

A VICTORY FOR THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Important Documents on the Settlement of
the Sino-Burmese Boundary Question
Through Friendly Negotiations and on the
Development of Friendly Relations
Between China and Burma

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The conclusion of the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question is an important victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. The Treaty and Agreement not only mark the beginning of a new stage in the good neighbourly relations between China and Burma but also set a new example for friendship, co-operation and amicable relations among the Asian countries. At present when imperialism and the reactionaries in various countries are doing their best to spread rumours and slanders, to sow discord and disrupt the friendly relations between the Asian countries, particularly those between China and other Asian countries, this new development in Sino-Burmese friendly relations has an important practical significance. The beacon of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence is illuminating the path forward for the Asian peoples.

This booklet contains a collection of important documents on the settlement of the boundary question by the Chinese and Burmese Governments through friendly negotiations under the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and documents on the development of friendly relations between the two countries. The Chinese Government and people have consistently and unswervingly followed a peaceful foreign policy and firmly advocated friendship, co-operation and amicable relations among Asian countries. The Chinese people, together with other peace-loving peoples of Asia and the whole world, will raise still higher the banner of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and exert tireless efforts to maintain peace in Asia and the world.

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Joint Statement of Prime Ministers of China and Burma

(June 29, 1954)

At the invitation of His Excellency U Nu, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, His Excellency Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, on his way back from Geneva to Peking, paid a two-day visit to Rangoon, the capital of the Union of Burma. During this period the two Prime Ministers had free and frank discussions on matters of common concern to their two countries.

2. The two Prime Ministers reiterated their stand that they will strive their utmost for the promotion of peace in the world, particularly in Southeast Asia. They expressed their hope that the question of restoration of peace in Indo-China which is being discussed in Geneva will be settled satisfactorily.

3. In regard to the principles agreed upon between China and India to guide relations between the two countries, namely,

- (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- (2) Non-aggression,
- (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
- (4) Equality and mutual benefit, and
- (5) Peaceful co-existence,

the Prime Ministers agreed that these should also be the guiding principles for relationship between China and Burma. If these principles are observed by all countries, the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems should be ensured, and the threat and fear of aggression and interference in internal affairs would give place to a sense of security and mutual confidence.

4. The Prime Ministers reaffirmed that the people of each nation should have the right to choose their own state system and way of life without interference from other nations. Revolution cannot be exported; at the same time outside interference with the common will expressed by the people of any nation should not be permitted.

5. The Prime Ministers agreed that their respective countries should maintain close contact in order to further strengthen the friendly co-operation between their two countries. The discussions have been most friendly and cordial. The two Prime Ministers highly appreciate the present opportunity of meeting together and they deem it helpful to the cause of peace.

Communiqué on Talks Between Chinese and Burmese Premiers

(December 12, 1954)

Upon the invitation of His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu of the Union of Burma paid a goodwill visit to China. During his stay in Peking, Prime Minister U Nu exchanged views in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere on matters of common interest and to the mutual benefit of China and Burma with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice-Chairman Chu Teh of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council as well as various other leaders. On the basis of these views, Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister U Nu arrived at the following agreement:

The two Premiers expressed their satisfaction at the furtherance of the friendly relations between China and Burma since their Joint Declaration of June 29, 1954. The two Premiers reaffirmed that the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence were unalterable principles guiding the relations between their two countries. China and Burma should continue to maintain close contacts so as to strengthen the friendly co-operation between the two countries.

In view of the frequent dealings between the Chinese and the Burmese peoples, the two Premiers agreed that Consulates-General should be mutually established in appropriate cities and hoped that this would be realized in the near future.

With a view to promoting economic and cultural intercourse between the two countries in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, the two Premiers considered it necessary to prepare for the opening of a Sino-Burmese air service, the restoration of Sino-Burmese highway traffic and the conclusion of a post-and-telegraph agreement between the two countries.

In order to develop trade between the two countries, the two Premiers agreed that from 1955 to the end of 1957, China would import annually from Burma 150,000 to 200,000 tons of rice, and during the same period Burma would import from China such industrial installations and equipment as well as articles of daily use that China could supply.

With a view to improving the conditions under which nationals of one country reside in the other, the two Premiers agreed that each country would encourage its own nationals residing in the other country, i.e. Burmese nationals residing in China or Chinese nationals residing in Burma, to respect the laws and social customs of the country in which they reside and not to take part in the political activities of that country. Each government would be willing to protect the proper rights and interests of the nationals of the other country residing in its country. With regard to the question of the nationality of such residents, the two governments would, at the earliest opportunity, undertake negotiations through normal diplomatic channels.

In view of the incomplete delimitation of the boundary line between China and Burma, the two Premiers held it necessary to settle this question in a friendly spirit at an appropriate time through normal diplomatic channels.

The two Premiers expressed the hope that in order to safeguard peace in Asia and the world, the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence would be widely accepted by all the countries of Asia and the world. The two Premiers maintained that even countries now antagonistic to each other could establish normal, peaceful and friendly relations if they would strive for that end with sincerity and goodwill. At the same time, the two Premiers expressed their profound interest in the consolidation and enlargement of the area of peace. If the area of peace were consolidated and enlarged, the present international tension would gradually be relaxed, thereby lessening the likelihood of a new war and strengthening the cause of world peace. In order to stabilize the situation in Southeast Asia, peace in Indo-China must be consolidated. The two Premiers held that all countries were entitled to national independence and prosperity, free from foreign interference and aggression.

**China-Burma Joint Press Communique After the
Visit to China of U Nu, Chairman of the
Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League
of the Union of Burma**

(November 9, 1956)

During his visit in China, Chairman U Nu held a number of talks with Premier Chou En-lai on questions of mutual interest to China and Burma and particularly on the question of boundary line between China and Burma on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

In the talks, the Chinese side put forward for the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question a fair and reasonable proposal which takes into account the interests of both sides. The Burmese side promised to give consideration to this proposal. In the meantime, the Chinese and the Burmese Governments have arrived at the understanding that starting from the end of November 1956, Chinese troops will withdraw from the area to the west of the 1941 line and Burmese troops will withdraw from Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum, the withdrawal to be completed before the end of the year 1956.

The two parties believe that the present talks have provided a favourable basis for the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question, thus facilitating the further consolidation and development of the friendly relations between China and Burma.

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at the Friendship Gathering of the People on the Sino-Burmese Border

(December 16, 1956)

Their Excellencies Prime Minister U Ba Swe, and Deputy Prime Ministers Sao Hkun Hkio and U Kyaw Nyein of the Union of Burma, and other honoured guests from Burma; friends, Acting Governor Liu and brothers of different nationalities in Yunnan Province, and comrades:

I feel very honoured and happy, in the middle of our friendly visit to our neighbour Burma, to be able to invite His Excellency Prime Minister U Ba Swe and other distinguished Burmese guests to come across the border to attend this gathering in Mangshih of the people living on both sides of the Sino-Burmese border and to be able to receive them here as their host. In the name of the Government and people of China, I extend our cordial welcome today to Prime Minister U Ba Swe, other leaders of the Burmese Government, leaders of the various nationalities of the Kachin and Shan States and other friends from Burma who are attending this gathering.

Brothers of different nationalities of Yunnan Province: Although I have visited Yunnan several times, this is the first time that I have come to this autonomous *chou* in the border region of your province which is populated by fraternal nationalities. Your rich and beautiful land,

your creative labour — especially the achievements you have made in different fields since liberation — have deeply impressed us and made us feel very happy. I would like to congratulate you on behalf of the Government and extend to you fraternal respects for the numerous valuable contributions you have made in recent years to the peaceful construction of the country and the promotion of friendship between China and Burma.

Brothers, comrades: Holding this kind of gathering of the people living on both sides of the border and allowing them to establish broader and closer direct contact is of great significance for friendship and unity between the peoples of China and Burma. The gathering of the people living on either side of the border held by the Burmese Government in January this year at Lweje near Lungchwan County in our country played an excellent role in the promotion of understanding and friendship between the border people of the two countries, and marked a good beginning for us. I hope this Mangshih gathering of border people, in which leaders of the two governments are personally participating, will promote more contacts and deeper understanding and friendship between the peoples of both countries.

China and Burma are close neighbours. Our countries are linked by a boundary line more than 2,000 kilometres long. The traditional friendship which has existed for over 1,000 years between the two peoples is as close as though they were kinsmen. As a result of colonialist invasion over the last 100 years, however, our traditional ties were beset by man-made obstacles. The colonialists spread misunderstanding and disharmony between the Burmese and Chinese peoples to maintain their colonial rule. However, thanks to the protracted and heroic strug-

gues waged separately by the peoples of our two countries we finally won national independence and freedom and developed and strengthened our friendship in accord with the wish of both peoples on the new basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. In the past few years, leaders of our two countries have exchanged many visits and economic and cultural relations between the two countries are growing daily. The development of friendly relations is beneficial to the construction and people's welfare of the two countries. It is also a valuable contribution to the unity among the Asian and African countries, the preservation of world peace and the promotion of mutual understanding and co-operation among nations.

Of course it is not impossible that there may be some obstacles in developing friendly relations based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. It is not very long since our two countries established our new regimes and restored diplomatic relations. There has been no opportunity to solve some historical questions left over from the past, concerning the relations between our two countries. In this situation, it is understandable that there are some people on both sides who regard certain questions with reservations and doubts. But I believe that if our two governments and peoples firmly abide by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and are sincere towards each other, our mutual understanding and trust will steadily increase and all questions between us can be solved step by step on a just and reasonable basis. It is known that the Chinese and Burmese Governments have held friendly talks recently on the unsettled border question in a spirit of sincerity and mutual understanding. Through the talks our mutual understanding has been ad-

vanced. We have reason to hope that this historical question, involving many aspects, can be solved justly and reasonably with the consent of the peoples of both countries.

In the past several years, because of disturbances created among the inhabitants in the border region of our two countries by the remnant Kuomintang armed forces, and also because we still do not understand each other well enough in certain respects, it was unavoidable that the traditional relations which existed between the border inhabitants of the two countries in this region, such as small trade transactions, mutual visits and calls, have been hindered and affected. This situation can be improved gradually. As for China, we have always wanted to strengthen friendship between China and Burma and the ties between the peoples of the two countries. But we have not paid enough attention to those concrete measures to improve relations between the border inhabitants of the two countries. On certain matters there still exist some restrictions which are too rigid and thus cause inconvenience. We are ready to rectify these shortcomings in our work in the future, and to strive together with the government and people of Burma to work better for promoting Sino-Burmese friendship and friendly co-operation between the border inhabitants of China and Burma, so as to fulfil the desire of the peoples of both countries.

Friends, comrades: What makes us particularly happy is that in the border region of our two countries live the people of the same fraternal nationalities, many of whose representatives are present here today at this meeting. Kinship and similar language and customs exist between you and you drink water from the same river. The

long-standing and sincere traditional relations between you are of particularly great significance in developing Sino-Burmese friendship. We should treasure most this priceless friendship and develop friendly and co-operative relations between the border inhabitants of the two countries. Toward this end, I believe that the border people of our country should make greater efforts than those of Burma. Because China is a country with a very large population, we ought to take more initiative and prove by concrete actions that we consistently abide by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. We must always be modest, circumspect and forbearing towards our friendly neighbours and resolutely oppose great-nation chauvinism. Only by adopting such an attitude can the friendship between the border people, and the peoples of our two countries be strengthened and improved with the passage of time. Thus, the development and prosperity of the border region will become easier and the people living there will be able to lead a happier and more prosperous life.

The holding of this meeting is a sign of the greater development of friendly unity between the border people of China and Burma. In the future, I hope, they will be able to meet more often and have more frequent contacts so that the fraternal friendship of the two peoples will become even closer and more fruitful.

Once again I thank His Excellency Prime Minister U Ba Swe, the other leaders of the Burmese Government and honoured guests who took such a long trip to attend this meeting, and the friends of various nationalities from the Burmese border. Your arrival has filled our meeting with an atmosphere of fraternal cordiality and joy. We are sorry that we have not been able to give you more

lavish entertainment and ask you to forgive us as you would forgive a brother. I hope that you will bring back to your country the deep friendship and cordial greetings of the Chinese people. I wish you good health and happiness.

Long live the friendship of the peoples of various nationalities along the Sino-Burmese border!

Long live the friendship of the peoples of China and Burma!

Long live the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence!

Long live world peace!

Long life and health to Ba U, President of the Union of Burma!

Joint Statement of Prime Ministers of China and Burma

(December 20, 1956)

1. On the invitation of the Government of the Union of Burma, His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, paid a goodwill visit to the Union of Burma from December 10 to 20, 1956. During his stay in the Union of Burma, His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai had several talks with the Honourable U Ba Swe, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, the Honourable U Nu, President of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League and various other leaders. These talks, which were marked by a spirit of great cordiality and full mutual understanding, offered opportunities for an extensive exchange of views both on questions of mutual interest and advantage for the two countries as well as on some urgent problems of international importance.

2. Convinced that peace in Asia and the world can only be safeguarded and consolidated on the basis of respect for the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, the two Premiers reaffirmed in the course of the talks that the relations between their two countries are founded and will continue to be based on these principles of peaceful co-existence. It is the view of the two Premiers that the Five Principles should be applied to relations be-

tween all nations and that the universal acceptance of these principles would ensure the peaceful settlement of all international disputes.

3. During his stay, His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai and his party also visited Mandalay, Maymyo, Bhamo, Myitkyina, Heho, Yaungshwe, Taunggyi and Lashio, where he received a warm welcome from the leaders and people of each locality. In addition, both the Prime Ministers attended the border conference held at Mang-shih, administrative centre of the Tehung Tai-Chingpo Autonomous *Chou* in China's Yunnan Province. The main feature of this conference at which were gathered over ten thousand people was free discussion between the leaders of the two Governments and representatives of the border people from both sides of the frontier. The climax of the conference was a mass meeting which was addressed by both the Premiers and the leaders of the border regions. The cordial atmosphere of the conference was indicative of the growth of goodwill and understanding among the people living astride the border.

4. The two Premiers also discussed in a spirit of cordial and mutual understanding the question of the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary line. These discussions have led to the further clarification of the Chinese and Burmese points of view and have brought the problem nearer to a solution satisfactory to both the countries.

Chou En-lai

*Premier of the State
Council of the People's
Republic of China*

U Ba Swe

*Prime Minister of
the Union of Burma*

Rangoon, December 20, 1956

Report on the Question of the Boundary Line Between China and Burma Delivered by Chou En-lai, Premier and Foreign Minister, at the Fourth Session of the First National People's Congress

(July 9, 1957)

Fellow Deputies,

The question of the boundary line between China and Burma is an important question in the foreign relations of our country, a question in which our people are greatly interested. The government therefore deems it necessary to make a special report on this matter to the National People's Congress.

We have inherited from the past questions of undefined boundary lines between our country and many neighbouring countries, and the one between China and Burma has attracted public attention particularly. This is because of the prolonged disputes created by Britain over the boundary line between China and Burma when Burma was under British rule, and because in recent years the forces of imperialism have constantly used the boundary question between China and Burma to sow discord between the two countries in an attempt to create a tense situation.

Our government has consistently held that a fair and reasonable settlement of all outstanding questions between China and other countries should be sought through peaceful negotiation. The boundary question between China and Burma is of long standing as well as complicated; so from the moment our government began to tackle it, it has taken a careful attitude to seek, step by step and through suitable preparatory work, a settlement of the question.

During the years immediately after the founding of our state, our government was engrossed in a series of urgent, major tasks at home and in its relations with foreign countries, and was therefore unable at that time to make comprehensive and systematic preparations for the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question. However, since the Premiers of China and Burma proposed in the communique on their talks issued on December 12, 1954 that the question of the undefined boundary line between the two countries should be settled "at an appropriate time through normal diplomatic channels," our government has proceeded to make the necessary preparations for the settlement of the question. The various government departments concerned have, jointly with the provincial authorities of Yunnan, undertaken a systematic and detailed examination and study of relevant historical data and actual conditions.

In November 1955, just as the Chinese and the Burmese sides were respectively making active preparations for the settlement of the boundary question, an armed clash unfortunately occurred owing to misunderstanding between the outpost units of the two countries in the border region. This incident was properly dealt with through the joint efforts of both sides, but at the same

time it made the governments of both countries realize the need for an early settlement of the boundary question between the two countries.

Since the beginning of 1956 the Chinese and the Burmese Governments have entered into frequent contacts on the boundary question. In November of the same year, Chairman U Nu of the Burmese Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League came to Peking at our invitation to hold consultations with our government. In line with our foreign policy of peace and on the basis of the results of our examination and study of the boundary question, our government made, through Chairman U Nu, to the Burmese Government a proposal on the principles for the settling of the boundary question. The proposal received the approval of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress at its 50th meeting on November 5, 1956.

The greater part of the boundary line between China and Burma is fixed, but there are three sections regarding which outstanding issues remain to be settled. Our government made a proposal on the principles concerning these three sections and held that the various points mentioned in the proposal should be considered as an integrated whole. Let me now explain the contents of the proposal made by the government.

The first point concerns the section in the Kawa area. This section was explicitly provided for in the two treaties on the Sino-Burmese boundary line signed between China and Britain in 1894 and 1897 respectively. But as the related provisions are self-contradictory, this section was for long not demarcated. To create a *fait accompli*, Britain sent troops in the earlier part of 1934 to attack the areas under the jurisdiction of the Panhung and Pan-

lao tribes and met with heroic resistance from the Kawa people of these areas. This was the well-known "Panhung Incident." In 1941, taking advantage of the critical situation in which China was placed during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression and using the closing of the Yunnan-Burma Road as a pressure measure, Britain effected, in an exchange of notes with the Kuomintang government on June 18, a demarcation in the Kawa area to her advantage. This was the so-called "1941 line." But since the Pacific War broke out soon afterwards, no markers were erected along the line. In the course of the discussion between the Chinese and Burmese Governments in 1956 on the boundary question, Burmese leaders indicated that they could understand the Chinese people's dissatisfaction with the 1941 line but, in view of the fact that this section of the boundary had been demarcated by an exchange of notes between the Chinese and the British Governments responsible at that time, they asked our government to recognize the line and to withdraw the Chinese troops from the area to the west of the 1941 line which they had entered in 1952 when chasing after remnant Kuomintang troops. It was the opinion of our government that on the question of boundary lines, demands made on the basis of formal treaties should be respected according to general international practice, but this by no means excluded the seeking by two friendly countries of a settlement fair and reasonable for both sides through peaceful negotiation between their governments. In order to promote such a fair and reasonable settlement and to create a favourable atmosphere for it, our government in its proposal about principles to the Burmese Government expressed its preparedness to withdraw its troops from

the area to the west of the 1941 line. At the same time, our government asked that, pending a final agreement between the Chinese and Burmese Governments on the question of the 1941 line and the setting up of boundary markers, Burmese troops should refrain from entering the area to the west of the 1941 line evacuated by the Chinese troops; however, the working personnel of the Burmese Government may enter this area.

The second point concerns the Meng-Mao triangular area, otherwise called the Namwan triangular area, situated at the junction of the Namwan River and the Shweli River and measuring about 250 square kilometres. This is Chinese territory, a fact which Britain also recognized in explicit terms in the treaty. But before the signing of the Sino-British treaty on Sino-Burmese boundary line in 1894, Britain, without obtaining China's consent, built by compulsion a highway through this area to join Bhamo with Namhkan. By the time China and Britain signed another treaty on the Sino-Burmese boundary line in 1897, Britain under the name of "perpetual lease" further secured jurisdiction over this piece of Chinese territory. Following her independence, Burma succeeded to the "perpetual lease" of the area. In its proposal about principles to the Burmese Government, our government pointed out that it would be inconsistent with the relations of equality and friendship now existing between China and Burma for Burma to continue the "perpetual lease" of a piece of Chinese territory. Our government expressed its readiness to negotiate with the Burmese Government so as to decide upon the concrete steps to abrogate the "perpetual lease" of the Meng-Mao triangular area.

The third point concerns the section to the north of the High Conical Peak. This section of the boundary line has never been delimited in the past. Britain continually created disputes in this area and took the opportunity to expand its colonial territory. The most serious of such disputes was the armed occupation of the Hpimaw area by Britain in the early part of 1911. The "Hpimaw Incident" aroused the righteous indignation of the whole Chinese people and protest movements spread with gathering force through all parts of China. Under such circumstances, the British Government could not but acknowledge formally in its note dated April 10, 1911 to the then Chinese Government that the villages of the Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum area belong to China, but it continued unreasonably to occupy this area. On the basis of the results obtained from an examination and study of the historical facts and actual conditions, our government made to the Burmese Government the following proposal concerning the demarcation of this section of the boundary line: The section from Isurazi Pass northward to Diphu Pass can be demarcated along the customary boundary line. The section from Isurazi Pass to the High Conical Peak can in principle be determined along the watershed between the Nu River, the Shweli River (otherwise called the Lungchuan River) and the Taiping River on the one side and the Nmai Hka River on the other, with the exception of the Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum area which should be returned to China. Our government asked at the same time that, during the same period as the Chinese troops would be withdrawing from the area to the west of the 1941 line, the Burmese Government should withdraw its troops from Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum. Pending the final demarcation of this section,

the Burmese Government might retain its administration over Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum, and the Chinese Government would undertake to refrain from sending Chinese troops into these places before this section had been finally demarcated.

After the above proposal was made by our government, Chairman U Nu expressed the view that it was a fair and reasonable proposal taking account of the interests of both sides. In the joint press communique issued after the talks held between Chairman U Nu and the leading personnel of our government it was declared that the Governments of China and Burma had arrived at an understanding that from the end of November 1956, Chinese troops would withdraw from the area to the west of the 1941 line and Burmese troops would withdraw from Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum, the withdrawal to be completed before the end of the year. By the end of 1956, the two governments had completed the withdrawal of troops respectively. Thus a good start was made for the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question. The leading personnel of the two governments again had opportunities to continue their friendly talks on the boundary question in Rangoon in December 1956 and in Kunming in March 1957. During these talks the standpoints of the two sides were further clarified and a general agreement of views was obtained.

People of all walks of life in our country take a great interest in the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question. In order to obtain views from a wider circle of our people, on behalf of the government I made a report on this question in the middle of March this year to the third plenary session of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative

Conference. Present at the meeting also were deputies to the National People's Congress who were in Peking at the time, members of the government and specially invited experts. At the end of March this year I made in Kunming another report on the question to a meeting called by the Yunnan Provincial Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference and attended by representatives of people of all walks of life of Yunnan Province and representatives of various fraternal nationalities. Earnest discussions took place at these two widely representative meetings which gave the government an opportunity to listen to the opinions from different quarters and reply to relevant questions raised, thus bringing into closer agreement the views of the people of different quarters in the country on the Sino-Burmese boundary question.

Such, in brief, is what has taken place in the handling of the Sino-Burmese boundary question by our government up till the present. I should like now to say a few words on the basic policy followed by the government in dealing with this boundary question between China and Burma.

Ever since the founding of the People's Republic the policy persistently followed by our country in international affairs has been to strive for the easing of the world situation and for peaceful co-existence with all countries in the world, and particularly with our neighbours. This policy is beneficial to our country's socialist construction; it also conforms to the interests of the peoples of all countries in the world. It is precisely this basic foreign policy of peace that our government has followed in handling the Sino-Burmese boundary question.

Like so many outstanding questions existing among Asian and African countries, the question of the boundary

line between China and Burma is the result of the policy of aggression carried on over the years by the imperialists. Both China and Burma have now achieved independence and are making efforts to secure a peaceful international environment so that they can engage in peaceful construction in their own countries. Together with India, China and Burma were the first to initiate the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. We all treasure our national independence and national interests and know full well that our national independence and national interests can best be safeguarded only through peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation. However, the imperialists have never ceased exploiting the differences existing among Asian and African countries to create tension and discord among them and are trying hard to carry out again their aggressive policy of "divide and rule" against these countries. In view of all this, our government, in discussing the boundary question with the Burmese Government, has always stressed that both sides should act in a spirit of sincerity and carry out friendly negotiation in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence so that a fair and reasonable settlement may be arrived at. The settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question in this manner will not only further consolidate and develop the friendly relations between China and Burma, but also benefit the solidarity among Asian and African countries. The stand which our government takes in solving the boundary question between China and Burma is based on a desire to protect our national interests as well as promote Sino-Burmese friendship and the solidarity among Asian and African countries.

The boundary question between China and Burma has behind it a complicated historical background. Therefore, in dealing with this question, the treatment of historical data has become an important problem. In the days when China was under feudal rulers, its boundaries, like the boundaries of many other countries in the feudal era, were not too well defined. Throughout the ages the feudal dynasties in China maintained different relations, varying in nature and degree, with the nationalities living in the border areas. Therefore it is almost impossible to define the boundaries such as existed under Chinese feudal empires. Furthermore, during the past sixty years or so there have been many vastly different ways of drawing the undefined boundary between China and Burma in the maps published at home and abroad. All this cannot but cause confusion in wide circles as regards the undefined boundary between China and Burma. Our government holds that in dealing with the Sino-Burmese boundary question we must adopt a serious attitude towards historical data, we must take a correct stand and viewpoint so as to make a scientific analysis and appraisal of such data and to distinguish between the data which can be used as a legal and reasonable basis and those which have only reference value as a result of changed conditions. At the same time we must bear in mind the fundamental changes of historic importance that have taken place in China and Burma respectively, i.e. China has cast away its semi-colonial status and Burma its colonial status and both have become independent and mutually friendly countries. The Burmese Government has succeeded to the territory formerly controlled by Britain, and the Union of Burma has been established by

combining the various national autonomous states and Burma proper, while our government has taken over the territory under the jurisdiction of the Kuomintang government. In dealing with this boundary question, attention must be paid to these historical changes, and the treaties signed in the past which concern the boundary between China and Burma must be treated in accordance with general international practice. Only when we take all the above-mentioned points into account can we use historical data correctly and secure a fair and reasonable settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question.

The Sino-Burmese boundary question has a direct bearing on the interests of the nationalities living in compact communities on the Sino-Burmese borders. Therefore, in tackling this question we must specially take into account the interests of these nationalities. We know that the boundary line between two countries is often found dividing into two parts a nationality living in compact communities on the borders. This is the result of historical development. On the various sections of the defined boundary between China and Burma and on the borders between China and many other neighbouring countries we find people of the same nationality living on both sides of the boundary line. So when we solve the question of the undefined boundary line between China and Burma, we must realize beforehand that it will be hard to avoid separating the nationalities concerned by the boundary line. In view of this, it is all the more necessary for us to take measures, in consultation with the Burmese Government, to make the future defined boundary a boundary of peace and friendship, and further cement the close ties of the peoples of the two countries living on the borders.

Fellow Deputies! After repeated contacts and consultations in a spirit of friendship and in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, the Chinese and Burmese Governments have arrived at a general agreement of views on the boundary question. We believe that when the views of both sides on concrete problems are brought into accord through continued negotiations, the boundary question between China and Burma will receive a comprehensive, fair and reasonable settlement.

Joint Communique of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma

(January 28, 1960)

On the invitation of Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, the Honourable General Ne Win, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, paid a friendly visit to the People's Republic of China from January 24-29, 1960. Prime Minister Ne Win was accompanied by U Chan Tun Aung, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and other high-ranking officials of the Government of the Union of Burma.

During his visit in Peking, Prime Minister Ne Win was received by Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Ne Win held free and frank discussions on matters of common concern to the two countries, and in particular questions concerning the consolidation and further development of friendly relations between China and Burma. Also taking part in the talks were Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, U Chan Tun Aung, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and other high-ranking officials of both countries. The talks were marked by a spirit of utmost cordiality and full mutual understanding and paved the way for the conclusion by the two sides during Prime

Minister Ne Win's visit in China of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression Between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma and the Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries. These two important documents will be published simultaneously in Peking and Rangoon on the return of the Honourable General Ne Win to Burma.

The two Premiers reviewed with satisfaction the remarkable advance made in recent years in friendly relations between China and Burma. This advance fully demonstrates the great vitality of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence jointly initiated and firmly adhered to by the two countries. The two Premiers were convinced that the conclusion of the above-mentioned Treaty and Agreement will be a lasting monument to the growing friendship and mutual understanding between the new China and the new Burma. The two Premiers pledged that the two Governments will ceaselessly strengthen friendly co-operation between the two countries, and continue to make joint contributions to the promotion of solidarity among Asian and African countries and the safeguarding of Asian and world peace.

**Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression
Between the People's Republic of China
and the Union of Burma**

(January 28, 1960)

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma,

Desiring to maintain everlasting peace and cordial friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma,

Convinced that the strengthening of good neighbourly relations and friendly co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma is in accordance with the vital interests of both countries,

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence jointly initiated by the two countries, and have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Contracting Parties recognize and respect the independence, sovereign rights and territorial integrity of each other.

ARTICLE II

There shall be everlasting peace and cordial friendship between the Contracting Parties who undertake to settle

all disputes between them by means of peaceful negotiation without resorting to force.

ARTICLE III

Each Contracting Party undertakes not to carry out acts of aggression against the other and not to take part in any military alliance directed against the other Contracting Party.

ARTICLE IV

The Contracting Parties declare that they will develop and strengthen the economic and cultural ties between the two States in a spirit of friendship and co-operation, in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit and of mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

ARTICLE V

Any difference or dispute arising out of the interpretation or application of the present Treaty or one or more of its Articles shall be settled by negotiations through the ordinary diplomatic channels.

ARTICLE VI

(1) The present Treaty is subject to ratification and the instruments of ratification will be exchanged in Rangoon as soon as possible.

(2) The present Treaty will come into force immediately on the exchange of the instruments of ratification and will remain in force for a period of ten years.

(3) Unless either of the Contracting Parties gives to the other notice in writing to terminate it at least one year before the expiration of this period, it will remain in force without any specified time limit, subject to the right of either of the Contracting Parties to terminate it by giving to the other in writing a year's notice of its intention to do so.

In witness whereof the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the Prime Minister of the Union of Burma have signed the present Treaty.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the twenty-eighth day of January 1960, in the Chinese and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

*For the Government of the
People's Republic of China:*

(Signed) **Chou En-lai**

*For the Government of
the Union of Burma:*

(Signed) **Ne Win**

Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Govern- ment of the Union of Burma on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries

(January 28, 1960)

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma,

With a view to promoting an over-all settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question and to consolidating and further developing friendly relations between China and Burma,

Have agreed to conclude the present Agreement under the guidance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Contracting Parties agree to set up immediately a joint committee composed of an equal number of delegates from each side and charge it, in accordance with the provisions of the present Agreement, to discuss and work out solutions on the concrete questions regarding the Sino-Burmese boundary enumerated in Article II of the present Agreement, conduct surveys of the boundary and set up boundary markers, and draft a Sino-Burmese

boundary treaty. The joint committee shall hold regular meetings in the capitals of the two countries or at any other places in the two countries.

ARTICLE II

The Contracting Parties agree that the existing issues concerning the Sino-Burmese boundary shall be settled in accordance with the following provisions:

(1) With the exception of the area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang, the entire undelimited boundary from the High Conical Peak to the western extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary shall be delimited along the traditional customary line, that is to say, from the High Conical Peak northward along the watershed between the Taiping, the Shweli, the Nu (Salween) and the Tulung (Taron) Rivers on the one hand and the Nmai Hka River on the other, up to the place where it crosses the Tulung (Taron) River between Chingdam and Nhukumkang, and then along the watershed between the Tulung (Taron) and the Tsayul (Zayul) Rivers on the one hand and all the upper tributaries of the Irrawaddy River, except for the Tulung (Taron) River, on the other, up to the western extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary. The joint committee shall send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to conduct surveys along the above-mentioned watersheds so as to determine the specific alignment of this section of the boundary line and to set up boundary markers.

(2) The Burmese Government has agreed to return to China the area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang which belongs to China. As to the extent of this area to be returned to China, it is to be discussed and determined

by the joint committee in accordance with the proposals put forward and marked on maps by the Governments of Burma and China on February 4, 1957 and July 26, 1957 respectively. After determining the extent of this area to be returned to China, the joint committee shall send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to conduct on-the-spot survey of the specific alignment of this section of the boundary line and to set up boundary markers.

(3) In order to abrogate the "perpetual lease" by Burma of the Meng-Mao triangular area (Namwan Assigned Tract) at the junction of the Namwan and the Shweli Rivers, which belongs to China, the Chinese Government has agreed to turn over this area to Burma to become part of the territory of the Union of Burma. In exchange, the Burmese Government has agreed to turn over to China to become part of Chinese territory the areas under the jurisdiction of the Panhung and Panlao tribes, which are west of the boundary line from the junction of the Nam Ting and the Nampa Rivers to the No. 1 marker on the southern delimited section of the boundary as defined in the notes exchanged between the Chinese and the British Governments on June 18, 1941. As to the extent of these areas to be turned over to China, the Chinese and the Burmese Governments put forward proposals marked on maps on July 26, 1957 and June 4, 1959 respectively. The area where the proposals of the two Governments coincide will definitely be turned over to China. Where the proposals of the two Governments differ as to the area under the jurisdiction of the Panhung tribe, the joint committee will send out a team composed of an equal number of persons from each side to ascertain on the spot as to whether it is under the jurisdiction of

the Panhung tribe, so as to determine whether it is to be turned over to China. After the extent of the areas under the jurisdiction of the Panhung and Panlao tribes to be turned over to China has been thus determined, the joint committee will send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to conduct on-the-spot survey of the specific alignment of this section of the boundary line and to set up boundary markers.

(4) Except for the adjustment provided for in paragraph (3) of this Article, the section of the boundary from the junction of the Nam Ting and the Nampa Rivers to the No. 1 marker on the southern delimited section of the boundary shall be delimited as defined in the notes exchanged between the Chinese and the British Governments on June 18, 1941. The joint committee shall send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to carry out delimitation and demarcation along this section of the boundary line and set up boundary markers.

ARTICLE III

The Contracting Parties agree that the joint committee, after working out solutions for the existing issues concerning the Sino-Burmese boundary as enumerated in Article II of the present Agreement, shall be responsible for drafting a Sino-Burmese boundary treaty, which shall cover not only all the sections of the boundary as mentioned in Article II of the present Agreement, but also the sections of the boundary which were already delimited in the past and need no adjustment. After being signed by the Governments of the two countries and coming into effect, the new boundary treaty shall replace all old trea-

ties and notes exchanged concerning the boundary between the two countries. The Chinese Government, in line with its policy of being consistently opposed to foreign prerogatives and respecting the sovereignty of other countries, renounces China's right of participation in mining enterprises at Lufang of Burma as provided in the notes exchanged between the Chinese and the British Governments on June 18, 1941.

ARTICLE IV

(1) The present Agreement is subject to ratification and the instruments of ratification will be exchanged in Rangoon as soon as possible.

(2) The present Agreement will come into force immediately on the exchange of the instruments of ratification and shall automatically cease to be in force when the Sino-Burmese boundary treaty to be signed by the two Governments comes into force.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the twenty-eighth day of January 1960, in the Chinese and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

*For the Government of the
People's Republic of China:*

(Signed) **Chou En-lai**

*For the Government of
the Union of Burma:*

(Signed) **Ne Win**

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at the Farewell Banquet Given by Burmese Prime Minister Ne Win

(January 28, 1960)

Your Excellency Prime Minister Ne Win,
Distinguished Guests from Burma,
Friends and Comrades,

Today we are very much honoured to have the opportunity to attend this grand banquet given by His Excellency Prime Minister Ne Win and to gather once again joyfully with our distinguished guests. We are very grateful to His Excellency Mr. Prime Minister for the words he has just said which are full of warmth and friendship for the Chinese people.

The present visit of His Excellency Prime Minister Ne Win to our country has made an important contribution to the enhancement of the traditional friendship and mutual understanding between our two countries. Our talks have been most smooth. The Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question between the two countries have been signed today in Peking. The signing of this Treaty and Agreement marks the beginning of a new stage in friendly relations between our two countries. Your Excellency Mr. Prime Minister, I

believe you will agree with me that this is a victory for the peoples of our two countries, a victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. Allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in my own name, to extend hearty congratulations to the Burmese Government and people, to Your Excellency, and to all our distinguished guests.

Your Excellency Mr. Prime Minister, it is not fortuitous that our talks should have been crowned with such great successes. This is a result of the fact that our two countries, since attaining independence, have consistently been following a policy of friendship and co-operation; it is also inseparable from the fact that at the talks both sides have had the sincere desire of striving for a solution and have been frank with each other.

In the past few years, through the joint efforts of the governments and peoples of our two countries, friendly relations between our two countries have undergone considerable development. Indeed there are certain issues between our two countries inherited from history, but we have always been confident that, provided both sides adhere to the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, it will not be difficult to achieve a reasonable settlement of these issues through negotiations. Facts have borne out our conviction. The question of the boundary between our two countries is one left behind by imperialism. This is the common understanding of the leaders of our two countries. In the past few years, our two governments have made unremitting endeavours to achieve a fair and reasonable solution of this question. Now, through the visit of Prime Minister Ne Win himself, our two sides have finally reached agreement on the principles for the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary

question, and thus paved the way for its over-all settlement. We are determined to make the boundary between our two countries one of peace and friendship, and we have reason to believe that, through our joint efforts, the Sino-Burmese boundary will certainly become one of peace and friendship.

China and Burma are ancient states, but they are also young. Both of us have won independence not long ago, and both our peoples wholeheartedly want to build up their own countries. We have every reason to maintain mutual friendship and co-operation but no reason whatsoever to set ourselves against or to invade each other. Our two peoples are *pauk phaws*.^{*} The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression we have signed demonstrates this fraternal relationship between our two peoples as between *pauk phaws*. The signing of the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and of the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question furnishes more eloquent proof of the conviction that the Asian and African countries which have won independence should and can unite together and live in friendship, and provides a new example of the development of this unity and friendship of the Asian and African countries.

Your Excellency Mr. Prime Minister, you have come to our country, bringing with you the cordial friendship of the Burmese people for the Chinese people. Tomorrow, you will leave Peking for home with the tremendous achievements resulting from this visit to our country. Please allow me to express to you once again our thanks for your visit, and request you to convey to the Burmese

people the equally cordial friendship of our people. Today is the traditional Chinese Spring Festival. According to our custom, this is a day of reunion of family members. The fact that our Burmese friends are joyously celebrating this festival with us like one family augurs well that solidarity and friendship between the peoples of China and Burma will grow ever stronger and closer in the future.

I propose a toast:

To the eternally flourishing Sino-Burmese friendship,
To peace in Asia and the world,
To the health of His Excellency Prime Minister Ne Win
and all the other distinguished guests from Burma, and
To the health of His Excellency U Win Maung, Presi-
dent of the Union of Burma!

**Pauk phaws* in Burmese means kinsmen.

APPENDICES

New Stage in the Friendly Relations Between China and Burma

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(January 29, 1960)

The friendly, sincere and candid talks between Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, Ne Win, in the past few days have yielded great results and led to the conclusion of the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question. The Joint Communique says: "The two Premiers were convinced that the conclusion of the above-mentioned Treaty and Agreement will be a lasting monument to the growing friendship and mutual understanding between the new China and the new Burma." Premier Chou En-lai said: "The signing of this Treaty and Agreement marks the beginning of a new stage in friendly relations between our two countries." The Chinese people warmly acclaim this major progress in the history of friendly Sino-Burmese relations.

The question of the boundary between China and Burma is a complicated one left over by imperialism. Prior to Burma's attainment of independence and the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, imperialism had engineered numerous disputes over the Sino-Burmese boundary with a view to disrupting the friendly

relations between the two countries. The attainment of independence by our two countries has enabled us to settle this question on a new basis, because we both share the desire not to allow imperialism to succeed in its schemes.

In the past few years, the Chinese and Burmese government leaders have continually exchanged views on this question in the spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, thereby creating conditions for the gradual settlement of the question. In November 1956, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and former Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, U Nu, arrived at the temporary arrangements that the Chinese troops would withdraw from the area to the west of the 1941 line and Burmese troops would withdraw from Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum, in the interest of an over-all settlement of the boundary question. In compliance with this agreement, both the Chinese and Burmese Governments withdrew their armed forces from the specified areas within the specified time limit. The conclusion and implementation of this temporary agreement has ensured peace and tranquillity along the border of the two nations, and, what is more, has provided highly favourable conditions for a final solution to the boundary question. Now, as the result of Prime Minister Ne Win's personal visit and the cordial talks between the Premiers of our two countries, the Agreement on the Boundary Question has finally been concluded and agreement in principle reached on the various specific issues, thereby paving the way for an over-all settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question. Prime Minister Ne Win rightly said at the farewell banquet: "That we have been able, during our brief stay here, to conclude an agreement which goes far towards finally settling this problem

which has defied solution for close to one hundred years is at once a tribute to the statesmanship of both our governments, and to the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence which they helped to enumerate." At the same time, this also proves that on such a complicated question as the boundary issue it is a practical and feasible means conducive to a speedy solution of the question for the Premiers of two nations to reach, first of all, an agreement in principle and then to leave to the representatives of both parties the working out of a concrete settlement.

While concluding the Agreement on the Boundary Question, the Chinese and Burmese Premiers have also signed the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression. This Treaty is a further development of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence initiated jointly by the two countries. It will undoubtedly become an important milestone in the friendly Sino-Burmese relations. A long-standing tradition of friendship exists between China and Burma. With both countries emancipated from imperialist oppression, a basis has been formed for the steady growth of this friendship. We are both economically backward countries and are in pressing need of peaceful development. We have only the common desire for maintaining our independence and building up our countries and for friendship and co-operation, and no fundamental conflict of interests exists between us which may lead to hostility against each other.

The Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression gives expression to the kinship of the peoples of our two countries who are *pauk phaws*. It is our deep conviction that following the signing of the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-

Aggression, the close friendship existing between our two countries will grow with each passing day. As Premier Chou En-lai has pointed out, the conclusion of the Agreement and the Treaty is a victory for the peoples of our two countries, a victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. The Treaty "furnishes more eloquent proof of the conviction that the Asian and African countries which have won independence should and can unite together and live in friendship, and provides a new example of the development of this unity and friendship of the Asian and African countries."

By paying this visit to China upon invitation, General Ne Win, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, has contributed valuably to the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between China and Burma. Prime Minister Ne Win said: "I believe that the conclusion of this Agreement and Treaty will go down as a new landmark in the history of Sino-Burmese relations. They not only serve to reaffirm the traditional friendship between our two countries, but will undoubtedly play a big part in the consolidation and further strengthening of the ties of friendship and co-operation between our two countries." We are deeply grateful for Prime Minister Ne Win's efforts to promote friendship between the two countries and for the profound friendship of the Burmese people which he has brought with him for the Chinese people. We also wish to thank him for bringing back to the Burmese people the intimate friendship of the Chinese people. We wish to see China and Burma make even greater contributions together to the unity of the Asian and African nations and to peace in Asia and the world. We wish everlasting friendship between the peoples of China and Burma!

A New Example of Solidarity and Friendship Among Asian Countries

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(February 1, 1960)

The Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question were made public today. They are important achievements which the Governments of China and Burma have scored through friendly negotiations under the guidance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. They not only mark the beginning of a new stage in the good-neighbour relations between China and Burma but also set a new example of friendly co-operation and harmonious co-existence among the Asian countries.

The Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression is a treaty of peace. In this Treaty, China and Burma have put into the concrete form of a treaty the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence which were jointly initiated by them. The Treaty affirms that the Contracting Parties recognize and respect each other's independence, sovereign rights and territorial integrity. This is the standard for international relations. Normal international relations are impossible without such recognition and respect. The Treaty also lays

down that the Contracting Parties undertake to settle all disputes between them by means of peaceful negotiation without resorting to force. This is a main principle of peaceful co-existence. China and Burma are peace-loving countries and their highest interests lie in the friendly settlement of all disputes between the two countries through peaceful negotiation without resorting to force. There is no fundamental conflict of interests between China and Burma, nor is there any question which cannot be settled through negotiation. The Treaty also affirms that each Contracting Party undertakes not to carry out acts of aggression against the other and not to take part in any military alliance directed against the other Contracting Party. This affirmation is of great significance. Since U.S. imperialism is now doing its utmost to expand its aggressive military blocs, this article deals a stunning blow against the U.S. plot to create antagonism among the Asian countries. The Treaty also affirms that the Contracting Parties will develop and strengthen economic and cultural ties between the two states in a spirit of friendship and co-operation, in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit and mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs. In the past, both China and Burma suffered from imperialist oppression and exploitation and were very backward both economically and culturally. The common aspirations of the peoples of both countries are to end this state of backwardness as early as possible and to help each other in the development of their own economies and cultures so as to achieve prosperity together. It is clear therefore that the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression is a further development of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-

existence and conforms to the interests of the peoples of both countries and to peace in Asia.

The Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question was concluded under the guidance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, with a view to bringing about an over-all settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question and to consolidating and further developing Sino-Burmese friendship. The boundary question was a long-standing issue between China and Burma. Most of the central and southern sections of the boundary line between the two countries were defined in the treaties signed in 1894 and 1897 and in the notes exchanged in 1941 between China and Britain. But there still existed the following boundary questions between the two countries:

- 1) The entire northern section of the boundary between the two countries (from the High Conical Peak to the western extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary) was undelimited and needed to be officially defined.
- 2) On the undelimited boundary of this section, the area comprising the villages of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang which belongs to China and was occupied in stages by British troops between 1905 and 1911, should be returned to China.
- 3) In accordance with the 1897 treaty on the Sino-Burmese boundary line between China and Britain, the Meng-Mao triangular area at the junction of the Namwan and Shweli Rivers, which belongs to China, was defined as an area of "perpetual lease" held by British Burma. This "perpetual lease" does not conform to friendly and equal relations between China and Burma and has to be abrogated.
- 4) There is some unreasonableness in a section of the boundary line as defined in the notes exchanged between China and Britain

in 1941; this section of boundary was not demarcated and boundary markers have not been set up here.

In 1954, the Governments of China and Burma began making contacts on the boundary question. Because both sides cherished a genuine desire to settle boundary disputes and establish a peaceful and friendly boundary through peaceful negotiation, the viewpoints of both sides were gradually brought closer through repeated talks and correspondence between the leaders of the two countries. This time, through talks between the Premiers of the two countries, the Agreement on the Boundary Question was finally concluded, and agreement in principle was reached on the various concrete issues that exist on the boundary between the two countries. It was also decided to set up a joint committee to settle the various existing concrete issues, to conduct survey of the boundary, set up boundary markers, and draft a Sino-Burmese boundary treaty in accordance with the agreement in principle. Article Two of the Agreement lays down that the Contracting Parties agree that with the exception of the area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang, the entire undelimited boundary from the High Conical Peak to the western extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary shall be delimited along the traditional customary line, and at the same time, the Burmese side has agreed to return to China the area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang which belongs to China and was occupied by British troops in the past. This has laid down a clear-cut principle for settling the northern section of the boundary of the two countries. The Burmese Government has adopted a just and friendly attitude of not intending to inherit the spoils of imperialist aggression, holding that it should not retain anything which does not belong to it. This attitude

deserves to be welcomed. Taking account of the fact that the highway built by Burma in the Meng-Mao triangular area is a communication artery linking its Shan state and Kachin state and that this area is more important to Burma, our government has agreed to turn this area over to Burma to become part of Burmese territory. In exchange, the Burmese Government has agreed to turn over to China to become part of Chinese territory the areas under the jurisdiction of the Panhung and Panlao tribes which are west of the 1941 line. This adjusts the unreasonable division of the two tribes into Chinese and Burmese parts by the 1941 line. Thus, all existing concrete problems on the Sino-Burmese border have been settled in principle. Apart from these, the notes exchanged between China and Britain in 1941 gave China the right to run mining enterprises at Lufang in Burma. This provision was harmful to the sovereignty of Burma and the retention of such a right in the nature of a special privilege is unimaginable for socialist China. Therefore our country has announced its relinquishment of this right.

The signing of the Agreement on the Boundary Question between China and Burma fully demonstrates the common desire of the Governments and peoples of the two countries to break away from the meshwork forcibly placed upon them by imperialism and to live in amity on a new basis. Although the actual surveying and delineating of the boundary will be worked out by the joint committee to be formed under the Agreement, with the guiding principles for the settlement of questions already agreed upon, it will not be difficult to find a just, equitable and mutually beneficial solution to the entire boundary question through friendly negotiation as long as both

sides base themselves on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. The signing of the present Agreement paves the way for the final and over-all settlement of the boundary question which is a legacy of history.

The conclusion of the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question is a remarkable achievement of the peaceful foreign policy persistently pursued by our country. At the same time, it is also inseparable from the Burmese Government's attitude of adhering to the Five Principles and seeking friendly negotiations. We highly commend Prime Minister Ne Win's statement at his farewell banquet that "this is at once a tribute to the statesmanship of both our governments, and to the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence."

The Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression is the first peaceful treaty of its type which has been concluded between Asian countries. The Agreement concluded between China and Burma on the boundary question provides an excellent example for Asian countries seeking reasonable settlement of their boundary disputes. The Treaty and Agreement are of great historic significance. The Asian countries have all been subject to the plunder and oppression of imperialism and colonialism, and the Asian peoples have the common aim of opposing colonialism and imperialism. In the face of brutal and cunning aggressors, what we need is unity, sympathy and support for each other. Only thus can we thoroughly smash the imperialist schemes to sow discord among Asian countries and to enslave them, win and maintain national independence and devote our strength to peaceful construction in order to effect an earlier change in our economic and cultural

backwardness, a heritage of imperialist and colonialist aggression. The Treaty and Agreement concluded between China and Burma reflect exactly the common and basic interests of the Chinese and Burmese peoples. This fact itself powerfully demonstrates that relations of unity, friendship and harmonious co-existence can and should prevail among Asian countries, and is a source of great inspiration to the peoples of the Asian countries.

In sharp contrast with the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression is the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance recently signed in Washington. Through this treaty, the United States is turning Japan into an outpost of aggression, reviving militarism in Japan and confronting the peoples of China, the Soviet Union and other Asian countries with the threat of a war of aggression by U.S. and Japanese imperialism acting in collusion.

Just as history has entered the 60s of the 20th century, two treaties of an entirely different nature have made their appearance in Asia: the U.S.-Japan treaty of military alliance which smells of gun powder, and the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression which is permeated with the spirit of peace and friendship. The former seeks to enlarge the aggressive military blocs and prepare for a new war through treaties of military alliance. The latter aims to consolidate the Five Principles and achieve a lasting peace through treaties of friendship. This is why the U.S.-Japan military alliance has met with the strong opposition of the people of the world, particularly the Japanese people, and why the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression has been warmly welcomed by all peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

World reaction headed by U.S. imperialism has, in the past period, spread many rumours and slanders against People's China, fabricating lies about so-called "dangers from China" and Chinese "aggression," clamouring that the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence were "out of date" and "dead." The reactionaries attempted to make use of these lies about Chinese "aggression" to frighten Asian countries, split and undermine the relations between them and China, and make the governments and peoples of Asian countries lose faith in the Five Principles, so that they could fish in troubled waters and proceed with their policy of expansion and aggression in Asia. But the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question have once more placed the rumour-mongers and slanderers in an awkward position. Didn't the U.S. rumour-mongers claim that the Five Principles were dead? How is it they have now come to life? Didn't they say that only China did not want peace? Then how is it that China has concluded a peace treaty with a neighbouring country while they are setting up aggressive military alliances everywhere? It is the misfortune of these rumour-mongers and slanderers that because they call black white it does not take long to see their true colours.

The brilliance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence illuminates the road of progress for the Asian peoples. The Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question have set a new example of harmonious co-existence among the Asian countries. Why can't things which have happened between China and Burma also take place between China and other

Asian countries, between the other Asian countries themselves? The Chinese Government and people have always faithfully adhered to the Five Principles, firmly advocated friendly co-operation and harmonious co-existence among Asian countries, and worked energetically and tirelessly for the realization of the Five Principles in Asian countries. We are convinced that whatever obstacles may currently exist, the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence will display their great vitality and that ultimately friendship and unity among the Asian peoples on the basis of the Five Principles cannot be undermined.

和平共处五項原則的勝利
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友好關係的重要文件—

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