

No. 19 May 11, 1981

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS



Why Adopt a  
People's Democratic  
Dictatorship



The Party's  
Secretariat  
At Work



China's Economic  
Performance  
In 1980

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### People's Democratic Dictatorship

A discussion on this form of the dictatorship of the proletariat — its characteristics and the historical conditions that brought it into being in China. The subject is further illuminated and enriched by a review of the history of the international proletarian revolution, showing that there is no archetype that suits all countries (pp. 15-20).

### The Central Committee's Secretariat

How this important leading Party organ was re-established over a year ago, what role it has played and how it has operated (pp. 21-22).

### The Economic Readjustment in 1980

Communique issued by the State Statistical Bureau on the fulfilment of China's 1980 national economic plan, first instalment (pp. 23-27).

### Beijing Makes New Plans

The local people's congress elects the capital's new mayor and makes plans for its development, with housing, city administration and service facilities taking priority (pp. 6-7).

### New Post for Ba Jin

An introduction to the life and works of this famous Chinese writer. He now assumes the post formerly held by Mao Dun, the literary giant who passed away five weeks ago, as Acting Chairman of the Chinese Writers Association (p. 30).

### Feudalism: China vs. Europe

Why did Chinese feudalism, which had a history of more than 2,000 years, die such a hard death? This intriguing question is now discussed in a recently published essay on a comparative study of feudalism in China and Europe (pp. 28-29).

### President Stevens in China

The old friendship between China and Sierra Leone is renewed through this fruitful visit of the African leader. In meeting him, Premier Zhao Ziyang reasserts China's desire to strengthen its unity with Africa and the third world as a whole (pp. 9-10).

### Reagan's Lame Arguments

A comment on the recent U.S. Government's decision to lift the partial grain embargo against the Soviet Union (p. 11).



Guo Xiaoye — a model worker.  
Photo by Sun Yi

## BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

Published every Monday by  
BEIJING REVIEW  
24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing  
The People's Republic of China

Vol. 24, No. 19 May 11, 1981

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Published in English, French, Spanish, Japanese and German editions

Distributed by GUOJI SHUDIAN,  
(China Publications Centre),  
P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Subscription prices (1 year):

Australia.....A.\$12.50	U.S.A....US\$13.50
New Zealand...NZ.\$14.50	U.K.....£6.80
Canada.....Can.\$15.60	



### Arms Sale

**Why is China so strongly opposed to foreign arms sale to Taiwan?**

The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government and Taiwan is a part of China's territory. This is a reality universally acknowledged by the international community. We hold that countries which have established diplomatic relations with China should not have governmental relations with Taiwan, still less sell weapons to it, which is a province of China.

Some people say that since Taiwan will sooner or later return to the embrace of the motherland, for Taiwan to purchase more weapons will only add to China's military strength.

This view, I think, is rather simplistic.

We hope to use peaceful means to effect the reunification of Taiwan with the motherland. This was clearly expressed in the "Message to Compatriots in Taiwan" issued by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on January 1, 1979. It has won the support of an increasing number of compatriots at home and abroad. It is extremely unpopular for the Taiwan authorities to stick to its stand of splitting the motherland, refusing to hold peaceful talks, and opposing postal communications, trade relations and air services with the mainland.

Though foreign arms sales to Taiwan does not pose a military threat to the mainland, it will

create obstacles to the reunification of the country through negotiations and by peaceful

means. This is why the Chinese people strongly oppose such arms sales.

— *Political Editor*  
*An Zhiguo*

### More on Economic Readjustment

**When do you think there will be substantial results from the economic readjustment now being carried out?**

Readjustment started in 1979 and initial results have been achieved after two years. Beginning from this year, readjustment will be carried out on a wider scale, and the major tasks for 1981 are: reducing the scale of capital construction, cutting down administrative expenditures, curbing inflation and doing our best to eliminate financial deficits.

In a deeper sense, readjustment marks a fundamental change in the guidelines for China's economic construction. Necessary readjustments will be made with regard to the economic structure, and what is irrational, inefficient and wasteful will be transformed and restructured so that the enterprises will be highly efficient and will yield better economic results. This will take at least five years or even longer.

Readjustment will be the central task of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-85), and the main tasks include:

- To change the situation in which heavy industry is developed not for the purpose of helping expand the production of light industry and agriculture but rather for heavy industry itself. Up to the present, undue emphasis has been laid

on heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods, and the result is there are large stockpiles of heavy industrial products while daily necessities are in short supply. This situation must be changed.

- To bring about a rational reorganization of existing industrial and mining enterprises, carry out technical innovations, improve their management and raise their labour productivity. At present China has a fairly good industrial foundation with nearly 400,000 state-owned industrial, communication and transport enterprises. Though their technical and managerial level is rather low, there is a big potential for raising their efficiency.

- To strengthen the basic structure, such as energy, communications and telecommunications, port facilities, public utilities and other weak links.

Economic readjustment should not be taken to mean reduction of scale only. Rather, it means carrying out reforms and bringing about a more rational reorganization and restructuring of the economy, so that China's economy will be able to develop on a sounder basis.

It is hoped that in 10 years China's economy will develop in a rational, proportionate and highly efficient way, with substantial benefits for the people.

— *Economic Editor Jin Qi*



# LETTERS

## Global Strategy

I like the articles in your new column "Notes From the Editors" very much, particularly one in issue No. 9 about the global strategy of Soviet hegemonism. The article used convincing facts to expose the ambitions of the Soviet hegemonists. As a proportion of GNP, the Soviet social-imperialist superpower spends more on its military than the United States, the old imperialist superpower. This fact should be deeply considered by those who want to pursue a policy of economic appeasement towards the Soviet Union.

Any unbiased person will agree to the views expressed by the article's author. In light of the present turbulent situation, all anti-hegemonist forces should unite. This does not necessarily mean forming alliances, but simply co-ordinating certain policies and taking concerted actions.

**Gerd Wedemeyer**  
Wiesbaden, W. Germany

## Living Conditions of the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries

I was interested to read the article "Living Conditions of the Working Class in the Developed Capitalist Countries" in your issue No. 14, 1981.

Your editorial comment pointed out that in their analysis, the authors could have paid more attention to the exploitation of the third world and to the existence of an underpaid immigrant labour force (mostly from third world countries) in the developed capitalist countries.

I welcome this comment and would like to see a more balanced analysis reflecting the third world aspect of the subject.

**Ivor Kenna**  
London, United Kingdom

The article which was published in issue No. 14 (Living Conditions of the Working Class in the Developed Capitalist Countries) was very realistic because, despite some thinking that the working class conditions in the capitalist countries are getting worse every

day, the article approached the subject scientifically, and was successful.

**Hossein**  
London, United Kingdom

## About the "Cultural Revolution"

Mao Zedong's works are valuable. His contributions to the Chinese people are also tremendous. Certainly he made some mistakes during China's socialist construction, but how can we completely repudiate what he had done?

The years of the "cultural revolution" were undoubtedly dark, a time when all kinds of blackmail and crime and factional fighting existed. Mao Zedong did not play a positive role and new types of feudalism appeared. At the beginning of the "cultural revolution," people understood the goal the government wanted to reach. Later, the revolution departed from this goal and ended in the turmoil which everybody knows today. Mao Zedong was partly responsible for this, but the Party and government have a share of responsibility as well.

**Bernard Jahier**  
L'Hermitage, France

I am advanced in age. When I was young, I knew the names of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. I have read almost all of Chairman Mao's writings, including his instructions during the "cultural revolution."

I have conscientiously studied the "cultural revolution." I believe the purpose of this movement, which was launched by Chairman Mao, was to criticize privileged classes, monetary politics and intellectual aristocrats. The aim was to create equality among the people and eliminate the differences between physical and mental labour, industry and agriculture, and city and countryside.

**Hitoshi Abe**  
Iwate, Japan

## Financial Deficit

I understand the necessity to work for equilibrium in the socialist planned economy. When a socialist economy is still limited by the laws of commodities, I wonder if there is some advantage in pursuing the Western Keynesian economic policy of deficit spending under certain circumstances.

If a deficit budget and the issuance of more banknotes can bring into play the full potential of the Chinese people and existing materials and thus eliminate the basic problem of unemployment, why are Chinese economists afraid of this method? Fortunately, China has a government which manages its socialist economy well and controls its economy. China therefore may be able to benefit from deficit policies.

In a word, the goal should be to bring into full play China's immense natural resources and population and to overcome such obstacles to commodities as money and the market.

**Eric Mandrara**  
Antananarivo, Madagascar

*Please read an article in issue No. 15 entitled "Answering Our Readers: Why Is China Striving to Wipe Out Its Deficit?" Your opinions are welcome. — Ed.*

## Advertisements

Why do you carry advertisements on your back cover to introduce Chinese products which are only available in China and are difficult to buy in foreign countries?

**Donato**  
Saint-Denis, France

*Names, addresses and cable addresses are provided at the bottom of the ads. Those interested can contact the companies directly by mail or come to China personally.—Ed.*

*Your letters are welcome. Because of space limitations, we can only print a selection. Condensations are made for the sake of brevity or clarity.—Ed.*







Hua Guofeng, Li Xiannian, Zhao Ziyang and other leaders at the gala party in the capital in celebration of May Day.

## POLITICAL

### May Day Celebrations

To celebrate May Day this year, a grand gathering attended by 15,000 people of the capital was held in Beijing's Great Hall of the People.

Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Li Xiannian, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Premier Zhao Ziyang and other Party and state leaders participated in the festivities. Also present at the gala party were Dr. Siaka Stevens, President of Sierra Leone; Samdech and Madame Norodom Sihanouk; Hoang Van Hoan and Walter Scheel, former President of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Other Party and state leaders joined the masses in the celebrations elsewhere in the country.

On April 29, 230 labour heroes and advanced workers of Beijing gathered at the Huairan Hall in Zhongnanhai, the seat of the Party Central Committee and State Council, to report their achievements to the leaders. They expressed

their determination to build up the capital and accomplish the four modernizations. Deng Xiaoping, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, extended festival greetings to them.

Song Renqiong, Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, addressed the gathering. He said: "A single flower does not make spring, only when myriads of flowers bloom is spring really with us." He used this metaphor to encourage the model workers to lead and help the others to advance together with them.

Noting that young workers under 30 account for over 60 per cent of the total number of workers in China today, he stressed that to help them to do their work well and make their contributions to the modernization drive is the bounden duty of model workers and all veteran workers.

Song Renqiong urged them to take an active part in the work of readjusting the national economy, help achieve the rationalization of the economic structure, the management system and enterprise organization, and blaze a road of so-



Chen Yun (3rd from the right), Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, at a May Day celebration in Hangzhou.



cialist construction that yields quick economic results and suits the actual conditions of the country. Referring to the workers' congress, Song Ren-qiong said that, under the leadership of the Party committee, it is a good form which gives scope to democracy and which helps the workers play their role as masters of the enterprises.

On the evening of May Day, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and other units sponsored a "May Flower" concert in Beijing. The participants were entertained to songs popular among the Chinese workers and songs reflecting the life of the labouring people in other countries.

## People's Congress Held In Beijing

The six-day fifth session of the seventh municipal people's congress of Beijing ended in the Great Hall of the People on April 28.

The session elected Jiao Ruoyu mayor of Beijing. Jiao, who was appointed acting mayor three months ago, was formerly Minister of the Eighth Ministry of Machine-Building, mayor of Shenyang and ambassador to foreign countries. He said at the session that he had been making investigations in the last three months and that he was aware of his heavy responsibilities as mayor of Beijing.

The directives from the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee concerning Beijing will be carried out, he said. Efforts will be made to build the capital into one of the cleanest and most beautiful cities in the world with the best moral standards and the most advanced culture, education, science and technology.

The more than 1,000 people's deputies attending the session represented the capital's 9 million people. Coming from various walks of life, they put forward many constructive suggestions on achieving the aforementioned goals.

There are numerous problems in Beijing which need to be solved as quickly as possible. Among them is the question of the serious disproportionate development between the various departments of the economy. Some deputies pointed out that though the proportion of heavy industry in Beijing had already greatly exceeded that of Shanghai, China's largest industrial city, unfeasible targets were still set for

heavy industry after 1979. Other problems that should be solved include the inconveniences in the people's life, city construction and lack of proper management, and the development of science, education, culture and other undertakings.

The session approved a report on the work of the Beijing municipal people's government and other documents and worked out concrete measures for the readjustment of the economy. In the next few years priority will be given to housing, city administration and service facilities for the convenience of the people's daily life. This year the city plans to complete 4 million square metres of floor space of housing. (Last

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## Ni Zhifu On China's Trade Unions

Speaking about the activities of China's trade unions on the eve of May Day, Ni Zhifu, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, gave some facts and figures.

**Some Figures.** Trade unions in China have a total membership of 61 million.

- There are 376,000 trade union organizations at the grass-roots level staffed by 243,000 full-time cadres; in addition there are 7.7 million trade union activists.

- Women workers number more than 30 million, comprising one-third of the nation's total number of workers.

- There are 130 sanatoriums with 27,000 beds run by the trade unions in various parts of the country. About 50 million yuan are allocated this year for these sanatoriums to cover the

expenses of 200,000 workers to rest and recuperate there.

**Workers' Congress.** Ni Zhifu said that the system of the workers' congress will be continually improved. The congress is an organ of power through which the workers manage their enterprise and exercise supervision over the cadres. All major issues including production plans, technical measures, wages and awards, labour protection and the workers' welfare are discussed and decided at the congress, and the trade union is its working organization.

The congress system has already been introduced in all the big and medium-sized enterprises. Some enterprises have introduced on a trial basis the democratic election of cadres at the grass-roots level. At present, section chiefs and group leaders are elected in about 30,000 enterprises, workshop heads in 10,000 and directors in 900.





The newly built Jinsong residential quarters in the southeastern part of Beijing.

year it was 1.6 million square metres, an all-time high.) Equal importance will be given to the construction of school buildings, the state's key scientific research items, housing and other projects for foreigners and tourists.

The session also decided that measures should be taken to tackle the problem of pollution, and efforts will be made to plant more trees in the city and its environs. Appropriations for cultural, educational, scientific, technological and health undertakings will be increased by a big margin, and more job opportunities will be provided for the young people, or arrangements will be made for them to go to school. Last year 180,000 young people in Beijing were either enrolled in schools or given jobs. This year arrangements will be made for 260,000 young people, including 40,000 from last year. Commercial departments and the service trades will take measures to improve the situation on the market for the convenience of the city residents.

The new mayor stressed that to do a good job in building up the capital, it is necessary to control the population growth, and a long-term plan for trans-

forming and beautifying the city will be drawn up. He envisaged a preliminary change in three years and a great change in 10 to 15 years.

Many deputies expressed satisfaction that practical and effective measures had been taken at this session, and they voiced confidence that the people's expectations of building Beijing into a beautiful city would be fulfilled.

### "China Daily" to Come Out Soon

*China Daily*, the first English language national newspaper to be published since the founding of the People's Republic, will be launched in June.

Trial issues, published three times a week, are on sale this month at post offices in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. Beginning next month, the paper will be published regularly five times a week.

The eight-page broadsheet paper is mainly for foreign readers in China. It will also be distributed overseas. Post offices throughout the country have started taking subscrip-

tions from organizations or individuals.

*China Daily* will carry news on political, economic and cultural developments in China as well as world, financial, and sports news.

## ECONOMIC

### Learning From Shanghai

The National Conference on Industry and Transport held last month issued a call on industrial enterprises all over China to learn from Shanghai in making full use of existing facilities to tap their potential and improve economic results.

Shanghai is the largest industrial city in the country and its modern industry has a history of 140 years. At present there are over 7,000 big, medium-sized and small enterprises which, apart from their good experience gained over the years in industrial management, have a relatively high technical level.

Last year, about one-eighth of the nation's total industrial output value and one-sixth of the state revenue came from Shang-



hai. In the 31 years since liberation, profits handed over by the city to the state amounted to 11 times the state's investments in Shanghai's capital construction. In 1979, profit from every 100 yuan of fixed assets was on the average 63.73 yuan, or four times the nation's average.

A major reason for Shanghai's success lies in the fact that it has continually improved its industrial and organizational structures as well as the product mix to suit the needs of the state and the demand on the market. In addition, the old enterprises have carried out technical transformations, tapped their potential and expanded production. Of the city's newly increased industrial output value since liberation, only one-fourth comes from the new enterprises while the rest comes from the old ones.

Take Shanghai's bicycle industry for instance. Starting from 1955, the 400 scattered small factories were reorganized or amalgamated, their machines were renovated and new ones were added. As a result, output jumped from 180,000 bicycles in 1955 to 3.76 million in 1980, a more than 20-fold increase.

Known for their great variety

and fine quality, industrial products from this city are in great demand throughout China. Learning from Shanghai's more advanced industrial management and production techniques, many enterprises in other parts of China have achieved better economic results than before.

Jiangsu Province had profited from Shanghai's experience. Its managerial and technical personnel in the textile industry had come to Shanghai in batches to learn from their counterparts. After a year's effort, the province's total output value of textile goods in 1980 increased by 28 per cent over that of 1979 and profits went up by 34 per cent. Moreover, 28 of its products were classified as quality products.

The textile industry in Sichuan Province's Chongqing also benefited from Shanghai's help. With the improvement of technology, equipment and management, the No. 2 Textile Mill in Chongqing raised its first-rate viscose textiles from 10 to 80 per cent.

Participants in the National Conference on Industry and Transport held that since the

state is now unable to make more investments, the practical way to develop industry is to learn from Shanghai so as to get quicker results. This, of course, does not preclude the possibility of importing advanced techniques and equipment from abroad when they are needed.

## Popularization of Agrotechniques

Implementation of different forms of responsibility in agricultural production has reduced the size of labour organizations. Some people worry that this would affect the popularization of farming techniques. Facts, however, have proved to the contrary.

With the introduction of the responsibility system, the peasants get more pay for more and better work, which is in conformity with the socialist principle of "to each according to his work." This prompts them to improve their techniques of cultivation so as to increase production.

Sichuan Province in southwest China provides a good example. About 19,000 production teams in its rural areas have signed contracts with agrotechnical departments and introduced new techniques on 100,000 hectares of land there. The result is an overall increase in output. Eight production teams in Guanghan County, which have contracts with the institute of agronomy in the province, planted on 46 hectares a high-yield hybrid paddy-rice strain the institute has cultivated. The average yield per hectare was 8,170 kg., 18 per cent higher than in the previous year.

Popularization of new results of scientific research on a con-



A Shanghai master watch-maker (seated) sharing his expertise with the young workers of Wuhan in central China.





Agrotechnicians on Hainan Island helping local peasants grow rice seedlings.

tract basis, and not through issuing orders, benefits both the peasants and the technicians, as both parties to the contracts have their duties and obligations. If there is an increase in output, the production teams will have to pay a certain amount of remuneration to the agrotechnical departments, and if there is a crop failure resulting from technical reasons, the production teams will get compensations for the loss.

Last year, three backward production teams in Guangdong Province's Yangchun County introduced scientific farming—which includes the cultivation of good strains, scientific application of fertilizer and prevention of insects and pests—under a contract with the agrotechnical station of a people's commune. The result: per-hectare grain output in all the three teams

rose by 30 to 37 per cent compared with the previous year, and production costs also dropped. This increased the peasants' income and the technicians were given bonuses.

Recently, the State Agricultural Commission and the State Commission of Science and Technology jointly issued a circular calling on the people's communes to popularize new techniques in agriculture and develop production.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### China-Sierra Leone

Dr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, paid a six-day (April 27-May 2) fruitful state visit to China. The President is an old friend of the Chinese people and he was accorded a very warm reception wherever he went. He held talks with Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang on a wide range of issues. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the

friendly relations between the two countries and pledged continued co-operation with regard to international questions, particularly questions concerning Africa.

During their talks, Zhao Ziyang reiterated that the strategic differentiation of the three worlds, defined by the late Chairman Mao Zedong, remains China's guiding principle in foreign affairs. To strengthen unity with Africa and the third world as a whole is China's basic policy, a policy which China will always follow. "This policy," he explained, "has not changed, although there have been more economic exchanges with the developed countries over the past few years as China is carrying on a modernization programme. The Chinese Government and people are following with interest the developments in Africa."

Referring to the international situation, Zhao Ziyang pointed out that the Soviet policies of aggression and expansion are a threat to peace. "This," he



President Stevens, accompanied by Premier Zhao Ziyang, receives a rousing welcome in front of the Great Hall of the People.



stressed, "does not mean that Soviet aggression and expansion cannot be checked. While seeing the Soviet Union's expansionist arrogance, we should also see its difficulties. All peoples opposing hegemonist aggression and expansion should strengthen their unity and wage a common struggle."

Stevens said that the governments of the two countries have co-operated well in international affairs. "The Chinese representatives have always been willing to co-operate with us in important matters relating to Africa and Sierra Leone," he said. He expressed admiration for the role China has played in international affairs and in African affairs in particular. China's positive role over the past 10 years has exerted great influence on the development of the third world.

A cultural agreement between the two governments was signed in Beijing on May 2.

## **Li Xiannian Meets Burundi Delegation**

During his meeting on April 29 with a delegation of Party workers from the UPRONA (Unity and National Progress) Party of Burundi led by Pierre Nkuzimana, Member of the Party's Central Committee, Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian spoke about China's experience in developing agricultural production and in the movement for agricultural co-operation.

Li Xiannian said that there should be steady advance in the movement for agricultural co-operation rather than acting in haste. While bringing into play the advantages of collectivization, he added, full scope should be given to the peasants' own initiative. In distribution, it is important to adhere to the principle of "to each according

to his work." And in production, rural communes and production teams should be given more power to make their own decisions. In developing a diversified economy, it is necessary to take the local conditions into consideration and adopt forms and methods that will yield the best economic results. Vice-Chairman Li stressed that to develop agriculture, every country must act according to its own conditions and should not blindly follow other countries' experiences.

Mr. Nkuzimana said that Burundi attaches great importance to developing agricultural production. He added that China's experience in this field would be of help to developing Burundi's economy.

## **China Downgrades Sino-Dutch Diplomatic Relations**

Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs Song Zhiguang on May 5 received B. de Bruyn Ouboter, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Dutch Embassy in Beijing, and delivered to him a note on the downgrading of diplomatic relations between the two countries from the level of embassy to that of charge d'affaires office as from May 5.

The note said: In view of the fact that the Dutch Government has persisted in its erroneous decision of approving the sale of submarines to Taiwan, which has violated the principle set forth in the 1972 joint communique on the upgrading of diplomatic relations between China and the Netherlands and undermined the basis on which the two countries had established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level, the Chinese Government, in defence of its state sovereignty and the basic norms guiding international

relations, was obliged to make a representation with the Dutch side demanding the downgrading of the Sino-Dutch diplomatic relations from the embassy level to the charge d'affaires office level, i.e., back to the level of diplomatic relations before 1972.

Since April 7, representatives of the Governments of China and the Netherlands have held negotiations in Beijing on the downgrading of diplomatic relations, and the two sides have agreed to downgrade their diplomatic relations to the charge d'affaires level.

In the draft joint communique presented to the Chinese side on April 15, the Dutch Government stated explicitly that "the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands has accepted that both governments further conduct the diplomatic relations between the two countries on the level of charge d'affaires office."

However, in the negotiations held afterwards, the Dutch side stated that after the downgrading of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, its representative agency in China would use the term of "diplomatic mission," which cannot identify exactly the level of the diplomatic relations between the two countries. Furthermore, in its note of April 30, 1981, the Royal Netherlands Embassy even asked unreasonably to retain its present name. The Dutch side has obviously gone back on its words and contradicted itself.

The Chinese Government holds that as both sides have already agreed to downgrade the diplomatic relations between the two countries to the charge d'affaires level, it is a matter of course that the diplomatic agencies of both sides should be downgraded from embassies to charge d'affaires offices.



## Reagan Soft on Soviets?

### Report from Washington

THE Reagan administration's announcement of April 24 that it was lifting the partial grain embargo against the Soviet Union was not unexpected, but many were surprised at its justifications.

*The Washington Post* noted on April 25 that "the lifting of the embargo, an action Moscow has sought, was Reagan's first major act bearing directly on U.S.-Soviet relations."

This does not indicate a weakening of the U.S. position, says Reagan.

"I just don't understand," said U.S. columnist Carl Rowen, probably voicing what many Americans thought. The former President Jimmy Carter was taken to task for his softness towards the Soviets, yet he had adopted a series of measures, including the limitation of agricultural sales "punishing" the Soviet Union. Now the new administration is "undoing this deal when the Soviets have not moved out of Afghanistan and they may yet move into Poland." Another American, Senator Robert Byrd said, "What we are being told now, basically, is that the Soviets should be rewarded for being good for a few days." "Lifting the embargo in no way enhances the security of Poland. It makes the United States appear weak and lacking in resolve."

One justification for lifting the grain sales ban was that the situation around Poland was now more relaxed.

This justification does not make much sense. The grain

embargo was imposed because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It has nothing to do with the Polish situation. Another U.S. columnist pointed out analogically in a TV discussion that the embargo was introduced due to the Soviet aggression against country A, but now it is lifted because the Soviet Union has declared that it is not going to invade country B. He argued that the reduction of pressure on the Soviets by lifting the embargo might in the end lead to their cracking down on Poland. Suppose the Soviets invaded Poland, he said, and then we impose some more economic sanctions. Then, three or four months later the Soviets say they are not going to invade Paraguay, and we say that's fine. Let's take it off.

U.S. Government officials are now busily forgetting this argument because it just does not hold water.

A further justification offered was that American farmers had been unfairly singled out to bear the economic burden.

This sounds a little better, but it is obviously only out of consideration for partial domestic economic interests and not in

line with the position of bearing in mind the international situation as a whole, a point that the Reagan administration has all along stressed.

Another columnist Elizabeth Dren noted, "The administration is very busy trying to get our European allies to do things, if there is a Soviet invasion of Poland or even in light of the threat, which would be economically harmful to those nations. We try to tell them that some principles are more important than one's minor economic difficulties and it's going to be much harder to sell them on this when it's clear that this decision was a given-in to pressures of certain elements of domestic politics."

Another justification offered by the U.S. administration was that the embargo had been ineffective as far as the Soviet Union was concerned.

Exactly how effective the embargo was can be debated, but it is certainly more effective than empty talk. Many view the reasons given by the administration as very lame arguments and are warily watching the next move by the Reagan administration.

— Xinhua correspondent

## Beware of Soviet Meddling In the Gulf

AN editorial in *Pravda* on April 24 elaborating on Soviet foreign policy as spelt out at the 26th Congress of the C.P.S.U. described the Soviet proposal concerning Southwest

Asia as "permeated with goodwill." *Pravda* was referring to Brezhnev's proposal, in which he said: "We do not object to the questions connected with Afghanistan being discussed to-



gether with the questions of Persian Gulf security." Very little goodwill is apparent in the proposal, which clearly has as its goal the preservation of what Moscow has gained from its invasion of Afghanistan and allowing it opportunities for further penetration into the Gulf region.

**Built-in Precondition.** Brezhnev was not making any concession when he said that the Kremlin no longer objected to the discussion of the Afghan issue. His agreement was conditional on not touching upon Afghanistan's "internal affairs," confining discussion to "the international aspect" of the question. This aspect has been defined by Moscow as the "undeclared war" waged by foreign powers against the so-called Afghan revolution.

Clearly, Brezhnev wants the world to accept the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan as an "internal affair" of that country and, therefore, as something legitimate and unimpeachable. This would permit the Soviet Union to keep Afghanistan under its occupation and leave the Afghan people to the tender mercy of the Soviet invaders. And equally clear is the fact that the Soviet Union is casting to the winds the resolutions demanding its withdrawal from Afghanistan adopted separately by Islamic countries, non-aligned countries and the United Nations.

**"Legitimate Interest."** According to Brezhnev's "goodwill" proposal, while the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan allows of no discussion, the question of the Persian Gulf should be deliberated without fail. Brezhnev's formula calls for the conclusion of an international agreement. As he put it at the Party congress, "A state of stability and calm can be creat-

ed in that region by joint effort, with due account for the legitimate interest of all sides." The Soviet Union, of course, will be one of the sides having a "legitimate interest" in the Gulf and will take up its share of the "joint effort" to look after Gulf security. This is what lies behind Brezhnev's "questions connected with Afghanistan discussed together with the questions of Persian Gulf security."

**The Soviets Will Not Stop With Afghanistan.** The Soviet move into Afghanistan was required by its southward strategy. Shortly after the invasion of Afghanistan, Brezhnev raised the question of safe oil passage through the Gulf. TASS followed up with "The Soviet Union as a potential buyer of Middle East oil has a legitimate right of access to its sources" and the right to join an "international guarantee" for the safety of the oil lanes. Then, at the end of last year Brezhnev

set forth in New Delhi a five-point proposal for "peace and security" of the Gulf region. This was followed by his proposal at the Party congress where he talked much like a guardian of the Gulf. The fact that the Soviet leader attaches so much importance to the Gulf region shows that the Soviet Union is not going to stop with Afghanistan. It is digging in in Afghanistan, but its eyes are set on Gulf oil and the oil routes. This is confirmed by Brezhnev's proposal.

To counter this Soviet move, resolute support must be given to the Afghan resistance forces and Soviet machinations must be continued to be exposed. At the same time people must be on guard against overt and covert Soviet meddling with Gulf affairs. Otherwise, it will be too late to deal effectively with the Soviet challenge when it establishes itself in the Gulf.

—Xinhua Correspondent  
Huai Chengbo

## Building Up the Siberian Base

SIBERIA is rich in natural resources and has now become the biggest Soviet oil base. The Soviets are exploiting Siberian resources and putting through a second trans-Siberian railway. Militarily and economically Siberia is being built up into an important strategic base.

### The Tyumen Oilfield

Before the mid-60s, the western region of the Soviet Union consumed and produced oil. But in the 1970s a change appeared. Oil output levelled off and began to dip year after

year, unable to meet regional demands, and the new Siberian oilfield, the Tyumen Oilfield, east of Sverdlovsk, came into prominence. In 1970, Siberia produced 31 million tons of oil. By 1974, oil production passed the 116 million mark. Tyumen is now not only the largest oilfield in the Soviet Union, but has boosted Soviet oil output ahead of the United States to make the Soviet Union the world's top producer. By 1980, Siberian oil made up 50 per cent of the Soviet output and Siberia produced over a third of the natural gas and almost a third of the coal. During the 10th



five-year plan (1976-80), Siberia accounted for the total growth rate of Soviet oil and natural gas and 90 per cent of growth rate for coal.

Tyumen is believed to have peaked and production is expected to fluctuate before tapering off. This is why the Soviet Union is now banking on Siberian gas to make good its reduced oil supply and plans have been drawn up to this end.

### Pipeline to the West

On-going negotiations to build a natural gas pipeline from the Yamal Peninsula to some West European countries is a part of this plan. Geographical factors make exploitation of Siberian resources extremely difficult and the Soviet Union has run into problems it cannot handle by itself, so it hopes to capitalize on the West's lack of energy. It offers its Siberian resources to lure these countries into "economic co-operation" and "joint exploration." There are two aims behind this. It wants Western capital and advanced technology to open up Siberia and then make Western Europe and Japan rely on it for part of their energy wants. The other aim the Soviet Union has in mind is political, to prise these countries away from the United States.

The pipeline from the Yamal Peninsula to Western Europe will be 5,000 kilometres in length and the West is expected to invest some \$10,000 million to \$15,000 million. In return, they will get 40,000 million cubic metres of natural gas each year after the project is completed. That will mean they will be more dependent on the Soviet Union for their supplies of natural gas.

This is cause for uneasiness to many Western observers. Some have compared the proposed pipeline to a noose around the neck of Western Europe, which will make Western Europe more responsive to Soviet wishes.

Japan is another major partner invited by the Soviet Union to "jointly exploit Siberia." Geographically, they are close and both have their own ends to seek. Since the setting up of the Japan-Soviet Economic Committee in 1965, the two countries have signed a series of agreements on exploiting coal, oil, natural gas and forestry resources in Siberia. By these agreements, Japan is committed to providing the money and technology, to be paid for with Siberian resources.

Opinions are divided over Soviet action and intent, but some say the Soviet Union is using Siberian resources as its opening card in its "resource diplomacy" or "natural gas diplomacy." The Soviet Union has already reaped some economic benefits from this game, and very likely some political gains too in softening up Western antagonism against it and splitting the Western alliance against Soviet hegemonism.

### For Further Expansion

With the prospecting and building up of Siberian oil-fields and the refineries, the Soviet Army, Navy and Air Force in the Far East have ample oil within easy reach. The new iron, steel, nonferrous and chemical and machine-building industries which have emerged in Siberia vastly increase Soviet war capabilities in the East. Reports claim that the eastern part of the Soviet Union produced 32 per cent of the total Soviet output of tanks, almost 40 per cent of the planes, a quarter of the warships and a quantity of guided missiles.

The Soviet Union has also built and enlarged harbours and naval bases on its Pacific coast, and built highways, airfields, depots and other military facilities. When the railway line from Ust Kut to Komsomolsk is completed, it will have a second rail link with the Pacific coast.

Obviously, a major goal in the energetic drive to open up Siberia is to strengthen the Soviet Union's strategic military posture in Asia and facilitate its expansion further east and south.

— Shi Zongxing

### Firyubin's Fruitless Visit

SOVIET Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolai Firyubin visited Malaysia and Thailand in mid-April in a move to persuade ASEAN countries into accepting Hanoi's plan for solving the Kampuchean question. But he failed, like last year, when he made a futile trip to Thailand and Singapore trying to white-

wash Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea and to convince ASEAN countries not to "misunderstand" Viet Nam but to develop better relations with it.

Since Firyubin's 1980 visit, Viet Nam's difficulties in Kampuchea and its isolation in Southeast Asia have become more evident:



• Despite the Vietnamese in Kampuchea having more troops and superior weapons, they are in a very passive position and their casualties are mounting and are tied up in logistics, reinforcement and replacement problems.

• A united front against the invading Vietnamese is emerging among the various patriotic groups, boding ill for the invaders. Democratic Kampuchean representatives have met with Son Sann, leader of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front to talk about uniting their efforts against the aggressors. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in Pyongyang has exchanged views with Democratic Kampuchean Prime Minister Khieu Samphan about getting together to fight against the Vietnamese and for national unity. All these are developments welcomed by the Kampuchean people and supported by many countries.

• The Vietnamese authorities' refusal to pull out of Kampuchea in spite of the U.N. resolution has invited widespread condemnation. The ASEAN countries are pressing hard for the holding of an international conference on the Kampuchean question in conformity with the U.N. resolution passed last October urging the Vietnamese to pull out. They want this conference with or without Vietnamese participation.

Under the circumstances, Firyubin's visits to Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok to sell them the Vietnamese idea of holding a "regional conference," is quite understandable. However the Kampuchean question is resolved has significance for

the Afghanistan question and also directly affects Soviet strategy in Southeast Asia.

Firyubin made it clear that his country was against the holding



The decoy.  
Cartoon by Gen Hua

of an international conference on the Kampuchean question. The Soviet Union, he said, backs the Vietnamese proposal for the convening of a regional conference, with Viet Nam, Laos and the Heng Samrin regime on one side and ASEAN on the other. Their goal is to get a "non-aggression pact" signed, which would, in effect, save Viet Nam from further denunciation by the international community and allow the aggressor to stay on in Kampuchea. Furthermore, Hanoi's client regime in Phnom Penh taking part in such a conference as an equal partner would confer the puppet regime with de facto recognition by the ASEAN countries. It has the further aim of turning a question of principle into a bilateral issue merely between Viet Nam and the ASEAN countries and not one of forcing an aggressor to disgorge its prey, as the world demands.

Opinion in ASEAN countries is that Viet Nam's proposal paves the way to the ultimate acceptance of a "Great Indochina Federation" under the Vietnamese aegis.

Malaysian Foreign Minister Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen rejected his Soviet visitor's idea, pointing out that "ASEAN is not a party to the conflict in Cambodia." Thai Deputy Foreign Minister Arun Panupong said that Thailand could find no common stand with the Soviet Union on Kampuchea after his two rounds of talks with Firyubin. He is reported to have informed Firyubin that ASEAN could not accept the Vientiane declaration nor Hanoi's "peace" plan.

It must be noted that while Firyubin was in Southeast Asia, Viet Nam poured 10,000 more troops into Kampuchea and reports say that the Soviet Union is going to build several strategic highways for Laos, one of which will link Viet Nam with Savannakhet, a strategic point on the Lao-Thai border. This would facilitate the moving of large quantities of military material. Thai military sources revealed on April 16 that under an agreement signed recently with the Lao Government, the Soviet Union will send military advisers into the Luang Nam Tha area and to Lao artillery regiments. Earlier, Soviet advisers had been posted to Lao air force units.

One can see from Firyubin's visit to Southeast Asia and from the recent Soviet moves in Indochina that Moscow cannot be interested in restoring peace to this region.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding



# The People's Democratic Dictatorship Is in Essence The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

- The theory of the people's democratic dictatorship, an important component of Mao Zedong Thought, is a creative application and development of the Marxist theory of state by the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Zedong.
- To resume the term of the people's democratic dictatorship conforms to the aspirations of the people and also tallies with the actual conditions of China's new socialist period and its future course of historical development.

by "Guangming Ribao" Special Commentator

ARTICLE 1 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China stipulates: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." In China, to adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat is to adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship, for the two are, in essence, identical, and this has been stated on many occasions by our Party. Article 1 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China adopted at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on July 1, 1979 reaffirms: "The people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This article will discuss the people's democratic dictatorship in regard to its essence and characteristics, and the historical conditions under which it came into existence.

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## ***Different Forms of the Dictatorship of The Proletariat***

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As one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people's democratic dictatorship conforms to China's national conditions. It is a creation in the course of prolonged revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people led by the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong and is a product of the integration of the fun-

damental principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

The fundamental question of revolution is political power. The proletariat seizing political power from the hands of the bourgeoisie, organizing itself to become the ruling class and establishing its dictatorship—this is the basic and primary indication of the victory of the proletarian revolution. And only by relying on the state power controlled and led by itself and depending on the strength of this political power can the proletariat suppress the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes and all other antagonistic forces, resist aggression from abroad, defend and consolidate the fruits of the revolution, organize the socialist economic, political and cultural construction, accomplish the overall, profound reform of the whole society, fulfil the historical mission of emancipating the whole of mankind and realizing communism. This is the fundamental reason why the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism.

But the history of the international proletarian revolution since the Paris Commune (1871) shows that, in different countries, the particular revolutionary roads taken by the proletariat and other labouring people in their struggles for liberation are not the same, nor are their particular forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is because there is no archetype which will suit all countries. Only in the light of its own particular historical conditions and actual circumstances can each country



decide what form of the dictatorship of the proletariat it should adopt.

When advancing and expounding the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marx and Engels analysed the social and historical conditions of Britain, France, Germany and other capitalist countries and pointed out that Britain was different from France and Germany. Britain, Marx said, was the only country at the time with no peasants and with its land concentrated in the hands of a few, a country the majority of whose people were wage labourers. Therefore, they believed that after the proletarian revolution succeeded in Britain, France and Germany, the dictatorship of the proletariat which was to be established would of necessity take a different form in each country. Engels said: "In the first place it [the proletarian revolution] will inaugurate a *democratic constitution* and thereby, directly or indirectly, the political rule of the proletariat. Directly in England, where the proletariat already constitutes the majority of the people. Indirectly in France and in Germany, where the majority of the people consist not only of proletarians but also of small peasants and urban petty bourgeois, who are only now being proletarianized and in all their political interests are becoming more and more dependent on the proletariat and therefore soon will have to conform to the demands of the proletariat." (*Principles of Communism*, 1847.)

By inaugurating directly the political rule of the proletariat he meant that after the pro-

letariat had overthrown the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie on its own, it should independently establish and wield state power through which it ruled over the bourgeoisie and suppressed it. By inaugurating indirectly the political rule of the proletariat he meant that the proletariat should unite with the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie in an alliance which would embrace the majority of the population, overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, establish a state power led by the proletariat and participated in by all the classes of the people, and rule over the bourgeoisie. The Paris Commune, the first attempt to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, belonged to the latter form.

Lenin creatively applied the ideas of Marx and Engels on forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the concrete conditions of Russia. In the then capitalist world, Russia was a backward country, strongly feudal and militaristic in nature, with a big peasant and petty bourgeois population. It was by proceeding from these basic national conditions of Russia that Lenin made the following analysis: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.)." (*Foreword to the Published Speech "Deception of the People With Slogans of Freedom and Equality,"* 1919.) And putting this theory into practice, he led the Russian proletariat and other revolutionary people to create the Soviet political power—"a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (*The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism*, 1921.)

### China's Characteristics

China's social and historical conditions differ not only from those in the developed capitalist countries of Europe and America but also from those in Russia. Before liberation China was neither a capitalist country nor an independent democracy, but a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country extremely backward both economically and culturally. "Internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and in her external relations she has no national



Left: Li Yue during his trial. This Xianggang (Hongkong) merchant was arrested for bribery in order to obtain false certificates and for attempting to swindle Zhao Biyan, a citizen of China, out of a great deal of property in Japan. On January 10 of this

year, Li was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by the intermediate people's court in Xuchang Prefecture, Henan Province.

Upper right: Articles presented in court as evidence that Li Yue had tried to bribe Chinese cadres.





Beijing municipal people's deputies voting for their city's mayor.

independence but is oppressed by imperialism." (Mao Zedong: *Problems of War and Strategy*, November 1938.) In terms of its social classes and class relationships, China had the following basic and distinctive characteristics: Firstly, it was the feudal landlord class and bureaucrat-capitalist class which held state power, ruling over and oppressing the proletariat and the rest of the people. They were backed by various imperialist powers. (Since they depended on different imperialist powers, the bureaucrat-capitalists were divided into different political factions and groups. The contradictions between them reflected the contradictions between various imperialist powers and could be made use of during the course of the revolution.) Secondly, China's proletariat was very small in number. On the eve of the nationwide liberation, the country's modern industry accounted for only 10 per cent of the total output value of the national economy and the industrial workers numbered only 2 million. But the Chinese proletariat, which was born before China's capitalist class, was highly concentrated. It was ruthlessly exploited and oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and capitalism and therefore it had strong revolutionary aspirations and militant strength. Thirdly, China's peasants made up 80 per cent of the population; scattered, backward, individual agriculture and handicrafts constituted 90 per cent of the national economy. Like the proletariat, China's peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie were heavily oppressed and exploited by the three big mountains — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Fourthly, China's national bourgeoisie was different from its coun-

terparts in the capitalist countries of Europe and America, and Russia. It was a class with a dual character. On the one hand, being oppressed and fettered by imperialism and feudalism, it had contradictions with them and was revolutionary to a certain degree; on the other, because it was weak economically and politically and had countless ties with imperialism and feudalism, it lacked the courage to oppose them outright and was prone to conciliation with the enemy. These national conditions of China not only defined the course of development of the Chinese revolution and the specific road of this revolution but also decided that the political power established by the revolution must have its own historical characteristics.

Based on their correct understanding of China's national conditions, our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong formulated the strategic task of carrying out China's revolution in two steps — the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. They also defined the highest form of the revolution to be armed struggle with armed revolution pitted against armed counter-revolution, and determined China's revolutionary road to be one of using the countryside to encircle the cities and then taking the cities. In the meantime, they gradually formed the idea of the people's democratic dictatorship. (Though the concept of "people's democracy" was first used by the Cominform in 1947, the theory of China's new-democratic revolution had already been systematized by our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong long before.)

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in *On New Democracy* (1940) and *On Coalition Government* (1945) that New China should establish



a state system, a united front democratic alliance based on the overwhelming majority of the people, under the leadership of the working class. It was, he said, this kind of state system that truly met the demands of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese population. In his Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee in March 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed establishing a "people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." In June the same year, he wrote in *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*: "Who are the people? At the present stage in China, they are the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. These classes, led by the working class and the Communist Party, unite to form their own state and elect their own government; they enforce their dictatorship over the running dogs of imperialism—the landlord class and bureaucrat-bourgeoisie, as well as the representatives of those classes, the Kuomintang reactionaries and their accomplices." "To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme."

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### ***Practice of People's Democratic Dictatorship***

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When New China was founded, our state power was formed in line with the principle of the people's democratic dictatorship and this principle was written into the fundamental laws of the state. The Common Programme, which was adopted at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949 and which functioned as an interim constitution, says: "The Chinese people's democratic dictatorship is a political power of the people's democratic united front made up of the Chinese working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic persons. It is based on the alliance of workers and peasants and is under the leadership of the working class." The Constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted in September

1954 states: "The People's Republic of China is a state of people's democracy led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."

With the founding of New China, we brought the great change from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The people's democratic dictatorship also became a nationwide political power which was socialist in nature. In the socialist stage, why does our political power continue to take the form of the people's democratic dictatorship?

While the private ownership of the means of production was undergoing socialist transformation, the national bourgeoisie still had a dual character. On the one hand, they were profiting from exploitation of the proletariat, on the other, they supported the Constitution and were willing to accept socialist transformation. The contradictions between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie belonged to the category of contradictions among the people. In general, the class struggle between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie belonged to the category of class struggle among the people. So like peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie (apart from a small number of reactionary capitalists) and their political representatives have participated in political power and the political life of our country under the leadership of the proletariat, since as well as before the socialist transformation.



Former industrialist Cai Tiquan (middle) has become an engineer in a Shanghai factory.



These facts determined that we should still adopt the form of the people's democratic dictatorship as the socialist political power and that this dictatorship is suited not only to the period of new democracy, but also to the socialist period. The targets of domination and suppression by our dictatorship are the remnant reactionary forces of the landlord class and the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie, and other reactionary forces which are hostile to and attempt to undermine our socialist revolution and construction. Although in the documents of our Party and state we began in 1956 to use the wording of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the political power of our country, we have continued to use the wording of the people's democratic dictatorship.

We can see from above that the theory of people's democratic dictatorship represents a creative application and development of the Marxist theory of the state by our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong. It is an important component of Mao Zedong Thought.

Compared with the two forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat advanced by Marx and Engels and compared with the political power of soviets established after the October Revolution in Russia, our people's democratic dictatorship has its distinctive features in the class structure of the political power, the targets of suppression and, in particular, the method of handling the status of the national bourgeoisie within state power and in political life.

Marx and Lenin once brought up the idea that the proletariat after seizing power could use the peaceful "buying out" method in transforming the capitalist economy into a socialist one. But their propositions were not realized in Russia after the victory of the October Revolution.

As an exploiting class, the national bourgeoisie in China was definitely a target of the socialist revolution. However, it was not a target of suppression by our political power. Like the rest of the people, members of this class, as part of the people, enjoy not only the right to vote but various other democratic rights provided for in the Constitution. Members of this class and their representatives participate in the organization and management of political, economic and cultural affairs in the country. Our Party adopted the principle of utilization, restriction and transformation towards capitalist industry and commerce. The historical mission of peacefully changing the capitalist economy was successfully completed. This was done with the participation of the national bourgeoisie and with few social upheavals.

The Communist Party and the People's Government of China adopted a series of correct measures during the period of the socialist transformation, and after its completion in the main, gradually and effectively transformed the majority of the national bourgeoisie from exploiters to labourers earning their own living. In this way the historical mission of eliminating the national bourgeoisie as an exploiting class was peacefully carried out. This is a pioneering episode in the world history of socialism as well as a new contribution to the Marxist theory of proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat.

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### ***Policies and the Historical Mission of the Proletariat***

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Comrade Liu Shaoqi stated in his political report to the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956: "Our people's democratic dictatorship at the present stage is in essence a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is because the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship is led by the proletariat through its vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party, and it implements proletarian policies and shoulders the proletariat's



A production team leader in Liaoning Province is given a red paper flower upon his re-election. During his first term, his team enormously boosted its grain output.



historical mission of building socialism. Lenin said, "The supreme principle of the dictatorship is the maintenance of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry in order that the proletariat may retain its leading role and its political power." "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the direction of policy by the proletariat." (*Third Congress of the Communist International, The Tax in Kind, 1921.*)

Therefore, in judging whether the political power of a country is a dictatorship of the proletariat or not, we cannot only examine whether it is formed by the proletariat alone or by various strata of the people; what counts is whether the proletariat and its Party hold the dominant position or play the leading role in the political power, and whether the political power carries out the policies and historical mission of the proletariat.

After the founding of New China, the people's democratic dictatorship of our country took up the task of bringing about socialist transformation. This meant uniting all the labouring people and other social forces accepting socialism, transforming the private ownership of the means of production of the bourgeoisie and the small producers into socialist public ownership, thoroughly eliminating the system of exploitation of man by man and organizing the economic and cultural construction of socialism under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party. Now, things have changed and the national bourgeoisie no longer exists as a class. Its members take part in state power as members of the people rather than as representatives of a class.

Today, the task of our people's democratic dictatorship is to unite all the people and build China into a socialist country with material modernization, highly developed political democracy and a highly advanced spiritual civilization. This is still a continuation of the historical mission of the proletariat. So, in essence, it is still the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It should be noted that the people's democratic dictatorship not only conforms with the overall situation in our country but also explicitly sets forth the nature and content of state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a historical and class concept, the dictatorship of the proletariat consists of the content

and functions of both dictatorship and democracy in its class relations—democracy for the proletariat and the whole people and dictatorship over the reactionary classes and the enemies of the people. However, taken literally, the term dictatorship of the proletariat, mentions "dictatorship" only, but not "democracy." Hence, those who have not made a special study of it may not clearly understand its complete meaning.

The term people's democratic dictatorship includes two aspects: people's democracy and people's dictatorship. It is the proletariat and the masses of the people who support the socialist system enjoy democratic rights and exercise dictatorship. Our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong explained this on several occasions: "The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's democratic dictatorship." (*On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, 1949.*) Practice has proved that the expression people's democratic dictatorship is scientific and has been accepted by the people. From the banner of people's democratic dictatorship, people can easily understand the nature, content and functions of China's political power; this helps prevent misunderstanding and one-sidedness in practical work.

During the decade of turmoil, the term people's democratic dictatorship was cast aside by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques who raised a hubbub about "overall dictatorship." It is entirely correct for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at present to restore the term people's democratic dictatorship which conforms with China's conditions and has long taken root in the hearts of the people. This also represents the people's aspirations. Now that the exploiting classes as such have been eliminated, the scope of the target of China's dictatorship has been further reduced and the scope of the people who enjoy democratic rights has been accordingly expanded. In this sense, the phrase people's democratic dictatorship is in complete conformity with the concrete situation of the new period and is entirely in accord with our future course of historical development.

*(An abridged translation of an article in "Guangming Ribao," April 21. Sub-heads are ours.)*



## The Central Committee's Secretariat And Its Work

**F**IFTEEN months ago the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced the restoration of its Secretariat to handle day-to-day work. After the Party came to power, the Secretariat was set up in 1956 by a resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party, with Deng Xiaoping as General Secretary. It had proved essential and effective in its 10 years of existence. Today, the Secretariat comprises 11 members, Hu Yaobang, Wan Li, Wang Renzhong, Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Song Renqiong, Yu Qiuli, Yang Dezhi, Hu Qiaomu, Yao Yilin and Peng Chong, with Hu Yaobang as General Secretary.

Members of the Secretariat meet twice a week in central Beijing's Zhongnanhai, part of the former Imperial Palace and now the site of the Central Committee and the State Council.

Before the Fifth Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee was convened in the spring of 1980, preparations for re-establishing the Secretariat were made, with veteran Party leaders Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xian-nian and Chen Yun all taking part.

Explaining the significance of re-establishing the Secretariat, Vice-Chairman Ye Jianying on February 24, 1980 pointed out: "It in-

dicates to the world that the Chinese Communist Party has worthy people to carry the banner."

"Apart from resolving the issue of succession," he added, "there are other major advantages in re-establishing the Secretariat: one, it enables Members of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee to concentrate on major international and domestic issues so that they will obtain greater initiative and prescience in their work; two, it gives them more time to go down to the local levels and maintain touch with the people." The Secretariat will look after the "first line," or day-to-day work, while the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee will man the "second line."

Since the Secretariat was set up, it has done a great deal of work. There are no set office hours and very few free weekends for its members. They work very late and sometimes through the night, say the staff.

The Secretariat formulated the policies for expanding agriculture and forestry and diversifying the rural economy, which are proving so successful in improving the economy and directly upgrading the lives of some 800 million in the rural areas. The Secretariat is concentrating on further readjusting the national economy and balancing the budget with the aim of wiping out deficits within this year.

In March last year, shortly after it was set up, the Secretariat called a meeting centred on work in the Tibet Autonomous Region. Two months after this, on May 22, Hu Yaobang and Wan Li flew to Tibet where they talked to leaders and the rank-and-file, visited shops, schools and homes to hear what people had to say. A few days later, Hu Yaobang addressed a meeting of cadres for almost three hours, listing six major measures to improve the local economy.

In September and October last

**Hu Yaobang (second from left), General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., and Wan Li (first from left), Member of the Secretariat and Vice-Premier, in Lhasa, May 1980.**







Member of the Secretariat Gu Mu (glasses) and Vice-Premier Bo Yibo (second from left) visiting the Shoudu Iron and Steel Works over the Spring Festival this year.

year, members of the Secretariat flew in helicopters over Beijing and its suburbs in connection with town planning and environmental problems. They literally "dropped in" unannounced on people. They saw for themselves the destructive march of sand dunes around the metropolis and the bell of smog over the industrial districts. This has led to greater efforts to fight pollution and the restoration of the Arbour Day.

They descended on brigades and spoke to cadres and commune members. They studied the issue of private plots, the new system of responsibility in production, vegetable production, tourism, job opportunities for youths and so on during the course of their inspection tour.

Besides calling down on grass-roots units in minibuses, driving to factories and villages and going into shops unheralded, the Secretariat members invite people in industry, agriculture, commerce, science, culture and education, in fact, from all walks of life, to Zhongnanhai to talk with them, to discuss issues. For instance, when some 200 teachers were invited, there was a most lively discussion on education, with Chen Yun, the 77-year-old Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, taking an active part.

In addition to meeting people, the Secretariat receives each day a huge volume of letters from people all over the country. The letters are another channel of communications between this leading Party organ and the public.

The Secretariat exercises collective leadership, handles office work together and shares responsibilities among the members. Its deci-

sions are submitted to the Political Bureau or its Standing Committee for final approval.

People who have attended the Secretariat's meetings say that they are impressed with the way the members air their views in a straight-forward manner and take decisions in a democratic and collective way, with no single individual dominating.

*(Adapted from a report by Xinhua Correspondents Feng Jian and Zeng Jianhui)*

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# Communique on Fulfilment of China's 1980 National Economic Plan

— Issued on April 29, 1981 by the State Statistical Bureau

**U**NDER the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the People's Government, the Chinese people of all nationalities conscientiously carried out the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy, and made new achievements through energetic efforts in 1980. The total annual value of industrial and agricultural output, counted at the constant prices in 1970, was 661,900 million yuan, 3.2 per cent above plan and 7.2 per cent over the previous year. The preliminary figure for the national income was 363,000 million yuan, which, counted at the constant prices in 1970, was 6.9 per cent over the previous year (the national income for 1979 was readjusted from 337,000 million yuan to 335,000 million yuan). The livelihood of the people continued to improve on the basis of increased production. The main problems were that there was another relatively big financial deficit, considerably more currency was issued, and the prices of many commodities rose.

Fulfilment of plans by the various departments of the national economy is as follows:

## 1. Industry

**I**n 1980, there was a sustained increase in industrial production, and the proportions among industries gradually became more rational and proper. Total annual industrial output value, counted at the constant prices in 1970, was 499,200 million yuan, 3.1 per cent above plan and 8.7 per cent over 1979. Output value of light industry was 234,400 million yuan, an 18.4 per cent increase over 1979, and that of heavy industry, 264,800 million yuan, a 1.4 per cent increase. The proportion of the output value of light industry to total industrial output value increased from 43.1 per cent in 1979 to 46.9 per cent in 1980. Targets were reached or surpassed for the output of 93 of 100 major products, including coal, crude oil, electricity, steel, pig iron, rolled steel, cement, plate glass, sulphuric acid, soda ash, caustic soda, chemical fertilizer, motor vehicles, locomotives, chemical

fibres, paper, sugar, television sets, bicycles, sewing machines and wristwatches. Targets for detergents and six other products were not fulfilled.

The initiative of the enterprises and their workers and staff members was brought into greater play and the management of enterprises was strengthened in 1980 as a result of continuing the experiments in expanding the power of enterprises in management and introducing market regulation of the production and supply of a number of products. Although energy production dropped 1.3 per cent, the industrial production continued to achieve a fairly big growth rate, the number of varieties and specifications of industrial products increased, the quality of products improved, and consumption of raw materials and fuels fell. State gold and silver medals were awarded to 255 industrial products for civilian use. The output value of industrial enterprises owned by the whole people was 12,031 yuan per worker, 2 per cent higher than in the previous year.

However, the economic results of industrial enterprises as a whole were not yet satisfactory. The indices for quality and per-unit consump-



Liu Mingshan (1st from the left), director of a mine under the Huainan Coal Mining Administration, working with the miners in the pit.



tion for many of the products did not reach the best historical levels. About 23.3 per cent of the state-owned industrial enterprises still suffered losses in varying degrees, thus affecting the increase in state revenues. A considerable amount of rolled steel, machinery and power equipment was overstocked by the end of 1980.

The output of major industrial products follows:

	1980 output	percentage increase over 1979
Coal	620 million tons	-2.4
Crude oil	105.95 million tons	-0.2
Natural gas	14,270 million cubic metres	-1.7
Electricity	300,600 million kw	6.6
Rolled steel	27.16 million tons	8.8
Pig iron	38.02 million tons	3.5
Steel	37.12 million tons	7.7
Coke (machine-made)	34.05 million tons	1.5
Timber	53.59 million cubic metres	-1.5
Cement	79.86 million tons	8.1
Plate glass	27.71 million standard cases	18.9
Sulphuric acid	7.64 million tons	9.1
Soda ash	1,613,000 tons	8.5
Caustic soda	1,923,000 tons	5.3
Chemical fertilizer	12.32 million tons	15.7
Of which:		
Nitrogenous fertilizer	9.99 million tons	13.3
Phosphate fertilizer	2.31 million tons	26.9
Potash fertilizer	20,000 tons	25.0
Chemical insecticides	537,000 tons	0
Ethylene	490,000 tons	12.6
Plastics	898,000 tons	13.2
Chemical pharmaceuticals	40,100 tons	-3.8
Calcium carbide	1.52 million tons	8.0
Rubber tyres	11.46 million	-2.0
Mining equipment	163,000 tons	-38.3
Power generating equipment	4,193,000 kw	-32.5
Machine tools	134,000	-4.3
Motor vehicles	222,000	19.4
Tractors	98,000	-22.2
Hand tractors	218,000	-31.4
Internal combustion engines (sold as commodities)	25.39 million hp	-12.7

Locomotives	512	-10.6
Railway passenger coaches	1,002	17.1
Railway freight waggons	10,571	-34.1
Steel ships for civilian use	818,000 tons	1.1
Television sets	2,492,000	87.5
Radio sets	30.04 million	117.5
Cameras	373,000	56.7
Chemical fibres	450,000 tons	38.0
Of which:		
Synthetic fibres	314,000 tons	46.7
Cotton yarn	2.93 million tons	11.4
Cotton cloth	13,470 million metres or 12,800 million square metres	10.9
Woolen piece goods	101 million metres	12.2
Silk	35,400 tons	19.2
Silk textiles	759 million metres	14.5
Gunny bags	433 million	25.9
Machine-made paper and paperboards	5.35 million tons	8.5
Sugar	2.57 million tons	2.8
Cigarettes	15.2 million cases	16.7
Beer	688,000 tons	33.3
Salt	17.28 million tons	17.0
Detergents	393,000 tons	-1.0
Bicycles	13.02 million	29.0
Sewing machines	7.68 million	30.8
Wristwatches	22.16 million	29.8
Light bulbs	950 million	11.8

## 2. Agriculture

In 1980 many parts of the country suffered from natural calamities seldom seen in many years. However, the correct policies of the Party and the government were carried out, which triggered the enthusiasm of rural cadres and peasants for production so that most areas achieved fairly good harvests except for a few, including Hubei and Hebei, which had considerable decreases in grain output. The total value of agricultural output, counted at the constant prices in 1970, was 162,700 million yuan, 3.3 per cent above plan and 2.7 per cent more than in 1979. Except for grain, targets were met or surpassed for all seven other major agricultural products — cotton, oil-bearing crops, sugarcane, sugar beet, jute and ambary hemp, silkworm cocoons and tea. The diversified economy of the rural communes and their subdivisions and household sideline production grew fairly quickly.



The output of major farm products follows:

	1980 output	percentage increase over 1979
<b>Grain</b>	318,220,000 tons	-4.2
<b>Of which:</b>		
Paddy	139,255,000 tons	-3.1
Wheat	54,155,000 tons	-13.7
<b>Tubers (counted on the basis that 5 kilogrammes of tubers are equivalent to one kilogramme of grain)</b>	27,845,000 tons	-2.2
<b>Soyabeans</b>	7,880,000 tons	5.6
<b>Cotton</b>	2,707,000 tons	22.7
<b>Oil-bearing crops</b>	7,691,000 tons	19.5
<b>Of which:</b>		
Peanut	3,600,000 tons	27.6
Rapeseed	2,384,000 tons	-0.7
Sesame	259,000 tons	-37.9
Sugarcane	22,807,000 tons	6.0
Sugarbeet	6,305,000 tons	103.0
Jute, ambary hemp	1,098,000 tons	0.8
Silkworm cocoons	326,000 tons	20.3
Tea	304,000 tons	9.7

Some 4,552,000 hectares of land in China were afforested in 1980, 1.4 per cent more than in 1979. Output of some forest products increased sharply: that of rubber was 4.3 per cent higher than in 1979, walnuts, 31.7 per cent higher, and chestnuts, 41.8 per cent higher. Output of raw lacquer and tea-oil seeds was less than in 1979. Trees were felled at random in many areas.

Output of major animal products increased in 1980. Except for hogs, animals in stock at the end of the year grew in number.

The output of major animal products and the number of livestock follows:

	1980 output	percentage increase over 1979
<b>Pork, beef and mutton</b>	12,055,000 tons	13.5
<b>Of which:</b>		
Pork	11,341,000 tons	13.3
Beef	269,000 tons	17.0
Mutton	445,000 tons	17.1
<b>Milk</b>	1,141,000 tons	6.6
<b>Sheep wool</b>	176,000 tons	15.0
<b>Hogs slaughtered</b>	198,607,000 head	5.8
<b>Hogs (by the end of the year)</b>	305,431,000 head	-4.5
<b>Large animals (by the end of the year)</b>	95,246,000 head	0.7
<b>Sheep and goats (by the end of the year)</b>	187,311,000 head	2.3



Rich cotton harvest in Nanyang County, Henan Province.

Output of aquatic products was 4,497,000 tons, 4.5 per cent over the previous year. Output of freshwater products increased by 11.1 per cent, and marine products, 2.1 per cent.

State farms achieved all-round growth in production. In 1980, grain output by state farms under the land reclamation departments was 4.7 per cent higher than in 1979, cotton, 11.2 per cent higher, oil-bearing crops, 4.1 per cent higher, sugarcane and sugar beet, 28.6 per cent higher, and milk, 8.7 per cent higher. The total accounts of all state farms under the land reclamation departments showed a 52.7 per cent increase in profits, but 40 per cent of the farms still suffered losses in varying degrees.

Attention was paid during the year to the development of farm machinery suited to local conditions. By the end of the year, China had 745,000 large and medium-sized tractors, 78,000 more than in 1979; 1,874,000 small and hand tractors, 203,000 more than in 1979; power-driven drainage and irrigation equipment for rural use with a total of 74,645,000 horsepower, an increase of 3,424,000 horsepower; and 135,000 farm trucks, 38,000 more than in 1979. Tractor-ploughed farmland came to 40,991,000 hectares, accounting for 41.3 per cent of all farmland. A total of 12,694,000 tons of chemical fertilizer were applied, averaging 127.8 kilogrammes per hectare, a 17 per cent increase over 1979. Total electricity used in the rural areas came to 32,100 million kilowatt-hours, 13.5 per cent more than in 1979.

By the end of 1980, China had 86,000 reservoirs of all sizes and 2.09 million diesel and electric pump wells. Improved management of water conservancy facilities helped raise resist-





The highway bridge across the third channel of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River at Gezhouba will soon be open to traffic.

ance to drought and ability to drain off excessive water.

The meteorological departments last year improved their service, giving prompt forecasts and warnings for droughts, waterlogging, typhoons and frost, thus raising the effectiveness of the struggles against these natural calamities.

### 3. Capital Construction

All over China units owned by the whole people had an additional 42,700 million yuan worth of fixed assets through capital construction in 1980, a 2.2 per cent increase over 1979. The rate of availability of such assets reached 79.2 per cent, a 4.5 per cent decrease compared with 1979. Total floor space of housing completed for the whole year came to 145 million square metres, an increase of 20.8 per cent over 1979.

Annual added production capacity from capital construction in 1980 consisted mainly of facilities for producing 8.29 million tons of coal, 5.75 million tons of crude oil, 880 million cubic metres of natural gas, power-generating capacity of 2.87 million kilowatts, 2.74 million tons of iron ore, 710,000 tons of steel, 279,000 tons of chemical fertilizer, 60,000 tons of chemical fibres, 2.88 million tons of cement, and 113,000 tons of sugar. Also added were 761,000 cotton spindles. One thousand and eight kilometres of new railway lines were put into service. The cargo handling capacity at newly built or expanded ports was enlarged by 8.13 million tons.

Total investment in capital construction in units owned by the whole people all over China in 1980 was 53,900 million yuan, a 7.8 per cent increase over 1979. Investment covered by the national budget was 28,100 million yuan, a decrease of 24.9 per cent compared with 1979. Of the total investment, the proportion for costs of non-productive use to meet the needs of the people's material and cultural life rose from 27 per cent in 1979 to 33.7 per cent in 1980, of which the investment in housing construction went up from 14.8 per cent in 1979 to 20 per cent while that in light industry increased from 6.4 per cent in 1979 to 9.1 per cent.

A number of projects were cancelled or suspended in 1980. The number of big and medium-sized projects under construction was 904 by the end of the year, 283 less than in 1979. However, owing to the large scale of some newly built projects, the national construction scale was not curtailed. Eighty-two big and medium-sized projects were completed and put into operation in the whole year, 46 less than in 1979. Two hundred and sixteen single-item projects attached to big and medium-sized projects were completed and put into operation, 124 less than the year before. The ratio of big and medium-sized projects that went into operation to the total number under construction dropped from 9.7 per cent in 1979 to 8.3 per cent. Of the newly added production capacity for 34 major products listed in the state plan, that for 16 products failed to meet the planned targets. The results for investment were not good enough.

New reserves of iron ore, coal, phosphorus,



pyrites and 17 other major minerals, which were verified in 1980, met or surpassed the state targets. Found deposits of iron ore increased by 2,140 million tons, and coal by 24,840 million tons. In addition, more reserves were also proved for 40 kinds of minerals, including niobium, tantalum, cobalt, blue asbestos, gypsum, graphite, ceramic clay and mica. Total drilling footage for geological prospecting completed in 1980 was 12.49 million metres. A number of new oil and gas fields were discovered and appraised, as were more than 100 metallic and non-metallic mineral areas. But the work of fundamental geology, general surveying of mineral resources and mining geology remains poor and the economic result of geological prospecting still needs to be improved.

#### 4. Transport, Posts and Telecommunications

In 1980 the volume of freight carried by all means of transport totalled 1,202,600 million ton-kilometres, a 5.6 per cent increase over 1979. The volume of railway freight transport was 571,700 million ton-kilometres, a 2.1 per cent increase over 1979. The volume of waterway cargo transport was 505,300 million ton-kilometres, a 10.7 per cent increase. The volume of road freight transport was 76,400 million ton-kilometres, an increase of 2.6 per cent. The volume of air freight shipment was 140.6 million ton-kilometres, an increase of 13.9 per cent. The volume of oil and gas carried through pipelines was 49,100 million ton-kilometres, a 3.2 per cent increase. The volume of cargo handled at major sea ports was 217.31 million tons, 2.2 per cent more than the previous year.

The volume of passenger transport by all means of transport totalled 228,100 million person-kilometres in 1980, a 15.8 per cent increase over 1979. The volume of railway passenger transport was 138,300 million person-kilometres, an increase of 13.7 per cent. The volume of waterway passenger transport was 12,900 million person-kilometres, 13.2 per cent more. The volume of road passenger transport was 72,900 million person-kilometres, a 20.9 per cent increase. The volume of passenger transport by air was 4,000 million person-kilometres, a 14.3 per cent increase.

Post and telecommunication transactions for the whole country amounted to 1,334 million yuan in 1980, surpassing 1979 by 6.3 per cent. Among this was a 7.56 per cent increase in letters, a 29.6 per cent increase in the circulation

of newspapers and magazines, an 8.7 per cent increase in telegrams, and a 4 per cent increase in long-distance calls.

In 1980 fuel consumed per steam locomotive and per diesel locomotive for each 10,000 ton-kilometres dropped 2.8 per cent and 2 per cent respectively.

In the same year the railway departments made new achievements in technical transformation of the existing lines. Electrification of the Baoji-Tianshui section of the Longhai Railway, the Shijiazhuang-Yangquan section of the Shijiazhuang-Taiyuan Line and the Xiangfan-Ankang section of the Xiangfan-Chongqing Line raised transport capacity. However, transport is still over-burdened, certain sections of trunk railways have a relatively small carrying capacity. The handling capacity at some sea ports also cannot meet the growing needs of foreign trade. And trucks show great waste in empty runs as a result of inco-ordinate management of truck transport.

*(To be continued in the next issue.)*

### China's Socialist Economy

by Xue Muqiao

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Size: 203 × 140 mm Pages: 316

Published by

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS Beijing, China

Distributed by

GUOJI SHUDIAN

(China Publications Centre)

P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China



## Mao Zedong Thought and Mao Zedong

MAO Zedong Thought must be distinguished from the ideas of Mao Zedong in his later years. This is because, like Marxism, Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific term with a clear definition. Marxism is the science of the proletarian revolution. Marxism is related to Marx the person, but cannot be attributed entirely to him. Marx was the chief founder of Marxism but not the only one; there was Engels. As regards this question, Engels explained very clearly. He said if Marx and he himself were considered to have contributed a theory to humanity, it was Marx who made the main contributions. Marx was the first violinist and he himself was, at the most, the second.

This is also the case with Mao Zedong Thought. It was formed by Mao Zedong and other Chinese Communists who applied and developed Marxism by integrating it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution during the long years of struggle. Mao Zedong Thought is founded, firstly by Mao Zedong and, secondly, by his comrades-in-arms. A summing-up of the experience of the Chinese revolution by Mao Zedong, his comrades-in-arms and his students, Mao Zedong Thought is a crystallization of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle. Mao Zedong Thought and Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years are

two entirely different concepts.

It is not uncommon for great historical characters to make ideological mistakes when they are advanced in years. Mao Zedong was both a great Marxist theorist and a great proletarian revolutionary and strategist. With him as the chief leader, the Chinese Communist Party made a tremendous contribution in leading the people of all nationalities to achieve the success of the revolution in a big country in the East like ours and to place the socialist New China on a firm footing in the world. It is realistic to distinguish Mao Zedong Thought from Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years in the light of historical materialism; it is unrealistic to confuse the two.

(Excerpts from "Hongqi,"  
No. 5, 1981)

CHINA'S feudal society lasted from the second century B.C. to the early period of the present century, a total of more than 2,000 years. For sheer duration, this is a rarity in world history. In Europe, feudal society also lasted a relatively long time and its development was typical. The bourgeois revolution which brought an end to feudal society first occurred in Europe. Therefore, it would be interesting to compare feudalism in Europe and in China while studying the reasons why it had lasted so long in the latter.

**Land Ownership.** In Europe, when the feudal system reached maturity, the dominant form of land ownership was the hereditary

estate or fief, which could not be sold but only passed on intact to the eldest son. As a result of this system of land ownership, class distinctions were rigid, the hierarchy strictly defined and the gap between the aristocracy and the serfs in no way to be bridged.

The practice of primogeniture was not followed in China, as it was in Europe. On the contrary, the landed estate was distributed to all the sons. Besides, land could be bought and sold. As

lords, after their land was lost, could sink into the ranks of peasants. At the same time, as the feudal dynasties adopted various ways of selecting government officials, children of medium-sized and small landlord families, even of ordinary

the ownership of land changed hands constantly, the class position of the peasants vis-a-vis the landlords was not fixed. Some peasants, as they came to own more and more land, could become landlords; whereas land-

### A Comparative Study of Feudalism in China and Europe

lords, after their land was lost, could sink into the ranks of peasants. At the same time, as the feudal dynasties adopted various ways of selecting government officials, children of medium-sized and small landlord families, even of ordinary



peasant families, had the opportunity to rise to a high position. There are many examples of ordinary intellectuals rising to high ministerial posts. Therefore, China's hierarchy was not as strictly defined and rigid as in Europe and class relations were adjusted from time to time. To a certain extent, this produced a relaxing and cushioning effect on some contradictions in certain periods.

**The Development of Commercial Capital and the Control Over Cities by the Feudal Aristocracy.**

The area of the various feudal states in Europe was comparatively small and their natural resources were limited. They needed spices, silk fabrics, tea, jewels and porcelain from the Eastern countries, including China and India. So their commodity economy developed to some extent in the Middle Ages. With the expansion of this economy, many cities emerged in Europe in the later stages of feudalism. Along with the development of money economy in the cities and the growing strength of the handicraftsmen, freemen and merchants, the feudal aristocracy gradually lost its control over the cities, which slowly changed into independent autonomous entities. They no longer belonged to any particular feudal hereditary family, but came under the control of commercial capitalists.

The capitalists and merchants not only achieved their economic independence but also gradually gained their lawful political rights. When the parliamentary system appeared in some European countries powerful capitalists took part in parlia-

mentary proceedings and even took control over the parliament itself. In fact the bourgeois class became a revolutionary force when Europe broke away from the feudal system of the Middle Ages. It led the peasants and other classes in waging the bourgeois revolution to overthrow or transform the feudal system and establish capitalism.

From ancient times, China has been a country which takes agriculture as the foundation. Historically all feudal dynasties adopted the policy of "stressing agriculture while setting limitations on commercial development." Consequently, the small-peasant natural economy predominated throughout the country for a long time. During the Song (960-1279) and Ming (1368-1644) Dynasties, cities appeared, commodity economy developed somewhat and more handicraft products were turned out. However, most of the handicraft industry was run by feudal officials and the products were mainly geared to the extravagant whims and tastes of the feudal ruling class. Between the end of the Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Qing, capitalism began to appear in China's feudal society, but an independent bourgeois class never emerged.

After the Opium War of 1840, China degenerated into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The national bourgeoisie which came into being after the war was very weak. Though the 1911 Revolution overthrew the feudal emperors, it failed to bring about a fundamental change in the nature of Chinese society.

**The Influence of Feudal Rule.**

China was not only the earliest to enter feudal society, but also the first to establish a centralized monarchy as a system of state power. After Emperor Qin Shi Huang defeated six other states and united the country in 221 B.C., a centralized feudal state was established. The system was developed to its acme in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). With the country relatively unified and the state power in the hands of a centralized monarchy over a long time, China's feudal autocratic system achieved a fairly comprehensive development politically, economically and culturally. The complicated and deep-rooted feudal social structure created the conditions for feudal society to persist unchanged over a long period.

The case of Europe was different. It not only entered the stage of feudal society at a later date, but also remained in a state of feudal separationist rule for a long time. The centralization of state power as a tendency only appeared gradually in the period between the 13th and 15th centuries, at a time when feudal society was already in the process of disintegration. Some European countries, such as Germany and Italy, became unified as late as in the 1870s. As feudal autocratic rule was not as highly developed in Europe as in China and its social base was not as strong, the bourgeois revolution occurred in Europe at an earlier date and won victory.

*(Excerpts from "Qiu Suo" [Exploration], No. 2, 1981.)*



WRITERS  
ASSOCIATION

Ba Jin — A New Post

Ba Jin, one of China's most popular and prolific writers, was recently elected Acting Chairman of the Chinese Writers Association. The post was formerly held by Mao Dun, who died of illness on March 27.

One of Ba Jin's first duties was presiding over the inauguration of the "Mao Dun Literary Awards Committee." Consisting of 12 members, the committee will use funds donated by Mao Dun before his death to award prize money to promising novelists. Another activity of the new acting chairman is to head up the establishment of a library of modern Chinese literature, which will contain the manuscripts, correspondence and photographs of important Chinese writers since the 1920s. Ba Jin announced at a recent committee meeting that he has decided to donate 150,000 yuan from his royalties for the library and will turn over to it important materials relevant to his writing career.

Ba Jin became an acclaimed writer by the age of 25. The appearance of his novel, *Destruction*, in 1928 thrust him into the literary limelight. With the publication of *Family*, the first of the trilogy *Family, Spring and Autumn*, in 1933 he reached the peak of his fame. Since then he has written 20 volumes of short stories and 20 volumes of prose. In addition, he has translated many works of Gorky, Turgenev and Tolstoy as well as some fictions by Italian, German and Japanese writers. In the early 1960s Ba Jin's writ-

ings were published in 14 volumes by the People's Literature Publishing House.

Ba Jin did not escape the general persecution of people of his stature and profession during the "cultural revolution." When he resumed writing in the late 1970s, he primarily wrote essays entitled "Random Thoughts," which now number over 60. His translation of the first volume of Herzen's memoirs describing life under the rule of the tsars has been published — a work he



Ba Jin.

had undertaken during the chaotic years. With the recent completion of his translation of the second volume and his own memoirs, he is now concentrating his efforts on a new novel entitled *A Pair of Beautiful Eyes*. This work deals with an elderly intellectual couple during the "cultural revolution," demonstrating the goodness and patriotism of Chinese intellectuals. Ba Jin recently noted, "Intellectuals have met with numerous difficulties, but they are determined to overcome them."

Ba Jin himself is representative. Though he is already 77

years old, he still is enthusiastic about creative writing. Two years ago, he devised a five-year plan for his literary output. Though people have advised him to take it easy, he said that the important thing was to keep fit by doing exercise every day. He jogs every morning with his granddaughter.

In addition to his position in the Chinese Writers Association, which has a membership of over 1,500 from 20 nationalities, Ba Jin is also Vice-Chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and President of China Pen Centre. In his view the situation for writers is promising at present and many young writers are developing. Despite their weaknesses, he places great hope in the new writers. Recently he advised that writers must be bold in creating but prudent in publishing. By way of example, he recalled that one of his most popular novels, *Family*, was revised several times before its publication.

ENERGY

Developing Terrestrial Heat

With the gradual depletion of energy resources in today's world, the natural heat of the earth's interior has become an increasingly important energy alternative. In China in recent years, geothermal power has been used in a number of valuable ways and promises to play a more important role in the country's energy future.

China began generating electricity from geothermal heat in 1970. Now there are seven geothermal power stations





Raising fish in geothermal water in Jiangxi Province.

throughout the country. At one 10-square-kilometre geothermal field in Tibet's Yangbajain area where underground water temperatures reach 170 degrees centigrade, for example, a 1,000-kw power plant was set up in 1977, and two more geothermal installations, each with a generating capacity of 3,000-kw, are now being constructed. When completed, these power stations will supply electricity for Lhasa.

Hot underground water sources have been tapped and used in dyeing cloth, starching cotton yarn and controlling the temperature and humidity in a number of textile mills in Beijing and Shanghai. Valuable chemical and mineral residues have also been extracted from such water for industrial use by factories in Sichuan and Jiangxi Provinces. In addition, factories, offices and hospitals in north China have been heated in winter for years by underground water. In Beijing two terrestrial hot spots with temperatures of 53-59 degrees centigrade provide abundant heating for a number of buildings with a total floor space of 50,000 square metres.

Various branches of agricultural production are now using geothermal energy as well. Many areas have built houses tapping terrestrial heat for the off-season cultivation of seeds, seedlings and vegetables. Cultivating rice seedlings with terrestrial heat advances the growing season as much as 20 days in some counties in south China. The Agricultural Institute of Fujian has harnessed the earth's natural heat to create stable year-round temperatures for the incubation of poultry eggs, achieving an 83 per cent incubation rate. Successful results have also been obtained in using terrestrial heat for raising tropical fish and drying wheat, rice, tobacco and various traditional medicines; rice and wheat can be dried in only six hours, while drying by sun requires three days.

Geothermal energy has also been introduced in the medical and health fields. There are about 100 hot spring sanatoriums for workers throughout the country. Research units have been set up to investigate the

use of mineral water in physiotherapy. Some hospitals in Beijing, Liaoning Province and northwest China's Tianshan Mountains are well known for their success in using spring water to cure skin diseases, arthritis and various other maladies

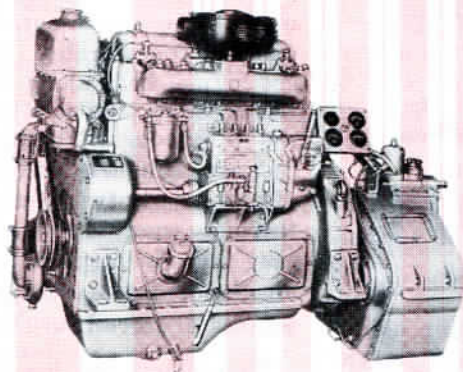
To date, more than 2,500 ground-level geothermal spots have been discovered in China, many with temperatures as high as 80 degrees centigrade or more. These resources are mainly concentrated in two geothermal belts along the eastern coastline and in Tibet, and the provinces of Yunnan and Sichuan. China is now making efforts to verify its total geothermal energy potential and take full advantage of its many low- and moderate-temperature sources of terrestrial heat.

To promote the development of geothermal and other energy resources, China's first Energy Research Society was founded in January this year. With a number of well-known Chinese scientists and scholars as advisers, the society will study current energy problems and provide the state with important scientific data for making energy policy. It will also carry out academic exchanges with other countries in the energy field.





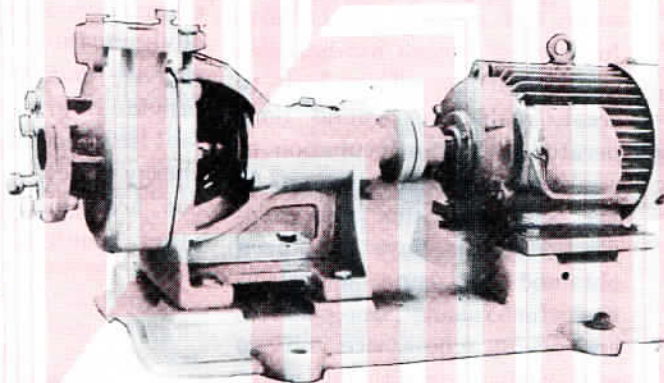
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