

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Lessons From the Paris Commune
- Why a New Slogan for Literature and Art
- Aborted Coup in Thailand
- *How Socialist Morality Taught Today*



## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### Socialist Morality

Nationwide effort to cultivate a new, socialist morality and decorum among the people, the young in particular (p. 5).

### Literature and Politics

"Serve the people, serve socialism" is the new slogan for Chinese literature and art. Famous literary critic and Deputy Director of the Party Propaganda Department Zhou Yang explains what this means and how it is different from the old "Serve politics" slogan (p. 23).

### The Paris Commune: A New Evaluation

What were the principles of the Paris Commune? How should its policies be evaluated? And what caused its failure? Historian Li Yuanming explores

anew these theoretical questions which have a vital bearing on today's proletarian revolutions (p. 16).

### Why the Financial Cutback

Why China takes a serious view of its budget deficit and strives to eliminate it (p. 21).

### Abortive Coup in Thailand

An account and analysis of the short-lived coup in Bangkok (p. 9).

### Moscow's Smear Campaign

Motives behind the Kremlin's latest spate of anti-China rumours (p. 13).

### Opinion Digest

Woman writer Ding Ling voices her opinion on the direc-

tion of literature today; comments about the significance of Bukharin's book, etc. (pp. 26-27).

### Book Review

Introducing an authoritative work on ancient Chinese architecture, whose artistic value and techniques fascinate scholars and laymen alike (p. 30).



Educating children in the revolutionary tradition.

Photo by Huo Wenji

## BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

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

Vol. 24, No. 15      April 13, 1981

### CONTENTS

#### NOTES FROM THE EDITORS      3

Troop Withdrawal and Political Settlement — International Editor Mu Youlin

On the Question of Disturbances Created by Small Numbers of People — Political Editor An Zhiguo

#### LETTERS      4

#### EVENTS & TRENDS      5-8

Socialist Decorum  
Quarterly Production Plans Fulfilled  
Economizing on Petroleum

#### Tree Planting

Premier Zhao on Danger of Soviet Intervention in Poland

Deng Xiaoping Meets Lord Carrington

Delegation of Venezuelan Christian Socialist Party

#### INTERNATIONAL      9-15

Thailand's Aborted Coup — Dong Ping

Hanoi Stages Elections in Kampuchea — "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding

In Bangladesh: Economic Developments — Zhong Tai

Rumours From Soviet Russia — Commentary by Xinhua correspondent

Will the U.S. Respect Arab Realities? — Xinhua Correspondent Wan Guang

Central African Republic: Transition to Democracy — Dan Lin

#### ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS

On the Historical Experience of the Paris Commune — Li Yuanming

Answering Our Readers: Why Is China Striving to Wipe Out Its Deficit? — Liu Guangdi      21

On the Relationship Between Politics and Literature and Art — Zhou Yang      23

#### OPINION DIGEST      26-27

On Bukharin's "Economics of the Transition Period"

Truth May Be Flawed

Ding Ling's View on Literature China's Longest Historical Novel

#### CULTURE & SCIENCE      28-29

#### BOOKS      30-31

Published every Monday in Beijing,  
the People's Republic of China

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

### Troop Withdrawal and Political Settlement

**Is China against a political settlement of the Afghan and Kampuchean issues?**

The Chinese Government is not against a political settlement. But the key to such a solution is that all foreign troops should withdraw from Afghanistan and Kampuchea. We must never accept the fait accompli resulting from Soviet and Vietnamese armed invasions. The people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea should be allowed to settle their internal affairs by themselves without any foreign interference.

The Afghan issue is created by the Soviet invasion and the Kampuchean question is the result of Vietnamese aggression. Any political settlement without the withdrawal of foreign troops only encourages the invaders and will be a travesty of international justice.

It is known to all that the Afghan and the Kampuchean issues are closely connected with each other. Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea in the name of resisting aggression and rigged up a puppet regime in Phnom Penh. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan a year later was cast in the same mould. This will serve as a pattern for future Soviet and Vietnamese aggression and expansion abroad. Now the two aggressor countries are resorting to threats and cajolery in an attempt to seek international recognition for the puppet regimes in Phnom Penh and Kabul, thereby legalizing their acts of aggression. If they should succeed, world peace will be seriously endangered.

More and more countries and people in the world have come

to see the true hegemonist features of the Soviet Union and the regional hegemonist features of Viet Nam. They denounce these acts of aggression, support the just struggles of the Afghan and Kampuchean people and demand the withdrawal of Soviet and Vietnamese troops from both countries.

The current situation of the Afghan and Kampuchean people's struggles against the in-

vaders is excellent. The armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea have held their ground and have steadily gained in strength. Confronted by the tenacious struggle of the Afghan resistance fighters, the invaders are bogged down in a quagmire. Unless the aggressor troops are completely withdrawn, no political settlement will be acceptable to the Afghan and Kampuchean people.

— *International Editor Mu Youlin*

### On the Question of Disturbances Created By Small Numbers of People

**Are the workers and students in China creating disturbances? How does the Chinese Government deal with them?**

There have been some cases of disturbance by workers and students. These occurred for a variety of reasons. Some were created by young people who, having settled in the border regions for some years, wanted to return to the big cities. Some stemmed from the dissatisfaction of the workers with such questions as wage increase, bonus and housing. Students having arguments over the election of people's deputies or unhappy with the quality of food they got at the school canteens was another cause. And in some cases the disturbance was because the students wanted to move their schools back to the big cities or to have their school buildings, which were occupied by other units during the "cultural revolution," returned to them.

China is a big country with a population of 1,000 million and those who created disturbances

only make up a very small proportion. Chairman Mao said in 1957: "In a large country like ours, there is nothing to get alarmed about if small numbers of people create disturbances; on the contrary, such disturbances will help us get rid of bureaucracy." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. V.) The Constitution of the People's Republic of China stipulates that the people enjoy the freedom of procession and demonstration and the freedom to strike. As the people sometimes have differing views and demands and the leading cadres have shortcomings and mistakes of one kind or another, it is natural that there are some disturbances when these contradictions are not well handled. Such things also happen quite often in other countries. Foreign media often exaggerate when they report these disturbances, and allege that the political situation in China is not stable. This is pure nonsense.

# LETTERS

## Chairman Mao's Contributions And Mistakes

I am very interested in the problem of the position of the late Chairman Mao Zedong in China. His position has been declining, but I still believe that criticizing Chairman Mao should absolutely not be permitted. Even though Chairman Mao committed serious mistakes in the 10 years of the "cultural revolution," China owes its present achievements to him.

Since I think the name of Mao Zedong has come to symbolize China, I am not satisfied with the actions of the present Party Central Committee of China.

**Nobuyuki Yoshihara**  
Okayama, Japan

*Chairman Mao Zedong made great contributions to the Chinese people. His contributions are primary and his mistakes secondary, and Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle. We will always adhere to it. In the near future our journal will carry an article about Mao Zedong Thought. We shall welcome your comments. — Ed.*

## Kampuchea

The "Notes From the Editors" in issue No. 2, 1981 which discussed the Kampuchean issue is noteworthy. The article talked openly for the first time about the "serious mistakes" of Pol Pot and China did not approve of his policies. I think *Beijing Review* should have criticized the policies of Pol Pot earlier

The Chinese Government does not approve of disturbances. But when they do take place, they are dealt with in earnest. First of all, a concrete analysis of the causes is made, and each case is decided on its merits. Reasonable demands on the part of the people are met immediately when conditions permit, and as for those demands which are reasonable but cannot be met for the

(before the Vietnamese invasion of the country). In the past, I was unsure whether the reports about Kampuchea in the bourgeois press were true or not. But regardless, I felt it was wrong to criticize the Pol Pot government openly when the country was confronted with the threat of Viet Nam. Now I realize I was wrong. Articles to criticize the mistakes of Pol Pot and to expose the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea all help further clarify the situation.

**Heinz-Gunter Foerster**  
Bielefeld, W. Germany

## Multinationals

I would like to comment on your article about multinational corporations in the February 16th issue (No. 7).

If building factories, training the unskilled, providing sound management and technical expertise are exploitive, then multinational corporations exploit.

If size alone is the definition of monopoly, then they are monopolies.

If the power of the state is used to nationalize an industry, confiscate factories, tools and technical information, what is it called?

What is it called when state bureaucrats then mismanage the enterprises so they produce shoddy and expensive goods that can't be sold? Who profits then? Nobody. Who is really being exploited? Everybody. The corporation is deprived of just compensation for its property, the workers are deprived of jobs in a stable enterprise and the consumers are deprived of a choice of well-made goods at competitive prices.

**Erich Kern**  
Irvine, California, U.S.A.

time being, favourable conditions will be created to achieve a satisfactory solution. With regard to unreasonable demands, the method of explanation and patient persuasion is adopted. As for disturbances resulting from the leading cadres' bureaucratic style of work, seeking of privileges or suppression of the masses, the higher authorities will take appropriate measures to solve

## Morals

The morals of the people should be encouraged, so that a happy family life can be protected and children will have a healthy moral and disciplined outlook on life.

Things that are detrimental to health, like smoking, drugs and heavy drinking should be discouraged. You can see the problems facing Western civilization — drugs, crime, poverty, corruption, racism, homosexuality, the breaking up of families, school dropouts, unemployment.

These conditions can be avoided if the interests of the poor people are always put first and not the making of money. When the making of money becomes the main objective of the society and not the welfare of the people, you have started on the wrong road.

**Clifton Amin Muhammao**  
Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.

## Humour in China

"Humour in China" seems to me a little too serious and has an educational quality more prominent than being humorous

**Joe Harper**  
Altona, Australia

The column "Humour in China" is of educational value. But I think its sense of humour is not illustrated clearly. As I speak a Latin language, I understand your sense of humour differently.

**Luisa Teresa**  
Bogota, Colombia

*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.*

them, such as criticizing or punishing the leading cadres concerned as the case may require. It is possible, of course, that among those who create disturbances there are anti-socialist elements who engage in activities that violate the Constitution and the law. These people will be punished according to law.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

## POLITICAL

**Socialist Decorum**

The Ministry of Education has decided that, beginning from autumn this year, a subject on ideology and conduct be taught in all the grades of the primary schools. The aim is to bring up a new, well-educated generation with good morality. This decision is part of a nationwide effort to foster socialist decorum among the people.

This movement, with the five "stresses" and four "points of beauty" (see box) as its main contents, was jointly sponsored last February by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Chinese Communist Youth League, the All-China Women's Federation and six other mass organizations. Its aim is to educate and encourage the people to foster good ideology and morality, to love the motherland and the collective, to uphold the Party's leadership and the socialist system, to carry forward the spirit of mutual help and co-operation, to work and study hard, and to be

honest and useful to the people. This is an important, long-term task for the country.

The Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and three ministries under the State Council later jointly issued a circular calling on the whole nation to support this movement.

The circular pointed out that the movement is of significance to improving the relationship among the people, reviving traditional moral standards destroyed in the 10 chaotic years of the "cultural revolution" (1966-76), and promoting the healthy development of the younger generation.

The press has recently given publicity to reports showing the lofty moral character of the people. These include saving state property from raging flames, rescuing children who have fallen into the rivers or lakes, and catching hoodlums who have committed robberies. In suburban Tianjin a 13-year-old peasant boy caught a wild swan and walked for about 10 kilometres to give it to the Tianjin Zoo.

**Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty**

The five stresses are: stress on decorum, manners, hygiene, discipline and morals.

The four points of beauty are: beautification of the mind, which means cultivating a fine ideology, moral character and integrity and upholding the Party's leadership and the socialist system; beautification of language, which means the use and popularization of polite language; beautification of behaviour, which means doing useful things for the people, working hard, being concerned for the others' welfare, observing discipline and safeguarding collective interests; beautification of the environment, which includes paying attention to personal hygiene and to sanitation in the houses and public places.

More and more people have come to realize that without a high level of spiritual civilization, China's socialist construction would be incomplete. China should never take the road of "materially rich but spiritually poor" as is the case with many developed capitalist countries.

## ECONOMIC

**Quarterly Production Plans Fulfilled**

Output of coal, petroleum and power in the first quarter of this year all exceeded the state plans.

Coal output was 78.27 million tons, 102,300 tons more than the planned quota, and output of crude oil and natural gas was 24.96 million tons and 3,080 million cubic metres respectively, 0.15 and 4.4 per cent higher



Members of the Communist Youth League Liu Yaohui (left) and Wang Yue rescuing a boy from the frozen Daming Lake in Jinan, Shandong Province.

than the planned figures. Electricity generated was 71,812 million kwh., 812 million kwh. more than planned. Electricity generated by hydropower stations was 1,400 million kwh. more than the plan, which amounts to saving 800,000 tons of coal.

For a long time the production of fuel and power has been a weak link in China's economy. In the current economic readjustment, stress is put on the development of energy resources. The overfulfilment of power output, particularly the output of crude oil, is therefore of major significance.

## Economizing on Petroleum

Coal is the traditional fuel in China. With the rapid development of the nation's petroleum industry in the 1960s, however, coal is gradually being replaced by petroleum. A problem today is that there is too much waste in the use of petroleum. If measures are not taken to reduce its consumption, the purpose of increasing production would be defeated.

It is estimated that for some years in China, about 25 million tons of petroleum were consumed annually by boilers throughout the country. In response to a directive from the state, the various localities and departments have set about devising means to reduce petroleum consumption. In 1979 and 1980, about 1,400 boilers were renovated and improved, with the result that 5 million tons of petroleum were saved. According to the state plan, boilers for industrial or civilian use consuming petroleum and boilers of power stations which were designed to use coal but later converted to use petroleum as fuel should, by the end of 1985, all have been reconstructed to use coal again.

Motor vehicles consume a large amount of petroleum. As there are 1.2 million trucks for civilian use in China today, a reduction in the consumption of petroleum is therefore of great significance. Technologically, the designing of China's motor vehicles is rather backward. This, coupled with poor management, explains why the waste of petroleum is widespread. A movement to economize petroleum is under way in the transport departments in various parts of the country, and the measures taken include technical innovations to reduce petroleum consumption and better arrangements in dispatching trucks to ensure full loads. In Shanghai, for instance, truck transport departments saved 8,966 tons of petroleum from May to December last year, and in north China's Tianjin, 3,000 trucks were laid off from September 1980 to last January. If each truck consumes 3.2 tons a year, it means 2,400 tons of petroleum can be saved in three months.

Measures taken by a number of large enterprises have also produced good results. The Anshan Iron and Steel Company, the largest of its kind in China, saved 34,000 tons of various kinds of refined oil last year.

## Tree Planting

Since spring set in this year, an afforestation campaign has

swept the country, and the nation's mass media have given great publicity to the importance of afforestation and forest protection.

In this afforestation campaign the youth make up an active force. Last year, the youth in 26 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions afforested 640,000 hectares of land. The Communist Youth League organizations have encouraged them to make continued efforts.

Over the last few years the Chinese Government has attached increasing importance to forestry. In February 1979, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress adopted the Forest Law of the People's Republic of China, the first of its kind in China.

Recently, the Party Central Committee and the State Council issued a decision on forest protection and development. This 25-point decision stresses the protection of existing forests, strict control on felling and the continued implementation of policies concerning forestry. It also calls for energetic efforts to develop the science, technology and education on forestry and expand the afforested areas.

Serious damage was done to the forests in the past. By the time of liberation in 1949, China had only 8.6 per cent of forest cover.

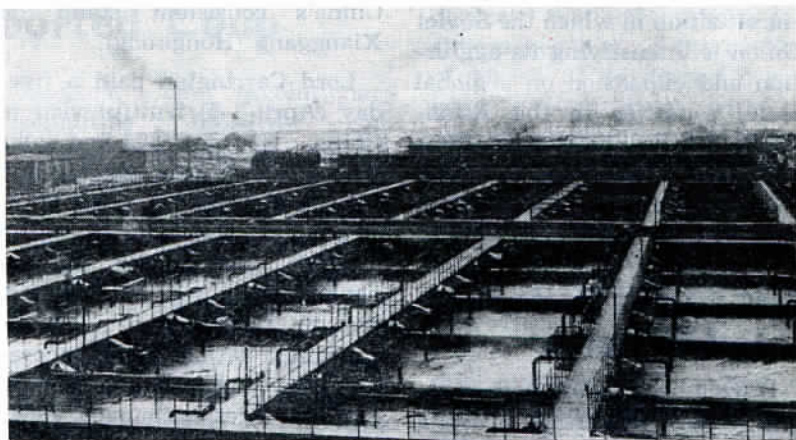


Efforts have been made since liberation, and 28 million hectares of land have been afforested, raising the total area of forests to 120 million hectares. Still, China's forest cover at present is only 12.7 per cent. In terms of per-capita forest acreage, this ranks 120th among the over 160 countries and regions in the world. What makes the situation worse is that the distribution of forests is very uneven. This backward state in forestry not only affects the country's economic construction and the supply of forest products but is also detrimental to the natural environment and ecology of the country.

An outstanding problem today is the serious destruction of forests. Trees felled outnumber those planted. Towards the end of last year the State Council issued an urgent circular banning the wanton felling of trees. The various localities have since handled cases of violation of the Forest Law and put a stop to the illegal felling of trees.

**Beijing's Plan.** Beijing will afforest 20,000 hectares of land in the scenic and tourist areas and plant trees around the farmland in three to five years. It is planned that in 15 years land covered with trees will be 40 per cent in the rural and mountainous areas and over 10 per cent on the plains.

Much progress has been made in afforestation in Beijing over the last few years. Last year, over 24,000 hectares of land in the mountainous areas surrounding Beijing were afforested, and the survival rate was 70 per cent, the highest in



The waste-water treatment plant in the Jilin Chemical Industrial Company.

the past dozen years. In the city proper and the suburbs, 22 million trees were planted.

#### Economic Briefs

- A large hydropower station with a designed capacity of 440,000 kilowatts has started operation in Zhexi in western Hunan Province of central-south China. It has a 112.5-metre-high dam and a reservoir capable of storing 1,300 million cubic metres of water. With the completion of this station, the shortage in electricity supply in Hunan Province, which lacks coal resources, will be somewhat alleviated.

- China's largest waste-water treatment plant has been completed in the main and put into operation recently. It is in the Chemical Industrial Company in northeast China's Jilin city, one of the country's leading centres of chemical industry. At present it can treat 100,000 tons of waste water a day. The amount will be doubled when the whole pro-

ject is completed. The equipment in the plant, all made in China, is up to the required standard.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS

#### Premier Zhao on Danger Of Soviet Intervention In Poland

Premier Zhao Ziyang warned that there exists the grave danger of armed Soviet intervention in Poland and said that China firmly opposes such action.

The Premier said this on April 6 during his meeting with a delegation from the Japanese newspaper *Chunichi Shimbun* led by Miichiro Kato.

Premier Zhao noted that the Polish people are asking their government to make changes in its current policies. He said that there must be reasons for this. "Poland's domestic problems

must be solved by the Polish people themselves," he stressed.

He added that confronted by the situation in which the Soviet Union is intensifying its aggression and expansion on a global scale, countries in the Asian-Pacific region, the United States and Western European countries should unite in a joint effort to contain the Soviet hegemonists.

## **Deng Xiaoping Meets Lord Carrington**

During his meeting with visiting British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Lord Carrington and his party on April 3, Deng Xiaoping, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, said that Afghanistan and Kampuchea should be regarded as the front-line in the fight against expansionism and aggression. He pointed out that the Afghan and Kampuchean issues should not be overshadowed by the problems of Poland, the Middle East and the Iran-Iraq war, and that people all over the world need to give active support to the resistance forces in those two countries.

Brezhnev talked a lot about detente at the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Deng added. But these are only words, and there isn't any change in the Soviet global strategy. He pointed out that China and Britain share similar views on many international issues and that it is useful for leaders of the two countries to exchange views in the present-day eventful world.

Deng Xiaoping also explained the economic readjustment now being carried out in China. He said that this is for the purpose of better advances. He expressed optimism on the development of trade relations and

economic co-operation between the two countries.

Deng Xiaoping reiterated China's consistent stand on Xianggang (Hongkong).

Lord Carrington paid a five-day (April 1-5) fruitful visit to China. His meetings and talks with Premier Zhao Ziyang and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua have deepened mutual understanding and expanded their common ground, thereby further improving the amicable relations and co-operation between China and Britain. The two sides exchanged views on the international situation and had similar or identical views on a number of major questions.

## **Delegation of Venezuelan Christian Socialist Party**

A delegation of the Christian Socialist Party of Venezuela, led by its leader Rafael Caldera, paid a 10-day (April 3-12) visit to China.

China and Venezuela are both third world countries. They share common views on a number of important international issues. Both countries hold the same views on safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, developing the economy, defending the political and economic rights and interests of the third world countries, opposing hegemonists' aggression and expansion and defending world peace.

China appreciates Venezuela's stand on developing economic co-operation among Latin American countries and the establishment of a fair and new international economic order. Following the Venezuelan Foreign Minister's visit to China last February, the visit by Rafael Caldera marks a new development in the friendly

relations between the two countries as well as between the Chinese Communist Party and the Venezuelan Christian Socialist Party.

During his stay in Beijing, Rafael Caldera met with Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian. He held talks with Li Xiannian. The two leaders recounted their Parties' development as well as their countries' domestic and foreign policies and political and economic situations. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the development of friendly relations between the two countries and the two Parties and they wished that these relations would be developed further.

Rafael Caldera was happy to note that China has developed good relations with Latin American countries. He said that China's participation in multilateral international activities is conducive to the balance of world forces and world dialogues and helps build stable world peace. He said that Venezuela and China can co-operate in many international affairs and in bilateral economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields.

**Situation in Latin America.** During the talks, Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian condemned the Soviet Union for supporting Cuba's aggression and intervention in Latin America and Africa. He said that the situation in Central America and the Caribbean region is very turbulent, particularly in El Salvador. This, he said, is the result of intensified social contradictions and superpower interference. He reiterated China's stand that the affairs of all countries should be settled by their own people and that meddling or interference by the superpowers should be resolutely opposed.



## Thailand's Aborted Coup

**T**HE coup staged in Thailand by a small group of officers who called themselves the "revolutionary committee" was crushed in a little over 50 hours. The Thai Government headed by Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda swiftly stabilized the situation and restored Bangkok, which had been in the hands of the "revolutionary committee," to normal. Nothing like this has happened in recent years. It clearly shows how unpopular were those trouble-makers wanting to seize power.

Thailand, the "frontline country" in Southeast Asia, faces some 200,000 hostile, Soviet-supported Vietnamese aggressor troops inside Kampuchea on its eastern borders. Vietnamese troops have crossed into Thai territory on more than one occasion already, killing and wounding Thai soldiers and civilians. In these circumstances the Thai people have demanded peace and stability inside the country to safeguard their national security and national independence. The high degree of patriotism manifested by people of all strata in Thailand was fully demonstrated in the course of smashing the coup and it expressed itself as a very powerful force.

**The Coup.** At 2 a.m. on April 1, after careful planning, the "revolutionary committee" dispatched infantry, gendarmerie, guards, cavalry and artillery regiments to occupy supreme headquarters, government offices and the state radio. They gave no thought to national security and even pulled out troops from the eastern front to

Bangkok. The "revolutionary committee" broadcast continuously throughout the day over Radio Thailand six decrees, obviously prepared beforehand, announcing the abolition of the constitution, the dissolution of parliament and the imposition of military rule. For a while, the "revolutionary committee" was quite arrogant. Manoon, secretary-general of the "revolutionary committee", and commander of the 4th tank regiment, publicly stated, "We have done our work."

**Counter-Coup Struggle.** In the first hours of the coup, Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda met the King in his palace and then flew from Bangkok to Korat in the northeast where 2nd Army Headquarters were to organize forces to put down the coup. He first announced the setting up of a "national security command centre" under his leadership and used the local radio to tell the public the truth about the coup by the "revolutionary committee." He

disclosed that some officers had approached him on the evening of March 31 to discuss organizing a coup d'etat with the aim of using dictatorial means "to solve the problem of social corruption and to relieve the people of hardships." He said he had made known his disagreement to such an action. The National Security Command Centre initiated a publicity campaign, calling on armymen and people to unite to defend the peace and security of the nation.

On the afternoon of the same day, King Bhumibol Adulyadej and his family left for Korat. That same day, a statement in the King's name, broadcast over Radio Aranya Prathet, pointed out that, with Thailand threatened from the outside, any domestic confrontation would be harmful, and it called on the people to strengthen their unity. In Thailand, the King is regarded as the symbol of the nation, and the royal statement played no small role in closing the people's ranks and isolating the rebels.



Bangkok citizens surrounded a coup tank and shouted: "Get back to your barracks!"

To safeguard national solidarity, civilian and military leaders, including the commanders of the Second, Third and Fourth Armies which control the northeast, the north and the south of the country, went to report to the National Security Command Centre in Korat. Navy and air force commanders and top government leaders, too, made their way to Korat. Some 30,000 people from northeast and central Thailand gathered before the City Hall in Korat to demonstrate their support for the government and censure the rebels. It soon became clear who had the upper hand, both militarily and politically.

**Crisis Settled Peacefully.** Prime Minister Prem's insistence on solving the crisis through peaceful means avoided bloodshed. Over the radio, he called on the "revolutionary committee" to put down its weapons and hold peace talks. He reiterated time and again that members of the military who had been lured to join the coup would be shown clemency and pardoned after they returned to their barracks. He assured those who had unwittingly taken part in the coup under order that they would be treated fairly and he told them that they had nothing to fear. This policy moved one of the coup leaders, Director-General of Police Montchai Phankongchuen, and his men to break with the "revolutionary committee" and leave Bangkok for Korat. Many rebel units withdrew from Bangkok of their own accord. The *Bangkok Post* reported that even the deputy head of the "revolutionary committee" and Commander of the First Army Vasin Issarangkun had flown to Korat to seek the King's pardon before government troops recovered the capital.

**Return to Normal.** When government troops under the National Security Command Centre entered Bangkok on the morning of April 3, they met no resistance. Bangkok citizens, national flags in hand, lined the streets to welcome the fully armed government troops. Citizens spontaneously surrounded rebel tanks still in the city and called on the rebels to go back quickly to their barracks. Rebel soldiers were seen leaving their positions to shake hands with government troops. Shops in the city reopened, govern-

ment offices resumed work and Bangkok was back to normal within hours.

The coup leaders were finally isolated. Sant Chitpatima, who led the coup, fled abroad alone. A few members of the "revolutionary committee" who refused to surrender were detained and put under "government protection."

The coup has proved that the Thai people are solidly determined to uphold their country's unity and stability.

— Dong Ping

## Hanoi Stages Elections in Kampuchea

THE Vietnamese authorities say elections in Kampuchea will be over "before the end of June." This is not the first time Hanoi has announced "elections" for Kampuchea. The election date has been moved back time and again for reasons not stated. It probably was because the Vietnamese stage-managers faced enormous difficulties:

First, the Vietnamese have not won complete and effective control of Kampuchea and popular armed resistance is growing stronger by the day. Of-

ficials of the Heng Samrin puppet regime set up by the Vietnamese invaders are so unpopular that they live in constant fear for their lives.

Second, in spite of superior arms and numbers the Vietnamese in Kampuchea have not been able to wipe out organized armed resistance. In fact, guerrilla attacks are now more widespread and more frequent. Fighting has spread out from the mountains in the west to Fish Hook close to the border with Viet Nam. The invaders' offensives have all failed



Vote me, or else —  
Cartoon by Zhu  
Genhua

to achieve their objectives and morale in the Vietnamese ranks is sinking.

Third, Viet Nam has not been able to win international sympathy and support in its invasion of Kampuchea. In fact, Viet Nam has been roundly condemned and its puppet regime in Phnom Penh has been ostracized by neighbours and most of the world. In the United Nations and at other international gatherings, such as the Foreign Ministers' Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, the Vietnamese and their puppet have been made to feel very isolated.

Fourth, inside the puppet regime itself, loyalties are divided. The Heng Samrin regime is torn by internal strife.

All these are formidable obstacles to the staging of a Vietnamese-organized election farce.

The date for the promised election has still to be announced, yet already the proposed election is drawing criticism from neighbouring countries.

On March 25, Romulo, the Philippine Foreign Minister, speaking in his capacity as chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, said: "The ASEAN member states cannot recognize the validity of any elections which would compel the Kampuchean people to endorse candidates foisted on them by foreign forces. Under the shadow cast by the presence of 200,000 Vietnamese troops, the

Kampuchean people cannot pursue their national interests, form a government of their own choice or freely elect their leaders." The Philippine Foreign Minister was speaking for more than the people and governments of ASEAN countries. His statement can be taken as representing the view of all peace-loving people.

Hanoi will go ahead and hold elections, for it is not known for its willingness to comply with the just demands of the international community. It desperately wants to secure some legal status for its puppet in Phnom Penh and, ergo, legalize its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. The Vietnamese incursions into Thailand were also aimed at forcing Thailand into holding talks with the Heng Samrin regime, which would have meant conferring official recognition. The attempts by the Vietnamese to seat its client regime in various international meetings had this in mind, as also Hanoi's proposal for an ASEAN-Indochina regional conference. As nothing has come of these

efforts, Viet Nam is now trying a new approach to win recognition for its client state — hold an election.

If Hanoi does organize elections for its puppet regime in Phnom Penh, very few people are going to be fooled into believing that the regime in Phnom Penh is a popularly elected legitimate government.

On March 29, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea declared that it will never recognize the general elections organized by the Vietnamese authorities. The Kampuchean Government reiterated that it fully supports the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea in accordance with the resolution of the 35th U.N. General Assembly to force the Hanoi authorities to withdraw all the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea so as to enable the Kampuchean people to decide their own destiny by themselves through direct and free general elections by secret ballot under the supervision of the United Nations.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding

### In Bangladesh

## Economic Developments

**M**ARCH 26 marked the 10th birthday of Bangladesh. On national day's eve, President Ziaur Rahman, addressing the nation over the radio and television, called upon the people to work harder to build up their country. Along with political freedom and sovereignty, he said, "We will have to ensure economic self-sufficiency and prosperity to attain the fruits of independence for the people."

### Agriculture

Bangladesh is one of the world's major rice-growing countries. Some 80 per cent of its total cultivated land is paddy, but annual outputs fluctuate around the 12.6-million-ton mark. About 2 million tons of grain has to be imported each year to meet domestic demand.

The government has taken steps to improve grain produc-

**CORRECTIONS:** In issue 14, p. 10, two lines in the right column should read "visiting Teheran and Baghdad, that both Iran..."

The caption on page 5 of issue No. 14 should read: Kang Keqing, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee in Defence of Children, with Young Pioneers of the capital.



Building a canal in Bangladesh.

tion through the building of water conservancy works, training agro-technicians and introducing better seed. Last year, tens of thousands of people were engaged in improving the irrigation network. Bangladesh has built 2,975 miles of dykes, 1,654 miles of irrigation conduits and 1,280 miles of drainage channels, in addition to 1,460 water conservancy projects, 835 dams and eight pump stations.

It is estimated that the country today has 4,772,000 acres drained and irrigated and a further 524,000 acres with access to irrigation.

The Bangladesh Government pays attention to training agro-technicians. It has established two agricultural colleges and an agricultural research centre, the largest in Bangladesh, 35 kilometres from Dacca, the capital. Some 11 new varieties of paddy rice have been bred by the Bangladesh Paddy-Rice Institute. High-yielding paddy is now grown on 18 per cent of the country's rice-fields and accounts for 31 per cent of the national rice output.

Grain output in Bangladesh has gone up enormously as a

result. Wheat output was 1.2 million tons in 1979 and rice in 1980 was 600,000 tons higher than in 1979.

The larger harvests allowed the government to cut back grain imports and put aside grain for emergencies as well as helping to stabilize grain prices in the domestic market.

## Industry

Priority is given to developing agriculture, but attention is also given to developing the country's industry. Bangladesh's industrial sector is relatively weak and industrial out-

---

Bangladesh is on a plain, made up of the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta. Total area 143,998 sq. km., climate dominated by seasonally reversing monsoons. Population, 86,600,000, largely followers of Islam. Agriculture the most important sector of its economy, employing about 85 per cent of its working population. Jute the main cash crop.

---

put value makes up a very small part of the gross national product. In fiscal 1979-80, industrial output value made up 8.7 per cent. Industry suffers because of management problems and machines and equipment working under capacity.

Steps have been taken to speed up industrial development. First, state enterprises are being made to play a bigger role in production through improving management, tapping the latent power of the enterprises and carrying out technical innovations. This has made many state enterprises show profit instead of losing money. Second, private enterprises are given encouragement. The government has de-nationalized some state enterprises, returning or selling some to the capitalists. Private investments are being encouraged with the passing of an "investment and protection law" by parliament. All these have encouraged the private enterprises to expand gradually. Third, foreign investments are being accepted and equipment and technology imported from abroad according to need. Fourth, the establishment and expansion of small and medium enterprises are being actively promoted and labour-intensive industries and cottage industries are being encouraged to create more employment.

Industrial production is developing step by step. According to the annual report of the Bangladesh Bank, the gross national product in fiscal 1979-80 increased by 4.82 per cent compared to the year before and industrial output value went up by 4.5 per cent.

— Zhong Tai

## Rumours From Soviet Russia

**R**ECENTLY, the Soviet news agency TASS and the Soviet press have thrown all scruples aside to mount a strident smear campaign against China's foreign policy. Here are the facts:

— In the past, Moscow confined itself to merely alleging that China and South Africa had held "secret talks" and had established "economic and trade ties." Moscow this time round has charged that China is supplying "China-made weapons" in support of South Africa's military provocations against neighbouring states.

— In the alleged relations between China and Israel, Moscow has progressed from the fabricated "trade co-operation" to "some kind of alliance" and now the present tale about "an agreement signed on co-operation in armaments and nuclear research."

— In the alleged relations between China and south Korea, Moscow is no longer satisfied with concocting charges of "trade co-operation." The Soviet paper *Izvestia* on March 24 ran an article asserting that China's trade with south Korea "could be as high as 1,000 million U.S. dollars this year" and that China is planning to increase its export of raw materials to south Korea in exchange for the latter's "technological assistance."

— In the alleged Chinese bases and troops in Pakistan, Moscow was content in the past with the allegations about Chinese participation in Pakistan military exercises and Chinese attempts

"to turn Karachi into a permanent naval base." Now, it charges that China has built as many as 12 air bases in Pakistan and is making Pakistan its "nuclear partner," with a Chinese special force guarding a nuclear centre in Pakistan where atomic weapons are being manufactured.

### Hidden Intentions

Apparently, the Soviet rumourmongers are very familiar with the Nazi doctrine that the more lies are repeated and the more outrageous they are, they get to be believed.

---

Moscow has been spreading a lot of lies about China recently in an attempt to cover Soviet aggressive actions and to undermine third world unity.

---

Why are the gentlemen in the Kremlin working so hard at this game? What are their intentions?

As everyone knows, the line extending from southern Africa through the Middle East and south Asia to the Far East is a strategic region feeling the Soviet thrust south, where Moscow has carried out subversion, assassination, invasion by mercenary troops, and outright military occupation. In southern Africa, the Soviets are overtly and covertly in contact with the racist South African regime even as they infiltrate the national liberation movements to cultivate their own influence in

the region. They are exploiting disputes among Arab countries to sow discord in the Middle East even as they collude with Israel in obstructing the Arab people from recovering their lost territories and the Palestinian people from winning back their legitimate national rights.

While passing itself off as a "resolute supporter" of the cause of Korea's reunification, Moscow has been flirting with the south Korean regime, inviting the latter's "ministers," economic delegations and scholars to Moscow as honoured guests, and abetting in the plot to create "two Koreas." In south Asia, it refuses to with-

draw its occupation troops from Afghanistan and instead, has massed huge forces along Afghanistan's borders with Pakistan and Iran. It has established a string of naval and air bases from the Red Sea to Cam Ranh Bay, and stationed a squadron of 30-odd warships in the Indian Ocean. These aggressive and expansionist activities have been denounced by China and other countries. This infuriates the Kremlin, which is why it has unleashed a smear campaign against China involving this sensitive region. Moscow's aim is to discredit China and estrange the third world countries so as to pave the way for its southward thrust and eastward expansion.

## China's Consistent Stand

China has always supported the peoples of southern Africa in their just struggle against the racist South African regime and for national liberation. China refuses to have contacts of any kind with the South African authorities and supports the Arab countries' struggle to recover their lost territories and the Palestinian people's struggle to recover their legitimate rights. China is firmly opposed to Israel's policy of aggression and expansion and refuses to have anything to do with the Israeli government. China supports the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their

fatherland and firmly opposes the "two Koreas" scheme. It refuses to have any trade relations with south Korea. China, strictly abiding by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, promotes friendly relations with other countries of the world. It has not a single military base or a single soldier on foreign territory. This open and above-board stand of China's sharply contrasts with that of the Soviet Union. Moscow's fabrications, far from sullying China's reputation, only serve to discredit the Kremlin itself.

— *Commentary by Xinhua correspondent*

## Will the U.S. Respect Arab Realities?

### Report From Cairo

A CHANGE has been detected in U.S. Middle East policy after Reagan became president, perhaps because Washington has seen the gravity of the threat posed by the Soviet southward thrust into the Gulf to cut off the West's oil supply. The change is seen in increased military aid to some of the Middle East countries and the selling of sophisticated military equipment to them, as well as in U.S. declarations about reinforcing its military presence in the Gulf and the Middle East.

Egypt and Saudi Arabia welcome the U.S. hard line towards Soviet expansion and are for more military aid and arms supplied them. However, the Gulf states are against any foreign military bases in the area. They hold that the preservation of Gulf security is the duty of the

littoral states of that area, and they call for the strengthening of national defence capabilities and greater unity. Saudi Crown Prince Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz pointed out that "the region is threatened by the Soviet Union and Israel," but "the Gulf states do not need anyone to participate in the defence of the region since the Gulf states are capable of defending themselves if they can obtain the necessary arms."

Kuwaiti Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Shaikh Sabah is opposed to the establishment of a U.S. rapid deployment force in the Gulf area. "The presence of such a force in the area will lead to serious tension and unrest due to counter-moves by the Soviet Union," he said. President of the United Arab Emirates, Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahayyan, told visiting former U.S. President Gerald Ford, "The United Arab Emirates will

never consider the question of allowing U.S. bases on its soil."

While giving the United States access to their military facilities to counter Soviet expansion in the Gulf and the Middle East, Egypt, Oman and Somalia have refused U.S. requests for establishing permanent military bases on their territories.

The Arab world is watching with concern what policy the U.S. Government will pursue towards the Palestinian problem while strengthening its military measures in the region. A number of Arab countries have expressed the hope that the new U.S. administration "will not be a prisoner of past policy and actions." They are looking forward to seeing a "new approach" and a "new spirit" emanating from Washington.

On Middle East peace talks, Washington has stated so far that it will continue its commitments to the process of the Camp David accords.

But, at the same time, it still sticks to its pro-Israel policy and refuses to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization and to negotiate with it.

Arab opinion wonders if the priority given by the U.S. administration to meeting the Soviet expansion in the Middle East is not an attempt to put off or to evade a settlement of the Palestinian problem. The Arab countries stress that the Middle East problem hinges on the Palestinian issue. Unresolved, it engenders turbulence and unrest in the area and provides the Soviet Union with opportunities for penetration and expansion. The Palestinian issue will decide whether the U.S. Government can improve its relations with the Arab world.

Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali has recently stressed: "The solution of the Palestinian issue will be a basic element for ending the Soviet presence in the region."

The Arab countries hope that countries in Western Europe will do something to persuade

the United States to alter its policy on the Palestinian issue.

What the U.S. administration's re-examination of its Middle East policy will produce in the next few months will show to what extent it respects the realities of the Arab world.

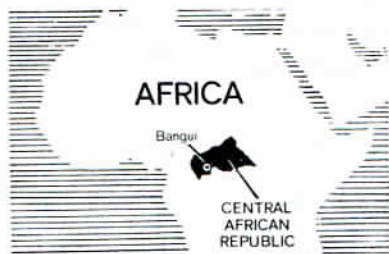
— *Xinhua Correspondent*  
*Wan Guang*

### Central African Republic

## Transition to Democracy

**P**RESIDENT David Dacko captured just over 50 per cent of the votes to win the March 15 presidential elections of the Central African Republic (C.A.R.). Four other candidates ran against Dacko for the presidency in accordance with the new constitution adopted by referendum in February, which provides for a multi-party system. National Assembly elections are to be held later this year. This is a refreshing development in the political life of a country long dominated by authoritarian rule.

**Empire to Republic.** The C.A.R. gained its independence from France in 1960 and David Dacko was named its first President. Five years later, a military coup put Colonel Jean-Bedel Bokassa, the army chief of staff, in power. In December 1976, Bokassa scrapped the republic and proclaimed himself emperor of a Central African Empire. Anti-government demonstrations and unrest in early 1979 resulted in harsh repression and the mass murder by government troops of some 100 children in April that year. This atrocity aroused furious condemnation at home and abroad and led to the formation of several opposition move-



ments. With French support, ex-President David Dacko staged a coup d'etat in September 1979, deposed Bokassa and proclaimed the country once again a republic and himself as its acting president.

People rejoiced at the downfall of the Bokassa regime, but at the same time criticized the new government for allowing certain ministers of the imperial regime, such as Henri Maidou, to remain in office. Workers struck and students boycotted classes. They called for removing and punishing officials guilty of corruption and other crimes. Opposition parties like the People's Liberation Movement, led by Ange Patasse, accused Dacko's new Government of Public Salvation of being autocratic and called for free elections and the immediate withdrawal of French troops.

**Policy Changes.** Popular demand led the government to

arrest the most notorious of the former regime's senior officers.

The government refused to ask the French troops to leave on the grounds that they help to prevent infiltration by the Soviet Union and its agents. In January 1980, the C.A.R. severed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and Libya and repealed all co-operation agreements with them, charging that Moscow had sent large quantities of arms to Bokassa before he fell in 1979. The C.A.R. has also strengthened relations with neighbouring Cameroon and Zaire, and is trying to obtain more aid from France.

An economic recovery plan has recently been introduced with French financial support, in which government expenditures will be sharply cut back and the economic structure reformed to open credit lines and encourage foreign investments in the country. Diamond, coffee and cotton production has begun to rise but the economy still faces many difficulties.

**Uncertain Peace.** After the recent election returns were announced, several thousand people took to the streets in the capital of Bangui to protest the outcome. Most of the demonstrators were reportedly supporters of Dacko's biggest rival, Ange Patasse, who took 38 per cent of the votes. The President declared a state of siege after at least two were killed and over 100 injured in the demonstrations. Although peace has been restored, an atmosphere of uncertainty hangs over the future of the country's democratic process.

— *Dan Lin*

# On the Historical Experience of the Paris Commune

by Li Yuanming



**The historical experience of the Paris Commune consists of many aspects. It is wrong to lay emphasis on any one of them while overlooking the others. Marx's praise of the Paris Commune, an imperfect, incomplete dictatorship of the proletariat, must be understood in the proper light. That the Paris Commune used too little violence was not the main reason for its ultimate failure.**

ON March 18, 1871, the workers of Paris, having overthrown the bourgeois Thiers government, established the first proletarian regime in history. In the 72 days of the short-lived Paris Commune, the working people there, as makers of history, performed a feat that shocked the world and left us a rich historical experience. The Chinese people cherish profound revolutionary feelings for the Paris Commune; whether in their democratic revolutionary struggles or in the course of their socialist revolution and construction, they have always looked on it as a glorious precedent inspiring them onward. Engels once said, "... in every field of science, in natural as in historical science, one must proceed from the given facts." In commemorating the 110th anniversary of the Paris Commune, the author of this article wishes to delve into some problems concerning the historical experience of the Paris Commune by proceeding from the given facts, and the purpose of his exploration is to comprehend this historical experience in its true light.

## **What Are the Principles of the Paris Commune?**

Karl Marx in 1852 brought forward the theory that the proletarian revolution must

destroy the old state machine. In 1871, when he was summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, he further put forward the principle of smashing the old state machine and exercising proletarian dictatorship. There is not the slightest doubt that this extremely significant principle is an important part of the Marxist theory of the state. It is the main principle of the Paris Commune and a basic historical experience, the basic experience that was later cited by Marx and Engels as the only point they wanted to make in revising the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Marx summed up the various aspects of the historical experience of the Paris Commune in his book *The Civil War in France*. Apart from the principle of destroying the old state machine, there were, among others, the principle of internationalism, the principle of the people as masters of their own house, the principle of a democratic republican political system, the principle of the Commune as a working organ in charge of both administration and legislation, the principle of election of responsible Commune personnel at various levels, public supervision over their work and their recall at any time, and the principle that the salary of a state functionary is to be the same as the wage paid to a skilled worker.

We have learnt by experience that the most significant principle before the proletariat has seized power is the principle of destroying the old state machine. But things are different after the seizure of power, as by then obviously the other principles of the Commune will assume much greater significance. This was made clear

The author is an associate researcher of the Institute of Theoretical Studies of the Party School under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.



by Engels in his introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France* when it was published in book form in 1891. "From the very outset," observed Engels, "the Commune was compelled to recognize that the working class, once come to power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment."

In practice, when the dictatorship of the proletariat has been firmly established, if we emphasize only the principle of destroying the old state machine with revolutionary violence and exercising the proletarian dictatorship, while overlooking the other principles, it will not help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### ***Is the Paris Commune the Model of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?***

The nature of the Commune was given by Engels in the following passage he wrote: "Of late, the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." The Paris Commune was the first great practical attempt of the proletariat to topple bourgeois rule and set up a proletarian dictatorship. The emergence and existence of the Paris Commune as a proletarian state power of a new type portended the beginning of the end of the old capitalist world and heralded the start of the rise of a new world. Both the victorious Russian October Socialist Revolution of 1917 and the victorious Chinese revolution of 1949 were continuations of the cause of the Paris Commune, continuations of the proletarian revolution. But is it proper, therefore, to conclude that the Paris Commune was the model of the proletarian dictatorship?

No, it is not; the Paris Commune was no more than an imperfect, incomplete dictatorship of the proletariat, a proletarian dictatorship "in embryo." This is determined by the following historical facts:

April 13, 1981

(1) What played the guiding role in the revolutionary course of the Commune was Blanquism, Proudhonism, and even neo-Jacobinism and Bakuninism, not scientific socialism represented by Marx and Engels. The influence of Marx's thinking was rather limited at that time and it played a part only in certain individual measures. Although the Blanquists and Proudhonists were staunch revolutionary fighters, they had not come to sense the need of forming a unified political party. It is true the Commune, as a proletarian political power, did in fact adopt quite a few measures beneficial to the working class, but its guiding thought in general was not well-defined.

(2) As was made clear by Marx, "The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule." But the fact of the matter is that the Commune failed to make full use of its governmental powers to expropriate the ex-



Democratic election.

propriators, nor did the idea ever occur to it to do so; it did not touch the main financial levers of the old state machine such as the banks, big enterprises and railway companies, to say nothing of seizing them. Accordingly, the new political power was not built on a solid economic base.

(3) True, the Paris Commune had proclaimed itself the sole political power in Paris and assumed the right to make laws. But it took no firm steps to seize hold of the entire state power, as the Russian October Rev-

olution did at a later date. It issued no immediate orders to take over the government buildings and arrest the leading personnel of the Thiers government, nor did it plan to wipe out the reactionary armed forces under him, but instead, allowed them to freely leave the central district of Paris and withdraw to Versailles. As Lenin saw it, the Commune did not immediately march on to Versailles because it lacked sufficient insight and determination to smash the bureaucratic, military state machine and the bourgeois state power, and also because it lacked sufficient insight and determination to end the existence of dual power so that it could develop from a local regime into a national regime.

These limitations show that the Paris Commune, as a dictatorship of the proletariat, was still in an immature stage, indicating that the consciousness of the proletariat at that time had not yet reached full maturity. We cannot expect a political power of the proletariat of 110 years ago to advance beyond the contemporary historical conditions, nor should we idealize the Paris Commune — an imperfect, incomplete proletarian dictatorship, look on it as the model of proletarian dictatorship and mechanically take over some of its particular measures for our own use. What we should do is to study the historical experience of the workers of Paris, draw lessons from their experience, take over and carry forward their cause and further enrich the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### **Understanding Marx's Praise of the Paris Workers' Historical Initiative**

Marx spoke highly of the Paris Commune, warmly praising the Parisian proletariat in these words: "What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!" These words show that he set great store by the historical initiative of the masses.

Marx whose attitude was one of having great faith in the masses and lending warm support to a revolutionary mass movement is always an example for us to follow. But is it proper to conclude that because Marx praised the Paris workers' historical initiative, we should adopt the attitude of supporting any mass movement, regardless of its nature, tendency and outcome, and that we must under no circumstances "shake



Decrees promulgated.

our finger" at it, for if we do, it means we are "Right opportunists," "sham Marxists," with no faith in the masses? We think such a conclusion would be one-sided and a misunderstanding of Marx's correct attitude.

This is because, in the first place, neither Marx nor Engels approached mass movements in a sweeping manner. For example, both assumed the clear-cut stand of disavowing the pan-Slav "mass movement" which was so widespread in the mid-19th century, dismissing it as a reactionary nationalist movement. Moreover, at the onset of the Boulanger movement which exerted quite a big influence in France in the late 1880s, Engels did not hesitate to point out that despite its many followers, the movement was not a genuine mass movement, but, a confused, philistine movement, chauvinistic in character.

In the second place, Marx's warm praise for the Paris workers' initiative did not prevent him from making a cool-headed analysis of the Paris Commune movement and "shaking his finger" at it.

As early as September 9, 1870, he enjoined the workers of Paris: "... any attempt at upsetting the new government in the present crisis, when the enemy [the Prussian troops] is almost knocking at the doors of Paris, would be a desperate folly." This was because the proletariat was not strong enough. In March 1871, when the workers staged the uprising, although signs that it might be brutally suppressed had been apparent all along, Marx hailed the revolution of the Paris Commune joyfully, and, in the meantime, remained unchanged in his prediction

that it might end in failure. In his letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht dated April 6, he wrote: "It seems the Parisians are succumbing."

Marx did not shower unqualified praises on the movement in order to lend his support. As Lenin pointed out: Marx did not conceal "from the proletariat a single mistake of the Commune."

Thirdly, under socialism likewise, there are all sorts of mass movements differing in nature; therefore, similarly, we must make specific analyses of them. Full support must of course be given to mass movements that as a whole promote the development of social history and the productive forces. We must, at the same time, make a sober-minded analysis of certain drawbacks and abuses in these movements and point them out warm-heartedly so that the movements may develop healthily along the right course. As to mass movements that impede the development of social history and the productive forces, no matter how they are launched, spontaneously or from above, we must not simply "shake our finger" at them but must take a clear-cut stand against them, just as Marx did against the pan-Slav movement and Engels against the Boulanger movement. This, and this alone, is the Marxist attitude.

### ***Was the Use of Too Little Violence by the Paris Commune the Main Cause of Its Defeat?***

The Paris Commune came to grief in a bloody suppression on May 28, 1871. To quote Lenin, "Two conditions, at least, are necessary for a victorious social revolution—highly developed productive forces and a proletariat adequately prepared for it. But in 1871 both of these conditions were lacking." At that time, capitalism in Europe had just begun its development towards imperialism and the capitalist world remained comparatively stable. The French revolution received no powerful support from other European countries where no revolutionary situation was in sight. At that time, the French bourgeoisie, in contrast, was in a position to enter into a threatening, however temporary, alliance with the German bourgeoisie, its enemy only yesterday. The ranks of the French proletariat were composed mainly of handicraft workers and they had not yet been awakened to the point of accepting Marxist theory and organizing a united Marxist political

party, nor were they prepared, mentally or organizationally, to mount fierce battles. Besides, due to the siege of Paris by the German and Versailles troops, the Commune movement was not in a position to bring about a nationwide revolutionary movement and form a worker-peasant alliance. The Commune was isolated in its struggle and this hastened its defeat.

Of course, the Paris Commune itself did make serious mistakes, including the mistake of not using enough violence in dealing with the enemy. For instance, it did not carry out a hot pursuit in the wake of its victory to storm the counter-revolutionary hideout in Versailles. It did not make all its work serve a military struggle aimed at defeating Versailles' counter-revolutionary armed strength, but, instead, assumed a stance of passive defence which was very harmful. With power in its hands, it did not expropriate the Bank of France, thereby weakening itself and strength-



For ever an inspiration to the working people of the world.

ening the enemy. The Commune did not hit hard at counter-revolutionary activities, and failed to take necessary measures against the counter-revolutionary press of Paris, thus undermining its own position. . . . It is quite obvious that if the Commune had resolutely launched an offensive against counter-revolution in Versailles and carried out necessary suppression of counter-revolutionary activities in Paris, things would definitely have been much better. But the main cause of the defeat of the Commune lay in the fact that neither the subjective nor the objective conditions for winning final victory had ripened.

Specific analysis must also be made of the use of violence. If this means thoroughly and firmly smashing the counter-revolutionary armed forces in Versailles, if this means resolute suppression of the hostile elements who were hiding themselves in the city to instigate and organize counter-revolutionary riots, revolutionary violence must by all means be used. If this means using violence against those who merely disapproved of the Commune's policy and did not want to co-operate with it, especially the various dissenting factions inside the Commune, this would not have strengthened the Commune but weakened it. Many writings commenting on the Paris Commune blamed it for not being firm enough in carrying out the decree on "hostages," as it executed only 64 hostages on the eve of its defeat, and also for its excessive tolerance of those inside the Commune with dissenting opinions. Such blame, in fact, is not justified.

Generally speaking, holding and executing hostages are not proper means for the proletariat to adopt in its struggle against the enemy, but a kind of defensive measure forced on it under pressure from the reactionary bourgeoisie. The Paris Commune held and killed these hostages not because these people had committed crimes deserving capital punishment but for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on Versailles. The truth was that Versailles was not concerned about the hostages; on the contrary, they wanted to take advantage of the situation (once these hostages were shot to death by the Commune) to stir up stronger hatred against the Commune and carry out more brutal suppression. So it was wise of the Commune not to take extreme measures against the hostages until the last minute; this showed that the Commune had avoided falling into the enemy trap.

The Commune did not take harsh measures against those inside the Commune with dissenting opinions but adopted an attitude of tolerance. There is nothing wrong with this. In May 1871, differences between the "majority" and the "minority" of the leading members of the Commune brought on a crisis. It was a heavy blow to the Commune when the "minority" took the very erroneous, splittist step of publishing an open statement. Even so, the "majority" who had most of the power in their hands refrained from taking extreme action against the "minority." They had no wish to build up their own "authority" this way but appealed for unity

and common action against the enemy. This practice of seeking common ground and shelving minor differences averted a further split and a massacre within the Commune itself. The ensuing events bore out the fact that the "minority" Commune members remained as valiant fighters defending the Commune. As shown by the practice of the proletarian revolution in the last hundred years and more, we must not blame the Commune for its excessive tolerance of dissenting opinions, but instead, attach great significance to the manner in which it dealt with them.

*(A slightly abridged translation of an article that appeared in "Hongqi," No. 6)*

## TEAHOUSE

### A Play in Three Acts

Set in a typical, old Beijing teahouse, Lao She's drama follows the lives of the owner and his customers through three stages in modern Chinese history.

The play spans fifty years and has a cast of over sixty characters drawn from all levels of society. Brought together in Yutai Teahouse, they reflect, through the changes in their own lives, the changes that were taking place in Chinese society.

The strength and appeal of the play lie in part in Lao She's masterful recreation of the characters and language of the streets of old Beijing, but what makes it a masterpiece is Lao She's vision, his unerring choice of significant detail, and his familiarity with the old society he is describing, with its strengths, weaknesses and ironies. It is this which carries "Teahouse" beyond the borders of social criticism and makes it a complex and living work of art. Written in 1957, "Teahouse" bids an insoired, lingering farewell to old Beijing and the old society, despite their evils and ills, and extends a passionate welcome to the new society with its promise of freedom and equality for the people.

Standing as it does between old and new China, and deeply rooted in both, "Teahouse" shimmers with a fine sense of ambivalence. True to its writer, to China, and to its time, it is a masterpiece of modern theatre.

With stage photos.

Published by  
**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**  
Beijing, China

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

## Why Is China Striving to Wipe Out Its Deficit?

by Liu Guangdi

**In Western capitalist countries it is the common practice to stimulate development and fend off recession by resorting to deficits and inflation. But this is not the method employed by socialist China.**

THE Chinese Government has long stuck to the policy of maintaining a balanced budget with a surplus. This financial policy favourably affected the development of the economy and upgraded the living standards of the people. But during the last two years, relatively large deficits have been incurred. Expenditures have outstripped revenues because the scope of capital construction has for a long time exceeded the nation's strength, the rate of accumulation in the national income has been fairly high and outlay for improving the livelihood of the people has increased.

In 1979, state expenditures exceeded revenues by 17,060 million yuan. In order to offset the deficit, we used the surplus of 8,040 million yuan built up from past years and overdrew 9,020 million yuan from the bank.

The 1980 final accounts showed a deficit of 12,100 million yuan and the bank issued 7,600 million yuan in banknotes. Owing to the greater amount of currency in circulation and the failure of the supply of commodities to rise correspondingly, the annual average retail prices in 1980 went up by some 6 per cent from 1979, with the retail prices for non-staple food increasing by 13.8 per cent.

The Chinese Government has decided to strive to balance the budget and eliminate any deficit this year. Why has it found this necessary? In my opinion, the following reasons are key:

First, China is a socialist country. Socialist

The author is a professor at the Central Institute of Finance and Banking.



production and construction and all government measures are intended to continually improve the material and cultural life of the people. In accordance with our experiences, deficit increases the amount of currency in circulation and sends prices up. This generates a vicious circle of greater and greater expenditures and deficits.

Deficits are difficult for China to handle as its economic foundation is weak and the people's standard of living is relatively low. And since China does not have the financial ability to substantially increase wages for the workers and staff, price hikes are intolerable. Furthermore, the currency devaluation and rising prices caused by the deficit will depress living standards, particularly for the labouring people. Such a situation cannot be allowed to exist in our country.

Second, the Keynesian policy of stimulating economic development, fending off recession and extricating oneself from an economic crisis by resorting to financial deficits and inflation may be somewhat suited to a capitalist nation, but it is inappropriate for socialist China. When a capitalist country experiences an economic crisis characterized by over-production and diminishing demand, a slight inflation may stimulate an increase in demand and temporarily alleviate the problem of over-production.

The fundamental problem in China is not over-production, but an insufficient supply of materials to meet the demand of society. Since funds are a reflection of materials, the two must be in balance. Issuing banknotes without the support of corresponding materials leads to price

hikes, adversely affecting the construction of the national economy and the betterment of people's livelihood.

Our economic construction calls for abundant means of production and consumer goods. Large amounts of consumer goods will also be needed for raising people's living standards. Resorting to deficits and issuing banknotes without materials can neither develop the economy nor improve the people's livelihood.

Some Western economists and people in the economic field question why China attaches such importance to deficits and price hikes. A small number of people in China also believe that deficits and currency devaluation, far from being detrimental to the well-being of the nation, are conducive to our economic development. They are of the opinion that the economic situation in China is excellent, that a small deficit will force us to improve our economy more rapidly and is therefore worth trying. Such views are erroneous. As China, relatively speaking, lacks goods, construction through deficit spending will only increase the already existing tense situation of material supplies. Moreover, the ultimate aim of socialist production and construction is to raise people's living standards. We should not, as capitalist countries do, shift the burden of inflation and price hikes on to the people.

Third, in our country where the means of production are publicly owned, about one-third of the national income is redistributed through state finance. This ratio is bigger than in capitalist countries. This means that China's handling of its state revenues and expenditures, unlike the practice in the West, generally plays a decisive role in the supply and demand on the market. Socialist financing plays such a decisive role because the greater part of our effective demand is formed by the distribution process of state finance. This includes most of the investment in capital construction, the social consumption fund and the personal consumption fund of workers not engaged in material production.

If a balance can be maintained between revenues and expenditures, it shows that distribution is suited to production on the whole, and that a general equilibrium exists between effective demand created by state expenditure and the volume of supply of social commodities. Conversely, deficit spending will disrupt the relations between supply and demand, producing chaos in the circulation process. The pur-

chasing power created by deficits aggravates the shortage of supplies. Thus, it is necessary first to control the deficits in order to stabilize the market.

Fourth, because China has a planned commodity economy, an overall balance for the whole national economy must be maintained. When a deficit occurs, the total demand of the society will surpass its total output, thus throwing the relationship between production and consumption and between accumulation and consumption out of proportion. When the overall balance is thus sabotaged, this will hinder the economic readjustment and reform and the steady, planned development of the national economy. Therefore, it is necessary to wipe out the deficit in order to attain an overall balance of the national economy.

Fifth, China is a populous country with a weak economic foundation and insufficient funds. Further political stability and unity will be needed to make collective efforts for a Chinese-type modernization. Not only such stability and unity but also people's interests will suffer from the existence of a deficit. Moreover, the popular sentiment is against deficit spending, as people still remember the huge deficits and rampant inflation which existed for more than a decade during the period of Kuomintang rule in old China. At that time a huge sector of the population led a miserable life and voices of discontent were heard everywhere. Politically speaking, it is therefore imperative that the deficit be wiped out.

Furthermore, it is possible to eliminate the deficit because of such factors as the superiority of the socialist system, the powerful leadership of the Communist Party, and the practical experiences of the planned economy.

Experiences in socialist construction over the past 30 years or so have shown that we must adhere to the guiding principle of doing both economic and financial work in accordance with our capabilities. In order to stabilize the economy and improve people's livelihood, it is imperative that we carry out this principle, wipe out our deficit and restore the balance between the national strength and construction, and between the total social demand and total social output. These constitute a prerequisite for the successful implementation of the economic readjustment and reform, and the sound development of our modernization programme. □

# On the Relationship Between Politics and Literature and Art

Zhou Yang

How should the relationship between politics and literature and art be handled? In the past there have been some "Left" deviations in the handling of this relationship and now it has been decided to stop advocating that literature and art are subordinate to politics. But this does not mean that literature and art are independent of politics. Revolutionary literature and art should not run counter to the Party's political line. In some cases, the relationship between politics and literature and art is relatively direct and close; in others, it is relatively indirect and remote. This is because there are different kinds of literature and art and different ways of expression. To advocate that literature and art serve the people and socialism is broader than to insist that they serve politics. Literature and art should "interfere in life" but this does not mean that they are confined to exposing the seamy side of society.



life of the society, exerting a many-sided, far-reaching and imperceptible influence. The slogan that literature and art are subordinate to and serve politics does not exhaust their broad scope and multifarious functions. On the contrary, it tends to subject literature and art to the constantly changing political situa-

tion and politics in a simple way, resulting in the appearance of narrow utilitarianism, pragmatism and the crude intervention of politics in literature and art.

---

## Marxist Viewpoint

---

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists." In this scientific thesis, life refers to the life of the whole society, including material, intellectual and political life. Marx said: "The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general." This basic definition of historical materialism

---

The author is Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles.

\*Last spring, the Party Central Committee decided to use "serving the people and socialism" to replace "serving politics" as the general slogan for literary and art work.

**H**OW should we handle correctly the relationship between politics and literature and art in socialist society? This is a question of great significance for the development of our literature and art. Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently stated: "We will no longer put forward the slogan of literature and art being subordinate to politics, but this does not mean that they are independent of politics."\*

For the last half century, revolutionary literature and art have constituted an organic part of China's revolution. This remains a glorious tradition in the history of our literature and art despite the fact that we have committed some "Left" deviations in handling the relationship between politics and literature and art.

In New China, literature and art have become an indispensable part of the intellectual

means that the productive forces and the relations of production set the conditions for the social life. As an ideological form which is subordinate to the economic base, literature and art often depend on politics as an intermediary because politics is the concentrated expression of the economy. But the economic base is the ultimate motive force that pushes literature and art forward. Politics, literature and art belong to the superstructure. Their development is decided finally by the economic base.

Marx and Engels emphasized that the economic base plays a decisive role in the development of the history of society. This scientific discovery of historical materialism brought about a great revolution in social sciences and it was as important as the theory of surplus value. But, in order to propagate this truth, the decisive role of the economic base was unduly stressed to the point that some people even came to believe the role is exclusive. It seemed as if only the economy was the decisive factor and nothing else played an important role. Engels in his later years made a self-criticism in this regard, saying that both Marx and he, in stressing the decisive role of the economic base, neglected the roles of other factors, the interaction between the economic base and the superstructure and among the various aspects of the superstructure as well as the relative independence of every aspect of the superstructure in their historical development, particularly ideology.

Both Marx and Engels attached great importance to the great influence of politics upon literature and art. But they never said that art should be subordinate to politics. Art is not only influenced by politics, but also by other forms of ideology, such as philosophy, social ethics and religion. There is a close relationship among the various aspects of the superstructure and they influence one another. But, at the same time, every form of ideology retains a relative independence in its historical development. We do not follow true materialism but go to the opposite if we oversimplify and vulgarize the very complicated relations between the superstructure and the economic base as well as among the various aspects of the superstructure, that is to say, if we negate the relative independence of ideology (including literature and art) from the economic base and the interaction among the various aspects of

the superstructure (including that between politics and literature and art), and deny that literature and art are influenced by other ideological forms besides politics and they act on politics and vice versa.

---

### Slogan Changed

---

Since the Left-wing literary movement of the 1930s, our literature and art have been closely related to revolutionary politics. The Left-wing in itself embodies a political concept. For many years, we advocated the slogan of literature and art serving revolutionary politics, and it indeed played a revolutionary role. Now, we no longer put forward this slogan, but that does not mean it was a wrong one. This slogan did play a positive role while at the same time it had some negative side effects. Now that the situation has changed and we have gained some experience, shouldn't we replace that slogan with a better one which conforms more closely with today's conditions? Any slogan is subject to the ever-changing situation and has its own limitations. We should not deify any slogan; everything should be subjected to analysis.

With regard to the slogan of serving politics, we have to know what constitutes politics. What we call politics refers to the general political task and line in a particular period, but not to the specific concrete policies and tasks. Our revolutionary literature and art should not run counter to our Party's general political line, but they should not be required to dovetail with concrete policies and tasks. Since there are numerous types of literature and art and techniques of expression, the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other is relatively direct and close in some cases while it is relatively indirect and remote in others, as in landscapes, lyric music and dancing.

Is it more appropriate and comprehensive to advocate that literature and art serve the people and socialism than to maintain that they serve politics? Yes, because the concept of socialism includes not only politics, but also economy and culture. The Fourth National Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists held in October 1979 proposed that our literature and art should cultivate a new socialist man, help further improve and develop socialist society, expand the people's intellectual realm



and meet the growing cultural needs of the public. This proposal is an elaboration of the slogan that literature and art should serve the people and socialism.

---

### Interfering in Life

---

I would like to say something about the slogan of literature and art "interfering in life." "Interfering in life" has meant mainly to expose the seamy side of life and interfere in the political issues of the present day. The function of literature and art is to reflect life, influence life and push history forward, and so, in a great measure, to influence politics, to push it forward or backward. In speaking about literature and art interfering in life, some people only refer to those works which expose the dark side of life, reflect the negative phenomena of society and can be helpful in overcoming these phenomena. They overlook those works which portray advanced deeds and play a positive role in pushing history forward. Such an idea is connected with the origin of the slogan and the real effect of this kind of literature and art.

The slogan "interfering in life" was put forward by a Soviet writer in the 50s. Previously, during the Stalin era, the theory of "no conflict" had prevailed in literary and artistic works. Writers portrayed only the positive side of society. The Soviet writer Ovichkin made an investigation in the countryside and what he saw was different from the rosy picture described in some works. He therefore put forward the slogan "interfering in life." It was more or less under the influence of this idea that the slogan also appeared in China. Should literature and art interfere in life? Certainly. However, I hope that this slogan will not lead literary and artistic creations in the direction of only exposing the seamy side of life.

There is now a view that only those works which interfere in life can be called realistic, and others are unrealistic or not so realistic. This view is one-sided. Literature and art reflect life, influence life and push history forward, so in a broad sense, they all interfere in life. Many works portraying the revolutionary wars, the land reform, under-

ground struggles, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation have played a positive social role. Can't that be taken as interfering in life and pushing history forward? A writer should depict life in many ways, and he can lay his stress on a particular aspect. But it cannot be said that he is interfering in life and realistic when he lays his stress on exposing the negative aspects of life and he is not interfering in life and therefore unrealistic or not so realistic when he acts otherwise. This is rather unbalanced and laying too much emphasis on the down side of things. Perhaps the slogan is intrinsically more or less lopsided. A writer should have a wide sphere



Chen Zhongshi (left), a young peasant writer, with two old villagers.

of vision, select his subject matter and themes carefully from among rich and diverse materials and make in-depth analyses. We advocate comprehensive and diverse themes. On the question of selection, we should not impose any restrictions or prohibitions. As Lenin once said, what to write and how to write is the freedom of a writer. As Communists, we should not stand idly by but should give guidance to the cause of literature and art.

*(This is an abridged translation of a section of the speech made at a forum on script writing on February 11, 1980. Its full text was first published a year later in issue No. 4 of the literary theoretical magazine "Wen Yi Bao." Subheads are ours.)*

## On Bukharin's "Economics of the Transition Period"

A CHINESE translation of *Economics of the Transition Period* by Nikolai Bukharin (1888-1938) has recently come off the press in China. This is the first time that the People's Republic of China has published a work by Bukharin.

An explorer of Marxism, Bukharin was not content to repeat other people's ideas and would not dodge disturbing problems for which Marxist theory provided no ready answer. *Economics of the Transition Period* was the first comprehensive analysis by a Marxist of the transition period between capitalism and communism. As it represented a new development in Marxism, it had both correct and mistaken aspects. While criticizing its shortcomings, Lenin affirmed the book's strengths.

Some Bukharin scholars argue that the period from 1921 to 1924 was a time of self-criticism for the author. Prior to this, he tended to be dogmatic and this trait was also apparent in his *Economics of the Transition Period*.

The book was published in 1920, a year before the Soviet state defeated the foreign military intervention, won its civil war and began to implement the New Economic Policy. At that time, Bukharin and many other leaders of the Soviet Communist Party (Bolsheviks) praised the extremist idea of doing away with the

market and the compulsory policies as "socialist." In this book, Bukharin regarded war communism as a common phenomenon and a law in the transition period. He believed that it could replace the market, the currency and the law of value. In studying the laws of the transition period, the author often proceeded from the experiences of war communism, neglecting to consider what specific changes might have occurred during a transition period under normal conditions. So he had to resort to abstract expositions and logical inferences,

which resulted in a lack of substantial and practical arguments.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that this work was the first systematic Marxist analysis of the economy in the transition period. It contains many valuable arguments, such as the economic functions of the state, the use of the "theory of equilibrium" in studying the relationship between industry and agriculture and between town and countryside, and the purpose of socialist production. All these theses have a great reference value for us today and deserve to be studied earnestly.

(Excerpts from an article by Su Shaozhi in "Dushu" [Reading], No. 2, 1981.)

## Truth May Be Flawed

IT seems mistaken to argue that truth itself contains errors. But, in fact, the process of human learning justifies this argument.

Truth and error constitute the basic contradiction in the theory of knowledge. Beyond the scope of cognition there are no such things as truth and error. Truth, being the correct reflection of man's thinking about objective things and their laws, cannot just be explained as a couple of correct reflections. It is a process of cognition in which there exist not only contradictions between

subjective and objective, but also contradictions between right and wrong. With the development of social practice, truth will continually be complemented, deepened and particularized and may reflect objective things more and more accurately.

Take titanium as an example. Scientists used to think titanium was a very brittle metal. Later scientific experiments proved that this metal was not brittle, but rather very malleable. And in the future the properties of pure titanium may only be judged by the more advanced procedures used at that time.

The argument that truth may be flawed is not only a law of objective knowledge but, its recognition can also prevent

ossification and one-sidedness in the course of people's subjective activities. In addition, this awareness can prevent certain scientific theories, which have already been proved as truths in practice, from being turned into static and ossified dogmas.

*(Excerpts from an article by Lin Degen in Liaoning Province's "Shehui Kexue Jikan [Social Science Magazine], No. 6, 1980.)*

### Ding Ling's View On Literature

Ding Ling, a noted Chinese woman writer, wrote a letter to one of her contemporaries, Sun Li, a short-story writer, on October 30 last year, in which she said:

Both of us are writers and enjoy reading good literature. Now many literary works and a new batch of gifted people have emerged. Some pieces cause people to ponder; others strike home at the prevailing evil social tendencies and are welcomed by the readers. I like these works myself but I feel they are not enough. . . .

By this I do not mean that we should all write about the past. We can also write about the present. We should write about the social upheaval and the scars caused by it, about privilege-seeking, corruption and the dark side of life; we can also describe the newly emerging things, people's hopes and the bright side of society.

But no matter what we write, we must proceed from life and



describe it in depth, warmly and in a detailed and bold fashion. No matter how much we shock or anger the readers, in the end we must give them strength, leaving them with a picture of the future. Our literature must be thought-provoking and encourage

people to march forward. And we must make the whole world see that the Chinese people and the Chinese nation are great and they cannot be bullied. I am looking forward to such a book and I am confident it will come out someday. Maybe, it is already in the process of preparation, or will come off the press soon.

To tell you the truth, I will be disappointed if this does not happen. Without such works, I feel that something is lacking in our life. We are in need of magnificent works which can truthfully reflect our great era and people. I don't like to be pessimistic and often look to you and many other old friends. . . .

*(Excerpts from Beijing's "Wenzhai" [Digest], February 16, 1981.)*

### China's Longest Historical Novel

DO you know what China's longest historical novel is? Cai Dongfan's *A Popular Historical Romance of China's Past Dynasties*.

This novel of 6 million words depicts the important historical events between 200 B.C. and 1920 and the major historical personages. This popular account has promoted greater understanding of China's history.

Born in Zhejiang Province, Cai Dongfan (1877-1945) was

both a learned scholar and an artist. Before picking up his pen to write this piece, he read 4,025 volumes of historical works. He commenced writing in 1906 and took 10 years to finish.

The book was published in Shanghai before liberation. Recently reprinted in Shanghai and Zhejiang Province, it is now available in bookstores throughout the country.

*(Excerpts from an article in "Zhongguo Qingnian Bao," January 11, 1981.)*

ASTRONOMY

Discoverer of Jupiter Satellite-III

According to a recent essay in the *Chinese Journal of Astrophysics*, a well-known Chinese astronomer of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) named Gan De was the first to observe and record the presence of a satellite around the planet Jupiter. This would mean that Gan De's discovery, made with the naked eye, was almost 2,000 years earlier than those of Galileo and Marius, who have been widely recognized in the past as the first discoverers of Jupiter's satellites.

Xi Zezong, an associate researcher at the Institute of Natural Science History and the author of the essay, cites evidence of the discovery in the *Kai Yuan Zhan Jing* (the Kai Yuan Treatise on Astrology), written in China during the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.). Excerpts from Gan De's two lost books, *Sui Xing Jing* (Treatise on Jupiter) and *Tian Wen*

*Xing Zhan* (Astronomical Star Prognostication), quote the ancient astronomer as saying: "Jupiter is very large and bright. It seems that there is a small reddish star attached to it, thus forming a league." The references to a "league" and the redness of the satellite, which is the same colour of Jupiter's third and largest moon, leave little doubt that Gan De discovered this satellite.

Using both contemporary astrophysical tables and ancient Chinese records, Xi Zezong has calculated that Gan De observed Jupiter's third satellite in the summer of 364 B.C.—almost two millennia before the European astronomers Marius and Galileo sighted satellites around Jupiter in 1609 and 1610.

Both Galileo and Marius observed Jupiter's four largest moons through the primitive astronomical telescopes they helped develop, yet Gan De's discovery was made without the aid of any such instrument. This was possible, holds Xi Zezong, because Jupiter's four major satellites are all of grade

four or grade five in luminosity, while the naked eye can discern stars as faint as grade six under favourable conditions. The opportunities for seeing the satellites with normal eyesight are extremely rare, however, due to the overwhelming brilliance of Jupiter itself. But when two or more of the satellites are moving on the same side of Jupiter, their combined light makes observation possible.

Last month, the Institute of Natural Science History invited several teachers, researchers and young astronomy students to the Beijing Observatory's Xing-long observation post for a field test. On two successive nights, eight of them were able to see the reddish third satellite of Jupiter without a telescope, another indication that Gan De's discovery was possible.

EARTH SCIENCE

Study of Desert Growth

China has made new progress in the study of the growth of its arid and semi-arid climatic zones after three years of



Left: Copies of the "Kai Yuan Treatise on Astrology." Right: Gan De's observations on Jupiter's third satellite.

scientific investigation made by the Lanzhou Desert Research Institute.

The natural expansion of desert regions is a problem facing many parts of the world today. Every year, about 50,000-70,000 square kilometres of new land come under the threat of desert encroachment.

In China arid and semi-arid zones extend over 207 counties and cities. The spread of these areas is a significant threat to local industrial and farm production, communication and people's lives.

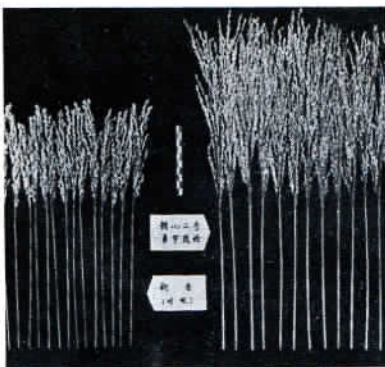
Since 1978, under the leadership of the Lanzhou institute, scientific and technical specialists in geology, meteorology, hydrology, geography, forestry, agronomy and other specialities have conducted numerous investigations into the causes and patterns of desiccation in these areas. Large quantities of soil, water and plant specimens have also been collected for study. As a result, plans for the rational use of natural resources and the prevention of further desiccation and salinization have been put forward.

## AGRO-SCIENCE

### Hybrid Rice Development

The development of high-yield hybrid rice strains, started in China in 1964 and elevated to a major scientific priority in 1972, has already yielded successful results.

By 1980, more than 5,300,000 hectares of land throughout China had been cultivated with hybrid rice, with an average harvest increase of some 750 kilogrammes per hectare. As a result of the popularization and use of high-yield strains, rice production in many previously low-output areas has been boosted.



High-yield hybrid rice (right) is taller and more plump than ordinary varieties.

Many hybrid rice strains have proven more sturdy and full-bodied than ordinary rice seedlings. They are also characterized by early maturity and strong resistance to insects, diseases and other natural disasters. The output of these improved varieties is therefore almost 20 per cent higher than that of ordinary rice strains under similar growing conditions. China has been exporting its hybrid rice strains. Recently it signed a contract with a U.S. company under which hybrid rice strains and techniques used in China will be passed on to the Americans.

## COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

### Research Society Founded

A society for comparative literature study was founded in February at Beijing University. Aimed at investigating and analysing world literature and its development from a Marxist perspective, the society hopes to prompt the growth of comparative literature study in China.

The 39 founding members include various professors, lecturers, students and postgraduates from the university's departments of Chinese, Western,

Oriental and Slavic languages, as well as from its research institutes on Asia and Africa. In their view, the study of foreign literary works and the preservation of China's own cultural and literary heritage are two important ways of developing the country's modern socialist literature.

Since the early 20th century, Chinese scholars have published a number of works comparing Chinese and Western literature. Among them are *Ibsen's Works in China*, *Foreign Operas and Dramas in China*, *On the Relationship Between Lu Xun's Works and Foreign Literature*, *Du Fu and Goethe* and *Tang Xianzu and Shakespeare*.

## DEMOGRAPHY

### Optimum Population

The optimum population level for modernized China in the next century is 650-700 million, said a group of natural and social scientists in February at the third national symposium on population in Beijing.

The scientists based their conclusion on such factors as China's land area (9.6 million square kilometres), supply of natural resources and rate of economic development, as well as on desirable nutrition levels and various environmental and ecological considerations.

To realize this target figure, the scientists said, population growth must be strictly controlled. If every couple bears only one child for the next 20 years, China's population by the year 2000 could be held to 1,200 million. Then, it would gradually become possible for every couple to have two children on the average, and the population level would steadily decline to a stable 700 million by 2080.

### Chinese Architecture

#### History of Ancient Chinese Architecture

《中国古代建筑史》

By the Research Institute of Architecture,

Edited by Professor Liu Dunzhen, Chairman of the Department of Architecture at the Nanjing Institute of Polytechnics,

Published by Chinese Architecture Publishing House,

Renminbi: 2.85 yuan

The publication of *History of Ancient Chinese Architecture* represents quite an achievement for its 31 compilers and writers. Originally intended as a comprehensive follow-up to a brief historical outline of architecture published in 1961, the draft for this work went through eight revisions and was just about to be published when the "cultural revolution" struck. After being sat on for 10 years, it needed a new team working in conjunction with some of the original authors to revitalize the project and update the material. Now at last these committed scholars have succeeded in producing a basic, comprehensive introduction to the development of architecture in China. Long overdue, it is particularly welcomed by students and scholars in the field, but its lucid presentation and useful sketches and designs make it of interest to the layman as well.

Divided into seven chapters, this book provides an account of the development of architecture from the ruins of primitive society, about 600,000-4,000 years ago, to the demise of the imperial order in 1911. It presents a detailed explanation

of the architectural changes in different historical periods, the development of cities and the features of palaces, houses, tombs, temples, pagodas and gardens. The authors also discuss the artistic and technical development of architecture and the types of building materials used.

Chinese architecture dates back to ancient times. The classics contain a relevant passage about the earliest beginnings of architecture in the account of the legendary figure Youchaoshi. He was said to have instructed mankind to "make structures like bird nests to keep from animal attack." Recent archaeological finds have disclosed that during the Neolithic Age some 6,000-7,000 years ago, the primitive tribes in China began to build villages of wood-framed houses. Towns with large-scale architectural structures such as palaces and pavilions began to appear during the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties (2100-771 B.C.). In those ancient times, tomb construction was an important part of architecture, because of the worshipping of spirits and ghosts.

Between the Qin and Tang Dynasties (221 B.C.-907 A.D.)

architecture was further improved and cities were better laid out. Among the major construction projects of this period were the 6,000-km. Great Wall stretching from Jiayuguan Pass in Gansu Province in the west to Shanhaiguan Pass in Hebei Province in the east, the hosts of buildings in Changan, capital of the Tang Dynasty (present-day Xian in Shaanxi Province) and the famous 30-metre-long stone arched Anji Bridge in Zhaozhou, Hebei Province, built between 605 and 617.

During the Tang Dynasty (618-907), there was a great deal of cultural interflow between China and other countries. Along with the introduction of Buddhism into China came the influence of Indian architecture. Temples, pagodas and grottoes began to appear, such as the Dunhuang Grottoes in northwest Gansu Province, the Yungang Grottoes in north China's Shanxi Province, Longmen Grottoes in Luoyang in central China's Henan Province and famous Buddhist buildings like the pagoda in Henan Province's Songyue Temple and the hall of the Foguang Temple in Shanxi Province's Wutai County.

In the opinion of these authors, a standardization occurred in architecture after the Song Dynasty (960-1279). The construction of large cities like Beijing and huge buildings like



Taihe Hall in Beijing's Palace Museum.

the Palace Museum in the capital did not reflect much progress in architecture with regard to structure, materials and technique.

During its long course of development, ancient Chinese architecture gradually formed its own distinct style which is unique in the world. These characteristics are well described in the *History of Ancient Chinese Architecture*. The work also provides scientific data and information for the readers.

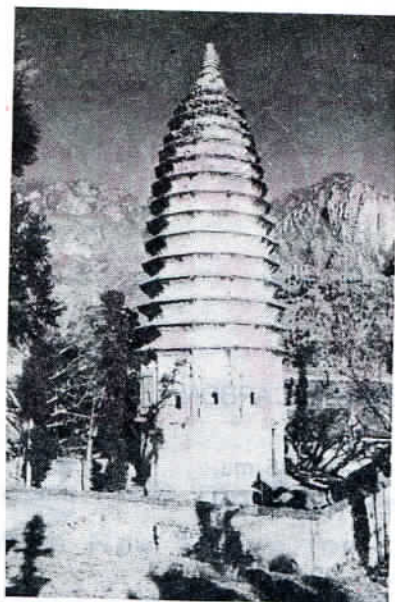
A major feature of this book is that it not only describes at length the different types of buildings but also points to their three outstanding features:

1. Wood-framed structures.

In ancient times when there were thick forests along the Huanghe (Yellow) River, the main form of Chinese architecture was the wooden structure. It later developed into its own unique style. Most typical of this style is the hall of the Foguang Temple in Wutai County built 1,100 years ago. Another feature of ancient buildings was the use of colourful paint — which functioned to protect the wooden structure — in harmony with the natural colour of other building materials. One example which still exists is the three halls of the Palace Museum in Beijing built during the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1368-1911) with marble foundations, red pillars, red-latticed windows and doors, yellow-glazed tiles and coloured paintings under the eaves. All these lend a quality of artistic grandeur to the architectural structures.

2. Single building model.

The single building model of ancient Chinese architecture generally consists of a foundation, a structure and a roof. The big buildings appear majestic and grand, mostly built on rais-



Pagoda in Henan Province's Songyue Temple.

ed foundations and having large eaves with upturned cornices. The eaves and cornices form a peculiar curve which gives an impression of lightness rather than cumbersomeness.

3. Integration of courtyards and buildings.

Enclosed courtyards with separate buildings were a common pattern, as exemplified by the quadrangle compound found in Beijing. Generally, the main building was on the middle axis, with adjacent buildings symmetrically located on both sides of the axis. The buildings were connected by corridors or walls, making the compound an organic whole. Interspersed with trees and flowers, the compound itself was like a garden which was meant to be lived in.

The principle of combining courtyards and buildings was gradually applied to the construction of ancient cities. They were built in the shape of a rectangle with a middle axis crossed by perpendicular streets. Examples of such city planning were described in the classics. The city of Beijing was built in this fashion during the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

Aside from these three main forms of ancient Chinese architecture, there were other patterns. One example was the gardens, which fitted buildings to natural surroundings. Among the best designed by the ancient architects were the imperial gardens, such as the Summer Palace and Beihai Park in Beijing, and the private gardens of Zhuozhengyuan and Liuyuan in east China's Suzhou.

Chinese architecture also had its impact on the buildings of other Oriental and even Occidental countries. For instance, the city layout of Heijokyo (present-day Nara) and Heiankyo (present-day Kyoto) and the Toshodaiji Temple in Japan were modelled after structures in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) capital.

In this volume, the authors attempt to sum up the origins, changes and laws of development of architecture during different historical periods. But their handling of theoretical principles of architecture is weak and they put more emphasis on the artistic forms than on the techniques of architecture. Furthermore, some periods are not covered at all. Still, this work fills an important void and is a credit to the noted scholars like Wang Zhili, Director of the Research Institute of Architecture, and the late Professor Liang Sicheng, former head of department of architecture of Qinghua University, who participated in its preparation. It has 487 illustrations and 181 photos with an appendix, notes, and a chronological chart of Chinese history.

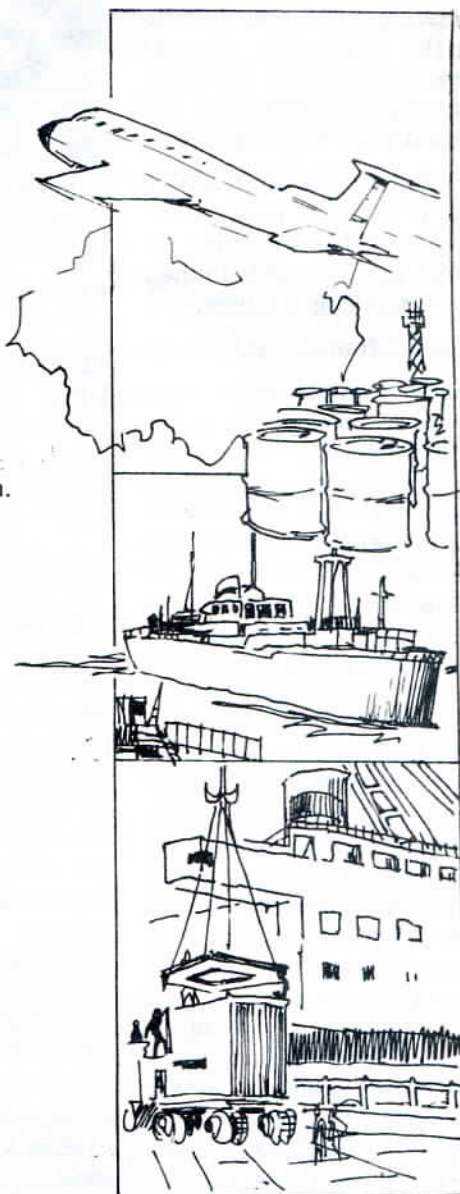
Due to interest from Japan, consideration is now being given to translating this book into Japanese. An English edition is also planned.

— Qiao Yun



# GUANGDONG CHEMICALS

- BAKELITE**  
**HIGH ABRASION FURNACE CARBON**  
**BLACK:**  
Average particle size: 27-35 mu.  
**INTERMEDIATE SUPER ABRASION**  
  
Average particle size: 22-26 mu.  
**GENERAL PURPOSE FURNACE CARBON**  
**BLACK:**  
Average particle size: 50-70 mu.  
**FAST EXTRUDING FURNACE CARBON**  
**BLACK:**  
Average particle size: 31-58 mu.  
**CARBON LUMPS:** 15-40 mm. and 50-150mm.  
**CALCIUM CARBONATE:** 98% min.  
**CHLORINATED PARAFFIN:** 50% min.  
**ETHYL ALCOHOL:** 95% min.  
**IRON OXIDE BLACK:** No. 722  $Fe_3O_4$  95% min.  
**IRON OXIDE BLACK:** No. 721  $Fe_3O_4$  95% min.  
**IRON OXIDE MAGNETIC:** Tape grade,  
 $r-Fe_2O_3$ , Coercivity (He) 300 Oersteds  
(Oe) min.  
**LITHOPONE:** 28-30% total zinc content  
calculated as ZnS.  
**LITHOPONE:** 30% min.  
**POTASSIUM PERMANGANATE:** 99% min.  
**COLOUR PROCESSING:** Kit No. 1  
**COLOUR PROCESSING:** Kit No. 2  
**SODIUM HYDROSULFITE:** 85% min.  
**TITANIUM DIOXIDE:** Enamel grade 98%  
min.  
**TUNGSTEN TRIOXIDE:** 99.5% min.



**CHINA NATIONAL CHEMICALS IMPORT & EXPORT CORPORATION · GUANGDONG BRANCH**

61 Yanjiang Road 1, Guangzhou, China

Cable: "SINOCEMIC" GUANGZHOU

Telex: 44076 HAGON CN