

PEKING REVIEW

17

April 26, 1963

Chairman Liu Shao-chi Visits Burma

(p. 7).

Peking Welcomes U.A.R.'s Chairman Aly Sabry

(p. 3).

Bourgeois Nationalization

(p. 13).

Tanganyika Impressions

Poetry, Cinema, Folk Art

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報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS



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OF
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(In English)

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Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

April 26, 1963 Vol. VI No. 17

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES	
Chairman Liu Shao-chi Visits Burma — Su Min	7
China and Indonesia Cement Friendship — Pien Hsieh	9
Premier Chou on Laotian Situation	10
Sino-Indonesian Joint State- ment	11
Nationalization — A Fraud of the Bourgeoisie — Yu Lin	13
Tanganyika Impressions — Chen Kung-chi	20
Pumping Stations in Rural Shanghai — Wang Hua-fang	24
ROUND THE WORLD	22
POETRY, CINEMA, FOLK ART	26

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

April 26, 1963

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• Friendship visits between government leaders of China and other Asian and African countries were the news of the week.

Fresh from a visit to Indonesia that strengthened Sino-Indonesian friendship and solidarity, Chairman Liu Shao-chi flew to Rangoon and was accorded a warm welcome by General Ne Win and the Burmese people.

While the Chinese head of state was touring Burma, Aly Sabry, Chairman of the Executive Council of Ministers of the United Arab Republic came to Peking on the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai.

On the same day Major-General Achmad Jani, Minister of the Indonesian Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and his wife, and the Indonesian Military Goodwill Mission he leads, arrived in China.

• In Laos, however, peace is jeopardized by U.S. imperialist intervention. The situation there causes anxiety among the peace-loving peoples. Premier Chou En-lai last week condemned the U.S. and Laotian reactionaries for their efforts to disrupt the unity of the Laotian patriotic forces and restart civil war in that country.

• Peace and humanity are outraged by the concentration camps New Delhi set up for Chinese nationals in India. Overseas Chinese returning to China from India aboard ships from Madras give horrifying accounts of persecution in these camps.

• On April 23 *Renmin Ribao* published excerpts of an article of *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, repudiating the slanders of the anti-Party revisionists against the Japanese C.P.

Peking Welcomes Chairman Aly Sabry

Peking gave Aly Sabry, Chairman of the Executive Council of Ministers of the United Arab Republic, a rousing welcome when he arrived in the capital on April 21 on a friendly visit at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai. Accompanying him were: Minister Plenipotentiary Khalifa Abdel Aziz Mostafa, Director of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Minister Plenipotentiary Mostafa Kamal Mortagui, Director of the Research Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Hamed Mahmoud, Chief of the Cabinet of the Chairman of the Executive Council; and Hosny El Hadidi, press secretary of the Presidency.

Premier Chou En-lai and other government leaders greeted the U.A.R. guests on arrival. The airport was gay with the national flags of China and the United Arab Republic and multi-coloured banners. As Aly Sabry and members of his party alighted from their plane, thousands of Pe-

king citizens gave them a typical Chinese welcome. They beat gongs and drums and shouted slogans: "Long live the friendship between China and the United Arab Republic!" "Long live Asian-African solidarity!" "Long live world peace!"

Speaking at the welcoming ceremony at the airport Premier Chou En-lai, warmly greeting Chairman Aly Sabry and his party, expressed confidence that their visit would not only further strengthen the friendly co-operation between China and the U.A.R. and the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries, but also help promote solidarity between the Asian and African countries and world peace. When the Premier and Chairman Aly Sabry drove to the State Guest House, thousands of people lining both sides of the boulevard on the way greeted them, waving pennants and bouquets.

Chairman Aly Sabry had a busy schedule. Premier Chou En-lai and

other government leaders met and held talks with him. Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, received him and members of his party and had friendly talks with them. On the evening of April 22, accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai and other leaders of the Chinese Government, Chairman Aly Sabry and his party were invited by the Ministry of Culture and the China-U.A.R. Friendship Association to see a special performance of the ballet *Swan Lake*. The distinguished guests also attended a banquet given by Premier Chou En-lai in their honour and a mass rally held at the Great Hall of the People.

At the banquet, Premier Chou En-lai once again warmly welcomed them on behalf of the Chinese Government and people. He paid tribute to the people of the United Arab Republic for their glorious tradition of struggle against imperialism and colonialism. He recalled their defence of sovereignty over the Suez Canal against imperialist armed aggression.

The Premier noted that, in recent years, the Arab and African peoples had scored great victories in their struggles against old and new colonialism and for national independence. He pledged that the Chinese people would do their best to carry the Asian-African people's common cause of unity against imperialism through to the victorious end.

Referring to the Sino-Indian boundary question, Premier Chou said that China has satisfactorily settled with four neighbouring countries boundary questions left over by history. "The responsibility for the fact that the Sino-Indian boundary question remains unsettled," he said, "does not at all lie with China. As everyone knows, the Chinese Government has consistently adhered to its stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question and, for this purpose, has exercised the greatest forbearance and made the greatest efforts. After the Colombo conference, the Chinese Government positively responded to its proposals, and further took a series of important measures on its own initiative, thus easing the Sino-Indian border situation and creating conditions for direct Sino-Indian negotiations. It is to be regretted, however, that the Indian side is still putting forward preconditions for holding negotiations. I can tell you all



Chairman Aly Sabry

that, although India is not yet prepared to return to the conference table, provided it does not renew its military provocations and armed intrusions, the existing state of ceasefire and disengagement will continue. The Chinese Government absolutely will not take any action which will vitiate the border situation and prejudice direct negotiations. We are firmly opposed to any foreign interference in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, for any such interference will only undermine Asian-African solidarity and thus put up additional obstacles in the way of seeking a peaceful settlement of this dispute. The Chinese Government has confidence in a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question and in the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples. This stand and this confidence of the Chinese Government and people will never change."

Premier Chou also spoke of the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and the U.A.R. He thanked the Government of the United Arab Republic for its consistent support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. In conclusion he expressed confidence that Chairman Sabry's visit would achieve the anticipated success.

Chairman Aly Sabry, in his address, spoke of the friendly relations between the people of the U.A.R. and China. He said that the United Arab Republic would not forget the Chinese people's and Government's moral and material support to her in her struggle against the perfidious aggressive forces during the joint imperialist and Zionist armed aggression on

Egypt in 1956. The United Arab Republic, he added, always demanded that the People's Republic of China should have her rightful seat in the United Nations as a great power and that rights of which she had been deprived in Taiwan and other Chinese islands should be restored.

Referring to the Sino-Indian boundary question, Chairman Aly Sabry said that the aim of the Colombo conference was to enable the Chinese and Indian sides to come to the conference table and settle their dispute in a peaceful way. He added that the wise decision taken by the Chinese Government to cease fire and withdraw its armed forces had played a most important role in creating a suitable atmosphere for the Colombo conference, enabling the delegates of the six friendly nations to discuss the matter in a spirit of confidence and hope. He expressed the conviction that his goodwill visit to China and his meeting with Chinese leaders would produce the expected results.

On April 23, speaking at a banquet he gave for Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese government leaders, Chairman Aly Sabry said that no matter under what signboard imperialism appeared, its nature and aim had not changed in the least. He said that the U.A.R. would use all its material and moral forces to oppose imperialism and unmask it.

Premier Chou also spoke at the banquet. He stressed that, in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism — old and new — the strengthening of unity between Asian and African countries and their support for each other conform to the highest interest and the common aspirations of the peoples of Asia and Africa. The Premier reiterated that China's determination to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully would never change.

Indonesian Military Delegation Visits China

Major-General Achmad Jani, Minister of the Indonesian Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and the Indonesian Military Goodwill Mission he leads arrived in Canton by special train on April 21. Major-General Jani is accompanied by his wife. The Indonesian guests were given a warm welcome by leading officers of the Chinese People's

Liberation Army units stationed in Canton, government leaders of Kwangtung Province and Canton, and more than 300 officers of the armed forces there.

The delegation has come to visit China at the invitation of Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A.

On the afternoon of the day of their arrival, Lieutenant-General Wen Yucheng and his wife took the Indonesian party sightseeing. They visited the site of the National Institute of the Peasant Movement which Chairman Mao Tse-tung sponsored in the 1920s and the Chinese export commodity exhibition.

Chairman Mao Meets Brazilian C.P. Delegation

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, last week met and dined with the members of the visiting Brazilian Communist Party Delegation and had a friendly talk with them.

The delegation is led by Manuel Jover Teles, Member of the Executive Commission of the Brazilian Communist Party. The other member of the delegation is Jaime Miranda, Member of its Central Committee.

The delegation came to Peking on March 31. During their stay in China, the Brazilian comrades visited people's communes, factories, schools and other places of interest.

Canadian C.P. Leaders in Peking

Last week the Chinese Communist Party was also host to two visitors from the Canadian Communist Party.

They were Leslie Morris, General Secretary, and William Kashtan, Member of the National Executive Committee and National Executive Secretary, of the Canadian Communist Party.

They arrived in Peking on April 17 and were met at the airport by Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Chao Yi-min, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

Albanian Journalists Here

Quite a number of foreign journalists are visiting China. While the

Korean *Rodong Shinmoon* delegation is touring south China an Albanian journalists' delegation headed by D. Mamaqui, Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and editor of *Zeri I Popullit*, arrived in Peking on April 21.

Chang Chi-chun, Member of the Central Committee and Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, gave a banquet in honour of the Albanians on the day of their arrival. On the following day the staff of *Renmin Ribao* gave the Albanian journalists a big welcome when the delegation paid a visit to their office.

Bandung Conference Anniversary

Eight years ago, on April 18, 1955, delegates from 29 Asian and African countries gathered in the beautiful Indonesian city of Bandung to discuss economic and cultural co-operation, the right to self-determination, opposition to colonialism, the winning and safeguarding of national independence, world peace and other matters of common interest. This historic conference, known since throughout the world as the Bandung Conference, was the first that the Asian and African countries had ever held to chart the course of their future without the participation of any imperialist countries. Its impact has been deep and far-reaching. It has enhanced friendly co-operation between the Asian and African countries, and helped to bring about an unparalleled upsurge in the common struggle of their peoples against imperialism and colonialism.

On April 18, all the leading newspapers in the capital published editorials commemorating the 8th anniversary of the conference. On that day, Peking held a mass anniversary rally. Premier Chou En-lai and other government leaders as well as the diplomatic envoys of many countries were among the 1,500 people present. Vice-Premier Ho Lung addressed the rally and Ceylonese Ambassador A.B. Perera spoke on behalf of the diplomatic envoys of Asian and African countries in Peking.

In his address, Vice-Premier Ho Lung paid tribute to the great achievements of the Asian and African peoples in the common struggle against

imperialism and colonialism and in safeguarding national independence and world peace. He spoke of the favourable conditions which existed for that struggle today and of the need for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to support and help one another.

But colonialism, the Vice-Premier pointed out, would not step down from the stage of history of its own accord. He drew attention to the fact that U.S. neo-colonialism was replacing the old colonialism and was trying by political, military, economic and cultural means, by subversion and infiltration, to attain its aim of colonialist expansion. Stressing that U.S. neo-colonialism was the most ferocious enemy of the peoples of the three continents, the Vice-Premier said: "The most urgent task confronting the Asian, African and Latin American peoples today is to oppose imperialism headed by the United States and old and new colonialism."

Vice-Premier Ho Lung declared on behalf of the Chinese Government and people that China fully supported both the Indonesian Government's proposal for the convocation of a second conference of Asian and African countries and the resolution adopted at the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference held recently in Moshi concerning the convocation of a three-continent conference in Havana. "The convocation of these two conferences," he said, "will make new and even greater contributions to furthering the Bandung spirit, promoting the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to win and safeguard national independence and democracy, and strengthening the unity of the peoples of these continents."

In his address to the meeting, Ceylonese Ambassador Perera hailed the Bandung spirit. He drew attention to the dangers of neo-colonialism; he condemned the imperialists and the old and new colonialists for continuing with their vicious plots to destroy and subvert the hard-won independence and sovereignty of the new states of Asia and Africa.

Giron Beach Victory Day

Also commemorated in Peking last week was the second anniversary of the Cuban people's victory at Giron Beach over the invading U.S. mercenaries.

Cuba's Ambassador to China Oscar Pino Santos gave a reception to mark the occasion and in his toast quoted Fidel Castro's famous words: "To resist the aggressor is to fight for peace. To bow to him is the road to war." He described the Giron victory as a great contribution to world peace.

"That victory," he said, "shows that when the people of a country is united and is ready to struggle, no force on earth, however powerful it may be, can change the course of history the people have chosen for themselves."

Underscoring the significance of the Giron Beach victory, Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi declared in his speech at the reception that "it has defended Cuba's revolution and sovereignty, upheld the dignity of a socialist country and set a most shining example for the people of the world who are fighting against imperialism and for freedom and liberation."

"To defend the Cuban revolution is a great and honourable task that is uppermost in the minds of the world's people today," the Vice-Premier said. "Revolutionary, socialist Cuba cannot be blockaded. Nor can it be isolated or subverted. It cannot be conquered by any military force. Cuba will stand in glory in the Caribbean."

The Chinese and the Cuban peoples, he said, would always support each other and forge ahead shoulder to shoulder both in opposing imperialism and in building socialism.

On April 20, the China-Cuba Friendship Association, the China-Latin America Friendship Association and the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Sciences sponsored a meeting to celebrate the anniversary. It was addressed by Ambassador Oscar Pino Santos who spoke on the history of Cuba.

In Shanghai, more than 2,000 people met on April 23 to commemorate the anniversary.

Congratulatory anniversary messages were sent to Cuba by the China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and many other people's organizations.

Sino-Soviet Trade Talks

Government trade delegations of China and the Soviet Union have successfully concluded their talks in Moscow on Sino-Soviet trade for 1963. Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang headed the Chinese delegation. Heading the Soviet delegation was

Minister of Foreign Trade N. S. Patolichev.

In talks held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, the two delegations agreed on the volume of goods to be exchanged in 1963, and a protocol on this exchange was signed.

Under its terms, China in 1963 will supply the Soviet Union with non-ferrous metal ores, tin, mercury, pig iron, chemicals, wool, woollen fabrics, silk and satin, garments, knitted goods, handicrafts, apples, citrus fruits and other commodities. The Soviet Union will export to China ferrous and non-ferrous metals, lorries, tractors and spare parts, oil products, timber, chemicals, washing soap, instruments, various machines and equipment and other goods.

The two sides also signed a protocol relating to the April 7, 1961 agreement on the payment in instalments by China of its debt to the Soviet Union incurred during the 1960 trade transactions. In the light of the wish of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic, this protocol stipulates that, out of the balance which has accumulated in favour of China as a result of trade transactions in 1962, China will pay ahead of time part of the debt which, as stipulated in the 1961 agreement, is payable in 1965.

Victimized Chinese Leave India

Over 900 Chinese nationals in India left Madras on April 13 aboard two ships sent by the Chinese Government to bring them home to China. This is the first group of Chinese nationals and their dependents who have been cruelly persecuted in India by the Indian Government but now at last have been able to get away. Officials of the Chinese Embassy were on hand to deal with matters connected with their departure and to bid them farewell.

As the first of the returning Chinese arrived at the harbour on the morning of April 13, the ships' loudspeakers greeted them with Chinese music and songs. On board, they received a heart-warming welcome from the crew who immediately saw to their needs. Coming after the inhuman treatment they had received in the Indian concentration camps, this reception moved many to tears. Some of them showed the crew blood-stained clothes, evidence of the tor-

tures they had suffered. Many said that they did not even know the Chinese Government had sent ships to bring them home until they were taken to the harbour under armed police escort.

These Chinese civilians—men, women and children—were brought to Madras harbour like prisoners. They were prevented by the Indian authorities from disposing of their property in India before they left. They could not withdraw their bank deposits, and even their loose change was taken away from them. The scanty luggage they took with them was subjected to the most ruthless search. One old man who was sick had nothing left when he boarded the ship but a stick and the clothes he wore.

The majority of the returnees were old people, women and children. Some of them were seriously ill and too weak to walk; they were carried to the ships on stretchers by the Chinese crew. Among the returnees was a pregnant woman. As soon as she was carried aboard, she was taken in charge by the doctor and nurses of the ship. She told them that she received no medical care at all in the Indian concentration camp. On her way to Madras harbour, she began to feel birth pangs. But her requests for medical attention were ignored by the Indian authorities. Some 20 hours after the *S.S. Kuanghua*, which carried her and the other returnees, left Madras, she gave birth to a baby boy. She named him Kuang-hua as a tribute to the crew of the ship who had given her such good care and in memory of the concern and care of the People's Government.

New Highway for Laos

The 80-kilometre-long highway from the Sino-Laotian border to Phong Saly has been completed. The highway, bridges, houses for maintenance workers and other installations, were built by China for Laos without compensation or conditions in accordance with an agreement signed between the two countries in January 1962.

The Laotian and Chinese delegations authorized by their respective governments to inspect the highway unanimously agreed that it was well built and conformed to the standards stipulated in the agreement. The date for the formal opening of the highway to traffic will be decided later.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi Visits Burma

by SU MIN

PAUKPHAW in Burmese means kinsmen. For years it has been widely used in Burma and China to describe the good-neighbourly relations existing between the two countries. The current visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi to Burma is the latest expression of this *paukphaw* friendship. The visit, in its turn, will further consolidate these amicable Sino-Burmese relations which, indeed, have become a brilliant example of peaceful coexistence between nations with different social systems.

Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi, accompanied by Vice-Premier and Madame Chen Yi, flew to Rangoon from Djakarta on April 20. They were greeted on arrival by General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, Madame Ne Win and high-ranking Burmese officials. A grand welcome ceremony was then held at the Mingaladon airport which was festively decorated with Burmese and Chinese flags and a huge arch bedecked with exquisite miniature pagodas.

While in Burma, Chairman Liu Shao-chi has enjoyed memorable hospitality from the Burmese Government and people. At the state banquet given in his honour, about 300 people, including practically all the high-ranking government officials, military officers and prominent public figures in the Burmese capital, were present. Voicing popular sentiments, the Burmese press front-paged the visit under such headlines as "Warmly Welcome Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi," "Deepen *Paukphaw* Affection" and "Enhance Sino-Burmese Friendship."

Memorable Events

As old friends meet, they like to recount the happy events marking their long-standing friendship. In the annals of Sino-Burmese relations, too, there are many memorable chapters which were often recalled during Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit.

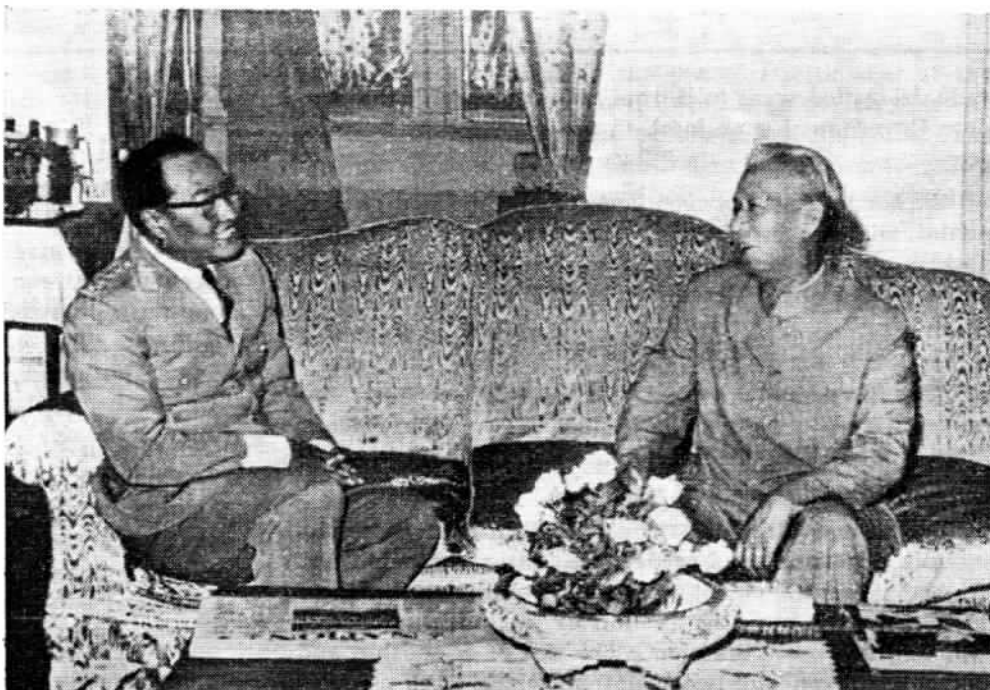
Burma was one of the first countries to recognize the People's Republic of China and in June 1950 formal diplomatic relations were established. During Premier Chou En-lai's first visit to Burma in June 1954, the two governments jointly initiated the celebrated Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Burma was also the first country to conclude a treaty of friendship and mutual non-aggression with China. This historic document was signed in January 1960 during General Ne Win's visit to Peking.

Burma, again, was the first country to settle its boundary question with People's China. The two countries have a common border of more than 2,000 kilometres. A complicated boundary question had existed for more than a century. This unfortunate legacy of history was cleared away when the Sino-Burmese boundary treaty was signed in October 1960.

Chinese and Burmese leaders have exchanged many goodwill visits during the past decade. Premier Chou En-lai has been to Burma on five occasions. Other prominent Chinese visitors to that country include former Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Ho Lung. The Premiers of the successive governments of Burma have also visited China.

China and Burma have signed three trade agreements in recent years. In 1961, during Premier Chou En-lai's visit to Burma, the two governments also concluded an economic and technical co-operation agreement and a payments agreement. At the end of last year, a Chinese



Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma General Ne Win having a cordial talk

China's Head of State Tours Asian Countries

In Indonesia

(For earlier events, see p. 8, *Peking Review*, No. 16.)

April 18. Some 50,000 people of Bali hold a colourful traditional parade of singing and dancing to welcome Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi. Afterwards, the Chinese guests are honoured at a mass rally in the city square of Denpasar, capital of Bali.

In the afternoon, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Sukarno hold talks at the Istana Tampaksiring in Bali.

April 19. Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi return to Djakarta after a four-day tour of Bogor, Bandung, Jogjakarta and Bali.

Madame Subandrio gives a tea party in honour of Madame Liu Shao-chi and Madame Chen Yi.

Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi hold a big farewell banquet attended by President Sukarno and about 400 other Indonesian guests at the State Palace in Djakarta.

Before the banquet, President Sukarno and representatives of Indonesian people's organizations and political parties present gifts to Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi.

April 20. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Sukarno sign a joint statement at the Independence Palace.

Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi leave Djakarta for Burma after a farewell ceremony at the airport. President Sukarno, high-ranking officials of Indonesia and tens of thousands of Djakarta citizens see them off.

In Burma

April 20. Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Premier and Madame Chen Yi and other members of the party arrive at Rangoon. General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union

of Burma, Madame Ne Win, and many other leading government officials warmly welcome the Chinese guests at the airport.

April 21. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Vice-Premier Chen Yi lay a wreath at the Mausoleum of General Aung San, Burmese national hero, who was assassinated by imperialist agents in 1947.

Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi visit the world famous Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon. Thousands of Rangoon citizens and pilgrims there greet the Chinese guests. Chairman Liu Shao-chi donates 6,000 kyats to the pagoda funds.

Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi pay a courtesy call on Chairman and Madame Ne Win who then entertain them at luncheon.

Chairman Ne Win pays a return call on Chairman Liu Shao-chi at the State Guest House.

Chairman Ne Win gives a grand state banquet in honour of Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi in the garden of the State Guest House. Hosts and guests attend a concert after the banquet.

April 22. Accompanied by Chairman and Madame Ne Win, Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi fly from Rangoon to Taunggyi, capital of Shan State, where they are greeted by 10,000 people lining the main street.

Sightseeing at the famous Inle Lake, hosts and guests board a special barge decorated with golden arches, watch a traditional boat race and see song and dance performances on a floating stage. About 10,000 Burmese citizens riding in 1,000 boats cheer the Chinese visitors. Burmese and Chinese flags and colourful bunting flutter on man-made islets. A band plays the Chinese song *Unity Is Strength*.

April 23. Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi fly to Ngapali, a beach resort on Burma's southwestern coast. They are accompanied by Chairman and Madame Ne Win.

trade delegation went to Burma and signed with the Burmese Government a protocol on the purchase of Burmese rice.

Exchange visits between government and non-governmental missions are steadily increasing. They include workers, youth, women, sportsmen, theatrical troupes and people from many different walks of life.

Shining Example

The increasingly cordial relations between the two countries were acclaimed by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Chairman Ne Win in their main speeches at the state banquet.

Burma and China, Chairman Ne Win said, have successfully negotiated and settled the issues between them. "At the present moment," the General declared, "there exists between our two countries no insurmountable dispute which needs solution. The ties of friendship and goodwill between our two countries which have progressively been strengthened have now reached a stage where they remain unshakable."

The Burmese leader recalled, in particular, that Burma and China, "actuated by a strong desire for friendship and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation," "have succeeded in obtaining a final and mutually satisfactory boundary settlement." Chairman Ne Win also expressed satisfaction with the progress of economic co-operation between the two countries. Referring to China's long-term, interest-free loan of 30 million pounds sterling to Burma, the General said that with the financial assistance and the technicians provided under the agreement, "we are engaged in the implementation of economic projects for the development of our country."

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, on his part, lauded Sino-Burmese relations as "a brilliant example of amicable coexistence and friendly co-operation" for Asian and African countries. Expounding the characteristics of these relations, Chairman Liu Shao-chi stated:

The relations between our two countries are completely equal. Both our countries have respect for themselves as well as for others. Both our countries hold fast to the principle of settling all

questions between us through friendly consultations and mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. Neither of our countries ever tries to gain benefit at the expense of the other, or impose its unilateral views on the other. The principles of peaceful coexistence are principles which apply to both the sides concerned. In the relations between our two countries, we have truly put into practice the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit.

Joint Effort

Abiding by the Five Principles and the Bandung spirit, China and Burma have not only enhanced their mutual friendship, but have jointly striven for Afro-Asian solidarity in general.

Burma, steering a course of peace and neutrality, has exerted much effort for Afro-Asian unity and in defence of Asian and world peace. As one of the sponsor nations, it made positive contributions to the success of the Bandung Conference. At the enlarged Geneva conference on the Laotian question, Burma persistently maintained that Laotian independence and neutrality should be respected; and, together with other peace-loving countries, it helped bring about the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. To promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations to settle their boundary dispute peacefully, Chairman Ne Win personally took part in the Colombo conference and made great efforts in order that the conference might maintain a fair stand, friendly to both China and India.

Anti-Imperialist Solidarity

China and Indonesia Cement Friendship

by PIEN HSIEH

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi's visit to Indonesia culminated in the signing, on April 20, of a joint statement by the Chinese head of state and the Indonesian President. The document (see full text on p. 11) records the common understanding and unanimity of views of the two countries on many important questions of the present-day world.

Highlights of the joint statement include:

- The two parties pledge that they will do everything in their power to further consolidate and develop the unity and friendship between the two countries.

- The Chinese Government reaffirms its resolute support of the Indonesian people in their just struggle to recover West Irian and reunify their country. The Indonesian Government reaffirms its full support of the Chinese people in their just struggle to liberate Taiwan and oppose the scheme of "two Chinas"; and it firmly stands for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

- The two parties are of the opinion that the proposals of the Colombo conference have created a favour-

able climate conducive to the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. They hope that this favourable climate can be further exploited towards solving the question through direct Sino-Indian negotiations. They express their resolute opposition to foreign intervention in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute.

Recalling all this, Chairman Liu Shao-chi said in his speech at the state banquet that Burma has shown a spirit of upholding justice in international affairs. This spirit "not only conforms to the independent and sovereign position of Burma, but is also in the interests of peace in the Southeast Asian region and the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples."

Solid Basis

Like Burma, China also sets great store by Afro-Asian solidarity. In this connection, Chairman Liu Shao-chi particularly referred to the fact that China has settled its boundary questions with Burma, Nepal, the People's Republic of Mongolia and Pakistan. And boundary negotiations will shortly start between China and Afghanistan.

It is not fortuitous that Sino-Burmese friendship has grown to this extent. Both the Chinese and Burmese peoples suffered for long years at the hands of imperialists and colonialists. Having won independence after long-drawn-out struggles, they both face the great task of building up their own countries. Hence their ardent common desire to have a peaceful international environment that will endure, and to promote friendly and good-neighbourly relations with other countries. It is on this solid common ground that the Chinese and Burmese Governments, responsive to the wishes of their peoples, have built up their eminently successful mutual relations. And there is no doubt that the present visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi to Burma will add new lustre to these relations already shining in the community of nations.

- The two parties unanimously hold that imperialism and colonialism are the root cause of the threat to world peace and of international tension. In order effectively to safeguard world peace, the people of the whole world must unite more closely to eradicate these two evils. The two parties reiterate their continued support for the struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

- The Chinese Government expresses full support for the Indonesian Government's proposal to convene a second Asian-African conference, and the proposal of President Sukarno to organize "Games of the New Emerging Forces" (GANEFU).

The joint statement, and indeed the whole visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi, are an embodiment of the militant Sino-Indonesian friendship in the fight against imperialism

Premier Chou on Laotian Situation

Premier Chou En-lai condemned the United States and the Laotian reactionaries for their keyed-up efforts to disrupt the unity of the Laotian patriotic forces and rekindle civil war in Laos. His denunciation was made at a banquet given on April 21 in honour of Aly Sabry, Chairman of the Executive Council of Ministers of the United Arab Republic.

"From the recent series of political murders and armed conflicts instigated and engineered by the United States in Laos," said the Premier, "one can see that the United States and the Laotian reactionaries are redoubling their efforts to sow dissension and disrupt the unity of the Laotian patriotic forces, subvert the Laotian National Union Government and rekindle civil war in Laos, so as ultimately to realize their scheme to control Laos." These activities, he said, were open violations of the

1962 Geneva agreements and posed a grave threat to the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos.

"We are of the opinion," continued the Premier, "that the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference and all the participating countries of the Geneva conference have the responsibility to check the U.S. acts of interference and aggression in Laos and reverse the dangerous situation there. On behalf of the Chinese Government, I reiterate that the Chinese Government resolutely supports the Laotian policy of independence, peace and neutrality, that it resolutely supports all the Laotian patriotic forces in their struggle to strengthen unity, oppose provocation and disruption by the Laotian reactionaries and oppose U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression, and that it will unremittingly do its utmost to uphold the 1962 Geneva agreements."

and colonialism and in the cause of safeguarding Asian and world peace.

A Common Fight

Both China and Indonesia are keenly aware of the importance and urgency of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. The leaders of the two countries have stressed this point in their public speeches during Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit.

Addressing a mass rally of 50,000 people in Bali to welcome him, Chairman Liu Shao-chi discussed this question more fully. He pointed out that more than half of the world's population of 3,000 million, who inhabit the Asian, African and Latin American countries, are nearly all still suffering to varying degrees from imperialist and colonialist aggression, intimidation, oppression and exploitation. The struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the winning and defence of national independence remains the first and foremost task now facing the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as one of the important tasks of the people of other parts of the world. "It is utterly groundless to consider that colonialism has perished, and that the task of waging anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles has receded to a secondary place," Chairman Liu Shao-chi said.

Political independence alone is not yet complete independence, Chairman Liu Shao-chi declared. "A country can attain complete independence only by carrying on a thorough struggle against imperialism and colonialism in every field, and by relying on the people to build up an independent national economy."

The struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples is a vital component of the world peace movement, Chairman Liu Shao-chi continued. The more the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism is intensified, the more effectively will world peace be safeguarded.

The forces of world socialism and of the national democratic movement, the Chinese Chairman pointed out, are new emerging forces in the contemporary world. Imperialism and old and new colonialism are reactionary and decaying forces. Quoting Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the

Chinese head of state declared: "Newborn revolutionary forces are invincible."

President Sukarno, speaking at the same rally, pointed out that both Indonesia and China are waging a struggle to destroy all evil forces in the world. It is a struggle against imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, etc., and a struggle to conquer nature. "This struggle is tremendous," the Indonesian President declared. "Only with the close and permanent unity of the progressive forces in the world can this struggle be successful."

A Militant Friendship

The two leaders emphasized that it is this common struggle which has united the Chinese and Indonesian peoples in strong bonds of friendship. And the Indonesian people, through their enthusiastic welcome to the Chinese Chairman, have demonstrated how highly they treasure this militant solidarity with the people of China.

Now, as a result of the highly successful visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Sino-Indonesian friendship has risen to a new peak. The strengthening of the unity and co-operation between these two great Asian nations, which together represent one-fourth of the world's population, will substantially augment the forces defending Asian and world peace.

The imperialists are naturally disheartened at this. That is why Western propaganda organs, during Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit, spat out a stream of slander against China's foreign policy. The Indian Government, too, has issued a statement maliciously attacking this friendship visit. In so doing it completely disregards the fact that China is willing to develop friendly relations with all Asian countries, India included, as it has done with Indonesia and others; and that to facilitate a Sino-Indian rapprochement, China has taken a whole series of important measures which are known to the world.

The flourishing Sino-Indonesian friendship is a new manifestation of the dynamic Bandung spirit. Guided by this spirit, Afro-Asian peoples have broadened and deepened their solidarity. And they will continue to do so in spite of the ill wishes and dirty tricks of the imperialists and their followers.

Sino-Indonesian Joint Statement

Following is the full text of the Sino-Indonesian joint statement signed in Djakarta on April 20 on the state visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi to the Republic of Indonesia. — Ed.

AT the invitation of President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia, Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China paid a friendly visit to the Republic of Indonesia from April 12 to 20, 1963. Chairman Liu Shao-chi was accompanied on his visit by Madame Liu Shao-chi; Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Marshal Chen Yi and his wife; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Huang Chen; Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chiao Kuan-hua; Deputy Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council, Lo Ching-chang; Director of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chang Wen-chin; Director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kung Peng; Director of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Yu Pei-wen; Departmental Director of the Ministry of Public Security, Yueh Hsin; Deputy Departmental Director of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, Chu Yi; Deputy Director of the Department of Health Service of the Ministry of Public Health, Huang Shu-tse; Chief Security Aide for the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Li Shu-huai.

During their visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his entourage were accorded a cordial welcome and magnificent reception by the state leaders and people of the Republic of Indonesia. This welcome and reception fully reflected the intimate friendship between the two peoples.

During their stay in Indonesia, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his entourage visited Djakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Jogjakarta and Bali, and made friendly contacts with people of all circles in Indonesia. The distinguished guests highly praised the successes and achievements made by the Republic of Indonesia under the leadership of President Sukarno in safeguarding national independence, strengthening national unity and developing national construction.

During his visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi held talks with President Sukarno. Taking part also in the talks on the Chinese side were: Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chen Yi; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Huang Chen; and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Indonesia Yao Chung-ming; taking part also in the talks on the Indonesian side were: First Deputy Chief Minister for Distribution, Dr. J. Leimena, Second Deputy Chief Minister and concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Subandrio and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to China, Sukarni Kartodiwirjo.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and complete understanding. The two parties had a full exchange of views on the question of further strengthening the relations of friendship and co-opera-

tion between the two countries and on international problems of common concern.

The two parties noted with satisfaction the continuous growth of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries on the basis of the ten principles of the Bandung Conference and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Particularly during the past two years, these relations have reached a new stage following the conclusion of the treaty of friendship between the two countries. The mutual support of the two countries in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism has been correspondingly strengthened. In the field of economic and technical co-operation, they have assisted each other to the best of their ability whenever necessary. Cultural interflow between them has also developed markedly. The two parties pledged that they would do everything in their power to further consolidate and develop the unity and friendship between the two countries, and extend and strengthen the economic and technical co-operation and cultural interflow between them. They held that the continuous strengthening of the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Indonesia was not only in accord with the fundamental interests of the two peoples but also of tremendous significance to the lofty cause of promoting Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace.

The Chinese Government reaffirmed its resolute support to the Indonesian people in their just struggle to recover West Irian and reunify their country; and it warmly congratulated them on their significant victory in this struggle. The Indonesian Government reaffirmed its full support to the Chinese people in their just struggle to liberate Taiwan and oppose the scheme of "two Chinas"; and it firmly stood for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

The two parties expressed the agreed view that the Sino-Indian boundary question could and should be settled fairly and reasonably on the basis of the ten principles of the Bandung Conference and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. They both were of the opinion that the proposals of the conference of six non-aligned nations at Colombo had created a favourable climate conducive to the peaceful settlement of the dispute. They hoped that this favourable climate could be further exploited towards solving the question through direct negotiations between China and India. They expressed their resolute opposition to foreign intervention in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute since this kind of intervention would only undermine Asian-African solidarity and consequently this would put further obstacles in the way towards finding a peaceful solution of the dispute.

The Chinese Government thanked President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government for their noble efforts in promoting reconciliation and direct negotiations between China and India, and reaffirmed the resolute and

unswerving stand of the Chinese Government for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Indonesian Government appreciated the measure of ceasefire, withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards, release of captured Indian personnel, and others taken by China on its own initiative, and considered them very helpful towards the attainment of a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute.

The two parties pointed out with gratification that the present international situation was most favourable to the people of the world in their great struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for the defence of world peace and the promotion of human progress. They noted with satisfaction that the new emerging forces were rapidly gaining in strength, and were increasingly playing a decisive role in international relations. The two parties unanimously held that imperialism and colonialism were the root cause of the threat to world peace and of international tension. In order effectively to safeguard world peace, the people of the whole world must unite more closely to eradicate these two evils.

In order to preserve world peace, it is necessary to practise peaceful coexistence among countries with differing social systems on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and on the basis of the ten principles of the Bandung Conference.

The two parties reiterated their continued support for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are still struggling to free themselves from colonial rule or to maintain their full national independence against neo-colonialism and imperialism. In this connection, both sides expressed resolute support for the people of North Kalimantan in their courageous struggle for the right of self-determination and independence, and thus against falling into the trap of neo-colonialism in the guise of Malaysia.

Both sides stated their unequivocal support for all the Vietnamese people in their just struggle for the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam and emphatically rejected any outside interference in this matter. Likewise, both parties expressed full support for the Korean people's struggle for the reunification of Korea. They expressed

resolute support for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, Kenya, Zanzibar and South Africa in their just struggles against colonial rule and oppression and for national independence and freedom. The two parties expressed their sympathy for the gallant Cuban people and reaffirmed their support for their firm struggle to preserve their right to direct their national development according to their own ideals and aspirations, without any foreign interference or threats of whatever kind.

The two parties pledged that they would continue their joint efforts to uphold and develop the Bandung spirit and to promote friendship and solidarity among Asian and African countries. The Chinese Government expressed full support for the Indonesian Government's proposal to convene a second Asian-African conference, and expressed its conviction that the convocation of this conference would certainly make positive contributions to the common cause of the Asian-African peoples in strengthening their solidarity and co-operation, opposing imperialism and defending world peace.

The Chinese Government strongly condemned the action of the I.O.C. (International Olympic Committee) in arbitrarily barring Indonesia from competing in the Olympic Games for an indefinite period. The Chinese Government reiterated its staunch support for the proposal of President Sukarno to organize "Games of the New Emerging Forces" (GANEFO) and expressed its willingness to contribute in every way possible towards the realization of this proposal.

The two parties were of the opinion that the exchange of visits between the state leaders of the two countries was of great significance to the strengthening of solidarity and friendship between the two countries. Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit has made an important contribution towards the further consolidation and strengthening of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

Chairman of the People's Republic of China

(Signed) LIU SHAO-CHI

President of the Republic of Indonesia

(Signed) SUKARNO

NEWS IN BRIEF

Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi received the fourth cultural exchange tourists' group organized by the Mexican Academy of Education on April 15. The group is led by Dr. Carlos Saenz de la Calzada Gorostiza, President of the Sinaloa University of Mexico.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi last week sent a cable to Louai Atassi, President of the National Council of the Revolutionary Command of the Syrian Arab Republic, greeting the republic's National Day. On April 17 the Syrian Ambassador to China Ibrahim Khoury gave a reception in Peking for the occasion.

Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi received the delegation from the Korean Democratic Youth League on the eve of the third anniversary of the April 19th uprising of the people, youth and students of south Korea. A meeting was held the same day by Peking youth and student organizations to mark the occasion.

A Chinese journalist delegation is in Djakarta for the Fourth Asian-African Journalists' Conference which opened on April 24.

A sports delegation from China arrived in Djakarta on April 19 to attend the preparatory conference for the games of the new emerging forces proposed by Indonesia.

The 115th meeting of the Sino-American ambassadorial talks opened in Warsaw on April 17.

The Sino-Czechoslovak goods exchange and payments agreement for 1963 was signed in Prague on April 19.

The 1963 executive plan of the cultural co-operation agreement between China and Poland was signed in Peking on April 20.

Chinese journalists in Peking held a meeting on the occasion of the International Week of Solidarity With Persecuted Journalists. The All-China Journalists' Association on April 20-21 sent messages to journalist organizations in various countries pledging support for persecuted journalists.

Nationalization — A Fraud of The Bourgeoisie

by YU LIN

Following is a translation of an article carried by "Hongqi" (No. 6, 1963), entitled "Concerning Bourgeois Nationalization." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE basic revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism have never been so seriously distorted and adulterated as is being done now by the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia. In particular, they have made wild attacks against the Marxist-Leninist teachings on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, because these teachings constitute an important theoretical position of Marxism-Leninism. Like the Right-wing socialists, the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia, in tampering with these basic Marxist-Leninist principles, make a great deal of fuss on the question of state-monopoly capitalism and especially bourgeois nationalization. They vigorously publicize the idea that carrying out a series of "reforms" centred around nationalization constitutes a new form and method of the proletarian struggle against monopoly capital and a new road to socialism. Among the many aspects of state-monopoly capitalism in a bourgeois country (such as establishment of enterprises with state capital investments, and state control of the national economic life through finance, credits and other methods), nationalization of private enterprises is an important one. The present article will touch on many aspects of the question of bourgeois nationalization in its present stage, its essence and its relationship to the socialist revolution of the proletariat.

I

The "state-owned economy" has long existed in the capitalist countries. Once the bourgeois states came into being, they took over the monopoly undertakings run by the feudal states and transformed them from primitive handicraft workshops into modern enterprises. In answer to the needs of war, to financial and economic demands, the bourgeois states at the same time gradually expanded their "state sectors of the economy" by establishing or buying enterprises. Until World War I, however, these sectors of the economy in the capitalist countries were limited in scope, including mainly arsenals, post and telecommunications and railways.

After World War I, owing to the unprecedented gravity of the economic crisis in the capitalist world, na-

tionalization was widely put into effect by the bourgeois states to save the big capitalists from imminent bankruptcy. The Italian Government, for instance, paid 250,000 million lire (lire in this article are calculated in terms of 1953 prices) during the 1920-21 economic crisis to buy out the bankrupt Italian Discounting Bank and the industrial companies associated with it. During the economic crisis of 1929-33, about 1,440,000 million lire were again spent by the government to purchase the three biggest private banks—the centres of finance capital in Italy—and many industrial enterprises associated with them, when all these were in a state of bankruptcy. The German Government during the 1929-33 economic crisis rescued many big banks and enterprises on the verge of bankruptcy by large share purchases. As acknowledged by Schacht, Hitler's Finance Minister, the German Government in 1931 controlled about 70 per cent of the German banks and therefore many joint-stock companies in Germany. Although bourgeois nationalization made some headway after the end of World War I, it was still very small in scale.

Postwar Expansion

Since the end of World War II, there has been an expansion of nationalization by the bourgeois states. A survey of the principal West European capitalist countries shows that the state-run enterprises comprise a comparatively large proportion of their economies.

Britain led the way in bourgeois nationalization in the postwar period. As early as December 1945, it passed a law for the nationalization of the Bank of England and this was followed by five nationalization laws in about three years. By 1951, the Bank of England, the coal, power and gas industries, internal transport and part of the metallurgical industries had been nationalized. After the implementation of the nationalization measures, the following enterprises and departments were owned by the state: about 1,500 coal mines, some coal-processing and brick-making enterprises, railways and railway rolling stock, hotels attached to the railway companies, canals for inland navigation and the ports along them, big bus depots, gas works and reticulation systems, about 500 power plants and their power transmission systems, international telegraph and wireless systems, airports and all civil aircraft, some atomic energy factories as well as arsenals. It is estimated that the state now operates about one-fifth of British industry, employing nearly 20 per cent of the workers.

Among other capitalist countries, Austria has carried out nationalization of private enterprises on a comparatively large scale. It adopted two nationalization laws successively in June 1946 and March 1947, nationalizing most of the coal enterprises, the key metallurgical plants, non-ferrous metal factories, mining enterprises, coal mines, power stations, aluminium mills, nitrogen fertilizer plants and some engineering works. At present the share of the state-owned enterprises in the total output of several products is as follows: 98 per cent of steel production and coal mining, 90 per cent of steel products, 94 per cent of non-ferrous metals, 91 per cent of oil extraction and refining, 46 per cent of power industry and 31 per cent of machine-building and steel structural engineering. The state-owned enterprises account for 28 per cent of the national industrial output. In 1948 the three largest banks in Austria — including the Creditanstalt-Bankverein and the Land Bank — were nationalized.

Certain economic departments and the principal enterprises of some other departments were nationalized in France in the 1945-46 period. These mainly comprised the coal industry, the production and distribution of power and gas, four big banks — the Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et L'Industrie and three others — and a considerable number of insurance companies. There are now in France about 650 enterprises entirely operated by state-monopoly capital or jointly by state and private monopoly capital. The state-operated industries as a whole make up about 20 per cent of the total productive capacity of French industry.

Buying Shares of Bankrupt Enterprises

In Italy, nationalization had been carried out to a comparatively large extent in the prewar period. The Italian Government since the end of World War II has bought the shares of bankrupt enterprises through the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale, the Investment Fund for the Engineering Industry and other organs. More than 200,000 million lire were paid for this purpose in 1947-55 alone. The legislation for the nationalization of private power enterprises, adopted by the Italian Parliament last summer, came into force this January. Simultaneously, the state-owned Power Company, a new state-monopoly capital organization, was formed. According to 1956-57 statistics, the enterprises under the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale — the largest state-monopoly capital organization in Italy — accounted for 77.4 per cent of the national output of pig iron, 50.5 per cent of steel and 54.5 per cent of steel products. At the same time, the company controls part of the country's power production. The state-owned Hydrocarbon Company controls 93 per cent of the national output of methane and 30 per cent of petrol. The Investment Fund for the Engineering Industry and the Cogne Company control respectively sections of the engineering and mining industries. The state-owned Power Company established this year controls the largest part of power production. According to a rough estimate, the enterprises operated by state-monopoly capital and those operated jointly by state and private monopoly capital make up about 30 per cent of the Italian national economy.

In Germany nationalization was introduced to a comparatively large extent before World War II. In West

Germany there are now many enterprises belonging wholly or partially to the state, which participates in specialized credit organizations and occupies an important place in many industrial departments. For instance, output of the enterprises operated by state-monopoly capital and those operated by state and private monopoly capital comprises the following percentages of the national output of various industries: 26 per cent of coal, 18.5 per cent of coke, 51 per cent of iron ore, 72 per cent of aluminium, 42 per cent of cars and 30 per cent of ships. In 1958 the total capital of the state-owned enterprises and those established partly with the aid of state-monopoly capital amounted to 4,927 million marks, constituting about 18.3 per cent of the total capital of all joint-stock companies in West Germany.

II

Playing up the fact that bourgeois nationalization has been developed comparatively rapidly in the postwar period, various kinds of renegades from the working class have done their utmost to defend the capitalist-imperialist system. The leaders of the Right-wing socialist parties and their "theoreticians" assert that bourgeois nationalization is "the most important economic and political measure to build up socialist economy"; they call the capitalist state-owned enterprises "a socialist sector." They claim that nationalization "puts a complete end to the political and economic rule of capital" and "abolishes once and for all the exploitation of man by man." The modern revisionists of Yugoslavia allege that the effect of bourgeois nationalization "is to eliminate private ownership by non-socialist means" and to negate the capitalist mode of production.

But does this give a true picture of the situation? Let us examine the objects, forms and consequences of nationalization by the bourgeois states and see what character it has.

The following are the main types of enterprises which have been the object of nationalization by the bourgeois states in the postwar period.

Backward Industries Nationalized

Firstly, there are some extremely backward departments which yielded little profits. Among the industrial departments in Britain, for instance, the first to be nationalized was the coal industry which had been declining since the end of World War I. Before the start of nationalization, the methods of coal-mining were in the main very backward; the equipment was so obsolete that there was hardly mechanization to speak of. Such equipment and technical conditions naturally resulted in a low labour productivity. The average output of 216 tons per miner in 1945 was not only below the corresponding figures in the other principal capitalist countries, but even far below the 1873-82 level in Britain itself. The railways in Britain were almost in the same condition as the coal industry. In 1948, more than 8,000 locomotives, or 40 per cent of the total, were past their useful life. According to 1947 statistics, about 200,000 of Britain's 1.25 million goods wagons were being repaired or needed repairing. Moreover, the number of wagons was decreasing year by year. The

British steel industry was also technically backward. The rate of production by blast furnaces was only one-fourth of that in the United States; the output of steel smelted per working hour was about one-fifth of that in the United States. As the coal, railway and steel industries required big investments, but produced small profits, their owners were increasingly threatened with losses or even bankruptcy. At the same time, the backwardness of these industrial branches was bound to affect the development of other industries and the high profits of other monopoly capitalists. For this reason, the capitalists who owned these backward enterprises were anxious to relieve themselves of their burden on the condition that they would not bear great losses in doing so. In addition, to serve the interests of monopoly capital as a whole, the state found it necessary to take over these enterprises for readjustment and renovation. Nationalization saved the former owners from bankruptcy and also ensured them more reliable incomes than before. This also helped the development of monopoly capital as a whole and the attainment of high profits by the monopoly capitalists.

Secondly, there are the enterprises which were so seriously damaged by war that the capitalists concerned were incapable of restoring them. At the end of World War II, for instance, Austria recovered a large number of war-ravaged enterprises which had been seized by German monopoly capitalists. But because of the war damage Austrian capitalists were incapable of reopening these enterprises and still less of making sufficient investments to ensure profits. Under such conditions, the bourgeois state found it necessary to take over these enterprises. In approving of this, the Austrian bourgeoisie harboured the extremely selfish desire to get commodities and services at low prices when the bourgeois state had restored and re-equipped these enterprises.

Thirdly, there are those departments and enterprises whose nationalization would help to provide monopoly capitalists with low-priced materials and motive power. A clear example of this is the nationalization of electric power in Italy this year. The power supply in that country was becoming increasingly inadequate for the expanding industrial demand, especially that of the newly founded industries of which the chemical industry was one. The capitalists monopolizing electric power would not make big investments to expand generating capacity or to transmit large amounts of the badly needed electric power to backward areas unless they were assured of increased profits. This came into conflict with the need of other monopoly enterprises for a sufficient supply of low-priced power. To satisfy the monopoly capitalists' desire for reduced production costs and increased profits, the Italian ruling clique nationalized the power enterprises. These are not the only enterprises which were nationalized for this purpose. The British power industry was nationalized for the same reason. Again, in certain countries, the nationalization of banks was designed mainly to grant monopoly capitalists loans on favourable terms.

Fourthly, there are the military enterprises and those directly related to military affairs. Their nationalization

stemmed mainly from the needs of the arms drive and war preparations.

Big Compensations

The bourgeois states nationalized the enterprises of private capitalists by paying them high prices. During the economic crisis of 1929-33, for instance, when there was a drastic slump on the Italian stock markets, the Italian Government purchased at high prices — the so-called pre-crisis "normal" stock exchange prices — all the shares of the Commercial Bank, the Italian Credit Co. and the Bank of Rome. The act for the nationalization of power enterprises passed in the autumn of 1962 stipulates that the capitalists of the power industry are to be paid compensation as high as 1,500,000 million lire under the principle of returning to the capitalists their capital plus profits. It also provides for 5.5 per cent interest on outstanding compensation payments. Decrees adopted by the postwar Austrian Government demand that the compensation for wholly nationalized enterprises and for power stations should respectively be 3.6 and 6.5 times the original values of their shares. The British railway companies got about 1,000 million pounds' worth of government bonds in return for their shares of 500 million pounds. The compensation of 400 million pounds received by the capitalists in the coal industry was also many times the value of the nationalized coalmines. An even more striking case was that the Thomas Tilling Company got compensation of 24.8 million pounds' worth of bonds from the British Government for its shares of 4.42 million pounds. In other words, it received six pounds in bonds for one pound in shares. The interest capitalists get from their bonds is higher than the dividends they originally obtained on their shares. Shareholders of British railway companies, for instance, had gained practically nothing from their shares for years before nationalization. It was only in some unusual years that they happened to get dividends which were no more than 1.5 per cent on their shares. But since nationalization, they have got about 5 per cent on their original shares. For the former owners of private enterprises, nationalization means in fact only a change in name. They still get the largest part of the profits of nationalized enterprises. In many cases, they receive even more than the total profits. From 1947 to 1958, British Railways, for instance, earned an average annual profit of more than 28 million pounds, but the interest paid annually to the former shareholders was as high as 45 million pounds. All this fully confirms the scientific dictum advanced by Lenin: "... state monopoly in capitalist society is nothing more than a means of increasing and guaranteeing the income of millionaires on the verge of bankruptcy in one branch of industry or another."* Shinwell, Minister of Fuel and Power in the Attlee government, once had to admit that the British coal industry was ailing and that many would be glad to get rid of their mines. He added that the government would have to deprive a number of mine-owners of their property but they would be delighted by this.

* Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1936, Vol. V, p. 34.

In a pamphlet entitled "Socialism and Nationalization," Hugh Gaitskell, the late leader of the British Labour Party, also confessed that the compensation paid out by the British Government for nationalization had brought great benefit to the monopoly capitalists and that the only difference was that it took the form of interest, not profit or dividend.

Benefiting All Monopoly Capitalists

Bourgeois nationalization benefits not only the capitalists who have turned over their enterprises, but all other monopoly capitalists as well. In running enterprises, the bourgeois state regards it as its most fundamental aim to ensure monopoly capitalists their maximum profits. It carries out a price policy in their favour with the result that they can all reduce production costs and raise profits by obtaining cheap raw materials, products and motive power from the nationalized enterprises. In Britain, for instance, wholesale prices for processed industrial products increased by 204 per cent in 1938-57, but during the same period the average price of electric power and railway freight charges rose only by 39 per cent and 115 per cent respectively. Half of the 1952 coal output in Britain was sold at a loss. In France the price of coal has always been below production costs since nationalization of the coal industry. Of course, the preferential prices cannot be given to all; they are intended only for the monopoly capitalists' enterprises. According to the standard electricity charges in France, in 1951 electrified enterprises and enterprises engaged in electric smelting paid only 1.08 francs for one kilowatt hour for which, however, ordinary consumers had to pay 26 francs. In West Germany, the state-owned power stations in North Rhine-Westphalia supply 70 per cent of the power to industry and 30 per cent to individual consumers. But the stations get their profits more from ordinary consumers than from industry. The monopoly capitalists also obtain profitable orders from the state-owned enterprises whose contracts are usually awarded in secret. These secret orders are particularly beneficial to the big monopoly capitalists who can make far bigger profits by this method than they can from open contracts. A good example of this is the contract awarded to William Denny and Brothers in Britain for building a cross-channel steamer. It cost at most 1.086 million pounds but the British Transport Commission paid 1.509 million pounds for it. The enterprises owned by the bourgeois states also give great benefits to monopoly capitalists by supplying them with low-priced commodities while making purchases from them at high prices. According to French sources, monopoly capitalists in steel, chemical and other industrial branches in that country reaped a total benefit of as much as 3,000,000 million francs by this method in 1947-60.

Former Owners Control Nationalized Enterprises

Nationalized enterprises in the bourgeois states are actually under the direct control of the big monopoly capitalists; this is clearly illustrated by the composition of the controlling organs of the nationalized enterprises. The former owners become leaders of state-owned enterprises as soon as these private enterprises are nationalized; other monopoly capitalists, in their own interests, also do their utmost to extend their influence into these con-

trolling organs. The result is that it is either the monopoly capitalists or their agents who occupy the leading positions on the boards of the nationalized enterprises and corporations. Answering a question in Parliament in 1949, Clement Attlee, then Britain's Prime Minister, admitted that of the 131 leaders on the national boards of the nationalized industries, nearly one half were directors or managers of the former private companies while among the rest more than 30 were knights, land-owners and generals. According to another British source in the same year, of the 13 directors of the British Transport Commission seven were members of the boards of directors of private companies. Those who ran the coal-mining industry were all representatives of monopoly capital.

In France, after enterprises are nationalized, the men formerly in charge remain on the board of the enterprises so that they continue to run them. Managerial personnel of the nationalized banks remain practically unchanged.

In Austria, nationalized banks are in actual fact credit institutions under the direct control of the monopoly capitalists for they are also the chief leaders and policy-makers of these banks. In Austria, the real power of control over other nationalized enterprises is also in the hands of the big monopoly capitalists.

In West Germany, monopoly capitalists and their agents also make up an overwhelming majority of the leading personnel in nationalized enterprises.

This is even more so in Italy where, with the exception of a small number of state-owned enterprises, such as the railways, arms industry, postal service and inter-city telephone service under the state's direct management, most of the state-owned enterprises are operated in the form of joint-stock companies, over which Parliament has no right of supervision and which do not come under state management. According to a report of Rome's *Il Corriere Della Sera* (Jan. 9, 1963), it has been agreed among the various political parties in Italy that Di Cagno, a monopoly capitalist in the electric power industry and a financial magnate, should become the president of the newly founded National Electric Power Company. With leadership of the administrative organs in the hands of the big monopoly capitalists, these nationalized enterprises are run to suit their needs. To deceive the masses, the monopoly groups often place a few so-called workers' representatives in the administrative organs of the nationalized enterprises, but this is entirely for show. In the first place, the power to make decisions rests safely in the hands of the monopoly capitalists and their agents; secondly, these so-called workers' representatives are picked out by the monopoly groups which rear them to become their loyal servants; thirdly, if a "workers' representative" shows any signs of disobedience, the monopoly capitalists may have him replaced at any time. Therefore, this window-dressing does not in the least affect the monopoly groups' control over these nationalized enterprises.

Sold Back to Private Owners

A bourgeois state serves monopoly capital not only by nationalizing its enterprises but also by selling them

back to it. Those enterprises sold back to private monopoly capital have in many cases been brought up to date after heavy state investments. For many enterprises, nationalization actually means that the bourgeois state replaces their fixed capital for the capitalists from treasury funds (that is, tax revenues paid by the people) and that the state takes the risk of making these investments. Since the end of World War II, while nationalizing private enterprises, many capitalist countries have taken measures to return nationalized enterprises to private monopoly capital. Britain between 1952 and 1953, for instance, cancelled the nationalization of the ferrous metallurgical industry and part of highway transport. Austria in 1957 sold 40 per cent of the stocks of the Creditanstalt-Bankverein and Länderbank, both nationalized banks, to private individuals and most of these stocks were bought by monopoly capitalists. Between 1954 and 1955, state-owned enterprises in West Germany were rehabilitated and their fixed capital was largely replaced. They thus became a bone of contention among the various monopoly capitalists and many nationalized enterprises and stocks were "denationalized." In Italy, according to incomplete statistics, the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale, between the day of its founding and 1958, had sold state-owned stocks to private monopoly capital to the tune of 491,000 million lire.

In the United States where state-owned enterprises are formed not by nationalizing private firms but by government investment to found new enterprises, some of these state-owned enterprises have also been sold to the monopoly capitalists. Soon after the war, most of the enterprises established by the U.S. Government during the war became the property of big monopoly capital. In nationalizing private firms, the state pays the private enterprise high prices; on the other hand, state-owned enterprises are sold back to private monopoly capital at low prices. For instance, a big factory in Geneva, Utah, U.S.A., which cost the government \$200 million to build, was sold to the United States Steel Corporation for \$48.5 million. Republic Steel bought a metallurgical plant near Chicago for \$35 million although the state had spent \$91 million on it.

In mid-January this year, the British Government sold to monopoly capitalists three state-owned iron and steel companies for £5.7 million although their total assets amounted to £8.5 million. During the same period the British Government also sold two state-owned iron-smelting plants to another monopoly firm for only £1.5 million although the actual value of these plants was £2.6 million. From this it can be seen that whether private firms are nationalized or nationalized enterprises are sold back to private monopoly capital, it is always in the interests of monopoly capitalists.

Whatever the form of bourgeois nationalization, it is a means of using the state apparatus by monopoly capital to exploit the working people. It brings many benefits to monopoly capital and great losses to the working people. What has happened after World War II bears out how hypocritical and shameless is the lie of Right-wing socialists that nationalization in capitalist countries has "eliminated exploitation." Workers' intensity of labour has been increased since nationalization. In the coal

mining industry in Britain, for instance, without improving the technical equipment, the average amount of coal extracted by every miner per annum was raised in 1952 by 16 per cent over that of 1947 mainly by increasing intensity of labour. Working conditions in the state-owned enterprises are extremely poor with the result that the number of accidents at work steadily increase. In Britain in 1955, one-third of the coalminers were injured and 425 of them were killed. Every year, 700 to 800 miners die from the lung disease pneumoconiosis; about 4,000 miners are registered every year as new cases. Real wages for workers in state-owned enterprises are still very low. In 1948, when the British Labour Party was in power, Francis Williams, a Labourite, told the British workers outright that nationalization by no means signified for the working class what it expected—easier times; it meant a call to the worker to work more intensely without any compensation. In their struggle against the capitalists, workers in the state-owned enterprises find themselves in a position still more disadvantageous than before. Under the pretext of "social interest," capitalists attack the working class wantonly and if workers start to fight back, capitalists, in their capacity as government officials, take measures to suppress them.

Lining the Pockets of Monopoly Capitalists

Bourgeois nationalization produces harmful consequences not only for workers in the nationalized enterprises but also for large numbers of other working people. In the course of carrying out nationalization and selling back the nationalized enterprises to private monopoly capital, the bourgeois state lines the pockets of monopoly capitalists in more ways than one, and this is bound to intensify the impoverishment of the working people. The bourgeois state has to borrow heavily in order to pay compensation to the former owners. (Statistics show that British capitalists have received approximately £2,500 million in compensation for all the nationalized enterprises.) This inevitably leads to an aggravated inflation, further currency devaluation and a sharper rise in prices. The bourgeois state has to pay interest on national debts. (Former owners of British coal mines received £15.12 million in interest in 1947 and shareholders of electricity companies received about £13 million in 1949). It has to make good the losses incurred by the nationalized enterprises, which supply goods and services to monopoly capitalists cheaply. It has also to renovate the equipment of the nationalized enterprises. The enlarged government expenditure resulting from all this is bound to increase the tax burden on the working people. In Britain for instance, from 1938 to 1956, direct taxes paid by workers and employees and their insurance and other social welfare contributions increased nearly ten times. Today the various tax burdens imposed on the workers absorb almost 25 per cent of their wages. From 1938 to 1956, retail prices increased more than twofold. Because of the heavy tax burden and the sharp rise in commodity prices, there has been little increase in workers' real wages. In 1957, real wages of the Italian working people were only 60 per cent of the prewar level. There has been little improvement since 1958. To earn the money they earned

in 1938, the French working people today have to do 25 per cent more work than in 1938.

The harmful consequences brought by bourgeois nationalization to large numbers of the working people were profoundly dealt with by Lenin more than 40 years ago. Lenin pointed out: "Under conditions where private ownership of the means of production is preserved, all these steps to bigger monopolies and increased nationalization of production are inevitably accompanied by intensified exploitation of the labouring masses, intensified oppression, greater difficulties in repulsing the attacks of the exploiters, the strengthening of reaction and military despotism and at the same time lead inevitably to incredible increases in the profits of the big capitalists at the expense of all other strata of the population, to the saddling of the labouring masses for many decades with tribute to the capitalists in the form of payment of thousands of millions in interest on loans."* Present-day realities further prove the correctness of Lenin's thesis on the question.

The Bourgeois State – A Pliant Tool of Monopoly Capital

The nature of nationalization is determined by the nature of the state. The reason why bourgeois nationalization solely benefits the monopoly capitalists rather than the working people is because the bourgeois state is a pliant tool of monopoly capital. The modern revisionists of Yugoslavia prettify bourgeois nationalization primarily because they distort the nature of the bourgeois state. They describe the bourgeois state as something above classes, alleging that it is "no longer the organ of a certain class in capitalist society and so it no longer reflects and upholds the special interests of that class"; or as the Right-wing socialists assert, the bourgeois state has become an organ "in the service of the whole society."

No matter how the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia and the Right-wing socialists prettify the bourgeois state, the fact before the eyes of the people is that the bourgeois state "is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie,"** and an apparatus used by the bourgeoisie to oppress and exploit the working people. Developed to the stage of imperialism, monopoly capital has placed the state apparatus entirely under its own control. Monopoly capitalists not only install their agents in government organizations but themselves come forth to assume important posts in the state apparatus. This is a general trend which has appeared among the various major capitalist countries since World War II. In the United States which claims to be an example of "democratic society," the ruling machine is firmly in the grip of monopoly capital. More than half of the important members of the Kennedy Administration are big capitalists, the rest are their relatives or trusted friends.

In Italy, of the 24 ministers (including the prime minister) in the "centre-left" Fanfani government, 19 are

* Lenin, "The Seventh (April) National Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, (B)," *Collected Works*, Russian ed., 1949, Vol. XXIV, p. 276.

** Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in two volumes, F.L.P.H., Vol. I, p. 36.

Christian Democrats representing the big landlords and big bourgeoisie while the rest also come from the parties which actually represent the interests of the bourgeoisie. Naturally there has been no lack of instances in which monopoly capitalists do not take the reins of government themselves but let their agents rule for them for all practical purposes. In exceptional circumstances they may even allow the Right-wing socialists to rule the country while they themselves manipulate the show behind the scenes. But this has not in the least changed, nor can it change, the nature of the state under bourgeois dictatorship. This is because, for one thing, the Right-wing socialists are the henchmen of the monopoly capitalists, and, for another, it is the monopoly capitalists, controlling the nation's economic artery and being the supreme arbiters of its economic life, who alone have the power to determine the basic policy of the bourgeois state; whoever holds the reins of government simply acts on their orders. Frederick Engels pointed out: "The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine; it is the state of the capitalists, the ideal aggregate capitalist. The more productive forces it takes over, the more does it become a real aggregate capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage earners, proletarians. The capitalist relationship is not abolished; it is rather pushed to an extreme."* Without smashing the bourgeois state machine, without changing the nature of the political power of the state, how can it be imagined that bourgeois nationalization will benefit the working class and other working people rather than the monopoly bourgeoisie and how can it be imagined that the goal of "social equality" will be attained?

III

To understand correctly the historic role of bourgeois nationalization and distinguish between its nature and that of socialist nationalization is an important aspect in the analysis of the question of bourgeois nationalization.

The development to a certain extent of the bourgeois nationalized economy is an objective trend in modern capitalist society. Its growth makes it possible for the social character of the process of production to reach the highest possible degree that can be attained under the capitalist system. This prepares the material foundation for socialism and makes it easier for the proletariat to put into effect the socialist public ownership of the means of production after it has seized power. At the same time, bourgeois nationalization intensifies the impoverishment of the working people, thus sharpening class contradictions and impelling the working class towards revolution. All these are undoubtedly favourable for the proletariat to carry out the socialist revolution.

A Measure to Buttress the Rule of Monopolies

While holding that bourgeois nationalization prepares the material basis for socialism, and objectively plays the role of promoting the socialist revolution, Marxist-Leninists also maintain that bourgeois nationalization is a

* Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947, p. 414.

measure adopted by the monopoly capitalist groups to buttress their reactionary rule, that it is a method used by the monopoly bourgeoisie in the name of the state to intensify their exploitation and oppression of the labouring masses and that it strengthens the control of monopoly capital over the state's economic life rather than weakening, let alone eliminating, monopoly capital. For this reason, Marxist-Leninists have always dealt with the question of bourgeois nationalization from the revolutionary standpoint. In their view, without proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, it is absolutely impossible to effect a "transition" from capitalism to socialism by means of bourgeois nationalization; in that case nationalization can only be capitalist in nature and there can be no socialist nationalization at all. Lenin put this question very clearly in his article "On Revising the Party Programme." He said: "But in a revolutionary situation, during the revolution, state-monopoly capitalism turns directly into socialism. You can't go ahead during the revolution without going to socialism. . . . This was taken into account by our April conference in putting forward the slogans 'A Republic of Soviets' (the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat) and the nationalization of the banks and syndicates (the basic means of transition to socialism)."^{*}

Contrary to the Marxist-Leninist stand, the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia do not make any distinction between bourgeois nationalization and socialist nationalization which are absolutely different in nature; instead, they mix up the two altogether. They do not take advantage of the favourable conditions created by bourgeois nationalization to promote revolution; instead, they attempt to realize "peaceful growth" into socialism through bourgeois nationalization and other "reforms" without touching the political power of the bourgeois state. They do their utmost to peddle the idea that bourgeois nationalization is not the same thing as ordinary reform, that it is a measure "with a socialist element" in it, and that "it is the first step towards socialism." They say they want to nationalize whole sectors of production so as to abolish the rule of monopoly capital. As a matter of fact, the nationalized enterprises of a bourgeois state contain nothing which can be called socialism, and the nationalization of whole sectors of production is simply an illusion. As many facts have shown, it is only on terms extremely favourable to them that the monopoly capitalists sold to the state at high prices certain enterprises from which they could no longer get handsome profits; under no circumstances would they allow their profitable enterprises to be nationalized. They are determined, in particular, to keep the key branches of industry firmly in their own hands. Bourgeois nationalization can only be carried out in circumstances in which it will not affect but will facilitate monopoly capitalist groups' control over the state's economic life. The modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia have brought forward a number of formulas for the "transition" from capitalism to socialism through bourgeois nationalization, but the most fundamental one is lacking, that is, smashing the

state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. As they see it, the question of capturing state power is of no importance. They openly clamour that in the developed capitalist countries, the capture of state power is no longer "the first stage of the development of socialism."

The Same Tactics of the Old-Line Revisionists

To whitewash the real substance of bourgeois nationalization in the interest of the capitalist class is not an innovation of the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia. The old-line revisionists did the same thing more than 40 years ago. During World War I, and particularly after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the general crisis of capitalism started. At that time, revolutionary crises occurred in many European countries. To lead the masses away from the path of socialist revolution, the Right-wing socialists in those countries did their best to praise the virtues of bourgeois nationalization. The Social Democratic Parties in Germany and Austria even established the "commission for socialization" (headed by Kautsky in Germany and Otto Bauer in Austria respectively) to help the bourgeoisie deceive the people. But this "commission" came to grief the moment the rule of the bourgeoisie was consolidated. In 1929-33 there was the unprecedentedly grave economic crisis which engulfed the whole capitalist world, and the Right-wing socialists again dished out bourgeois nationalization as a cure for capitalism, and they shouted even more loudly about this than before.

Bourgeois nationalization has reached a high tide since World War II. This is because the postwar general crisis of capitalism is steadily deepening, because the contradictions inherent in capitalism are becoming ever sharper and because the capitalist system is most unstable. In these circumstances, the monopoly capitalist groups, on the one hand, have introduced more reforms (nationalization and social welfare, for instance), than in the past to ease the situation of the class struggle. On the other hand, they have stepped up their propaganda campaign to deceive the people, claiming that the capitalism of today is not the same as the capitalism of yesterday, and that it has changed into "people's capitalism," the "welfare state," and so on. In an attempt to save the capitalist system from its imminent doom, they have also energetically instigated their agents in the ranks of the working class to spread various kinds of illusions in order to demoralize the working class and the other working people. Much of the ballyhoo of the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia on the question of bourgeois nationalization is designed to suit this need of the monopoly bourgeoisie. If with their tactics to hoodwink the people the old-line revisionists failed in their criminal designs to prevent and eliminate the proletarian revolutionary movement, but instead completely revealed their features as renegades, then, today when the oppressed people and nations have become more awakened than before, the ignominious attempts of the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia are certainly doomed to failure.

^{*} Lenin, "On Revising the Party Programme," *Collected Works*, Russian ed., 1949, Vol. XXVI, p. 143.

Tanganyika Impressions

by CHEN KUNG-CHI

As a member of a Chinese cultural and friendship delegation, the author toured Tanganyika between November 30 and December 14, 1962, that is, shortly before and after the Republic of Tanganyika celebrated its first Independence Day anniversary. It was a short visit, but it left a deep impression on the author who here shares some of his personal recollections. — Ed.

Uhuru!

EVERYWHERE you went, you heard the cry "Uhuru!" which means "Freedom!" in Swahili and is also a synonym for independence. For the Tanganyikans this word has deep meaning. On December 9, 1962, a year after Tanganyika announced its independence, the last British governor of the territory went off to the sound of the salvos greeting independence. While the Tanganyikans cheered "Uhuru!" quite a few Britons at the "send-off" wept. They wept because the days when the imperialists could do what they liked were gone for good. They wept for the days when the British empire was at its zenith and Queen Victoria, for instance, had the liberty to give Kilimanjaro, Africa's highest mountain peak, to her nephew, the German Kaiser, as a birthday gift. Imperial Germany was then making inroads on Tanganyika and soon it signed an agreement with Britain defining their respective spheres of influence in East Africa. Then the German imperialists went, and then the British. . . . The people of Tanganyika cheered because after many years of bitter struggle, they had finally achieved independence.

On our way to Moshi, we stopped at a small town on the southern bank of Lake Victoria. At the airport a lively local youth told us of the evils of British colonialism. "The British colonialists," he said, "took steps to withdraw only in 1954 in the face of mounting popular resistance. Until then, we Tanganyikans were kept out of the airliners, high-class hotels and restaurants. Yes, and even now though we've achieved independence, the British still exert a big economic influence here. We've still got to solve this problem completely." The young man, however, was still apparently unaware of the way the neo-colonialists were infiltrating his country. "We're in urgent need of trained public officials and technical know-how," he continued. "The Americans, in this connection, are miles better than the British colonialists. They've sent their Peace Corps over to teach in our schools and help us train our own administrative personnel."

Taking advantage of the difficulties confronting the newly independent African countries, the U.S. imperialists are working hard to worm their way into these countries. By skilful hypocrisy they try to hoodwink the people. But a wolf even in sheep's clothing can't help showing its true nature. Just at the time of our visit, one U.S. Senator, Allen Ellender brazenly declared that many African countries had been given their independence too early.

He was of the opinion that the Africans were incapable of leadership without white assistance. This impudence aroused the legitimate indignation of the independent African states. The Tanganyikan Government for one refused to allow him to enter the country, so when that imperialist passed through Tanganyikan territory, he had to stay in his plane under the broiling sun until he left quietly. In other independent African countries this Yankee was accorded the same kind of "welcome."

So much still remains to be done by the people of Tanganyika in their struggle against colonialism, both old and new. They know they will have to be on their guard for they can never expect any imperialist power to deal with a newly independent country on a really equal footing and in friendly co-operation.

Moshi

With a population of 13,000 the city of Moshi lies at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro. It has become world famous as the place where the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference was held. We arrived there about two months before that conference.

Moshi is a fine neat place that has a beautiful site with glistening, snow-capped Kilimanjaro towering behind it. The European population is much larger here than in other Tanganyikan cities. Whereas in many other towns most retail trade is in the hands of Indian merchants, here in Moshi, many shops are run by Europeans. It was some time later that I found out that this city was laid out first by the Germans and later by the British as a scenic spot and as their own summer retreat. I also noticed that there is a wide gap in prices between imported industrial goods and local farm produce. From a street vendor I bought a box of Swedish matches for about 20 cents. For the same amount one could buy as many as 20 bananas. Bananas, I was told, are one of the staple foods of the rural inhabitants there.

Around Moshi, the rural inhabitants, while having some animal husbandry, are mainly engaged in growing bananas, coffee and cotton. Many have joined co-operatives which make their main line of business the purchasing of industrial crops for export. One of the responsible members of the Coffee Co-operative Union in Moshi told me: The local peasants began to organize their own co-operatives in 1950. They did this to fight against the excessive exploitation by middlemen, mostly Indian merchants. Today these co-operatives have spread and grown with government support. In pre-cooperative days, the middlemen skimmed off as much as 60 per cent or more of the selling price of our coffee. Now the peasants receive about 80 per cent of the selling price after paying the necessary expenses and other charges. A hundred-weight of raw coffee, for instance, is now sold at 232 shillings, and the peasant who raises it gets 190 shillings of this. The co-operatives have clearly played a big part



Chagga girls of Tanganyika dancing

in reducing the exploitation suffered by the peasant masses.

I was told that throughout Tanganyika there are over 800 of these co-operatives organized in 40 co-operative unions. They have some 400,000 members. In 1962, prompted by the government, the National Co-operative Union was established. The main items handled by the co-operatives are coffee and cotton. But of all the farm produce in the country sisal hemp has the highest output value, greater than those of coffee and cotton combined. Nearly all the sisal plantations, the output of which constitutes two-fifths of the world's total, are in the hands of British capital, while coffee and cotton exports are to this day handled mostly by foreign merchants.

We called on a peasant household of the Chagga tribe living on the slopes of Kilimanjaro. Here an old man of over 60 years of age recalled what had happened since German imperialist rule and what he told us touched our hearts.

For many, many years, he recalled, his people had lived dispersed, roaming about from place to place in small dispersed groups of two or three households. There was plenty of land lying waste, but each household could cultivate only two to three acres of land because of backward farming techniques, and productivity was low. They only began to cultivate industrial crops some 40 years ago. Today, apart from growing the crops needed for its own domestic consumption, each household can sell annually two to three hundred pounds of raw coffee. This

means an annual cash income of £20 to £25 per household. This is a great improvement over things ten years ago, when because of the meagre returns there was little incentive for the peasants to grow industrial crops. After independence was gained, a self-help scheme was promoted by the government to improve the people's living conditions by such activities as building roads in the mountain areas and setting up small brick kilns through collective effort.

It was not difficult for me as a Chinese to understand things in a newly independent country like Tanganyika, such things as the relations between town and countryside, the poor living conditions that still exist for the people, the difficulties facing the development of its national economy, the historical and social causes of all this, and so on, but the main thing is that the people of Tanganyika have stood up. I know that their diligence and labour, their resolute struggle will eventually bear fruit.

Farewell, Dar-es-Salaam!

Our itinerary in Tanganyika started from Dar-es-Salaam and also ended there. Dar-es-Salaam is the capital city of Tanganyika built on the shore of the Indian Ocean. It has a population of 128,000. The Indian Ocean to its east stretches as far as the eye can see. The sound of the wind and the waves breaking on the shore is audible everywhere in the city. Most of the office buildings of the former British colonial institutions and the villas of the former senior colonial officials are so built that they face the sea and sea breezes. Among them are the official residence of the former British governor, now the presidential palace of the Republic of Tanganyika.

During the last few days of our stay, we attended the presidential inauguration of Dr. Julius Nyerere on December 9 and other activities celebrating the occasion. On the next day, Dr. Nyerere delivered a speech in Parliament. He said:

The Tanganyika we inherited from colonialism was one in which the injustice of colonial days still survived; in which there was racial discrimination; and from which the degradation and evils which sprang from colonialism had yet to be banished.

In drawing up the three-year development plan the government has decided to lay the greatest emphasis on agriculture but it is ridiculous to concentrate on agriculture if we are not going to make any change in the old methods of cultivation and old ways of living.

To build a nation in the true sense, a task into which we must throw ourselves wholeheartedly is to build the character of its people—of ourselves; to build an attitude of mind which will enable us to live together with our fellow citizens of Tanganyika and with the peoples of the whole world, in mutual friendliness and co-operation.

We left Dar-es-Salaam with blessings for the Tanganyikan people. The leader of our delegation had signed on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China a cultural co-operation agreement with the representative of the Government of the Republic of Tanganyika on a really equal footing and in a spirit of friendly co-operation. And so we left Dar-es-Salaam also with a feeling of satisfaction at the conclusion of that agreement. We left Dar-es-Salaam with a sense of gratitude for the friendly and warm reception given us by the Government of Tanganyika.

ROUND THE WORLD

LAOS

Open U.S. Intervention

The situation in Laos has become ever more serious. While egging on its local lackeys to start an all-out civil war, the Kennedy Administration is actually preparing to scrap the Geneva agreements and embark on a military adventure itself should its other dirty schemes fail.

Within Laos, despite the ceasefire proposal agreed to by Prince Souvanna Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong on April 14, Savannakhet bandits joined with reactionaries among the neutralists are continuing to attack the Neo Lao Haksat forces and the progressive neutralist forces under Colonel Deuane in the Plain of Jars. Commanded by U.S. officers, Savannakhet troops have also launched large-scale offensives in Xieng Khouang Province and in the Vang Vieng area in northern Vientiane Province. In other parts of the country, raids against the liberated areas have increased. In all these operations, the attackers have the support of U.S. aircraft which have stepped up their flights over the liberated areas to airdrop arms and supplies for the Savannakhet troops.

Clearly at Washington's instigation, co-ordinated military moves are also taking place along and across the Laotian border. South Vietnamese and Thai troops have moved into Laotian territory and launched "mopping-up operations" against the liberated areas in Savannakhet Province in violation of the Geneva agreements. They are led by U.S. officers. Thai troops and frontier police are poised along the entire Thai-Laotian border ready for action at any moment.

Along with these open interventions, a SEATO naval exercise code-named Sea Serpent began in the South China Sea on April 22. There is also a U.S. air exercise in the Philippines, with Chiang Kai-shek, south Korean and Thai air forces participating.

In the United States itself, the paid press are howling for a show of force and military intervention. Within three days, Kennedy called two meetings of the National Security Council,

the top policy-making body of the United States, to discuss the Laotian situation. He has sent Under Secretary of State Harriman to London and Paris to discuss intervention. Secretary of State Rusk has met the envoys of India, Canada and Poland—the countries making up the International Control Commission in Laos—in an attempt to use the commission for the same purpose. Under Secretary of State Ball has threatened that the United States would not "rule out the possibility of sending troops to Laos."

The aggressors have bared their teeth. They are hell-bent on a new military gamble in Southeast Asia.

VENEZUELA

Paradise Lost

In oil-rich Venezuela, once known as a paradise of the Rockefellers and where the Yankees still pay less for petrol than they charge for coca-cola, the bloodsuckers are having a hard time of it. Guerrilla forces, known as the National Liberation Army, have greatly increased their activities. They have grown in strength despite frantic U.S.-Betancourt efforts at armed repression.

The latest example of this is the failure of the government military campaign in the State of Falcon. Following months of preparations, some 8,000 reactionary troops with U.S. officers as advisers staged a pincer operation against the guerrilla base in the Coro Mountains. They tried to cut the patriots off from popular support and supplies by indiscriminate aerial bombing and terror campaigns against the peasants. Still the offensive collapsed.

Meanwhile, the guerrillas are taking the fight to the enemy. On April 7, the oil pipeline of the Creole Oil Company, a U.S. Standard Oil subsidiary, was set on fire by a bomb explosion, for the third time in less than a month. A series of attacks was launched by units of the National Liberation Army against government troops in the capital itself. A raid was made on the house of the assistant military attaché of the U.S. Embassy, and U.S. Ambassador Stewart was warned that if the U.S. continued to

meddle in Venezuelan affairs the Liberation Army would retaliate.

Commenting on the guerrilla activities, the Brazilian weekly *Liga* stated: "The [Betancourt] government relies on a fragile military machine completely alienated from the people. The armed struggle is the road for Venezuelans—the only road for them to take." The Venezuelans have proved the truth of the statement in the Second Havana Declaration that "Wherever roads are closed to the peoples, where repression of workers and peasants is fierce, where the domination of Yankee monopolies is strongest, the first and most important lesson is to understand that it is neither just nor correct to divert the people with the vain and fanciful illusion that the dominant classes can be uprooted by legal means which do not and will not exist."

POLARIS SUBMARINES

The People Say No

U.S. propaganda machines are singing hosannas to Washington's decision to withdraw its Jupiter intermediate-range missiles from Turkey and Italy. A step to ease international tension, they claim. But, in fact, it is a sinister move in keeping with the latest U.S. global nuclear strategy of encircling the socialist world with an arc of atomic submarine bases all the way from the North Atlantic, through the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, to the Pacific.

Washington has decided to pull out the Jupiter missiles because they no longer serve its purpose. This was admitted by U.S. Secretary of Defence McNamara who told congressmen that the Jupiters are "obsolete" and "so vulnerable that a single rifle shot is enough to knock one out." They are being replaced by the Polaris submarines which arrived in the Mediterranean in April. The submarines will call at the ports of Turkey and Italy as well as those of France, Greece, Lebanon and Morocco. So, U.S. imperialism is not only replacing obsolete missiles with up-to-date ones, but actually increasing its military bases in the Mediterranean.

The people are not fooled by these "peace" moves. In Britain where Polaris submarines have been stationed since 1961, some 80,000 who took part in this year's annual Aldermaston March shouted "Polaris out, out, out!"

in London's main streets. Similar demonstrations against nuclear weapons were held in many other countries, including West Germany, Norway, Greece and Australia.

In Japan, too, the movement against Washington's use of the country's ports for atomic submarines is gathering momentum. Political parties, people's organizations and scientists have issued statements of protest. The recent accidental sinking of the U.S. atomic submarine *Thresher* in the Atlantic underlines that these weapons of aggression are not only a threat to the national security of those countries where they are based but also a peacetime danger to their citizens. A mass campaign is under way to collect ten million signatures demanding that Japan be kept free of U.S. atomic submarines.

U.S. MILITARY AID

Wanted: More Cannon Fodder

Anyone who still thinks that "U.S. aid" is not "aid U.S." can well benefit from studying an authoritative statement by U.S. Secretary of Defence McNamara. Speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee earlier this month, he elaborated on the "dividends" of the military aid programme for U.S. "security, foreign policy and general welfare." If the troops now subsidized by U.S. dollars were replaced by U.S. troops, he explained, it would "involve a totally unacceptable drain on our manpower and monetary resources. It would send the defence budget soaring and add to the tax-payer's burden and amount to many times the cost of military assistance which makes possible the accomplishment of our own forward strategy with minimum expenditure in men and money."

It is strictly according to this me-first principle that the much vaunted "U.S. aid" is passed around. Thus, the Kennedy Administration is allocating 60 per cent of the \$1,400 million worth of military aid for fiscal 1963-64 to areas or countries bordering China and the other socialist lands. These include such notorious puppets as Ngo Dinh Diem of south Viet Nam, Sarit of Thailand, Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, Pak Jung Heui in south Korea. . . . The Nehru government of India is the new favourite, because, according to the *Times of*

India, it meets all U.S. "tests": it is firm in fighting communism, never nationalizes industry without adequate compensation, imposes the highest taxes at home and makes good use of the dollars! The last phrase apparently refers to the large army New Delhi is building up.

MURDER IN MADRID

Blood on Franco's Hand

Julian Grimau, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, is dead. Franco killed him.

This latest crime by the fascist dictator has aroused worldwide protest. A few hours after the report of Grimau's death before a firing squad, Londoners demonstrated in a down-pour. Among the participants were former members of the International Brigade which fought in the Spanish civil war, trade unionists, students and Spanish Republicans. Protest meetings were also held in Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham.

Several thousand Italian workers marched in protest past the Franco embassy in Rome. There were angry

demonstrations in Lyons, Brussels, Stockholm, Zurich, Montevideo, Buenos Aires and many other European and Latin American cities.

In Algiers, a protest rally was held and after the meeting the participants demonstrated in the city's main streets shouting "Down With Dictator Franco!"

The Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party sent a strong protest to the Franco regime. The message said that the Japanese people "will continue to fight together with the Spanish people to eliminate fascist regimes from the face of the earth."

In Peking, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (April 23) declared that the butcher's knife could never block the advance of the Spanish people who from the very first day when Franco seized power had never stopped their struggle against his fascist regime. The nationwide anti-Franco campaign culminating in the 100,000-worker strike last year demonstrated the firm determination of the Spanish people to do away with his detested rule.

Julian Grimau was arrested on November 7, 1962 and sentenced to death on April 18.

THE PASSING SHOW

Air-Conditioned Statesmanship

Faced with the need to keep Indian public feeling in a suitable "state of emergency," the Indian government's spokesmen have, in the words of the *London Times'* New Delhi correspondent, been "blowing hot and cold in rapid alternation in public statements on the likelihood of renewed Chinese attacks" although, adds the correspondent, New Delhi knows that "there will be no attack."

In this connection the Indian Information Service reports Prime Minister Nehru as saying: ". . . there are certain political considerations which make it [an attack] unlikely in the immediate future, but at the same time there are certain other considerations which make it possible and even probable." On which the *Times* comments: ". . . it has been left to Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, to achieve in parliament today the feat of blowing hot and cold in the same breath."

No to Ngo

Worried that the million dollars a day they spend on their "special warfare" in south Viet Nam has only resulted in the steady growth of the popular movement to throw them and their puppets out, the U.S. warmongers have got Ngo Dinh Diem to make an "impassioned appeal" to the patriot guerrilla forces to "rally to the side of the national government." In an operation called "Open Arms," Diem has promised them "clemency, reunion with their families, financial assistance and government jobs." There have been no takers.



"Open Arms"

Pumping Stations in Rural Shanghai

by WANG HUA-FANG

A network of electric and diesel pumping stations protects the farmland of the ten rural counties of greater Shanghai from flood and drought. It is a highly efficient product of collective farming. The rural people's communes are confident that this drainage and irrigation system can deal successfully with even fairly serious floods or droughts. Last September a typhoon flooded half a million *mu* of farmland here; the pumping stations went into action and a relatively good harvest was secured where before disaster would have been inevitable.

SHANGHAI, China's leading industrial city, lies on the flat alluvial plain on the south bank of the estuary of the Yangtse River. Rows of pylons carry power lines from its generating stations out to its rural suburbs. Some go to power the enterprises and light the homes of the rural people's communes. Many end in a system of pumping stations set strategically on the web of canals, channels and ditches that drain and irrigate the paddyfields. This pumping station network of rural Shanghai has a combined capacity today of 70,000 h.p.; it efficiently protects 3.5 million *mu* or 70 per cent of Shanghai's farmland against waterlogging and drought.

For those who knew the old pre-liberation Shanghai countryside, this is an astonishing change. In those days a few lonely strands of telephone wire were all that spoke of electricity in the countryside. There would be plenty of water in channels and ponds in the rainy season, usually too much of it, with the farmers heroically and often frantically trying to drain their fields with foot-pedalled, wind- or animal-driven water mills, or using the same inadequate means to bring water to them in the dry seasons. Small, scattered, poverty-stricken holdings went hand in hand with backward techniques, ruthless imperialist, landlord and capitalist exploitation and reactionary governmental rule. The result was that the peasants were at the mercy of bad weather; their fields suffered periodically from flood or drought and the general rule was poor harvests and mass poverty and misery.

Three Stages of Change

The building of the present efficient network of pumping stations was a key technical factor in the creation of Shanghai's blossoming new socialist countryside. Its construction falls into three stages: the immediate post-liberation period of economic recovery; the start and advance of the agricultural co-operative movement; and the period of the people's communes.

First Stage. The liberation of 1949 brought immediate changes in the peasants' political and social position and in their economic conditions too. As the Chinese phrase has it: "They turned over and stood up!" Under the leadership of the Communist Party and the People's Gov-

ernment, they embarked on a big-scale effort to repair and build dykes, dams, sluice-gates and channels to protect and irrigate their fields. The land reform and organization of mutual-aid teams spurred this campaign and enabled them to acquire and install a certain amount of mechanical equipment. Progress in this respect, was, however, on the whole slow. In 1953, the Shanghai counties only had enough internal combustion pumps to serve 1,400 *mu* of farmland. Furthermore the majority of these pumps were owned by well-off farmers.

Second Stage. The second stage in setting up the pumping station network came with the forming of agricultural producers' co-operatives in 1954, and their booming advance. Between 1954 and 1957 Shanghai's rural counties added more than 11,000 h.p. in mechanized pumping equipment (diesel and electric). Their pumping stations could handle the needs of some half a million *mu* of farmland.

Key Part of Modernization

Realistically assessing the situation, the Party and government leaders of Shanghai took the building of pumping stations as a key aspect of modernization of agriculture in their area. Irrigation and drainage is vital to the growing of paddyrice, the main crop in rural Shanghai, and for the Shanghai delta lands these are two of the prime needs of all farming. That, of course, was so before, but under the old reactionary order there was little the mass of peasants could do about it. Only with the advance of collectivization, the pooling of the peasants' lands, efforts and other resources in a planned advance under the leadership of the Communist Party and People's Government, could they really make headway in this field.

Third Stage. The forming of the rural people's communes in 1958 saw the third big advance in the building of the pumping station network. The communes amalgamated the former co-op farms into larger units with larger resources in land, manpower and financial means. Under unified planning they were able to undertake technical improvements on their farms on a scale impossible for the old co-op farms.

As in other parts of China, the Shanghai communes entered on a process of modernization that is adding up to a technical transformation: the mechanization and electrification of the farms, the extensive building of water conservancy works, and the widespread use of chemical fertilizers and other farm chemicals. For the Shanghai farms one of the most significant steps of this technical advance is the extension of the water conservancy network—drainage and irrigation channels, sluice-gates, dykes, etc.—and pumping stations. In the past five years the ten Shanghai rural counties have increased the capacity of their pumping equipment by nearly 60,000 h.p.

to a total of 70,000 h.p. This is enough to serve the needs of 3.5 million *mu* of farmland. Four-fifths of the existing equipment was thus installed under the communes.

With a big source of electrical power available from the Shanghai grid since 1958, the local government has given top priority to the installation of electrical pumping units and these now form the major part of the pumping network. High-tension transmission lines now radiate out from the power stations of Shanghai and other nearby industrial centres to the neighbouring rural areas.

The installation of pumping stations has been swiftly carried out but carefully planned. Before pumps are installed in any district, meticulous surveys and on-the-spot experiments are conducted. With many other areas clamouring for similar equipment not all districts could be satisfied at once. Priority was given to districts planting paddyrice in the first place, then to market garden areas and lastly to those planting other crops.

Industry Answers Need

Shanghai industry has risen nobly to the occasion. The city's rural areas now have more than 8,000 kilometres of transmission lines; over 5,000 motors and internal combustion engines; and large numbers of transformers, meters and other electrical supplies. Prior to 1957 most of the drainage and irrigation equipment, pumps, engines, motors, etc., used in rural Shanghai came from abroad. It was only during China's Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) that Shanghai went into this branch of industrial production in a big way and supplied its own ten home counties and other parts of China with a total of 600,000 h.p. capacity of such engines. Thereafter all power equipment and pumps installed on Shanghai's farms have been "Made in China."

Before the completion of the First Five-Year Plan in 1957, Shanghai power plants were catering mainly to the mounting needs of their own urban industry, lighting and domestic users. Not much power could be spared for the villages. In the big leap forward of the national economy in the following years the city's engineering industry began for the first time to make big generators. This enabled it to expand its power industry with the installation of its own new, big generators. The commissioning of the Wangting Power Plant to the west of Shanghai also immensely increased the reserves of the power grid of the Yangtse Delta centred on Shanghai. As a result, the rural communes there can now get abundant power. It is also inexpensive, some 20 per cent cheaper than it was five years ago.

It is no wonder then that 90 per cent of the rural communes of the Shanghai area are using increasing amounts of electric power not only for drainage and irrigation, but for milling rice, cutting fodder and running other farm machines as well as for communications, and lighting public buildings and homes. Rural power consumption rose by 12 per cent in the single year of 1962. This added up to a 45-fold increase over the amount consumed in 1957, the year preceding the establishment of the people's communes.

The pumping network of the Shanghai counties has on several occasions proved itself in spectacular ways. We have already mentioned last September's storms when one

typhoon flooded an area of 500,000 *mu* and water stood knee deep on 300,000 *mu* of it. Thanks to the prompt action of the farmers backed up by their pumping network, the late rice crop on that occasion was saved and was rated "relatively good."

Nanhui County peasants can recall the 50-day drought which they experienced ten years ago. Though they worked with desperate energy then to overcome this calamity, yields fell in all their paddyfields. Nanhui is now one of the foremost counties in installing mechanized pumps. When last summer it was hit by a drought lasting 70 days, its pumps enabled it to get enough water to all its fields and yields held up.

Pumping Network Saves Labour

Mechanical pumping releases a great deal of manpower from the hard work of manual irrigation and drainage, and the communes profitably invest this economized labour power in other fields. The Shanyang People's Commune in Sungchiang County estimates that one man using one of its modern pumps can irrigate or drain ten times as much land as a man using an old treadle mill.

Its officials tell the following story: In 1953 the area of the present commune was compelled to use 80 per cent of its manpower to combat a 50-day spell of dry weather. Weeding and anti-pest work had to be neglected and as a result rice yields fell. In 1961 this same area was hit by a 60-day drought, but conditions had changed radically. The commune used only a fraction of its manpower to handle anti-drought work and normal farm work went on as usual. Thanks in no small part to its pumping stations and other farm innovations it was able to get double the 1953 per-*mu* yields.

In the past few years, Shanghai weather conditions have not favoured farming, rather the opposite. The farms have had to battle against waterlogging and drought. The measures taken along the road of technical reform, however, and especially the pumping network, substantially reduce the ill effects of these calamities, and bring about a steady rise in the peasants' living standards.

It is in these years that the commune members have seen tangible proof of what their new techniques can do. They have seen their villages brightened by electric lighting. Radio rediffusion systems and individually owned wireless sets have come to enrich their lives. Their output of grain, vegetables and industrial crops has increased. Their toil has been lightened and their incomes increased. All this has strengthened their confidence in the people's communes and made them yet more ardent supporters of technical reform in farming. This is a big factor in consolidating the collective economy of the people's communes.

The Shanghai counties, of course, have certain special conditions but much in their experience offers a valuable example to other areas in the advance to modernized farming. Their mechanized pumping network signifies a good start in the technical transformation in their farming. Results already show that it is the road to better and more productive farming and higher standards of living.

POETRY

Popular Poetry Readings

Queues to buy tickets for the opera, the theatre, or the cinema are no unusual sight in Peking. But now long queues are forming to buy tickets for poetry recitals, the first at which tickets have been sold to the general public.

Tickets to the last poetry reading in Peking's Children's Theatre were sold out in an hour. Many lingered on in the chilly spring air, hoping to get a stray return. At another poetry reading, the crowd of those who had not been fortunate enough to get tickets gathered around a mobile radio recording van parked outside the auditorium and, with a friendly technician co-operating, listened entranced through two whole hours to verses on topical themes from the people's communes to Cuba. Inside, the enthusiasm of the audience was so great that the MC had to point to his watch again and again before he could check the encores.

In all the big cities, more and more poetry recitals are being organized by cultural centres, youth and Young Pioneers' Cultural Palaces, schools, factories, public libraries and on the radio. Among many newly formed recitation groups is one set up by several well-known Peking artists of stage and screen including the actresses Chu Lin and Wang Hsiao-tang and the actor Wang Hsin-kang. This has been giving very successful readings. Another group in Soochow is composed of 40 Young Pioneers.

A look into poetry audiences finds workers, office employees, students, P.L.A. men and people well past middle age as well as school children.

Why this booming popularity for a hitherto modest aspect of literary activity?

It comes really as no surprise considering the great numbers of people who, introduced to literature and the arts only since liberation, are now evincing a growing appetite for good literary and artistic work. If a good novel, such as *Red Crag*, can count its readers in millions, it is easily understandable why bigger and bigger audiences are being attracted to readings of poetry—not just any poetry but poetry with a revolutionary and militant content closely linked with our times.

As early as the War of Resistance Against Japan, patriotic poets initiated this tradition of readings of poems inspiring the people to fight against their enemies—at that time the Japanese aggressors and the Kuomintang reactionaries. This tradition was nobly upheld in the Kuomintang-occupied areas in the dark years just before liberation. Many who were in Kunming at that time will probably recall this scene: the crowded lecture hall at the Southwest Associated University under an overcast sky, and Professor Wen Yi-to,* in his faded blue gown, walking up to the platform, fetching a script from his pocket, holding it up to his glasses and starting to read his poem in a voice ringing with emotion. . . . The works of poets today fulfil the same need of the people for militant, revolutionary calls to action and for inspiration for new efforts in their work. The same rapt attention as before shows in the eyes of audiences as they listen to moving poems about Lei Feng, the "great ordinary soldier," about revolutionary Latin America, about Algeria, and to the thousand and one poems written by poets who are going out more and more among the worker, peasant and soldier masses to find their inspiration.

Better and more varied techniques of recital are another feature that attracts. A common shortcoming in earlier years was the somewhat exaggerated tones and gestures that jarred on the senses. Poetry reciters today have learnt a greater ease of manner, a more natural approach and, with a better command of the verses' sentiments, express them down to the last nuance. Many new forms of poetry recitation have latterly been developed, such as two or more people reciting from the same poem, group recitations, reciting to the accompaniment of music or with appropriate dramatic gestures. Besides poetry, recitations of excerpts from novels, fables, stage scripts and screen scenarios have also been performed to good effect. "History Will Absolve Me," the famous speech by Cuban Premier Castro, has become a popular part of the programme in many poetry recitals.

* Wen Yi-to, outstanding poet, well-known fighter for democracy and professor at the Southwest Associated University, was murdered by the Kuomintang in 1946.

All this has carried poetry reading to a new and higher level, but poets and their colleagues are working harder yet to spread their art further—to the public squares, to the streets, and out to the fields of the people's communes.

CINEMA

Cinema-Eye on the Sino-Indian Border

A group of Peking cameramen has brought back from the Sino-Indian border an account of what they saw there. Their newly released documentary—*For a Peaceful Settlement of the Sino-Indian Boundary Question*—will be of deep interest to all peace-loving people.

The first sequences show the Chinese frontier guards on the border. They have just received orders from the Chinese Government for a unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal from the positions they had advanced to in their counter-attack in self-defence after repulsing the massive Indian attacks on October 20, 1962. We see them at the time of the ceasefire, dismantling their equipment. We see them building and repairing bridges, roads, irrigation ditches and houses for the local people before they withdraw. The camera has caught moving scenes of leave-taking. Local Tibetan elders press stirrup-cups of rice wine upon the departing frontier guards; countless white *hats* are exchanged. Twelve local bards standing by the roadside sing an affectionate farewell.

The camera visits Indian army personnel captured by the Chinese frontier guards. They put on Chinese fur hats and padded clothing in place of their thin uniforms and their delighted grins need no commentary. There are many snapshots of life at these centres: Indian mess officers cut up big chunks of meat and make *puri* the Indian way. Smiling Indians take away armloads of cigarettes and other issues. Indian officers and men, including Brigadier-General J.P. Dalvi, commander of the Indian Seventh Infantry Brigade, are seen attending their own religious services, playing ball, singing and dancing and writing thick letters home.

The last part of the film gives a factual account of the release of captured sick and wounded Indian army

personnel and the return of captured weapons, ammunition and military supplies to the Indian side. Sick and injured Indians well on the road to recovery shake hands warmly with the white-robed Chinese medical staff who had looked after them; hugging them and breaking into tears as they get into the Indian Red Cross Society ambulances. On an enormous field Chinese frontier guards busily polish, clean and put in new parts for rows of tanks, aircraft, lorries and other captured military equipment with U.S. and British markings before they are handed over to a civil official sent by the Indian Government. At the Indian's request, a Chinese frontier guard gets into a jeep and starts the engine—out comes the smooth purring of a motor in perfect condition.

These and other memorable scenes caught by the camera add up to a convincing record of the Chinese Government and people's sincerity in trying to get the Sino-Indian boundary question settled peacefully in the interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples.

FOLK ART

Tree-Bark Pictures

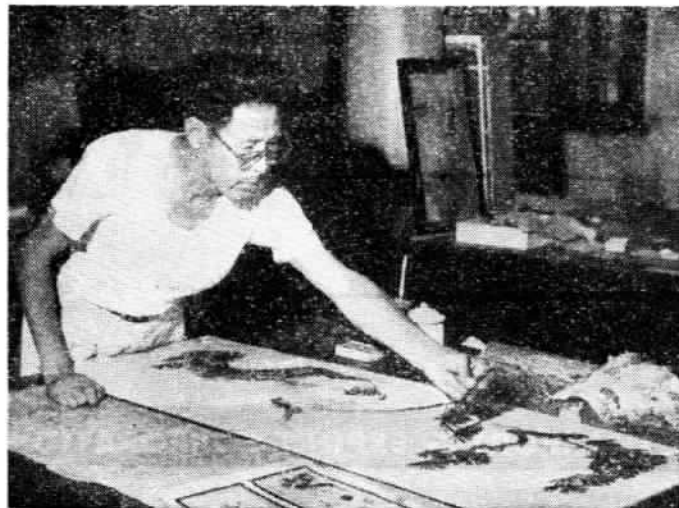
A new handicraft art was born four years ago in Tsingtao, that lovely coastal city of Shantung Province.

Handicraft artist Pu Yu-min, watching his wife light the fire one day, was struck by the patterns he saw on the bark of the firewood. He noticed shapes like towering mountain peaks and the broad waves of the sea. Two

days later he had completed his first tree-bark picture—a landscape, which won the instant approval of his work-mates at the handicraft workshop to which he belongs.

With scissors, tweezers, sharp blades, pins, glue, varnish and paint, he went on to create a series of tree-bark landscapes and bird-and-flower pictures modelled after the traditional Chinese style of painting. *The Beach at Tsingtao*, *The Stork and the Pine*, *The Peacock Spreads Its Tail* are some of the large-sized works he has completed, framed for hanging on the wall. He tries to retain the natural shapes, texture and hues of the bark with as few artificial aids as possible so as to give his pictures the freshness, beauty and simplicity of the natural material. Noted Chinese painters have come from Peking, Nanking and Shanghai to see and admire his work. They consider it a new handicraft art with big possibilities for future development.

Fifty-year-old Pu Yu-min served his apprenticeship over 30 years ago under a master who taught him seal-engraving and the carving of peach stones. During these last dozen years in New China, he has enthusiastically tried his hand at new kinds of handicraft art such as shell-work pictures. Now, with his new success in creating tree-bark pictures, he has taken on young students of his own to work in this field. Pu spends much of his time at the Tsingtao Arts and Handicrafts Research Institute of which he is a research member. He also belongs to the local branch of the All-China Artists' Union as well as of the municipal People's Political Consultative Conference of Tsingtao.



Pu Yu-min at work



Tree-bark picture by Pu Yu-min

This is the eighth world record that 27-year-old Chen Ching-kai has established since he first hit the headlines in June 1956 when he jerked 133 kgs. for a new world record in the bantam-weight class.

Archery. At a recent tournament between leading Chinese archers, six world records were broken.

In the women's competitions, Li Shulan of the P.L.A. broke five world records by scoring 553 points in the 50 metres double-round, 327 points in the 30 metres single-round, 650 points for her 30 metres double-round, 1,148 points for her single-round 4-event total, and 2,269 points for her double-round total.

Hsu Kai-tsai, another P.L.A. archer, scored 302 points in the men's 50 metres single-round event to break the world record of 299 points. He had earlier set a world record of 585 points in the men's 70 metres double-round event,

SHORT NOTES

New World Records

Weightlifting. The world featherweight clean and jerk record was smashed when China's Chen Ching-kai hefted up 151 kgs. at a contest in Peking on April 20. The new record is half a kilogramme heavier than the world record set on April 11 by Yoshinobu Miyake of Japan.

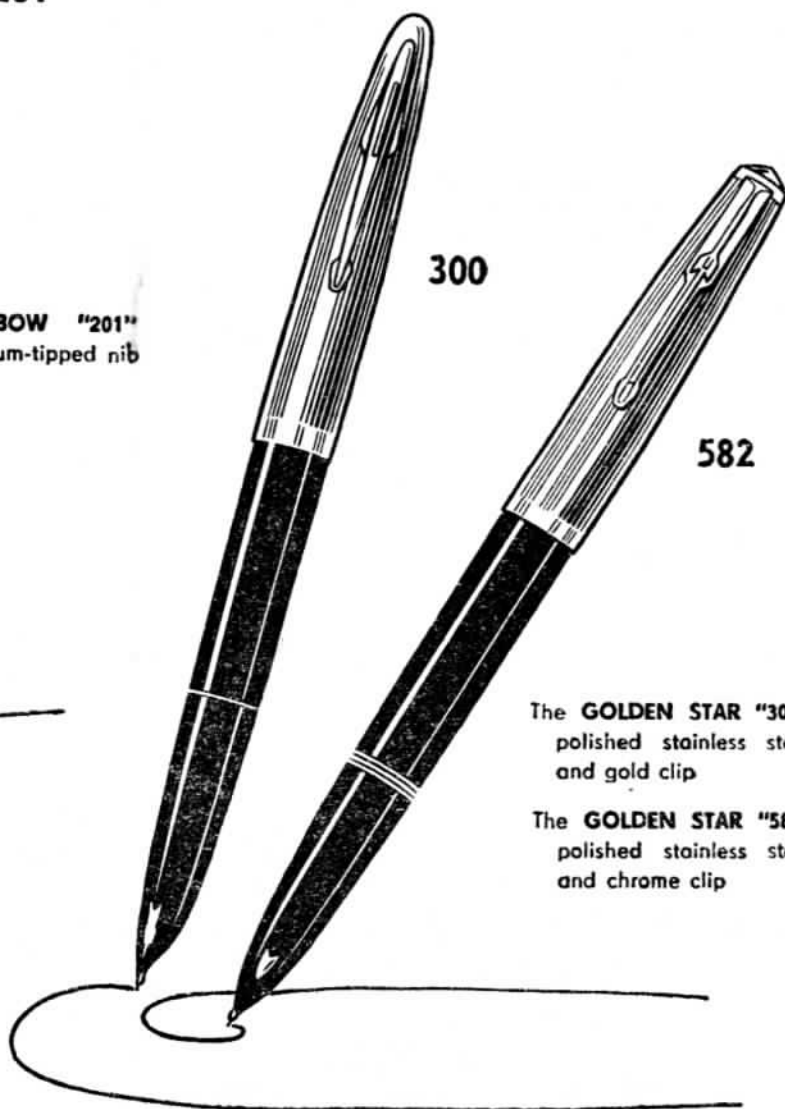
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