nobody's going to come around and take care of him when he's all done. That's why I have been a hard man for promoters to do business with. I know these men are not going to come and hand me money when I can't anymore."

If Robinson's plans materialise, a new era shall have been ushered in the sporting world. I wish Robinson every success.

PAPWA FOR CAPE TOWN

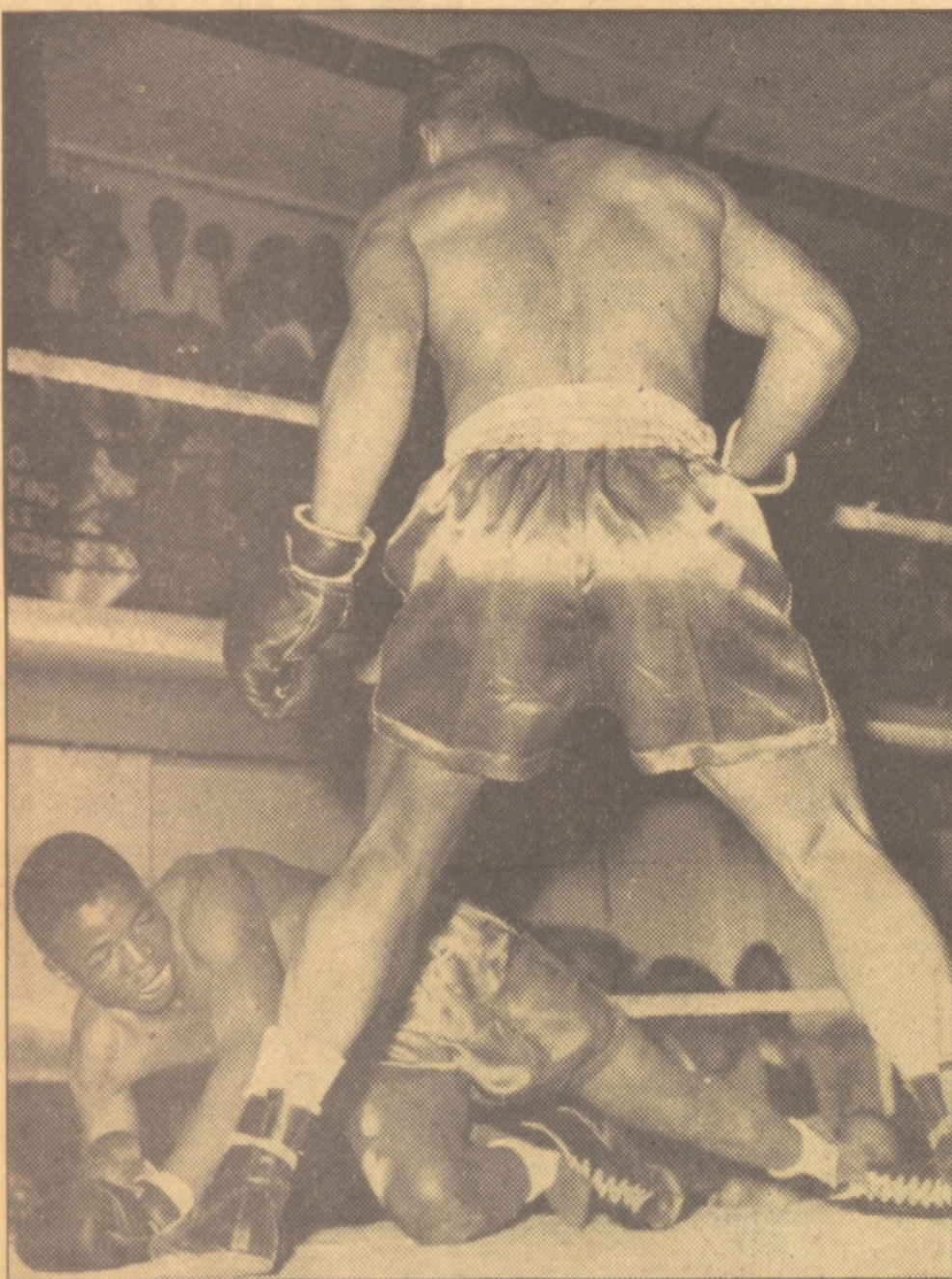
THE South African Non-European Open Golf Championships over 72 and 36 holes at Athlone, Cape Town, on January 1 to 3, always an important tournament in Non-White golf, will assume major status this season. Sewsunker "Papwa" Sewgolum, the Durban Indian, who holds the Dutch Open title, is expected to lead a team of Natal golfers to the tournament, and Mrs. N. N. Moete, from the Transvaal, is to defend the Women's title over 36 holes.

The defending champion, Simon "Cox" Hlalo, won the title and the J. Jass trophy on two consecutive years, 1958-1959. Mrs. Moete won the title and Zonk trophy this year. To add incentive to golf, there will be an Inter-Provincial competition consisting of four players from each province playing over 18 holes for the Drum trophy, and pairs of golfers belonging to the same club will compete for the Cannon Floating trophy.

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mrs. Newton Thompson, will present the trophies to the winners at a reception function at the Woodstock City Hall on January 4.

HELP SELL NEW AGE

"Benzine" Evaporates



The ref called a halt to the fight after **FREDDIE NGIDI** (Transvaal Flyweight champ) practically kept the O.F.S. champ "**BENZINE**" MIYA, on the floor during their scrap at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg recently. At one stage "Benzine" hit the canvas four times in 2 minutes 55 seconds. Freddie won on a T.K.O.

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CRICKETERS MUST SETTLE THEIR PROBLEMS SOON!

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN TRANSVAAL CRICKET?

The administration machinery is not at all satisfactory. An unfortunate situation is developing which requires the immediate attention of cricket administrators in the Transvaal, if we want to save our cricket from sinking to the gutter.

The Transvaal African Cricket Union has seceded from the Johannesburg Inter-Race Cricket Board. Mr. Lennox L. Mlonzi, secretary of the Transvaal African Cricket Union told New Age that his union withdrew from the Inter-Race board because the board failed to present the B.L.E. Sigamoney trophy to the Africans which they won two seasons back.

PROMISES AND EXCUSES

The Africans were promised on two occasions that the trophy will be presented to them, but up to this day, no trophy was ever presented to them. The Africans raised the question of the trophy on several occasions, but every time the matter is raised, the officials of the board would offer "vague" excuses such as that the trophy was missing and that there was no trace of it, but that it was being investigated.

After a heated discussion in one meeting where this matter was raised, officials of the board promised the Africans that the trophy would be presented within a month's time at a function to be organised by the board. There was neither a function nor a presentation of the trophy. When the Africans brought the matter up again at the last Annual General Meeting of the board, the Indian, Malay and Coloured delegates sided with the board and howled down the African delegates.

AFRICANS SECEDE

This action led to the secession of the Africans as they considered that they were "not considered as equal partners" by their colleagues in the board. Mr. Mlonzi said that "as long as this attitude of racialism exists in the Inter-Race board, there is no possibility of the Africans joining the board."

SQUABBLES

Not only that, the Transvaal African Cricket Union has its own

internal squabbles and dissatisfactions. The last annual general meeting of the Union called upon the incoming committee to set up a sub-committee to review the present constitution of the Union. This decision was made to meet the present exodus of the best African cricketers who are joining Indian and Coloured cricket unions in search of "better cricket competitions."

Among the clauses of the constitution to be amended, will be the one governing the selection of players, to read thus: "Players selected for tournaments or representative matches shall be picked from players who have been playing and affiliated to the province for at least two unbreakable seasons." The present clause reads thus "Any person who plays for a club is eligible for selection irrespective of how long he has been playing or affiliated to the union."

It's all very well for African cricket administrators to say that exodus of their players is a blessing in "disguise" as new talent is being discovered since the departure of these players, and that "these players want to play for Indians and Coloureds only when there is no tournamental year with the Africans."

● BUT HOW FAR IS THAT GOING TO TAKE US?

The very fact that the union is reviewing its constitution is an indication that there is growing uneasiness amongst cricketers. No amount of constitutional changes is going to help our cricket. African cricket administrators must remedy the faults that cause this development.

BREAKDOWN HELD UP DELEGATES

PORT ELIZABETH

A contingent of about 30 delegates of the ANC could not arrive at the last Annual Conference in Durban owing to a break-down of the lorry in which they were travelling at Umtata. Six delegates were then selected from amongst these delegates and they managed to reach Durban safely by using another vehicle.

The rest of the delegates went as far as Kokstad and had to return as it was already too late to reach Durban in time for the Conference. They arrived in Port Elizabeth on Thursday at 11 p.m. Report-back meetings are going ahead in this area.

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