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TRANSLATIONS FROM COMMUNIST CHINA'S "MIN-TZU T'UAN-CHIEH" (NATIONALITY
SOLIDARITY) NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER 1959 AND
"MIN-TZU YEN-CHIU@ (NATIONALITY RESEARCH) NOVEMBER 1959

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FOREWORD

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I. ARTICLES FROM MIN-TZU T'UAN-CHIEH, NO 11, NOVEMBER 1959, PEIPING

1. Bright Achievements of Communes in Racial Areas

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In the memory of all peoples in Kwangsi, August and September of 1958 have been unforgettable days. The masses of the various races, eagerly responding to the great call of the Party central committee and Chairman Mao, have thrown themselves into the commune movement; and in less than a month, the whole countryside has fully come into the movement. In a little more than a year, the communes of the area, after being reorganized and solidified, have begun to walk the path of whole-growth. Several hundred communes in minority areas, like others throughout the nation, have fully manifested their incomparable superiority, and shown immeasurable usefulness in the tremendous push for building socialism in minority areas.

The founding and expanding of communes in racial areas has met with warm praise from minority people who exclaim, "Communes are like a flower, on which alone we rely for a good life"; "All men like this flower, which has not been seen for three dynasties and nine generations." The Yaos in a certain locality find a contrast between the communes and the former cooperatives; the latter are a small lamp, the communes a big one: "A myriad of small lamps shine like the stars, but never as bright as the big lamp." Members of another team list 20 advantages of communes. These words of appreciation coming from actual life in the minority areas fully express the warm love and just evaluation of millions of people toward communes.

Actual living is as follows: After minority areas in Kwangsi passed through reform and anti-rightist and anti-local nationalism struggles, and thereby won a great victory in the two-path struggle on the political and ideological fronts, socialist awareness rose much among the minorities. And under the stimulus of the Party main line of building socialism, after condemning rightist conservatism in the hill-country of minorities in such writings as "On Backwardness," "On Conditions" (exaggerating objective conditions, belittling the function of initiative), and "On Special Features," popular thinking was set free; they urgently demanded quick change in the "poorer and barer" status of racial areas, and then stirred up the 1958 all-round big leap forward. In this leap forward, all production and construction work needed to be pushed on a large scale. This was far from

being feasible for agricultural cooperatives, especially for those in the Hsiang-shan area which had but the little strength of a few dozen families. Many agricultural cooperatives in a certain part of Lung-lin Hsien had made plans for manifold operations, but all lacked funds and labor; many cooperatives planned hog farms, but lacked money for buying hogs, so could not do it. Six cooperatives in the Yao mountains found they could not do all they wanted in production, so stuck to farming, discarding industry and sidelines, while three of them could not keep up with the production schedule. What then should they do? The various peoples, to meet the needs of large production, had in fact widely broken down boundaries of cooperatives and hsiangs, and expanded their cooperation. Just at this time, the Party and Chairman Mao enunciated the call for founding communes, and so a popular movement formed for making communes, which was like a tidal wave, sweeping over thousands of hills. Many Yaos traveled all night, 40-50 li, to register with the committee. Over 100 Yaos, fearing rejection, gnawed their fingers in their anxiety to write applications. This shows their determination. In many areas it was really like "petitions blocking the stream," all the crowd considering it an honor to get in early. When the commune was founded, the minority people put on festival clothes and sang and danced with much glee. This moving spectacle is enough to show that communes are a form of organization that fits production needs and popular demand, a necessary product of China's history.

As soon as communes were founded in minority areas, their tremendous vitality and incomparable superiority became apparent. After communes became prevalent, all kinds of construction in the minority hill-country rushed forward faster; conditions became better for the five occupations, and it was more feasible to promote manifold operation and comprehensive growth. Basic irrigation work could proceed on a large scale and many industries were started. The commune's form of organization enables all sorts of production and construction to go on at the same time. The Liang-pa team of Liang-pa commune in Po-se Hsien not only expanded the acreage of paddy and cane, it also established an orchard, a fish-pond, and a herding pasture. The Te-o commune of Lung-lin opened over 290 hog farms; the number of hogs grew from the 13,800 during the days of cooperatives to 29,300, more than double. Because the commune has many projects, each member can fully employ his talents; those who can raise bees are organized to concentrate on that, so now the commune has 2,100 hives, nearly doubling the 1,100 of the time of cooperatives. The Three Sheep commune of the Yao Autonomous Hsien of Tu-an has organized 1,600 men to specialize in hunting, getting rid of the former troublesome birds and beasts in the hill-country, and adding an estimated 300,000 chin of grain to the harvest. Since the commune can focus and properly dispose of the labor resources, the Yao Autonomous Hsien of Ta-yao-shan, after transferring 50% of its labor force to industry, still

in 1958 finished the autumn task of reaping 20 days ahead of 1957; the Tu-an Hsien communes built 25 machine plants and 225 farm-tool factories, and by January of this year had made 16,000 farm tools and 1,583 wooden carts, guaranteeing the needs of this year's spring production.

After communes became prevalent, minority hill-country production got a big boost. Tu-an got an especially large harvest. Before communes, it had to bring in 30-40 million chin of grain a year; after communes, not only did they not need to import, but even sent out over 20 million chin of commercial grain; and hogs increased 65.7% and sheep 23% over 1957. In Lung-lin, after communes, plow-oxen increased by 7,878, equal to more than double the annual increase before communes. Communes have not merely promoted farming, but industry as well. In the Peace commune of Lung-lin, the total value of industrial products in 1958 was over 480,000 yuan, more than 10-fold the 35,000 of 1957 in the time of cooperatives. Income of members has grown greatly due to the increase in production. The Te-o commune in the time of cooperatives averaged 136.5 yuan annual income per family, in 1958 it was 336.1 yuan, more than double.

Communes are designed for production, and also to enhance the standard of the people's living. In minority areas communal diners are mostly managed very well; many ordinarily serve three dishes and one soup, with attention to aged and children, so everyone is pleased. After applying the principle "Run them well, with freedom in patronizing," communal diners became yet better established. Other collective welfare projects, such as nurseries and homes for the aged, also have been improved and strengthened. After communes, people's middle and elementary schools multiplied. There are already 500 middle schools in Kwangsi, over 11-fold more than before communes, while students have increased $8\frac{1}{2}$ -fold; elementary schools number 10,694, an increase of 13-fold over pre-commune days, while students have increased 10-fold. The members of the Tu-an Three Sheep commune before liberation had not a single school and were almost illiterate; the commune now has 27 elementary schools, with all children of school age attending; Lung-lin Te-o commune before communes had only 17 elementary schools, with 12,600 students; after communes, schools number 25, with 24,200 students, double the enrollment. Surely a big cultural upturn!

From these examples we can see that communes in minority areas, in barely a year's time, have brought to each race's people much benefit and made many achievements. Communes have greatly stimulated the rapid degree of growth of building socialism in minority areas, and opened for them a vista of boundless beauty. The minority masses, from the bottom of their hearts, have sung the praises of communes, with thanks to the Party and to Chairman Mao. This is very natural.

What the populace is pleased with is certain to be what their enemies hate and loathe. This was just the case when a new thing such as communes appeared. The people warmly welcomed the appearance of this brand new form of social organization, and praised it without end; but all reactionaries at home and abroad for this reason began to feel much fear and enmity, they reviled communes with all sorts of growling. Some exploiters among the minorities, besides clamoring like all other reactionaries, went on to say that "communes destroy tribal life and customs." These attacks and cries we have heard many times before. When still in the movement for cooperatives, did they not say too that the cooperative system would "obliterate all racial features"? And that it would "make all racial customs obsolete"? Let us take a look. What after all have the social reforms in the minorities "obliterated," "made obsolete"? They are the schemes of man exploiting man, such features as hunger, poverty, backwardness, feudal superstitions and stale customs -- in a word, reactionary systems and backward customs that hinder social growth and racial progress and prosperity. What is bad about that? It is too the good. However, speaking of the exploiting class, it is of course bone-cutting pain. For the appearance of the cooperative system and especially the commune system makes them want to restore their rule over the people and their dream of exploiting, which have now been thoroughly destroyed. They furiously attack and revile the communes. This is wholly unexpected. We say that such attacks are a waste of mental energy. Their attacks and calumnies cannot in the slightest shake the warm love for communes felt by people of all races, and cannot lessen the glory of the red banner of the commune. The interests of the people will continually boil upward. People of all races, under guidance from the Party central committee and Chairman Mao, are victoriously marching forward with full confidence under the bright banner of the commune.

2. Forward, Pa-yin Commune!

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In September of this year, while songs of victory in the big leap forward were resounding north and south of T'ien Shan, the Pa-yin commune was displaying a rich harvest. Members were still on the threshing floor; on this side wheat stalks were piling higher and higher, on the other an endless stream of carts was hauling the dry clean wheat to the city as public grain and surplus grain. In autumn fields, corn and rice flourished richly, and men were tightening late control over the crops, preparing for an imminent yet larger yield.

Pa-yin commune in Sinkiang Pa-yin-kuo-leng Mongol Autonomous Chou, Ho-ching Hsien, was formed in October of last year by the merger of four collective farms and one herding cooperative. It contains 1,341 families and 5,197 persons, it is a multi-racial commune embracing Mongol, Uighur, and some Huis and Hans. After the commune was founded, it showed tremendous prowess, with over 20,000 mou of winter and spring wheat, and a total yield of 6,430,000 chin, 17.34% beyond last year. Now there is everywhere a good stand of autumn and oil crops, with an estimated 2,500 chin of grain and 50 chin of oil for each person. Stock-raising, too, has greatly expanded, with a more than 90% survival rate among young sheep, goats, colts, calves, and camels; the commune now has 51,936 animals, 24% over the actual number at the end of last year. The commune shows incomparable excellence. Members say: "But for Chairman Mao leading us to form a commune, how would we have gotten this year's big harvest?"

Change Grass Banks Into Streams of Rice

"Change barren land into good fields, change grass banks into streams of rice; if you want life to be prosperous, open the waste and make fields." This was the resounding slogan put forth by members of the various races at the beginning of the year under Party guidance. At the same time, in order to accomplish this year's big leap forward, the commune Party committee appealed for opening up waste land and expanding the acreage. A few men had already begun to fear hardship, saying that the labor shortage made things hard. Later the whole commune opened a debate over planting more or planting less, and the idea of planting more and reaping more gained the day. Then the commune made an over-all assignment of labor, setting up four brigades (sowing, opening waste land, administration of wheatfields, side-lines); and the waste-land struggle was opened with a roar. In 20 days of attack and bitter fighting, members ate outdoors and slept on grass banks with much fervor, not only completing the task of opening up 8,000 mou as planned, but also sowing various crops all over.

This year while expanding the acreage, the whole commune spent much strength in all-round honest applying of the eight-word charter for farming. They practiced deep plowing, encouraged proper dense planting, selected good seed, spread fertilizer fully, filled ditches, remodeled 28 old canals, connected puddles and conduits over a wide area, and finally enlisted a special team for careful improvement of field-control. Here let us describe briefly the manure-collection movement.

At that time, an army of 1,400 muck-collectors scraped privies, cleaned stables, gathered trash, turned everything possible into fertilizer. As the quantity grew, a new difficulty appeared -- lack of transport facilities. Then the Party committee called on everyone to make new farm tools, saying: "Ants can move away T'ai Shan, carts can carry away mountains of muck." So they decided to make carts the vogue. Then the crowd responded, and the whole commune resounded night and day with the noise of sawing and hammering. Not having carpenters, the members themselves got busy; not having saws and planes, they used farm knives and axes instead; not having lumber, the members gave some, and found ways to weave cart baskets out of willow branches. Within 3-5 days, they had made 841 carts and sent some 10,000 chin of muck for each mou.

Human Ingenuity Conquers Calamity

Pa-yin commune's getting a good harvest this year was not smooth sailing, for it was frequently threatened by natural disasters; but men were many and resources large, and members' morale high, so once again they conquered calamity.

In the past, the four teams (formerly called the Advance Agricultural Cooperative) was the well-known "Brackish Bottom," where the ground was low and the water-level high, the alkali and salt could not be excluded and the harvest was very poor. This year the commune enlisted the help of all members, first making a fight against the brackish land. They learned from previous experience in dealing with alkali, and progressive measures taken elsewhere. When planting rice, they soaked the alkali, plowed deeply, and put on much manure from the pens. In those days, cadres, diners, nurseries, animals, and carts all moved out to the fields, all staying there 20 days. Working night and day, they added 3,200 mou to the paddy acreage, excavated drains, and put 20,000 chin of rotted horse manure. Now the rice is doing well, and wheat is 10% better than last year.

As soon as the battle against alkali was over, another calamity came. In April, when cotton and early corn were just showing, they were hit by a bad frost and everything froze. The members without hesitation at once organized a commando team, plowed away the frozen stuff and

planted again. They conquered the frost and recouped their loss. At the beginning of July, corn bloomed and cotton sprouted, the countryside became a wave of green, and weren't the members happy! Unexpectedly came a hail-storm, tearing 20,000 mou of corn to shreds, and cutting to pieces the sprouts of cotton and melon. This heavy attack caused a big drop in members' morale, with wailing and sighing, and many cadres became dispirited. Then the commune Party committee held an emergency conference and instructed the members in the doctrine of man's will in overcoming Nature, urging all to transform disappointment into strength. Then they aroused much enthusiasm among the crowd. Members of all races, like one family, pooled their forces for struggle against the calamity; they watered, weeded, added muck, hastening to save the injured harvest; what could not be saved, they replanted. That was in June. Fearing neither heat nor filth, they went down to the offal pits to dip up the "golden syrup"; and when going to the field took along gourds to catch the urine. After 20 days of rescuing crops, the crop was not only saved, but flourished more than before. However, "the Lord" was still not pleased; just as the wheat was about to be brought in, there came several heavy rains. But the tried and tested members were no longer afraid. Under the slogan "fight the rain, race with time," men and women, old and young, carts, animals and tractors all fell to, and in a few days all was safely garnered. Members proudly said: "We have the commune's power, let the Lord stare at us."

Collective Living Is Happiness Unbounded

The Uighurs have a proverb: "A myriad persons dripping water make a lake." A big collective body is better than a small, communes are better than collectives. After communes came and organized collective living, the women laughed and in large numbers escaped the encumbrance of stove and children and went to the fields. Women taking part in labor numbered 1,200 in busy farming times. Members were especially pleased with the communal diners. Diners were more sanitary than separately prepared meals at home, and made provision for different living habits of the races, with specially prepared milk, tea, cool spaghetti, and other tid-bits. One member said, "Last year my attention was given to two things, production and housework; now I get meals at the diner, and give my attention to producing."

The commune has instituted a system of distribution which conjoins a wage with a supply schedule, which better follows the principle of pay according to labor, and assures the members of ever-increasing income. Eating without expenditure is a big blessing, embracing aged, crippled, and children in a reliable social insurance. And members are given credit according to the evaluation of their work, and get wages every month; in the first half of the year, 126,000 yuan were paid out in wages, which further fanned their zeal. One member who

had five in the family, and only himself working, was in a collective 3 years and owed money every year. Now he has become rich, and says gratefully: "Only by doing more work can I repay the Party and Chairman Mao."

Next Year Surely Better Than This Year

A commune is "big family, big business." This is certainly true. In the one year of the commune's existence, the four teams have saved 55,000 yuan, bought five tractors, one seed-selector, and formed a tractor crew. People night and day hope for mechanization of agriculture, and a start has been made. Today, on the foundation of this big family and business, members from the various races are fully united and are eagerly responding to the Party Eighth Assembly appeal to oppose rightists, arouse fervor, strictly practice austerity. And while seizing a good autumn harvest, they prepare well for adding 11,000 mou and for expanding winter wheat by 25,000 mou, making a bigger leap forward. They sing:

"Mutual aid teams are like the stars, cooperatives like the moon;
Communes are large, and compared with the stars and moon, are
as the sun,
Each brighter, each stronger, than the last!

3. Flying Leaps in Education in Liang Shan

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In the Liang Shan slave society, I tribes really had no right to education. Even the few "schools" run by Kuomintang reactionaries in the border area were used as a camouflage for oppressing the I's and as places for seizing human resources.

After liberation, education began to flourish among the Liang Shan people. In 1952, the first flowers of education bloomed. Seven racial elementary schools were opened, and 361 I children started a new era of I children attending school. Adding the 16 Han schools in the border area, the whole chou at that time had 23 schools, with 1,517 pupils. As racial work proceeded, education expanded further; and by the democratic reforms of 1955, elementary schools had grown to 88, with 9,140 pupils; while in the Han areas were two junior middle schools, enrolling 255 students. But since democratic reforms had not appeared then, the slave system badly hindered the expansion of production and the progress of society. So educational work had to suffer the same limitations.

During 1956-57, Liang Shan put in democratic reforms, and the I people at last threw off the fetters of the slave system. Democratic reforms not only opened a road for flying leaps forward in economic construction in Liang Shan, but also offered a broad avenue for the flourishing of culture and education. By 1958, Liang Shan elementary schools had multiplied to 595, with 42,776 pupils, 32.3% of the school-age children there. Middle schools now numbered three, and three junior middle classes, with 2,415 students; kindergartens numbered 34 classes, enrolling over 1,600 children. Though schools had advanced with such speed, they still could not satisfy the masses' demands or the daily expanding needs of industry and agriculture, so they went on to open spare-time schools, which enrolled 6,300 youth. Anti-illiteracy work was also done, with over 60,000 young men enrolled. One year's growth exceeded that of several years before, truly a big leap forward.

This year, considering that our chou's elementary education was not yet universal, the aim was suggested of strengthening, raising, and likewise universalizing; asking that enrollment be enlarged to 52.2% of school-age children, that is, to number 55,990 pupils, an increase of 20% over the leap forward year of 1958; and that middle schools be brought up to eight, 50% more than in 1958. However, as of now, middle schools number 11 and elementary schools have reached 847. The number of both schools and of pupils far exceeds the original plan.

The most notable feature of education in Liang Shan is that it has grown from none to some and from small to large at a rapid rate.

This is the success of the Party's racial policy, the fruit of intimate care for the I people by both Party and government.

Liang Shan has from the beginning fulfilled the aim of serving proletarian politics, clearly recognizing that the development of racial education finds its weighty meaning in a radical transformation of the I tribe's concepts, enabling it to use important and long-term measures for building socialism in full harmony with progressive races. Before democratic reform, growth of education in Liang Shan was restricted, yet even then the promoting of education proved very useful for closing rifts and bettering racial amity. After this reform, education serving proletarian politics was a matter more directly and deeply understood. This directly stimulated and enlisted the slave children to attend school, giving them big advantages in politics and economics, such as preference in enrolling, full enjoyment of scholarship grants, and so on. Particularly since the big leap forward, with the aim of conjoining education with productive labor being fixed, all the chou's schools had trial plots and factories on the spot, and outside the schools helped the masses in productive labor; and many full elementary and middle schools took part in the iron and steel drive. The significance of students sharing in productive labor is unlimited; it adds knowledge, strengthens the physique, changes customs, and has a fine influence among the masses who exclaim: "Students trained by Chairman Mao are well-equipped in both body and mind." Since education in Liang Shan has for several years fulfilled the Party educational aim, it has grown both in quantity and quality."

The opening of educational work in Liang Shan has met the feature "poor and bare" and adopted a set of measures for quickly starting schools. At the beginning of liberation, we used racial schools supported by the government, and further provided that racial students in Han schools would have all food and books supplied by the government, and also 50% of their clothing, thus making it very advantageous for slave children to attend school. After democratic reform, racial education was vigorously expanded; a combination of public-management and people-management was employed, while frugality and part-time schedules were used. Particularly since the 1958 big leap forward, under the bright light of the Party main line of building socialism, there were concurrently used as the aim of walking on two legs public-managed and people-managed schools, general and vocational education, children's and adult education, and all-day and spare-time education. These measures got very big results.

Another weighty feature of Liang Shan's fast expanding education was the fulfilling of the mass line, stirring the masses to have schools, and fully believing that the masses could free themselves in culture. The story of this effort since the big leap forward has resounded even

more, and everywhere is seen the lively picture of the masses gathering money to run schools. They say:

"To eat grapes first build your arbor,
To wear clothes first spin your silk;
To build socialism, first learn culture."

Liang Shan education has grown up quickly by just relying on this good sense and hearty effort of the masses.

The development of education in Liang Shan is inseparably linked with the hard labor of 2,800 teachers struggling on the cultural front. Most of these teachers are Hans who have come here answering the fatherland's call. After arriving at their posts, despite language difficulties and equipment being poor or really lacking, racial indifference and other troubles, due to their great purpose to help their I brothers make an upward turn in culture, they conquered all, got results, winning the multitude's honor and confidence. Students called them "Dad" and "Mom," while parents called them Chairman Mao's good children. This is the popular evaluation and a glorious appellation.

Under the Party's care and bright light of the main line, Liang Shan education has taken root, bloomed, and has borne fruit. It will follow the expansion of other activities and will attain a yet bigger harvest.

4. Improve Training and Teaching of Workers From Minorities

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Under Party and government guidance, the bright light of the Party racial policy and the assistance extended by the government, the Kaz-tzu Tibetan Autonomous Chou for several years, and particularly since democratic reform, has been following the way of cooperatives in farming and in increasing livestock production, and has achieved much expansion in industry and other constructive projects. Now the chou has built and put into production 104 state enterprises of hsien rank and above: including smelting, electric power, coal mining, machine, paper-making, cement, mining, and other enterprises that produce 65 different products and a large quantity of mica, asbestos, green-pillar-stone and other industrial materials. Last year the value of the chou's industrial products was 59-fold more than that of 1950 (not including handicrafts and commune-run industries); and the value of industrial products was 15% of the total value of farm and herd products.

Following the expansion of industry, communications, and such constructive enterprises, the chou working-class ranks quickly grew up. Statistics say that the chou's industrial and communications systems now have 32,600 men; and the minority workers among them have grown from the 70-80 of the first days of liberation to 2,500. Chief among them are the Tibetans, but there are a few Huis and I's. Of the Tibetan workers, 95% are poor peasants and herders who feel deep enthusiasm about their becoming workers and taking part in building up the fatherland and their own home places. They love labor and the collectives, they humbly learn, they earnestly seek to catch up to advanced races at an early date; they love life, they love new things, are earnest and frank, and brave in struggling against evil men and deeds. This is their fundamental aspect. In another aspect, due to their age-long suffering and cruel exploitation by the feudal ruling class, and the racial oppression and contempt of Kuomintang reactionaries, the Tibetan workers are still more susceptible to religious control, so by and large their superstitions are deep-seated, scientific knowledge is lacking, living is rather free and dispersed, and selfishness rather strong.

The duty confronting the trade-unions is to train these lately matured minority-born workers under Party guidance to be working-class fighters with a high degree of Communist consciousness, strict organization and discipline, cultural and scientific knowledge, and possessing production skills. This involves a radical change in the backward status of racial areas, developing industries there, and making racial area construction a big question in the socialist fatherland big home. Therefore, the task of training and teaching racial workers is a tremendous and a glorious one.

Under Party guidance, our chous enterprises have all given heed to training and teaching workers from the minorities, and have gained very big results. These workers have made much progress in political ideology and in techniques and culture. Take the K'ang-ting wool-washing plant as an example. Its workers from the minorities, with training and teaching from the Party, patient help from Han workers, and their own efforts, already have 93% of their number freed from illiteracy, studying in red-and-expert schools, and in skills mostly of second rank. Last year after the "versatile" movement was started, each worker had mastered two or three different skills. Since their Party awareness was higher and production outstanding, 10% joined the Party, 25% the Corps, and 100% the trade-union.

In the work of training and teaching workers from the minorities, each enterprise must observe the following procedures.

1. Give attention to minority workers' work, study, and livelihood. When such workers begin work, the plant should instruct them in politics, techniques, and other matters along with the Han workers, with special attention to instructions on classes, the Party main line of building socialism, and the present aim and policy. Relate these instructions to actual circumstances in the racial area to the minority personal advantages, and the Party racial policy. Give proper attention to livelihood. See that Tibetans have enough utensils and clothing fit for productive labor. Link this with the instructions about classes and racial equality and amity to stimulate the old workers to express class friendship by giving clothes and utensils to the newly arrived Tibetan workers. When conditions permit, give them butter so they can feel in their daily lives the warmth of the big home of the races. Such instruction is very potent for workers from the minorities. They reply: "Factories are better than home, Party and agencies more dear than mother, Han comrades better than brothers." They keep on showing they want to learn from their Han comrades, and to strive hard to build up their own home regions.

In a portioning work, each unit must take into consideration the lack of skilled personnel among workers from the minorities and their scant acquaintance with culture and science, to assign them suitably and to appoint old workers to train them: men whose ideology is good and whose skills are high. The Tan-pa mica mine has opened wide "3 help, 5 good" activities to train minorities and new workers all along the line. Various plants have initiated apprentice contracts among minority and Han workers. Mutual teaching and learning, study and extension of advanced experience, demonstrations and observations, going away to study, changing work, taking courses in techniques, and practicing mutual aid in techniques are some of the methods used to raise ceaselessly minority and new worker skills in production.

In response to widespread demands from Tibetan workers for learning Han, (they reason that this is a short-cut for learning better from the Han workers), various plants have opened spare-time culture schools where such persons study Tibetan and are also helped to learn Han, so as to raise quickly their knowledge of science and techniques.

Each unit habitually holds informal chats among its minority workers to understand their desires and troubles in production and livelihood, to listen to their various ideas about the plants, and to genuinely investigate and solve problems. Executives in many companies also go far into work-sites, machine-shops, and living quarters for frank talks and visits, grasping rather systematically the thoughts of these minority workers, and giving instruction and help on their problems as the occasion demands.

2. Strengthen the teaching of Han workers in the racial policy and instruct all workers on racial amity. Let each plant make these two objectives an important element in the regular teaching of political ideology. Han workers should be taught to manifest the Communist spirit of the working class, to work contentedly in racial areas, to make helping brother races with constructive work their own glorious duty. Also, teach them to observe Party policies in all racial areas, to respect the customs of fraternal races, and ask them to overcome freely all remnants of Great Hanism. Censure and instruct those who work unwillingly in racial areas and who violate the racial policy. After being taught, most Han workers can properly fulfill the Party racial policy and respect fraternal races' customs. Minority workers, influenced by the conduct of Han comrades deeply feel how great is the Party racial policy, appreciate the warmth of the races' big home, and voluntarily examine and overcome trends to local nationalism. This improves race relations and strengthens racial amity.

3. Train and establish progressive minority workers and use them to stimulate others to try hard to catch up with them. For several years, there have appeared a large number of progressive producers and persons who are an example for the workers to learn from. One instance is that of the miner Mo Ko and the commando band of Tibetan youth that he led, known the nation over as progressive workers. Since this band was formed in 1953, due to the mine executives all taking charge of training and education, it has been an example of learning by Tibetan workers. This band has for six successive years been ranked as a model unit of the mine, and five times ranked as a model or progressive unit in the chou or province. Again and again they have sent delegates to the conferences of national socialist activist youth, winning awards from the Corps central committee; and they have attended the 1956 national conference of progressive producers. The third pit in this band's work-site was in 1956 ranked as the model

pit of the mine and attended the chou and provincial conferences of progressive producers. Workers in this pit in the first half of this year fulfilled the national plan with 140.1% of excellent achievements; and in the middle 10 days of March these workers did in one day the production tasks of a month, making a national record covering a number of years.

4. Training cadres and activists among the minorities depends on their improving the training and teaching of minority workers. Since they have natural ties with workers of their own race, they understand rather thoroughly the production and living habits of these workers. There are no language barriers, which helps the work along. Each unit in frequent political movements and social activities has trained a number of minority cadres and activists, and has freely assigned them work to do, so that in actual work they may get further discipline.

In sum, our chou's enterprises, under Party guidance, have done some work in training minority workers; but because we have not deeply learned and grasped the Party racial policy, or regularly investigated and studied, and have learned little from experience, our work has many defects and even errors. With Party guidance, the Party main line of building socialism, the spirit of the Eighth Assembly and of this year's March national conference on education of workers, with honest study of the Party racial policy and of progressive experience elsewhere, especially of similar work in other races, and conjoined with actual circumstances in our own chou, we are determined to improve the training and teaching of workers from the minorities, fully showing the function of the trade-unions' Communist schools to promote on all sides the quick maturing of minority workers, and to strive for the training of builders of Communism among the minorities.

II. ARTICLES FROM MIN-TZU T'UAN-CHIEH, NO 12, DECEMBER 1959, PEIPING

1. Great Achievements, Magnificent Advances

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This is the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic. In these unusual ten years, our great fatherland has experienced tremendous revolutionary struggles and won victories with much historical meaning. Like the rest of the nation, under the intelligent guidance and intimate interest of the Party and Chairman Mao, and with strong help from fraternal provinces and autonomous areas, the Hui autonomous area of Ningsia has made rapid growth and progress, gaining tremendous and brilliant achievements in politics, economics, and culture.

Ningsia is a region where Huis are found rather densely. Before liberation, under the harsh rule of Kuomintang reactionaries and of Ma Hung-k'uei, Huis and Hans alike lived in a state without democracy and freedom, afflicted with cold and hunger, backward in politics, economics and culture. In 1949, after liberation, they got democratic freedom and racial equality; and to discard thoroughly the old system, and the bondage of their thinking, quickly entered on the road to prosperity and growth. Under Party guidance, they went through a series of struggles in the democratic and socialist revolution. First they instituted reform in the land system, destroying the landlord economy; they wiped out bandits and counter-revolutionaries, fully stabilizing the social order; then followed complete socializing of farming, handicrafts, and capitalist trade and industry, changing the ownership of means of production, setting up socialist means of production. In 1957 there was opened reform and anti-rightist struggles, with censure of localism and local nationalism. At the same time, among the Huis was carried on a criticism against the religion-cloaked Ma Chen-wu and a struggle against evil men and deeds inside of Islamic circles. Each race's awareness rose as never before, thinking was much freed, great victories were on the political and ideological fronts. In 1958, communes spread over the area.

To protect the rights of the Huis for managing their own affairs and being masters in their own house, eventually in the Ningsia area there were formed the Ku-yuan and Wu-chung Hui autonomous chous and the Ching-yuan Hui Autonomous Hsien, and in 1958 the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region. The Party policy of racial regional autonomy was by degrees instituted, and greatly stimulated and aroused the Huis' enthusiasm, bringing big success to the democratic and socialist revolution. This big victory radically changed the old means of production, destroyed the exploiting class' reliance on the existing economic base, gave

socialist ideas an absolute advantage, and did away with the cause of racial rifts and animosities; while the new socialist race relations made further progress. Hui amity with other peoples was much strengthened and improved; also, since new socialist means of production had been adopted, the Huis' socialist consciousness constantly rose; racial amity was continually bettered; all the peoples of Ningsia threw off their economic and cultural backwardness, further development society's productivity and opening an avenue of unbounded dimension.

Through thorough application of the Party racial policy, the full victory of the democratic revolution and the ceaseless success of the socialist revolution, Ningsia economic and cultural construction have grown very much in the past 10 years. Particularly since 1958, under the bright light of the Party main line of building socialism, a big leap forward has been grandly started on all sides, constructive projects are everywhere flying forward and the former "poor and bare" status is being quickly changed. As to building up industry, before liberation the whole area had only a few half-ruined plants, with only about 300 workmen. Now, plants number 351, employing 100,000 workers, the value of industrial products increasing 8-fold over 1949. Formerly Ningsia was "bare-handed, without an inch of iron." In the iron-and-steel drive of last year, the region produced 30,000 tons of iron and 3,000 tons of copper. This year there have been built between 10 and 20 small furnaces, and one medium joint foundry is to be finished this year. Coal output in 1958 increased 70-fold over 1949. One huge coal field, that of Shih-chu-shan, producing several million tons of coal a year, is being rapidly developed. One pivotal project which gives radical control of the Yellow River, the Ch'ing-t'ung Pass project, started last year, will after completion in 1960, irrigate several million mou, and deliver 100,000 KW of electric power. In agricultural production, last year's total output of grain was more than 1.5-fold over pre-liberation. This year's grain output will be 1,770,000,000 chin, more than 1/10 larger than 1958. The 800,000 mou in 12 hsiens irrigated by Yellow River water, averaging 410 chin per mou, will advance by 8 years the striding over the "Yellow River." Irrigation work has sped forward for several years, and popular movements for more irrigation keep on arising. The entire irrigated acreage of the region has increased from the 1,550,000 mou of pre-liberation times to 5,380,000 mou or 2½ fold. Forestation and soil conservation have accomplished very big results. This is by degrees changing the arid country's condition of "two droughts in three years, 9 harvest-failures in 10 years." As to culture and education, 95% were illiterate when liberation first came; there were only 45,000 elementary pupils, and not a single higher school, while now 80% of the young men are literate or half literate, elementary pupils have grown 4-fold, and there are 3 higher schools. With the expansion of economy and culture, the masses' living conditions are continually rising and improving. The former pitiful condition of laboring people, "nothing to sleep on, nothing to wear, nothing to cook," is now gone forever.

Ningsia's tremendous achievements in the past 10 years are the fruit of intelligent guidance by the Party and Chairman Mao, and the brilliant victory of the Party racial policy. Ningsia's peoples have learned through personal experience: "Only by listening to the Party and Chairman Mao, and by salking the socialist path, can we spend good days." This firm faith is assailable by neither rain nor wind.

Following the Party main line building socialism and a whole kit of aims for "walking on two legs," conjoined with actual circumstances in Ningsia, in this coming period the aim and task in economic construction will be: foster industry and farming side by side, and over a fairly long period, strongly keep agricultural output to the fore, trying hard to show comparatively soon the mechanization of both farming and herding. In farming, concentrate on grain, truly carry out the "Eight Word Charter" and the aim of fostering in common the five means of livelihood. As to industry, emphasize coal mining, and strongly develop smelting and the machine, electric, and other industries that aid agricultural production, such as chemical fertilizer, insecticides, machines and tools. Actively develop the building materials industry, light industry, chemicals, oil-refining, textiles, foods, and transport. Further improve finance and trade to serve better farming and industrial production and the people's living.

To ensure the realization of these aims and tasks, all peoples in the region are fully executing the Eighth Assembly decisions, continuing to oppose rightism, arouse fervor, stir up a tremendous fresh drive for austerity, liberate thinking, destroy superstition, push technological reform and revolution, strengthen racial amity and mutual aid, and initiate socialist competition. In learning from the progressive, compare oneself with them and catch up with them. We must try hard to fulfill every plan ahead of time this year, fully preparing for next year's first season of production and construction going on victoriously to accomplish next year's continuing big leap forward.

2. Red Banner on the Grass Plains

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Last year, amidst the tidal sweep of the commune movement, the first red banner hung up was that of the Ta-lai commune, in the Ta-lai lake region of Hu-lun Pei-erh grass plain in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Like the sun, it sent out glamorous brilliance and limitless warmth, warming the hearts of the dwellers on the prairie.

The Ta-lai commune grew up on the foundation of the victory of socialist revolution and construction during the big leap forward in production, after a struggle against reactionary forces.

Beginning with 1953, the movement for mutual aid teams and cooperatives has grown a great deal. In June 1956, 9 primary grade herding cooperatives were formed, and 2 public-private stock-farms, one or the other accounting for 65.7% of the herders and 80% of the animals; and after the coming of cooperatives, herding production was increased much. While the movement was being started, the herders' socialist consciousness was being gradually raised. From personal experience they found out that going it alone was not like mutual aid, and this not as good as the cooperative system. After the 1957 popular reform movement and teaching of socialism, particularly after the 1958 grand proclaiming of the Party main line, and the proposal of the Party committee of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region to emphasize herding to develop a diversified economy, and to hasten socialist construction, there was stirred up a big leap forward in production, a high tide of cooperatives was reached, and there began a mighty rive for production, by getting fodder, building shelters and enclosures, selecting the fat, breeding, and so on. Those herders knew well that the structural form of cooperatives did not fit the conditions of the big leap forward, yet even single-handed and hired keepers rushed to join the cooperatives. Those in small cooperatives begged to change them into large ones, and to alter them to a stock-holding form. Then on this prairie came a high tide of many herders joining cooperatives, and a new situation of merging and enlarging cooperatives. In July 1958, the 9 primary-grade cooperatives rose to 11, and at the end of August, 11 primary-grade cooperatives, 2 joint stock-farms, and some single-handed and hired herders together organized 3 big cooperatives. Early in October a further combination made these 3 big ones into a su-mu (district) cooperative. The former restriction of permitting only animals with offspring to join the cooperative was now changed so that 90% of the animals could join; thus altering the distribution plan of pay according to labor and in proportion to animal shares, to the plan of giving the owner fixed pay according to the estimated value of the animal. This big cooperative covered 150 sq. km. with 414 families

and 1,804 persons. Of these, 267 families numbering 1,184 persons were Mongol herders by occupation; 123 families numbering 488 persons were Han, mostly handicraftsmen; besides there were a few Ta-kan-erh, Manchus, and O-wen-k'os. Judging from its size, its many racial members, and the extent of its business, while this was called a large cooperative, it was in fact already a commune. Soon after the large cooperative was formed, the good news of villages throughout the nation forming communes kept coming, greatly stimulating our people, and they came in groups of 3-5 to the su-mu Party committee asking for a commune. The committee about the middle of November, conforming to the wish of the masses, converted the large cooperative into a commune. At that time the members were overjoyed, carrying the glad news on horseback, hailing the commune's birth.

The movement for communes among the prairie dwellers rushed on madly, breaking down all obstacles to its progress, becoming an irresistible force. During the crest of the movement, some herd-owners and upper-class lamas, still cherishing the idea of walking the capitalist path, were unwilling to renounce exploitation of hired laborers. In every way possible they hindered and harmed the popular movement for communes, starting rumors such as "Communes will confiscate your animals," and "Communes will empty your animal pens." The people of the pastures, under direct guidance from the local Party committee, held an ethical debate with these big herd-owners and upper-class lamas who desired to preserve individual economy and capitalist economy, pointing out that they were persisting in walking the path of a few getting rich at the expense of the many having a hard time. Full of confidence, the herders said: "Communes last forever, like the water in the Ta-lai Lake, the commune's animals flourish like the fish in Ta-lai Lake." As a result of this debate, the slanders of said owners and lamas were stringently refuted. The herders' socialist consciousness rose sharply, their determination and confidence to walk the socialist path became stronger. The commune movement also rebuked some cadres whose rightist conservatism was expressed in the words: "Herding areas are backward, they cannot widely adopt communes as the rest of the country has done."

Facts witness that in both farming and in herding areas, the widespread founding of the commune system fully conforms to the inevitable laws of the development of society in China. Rightist opportunist remarks are wholly without foundation when they say: "Communes are started early and poorly"; "They have exceeded the level of objective growth"; "They are the subjective mouthings of a few."

The arrival of cooperatives and communes brought two very radical changes: the cooperatives changed the individual herding economy into a collective, the commune altered small group ownership into big group ownership. This caused the age-long Ta-lai lake basin's backward, weak, scattered economy to walk the steady, fast development road.

Founding of the commune has strengthened Party leadership. Just after it was founded, there was a shuffling of the Party committee and su-mu committee cadres, further making wholesome each production team's Party group and administrative staff. Each team formed a Party branch and assigned 15 stalwart cadres to go out to each team to the Party branch secretaries and team captains. This on the one hand strengthened Party resources for guidance, on the other brought Party groups still nearer to the populace, and in close touch with production, so they could promptly listen to the masses' ideas, and promptly solve remaining problems of production.

All Party groups in the commune fully stirred the masses, taking a large part in popular movements and continuing to apply deeply the Party main line of building socialism. The plan of self-expression and debate was used, with ceaseless struggle against all sorts of rightist conservatism that hindered the firmness and growth of the commune and the expansion of stock-raising, and a tireless struggle was carried out against self-satisfaction, while a firm psychological foundation was laid for the growth of the commune and herding. Also used were competition, spot conferences, exhibits and other devices to push production.

The commune, relying on the excellent factors of abundance of labor and funds, put labor on a unified program, making a just distribution among herding, industry, farming, side-lines, basic construction and the like; while in production it popularized the "three guarantees, one award" system of guaranteeing work, output, and investment, with an award for surplus. As to unified management of herds, they resolutely instituted the eight measures for multiplying and preserving animals: Open up fountains, solve the problem of pasture and fodder, raise the survival rate, improve breeds, better the control of feeding, guard against calamity, repair shelters and pens, and remodel tools.

Due to the aforesaid causes, the Ta-lai commune in the less than a year since its founding has manifested strong resources and gained brilliant results. First, it has speeded the expansion of herds. In the herding year 1 July 1958-30 June 1959, the number of head increased 36,166, a lead of 84.5% over the 1958 increase of 19,163 head. Deducting for loss through slaughter, sale, and disasters, the net rate of gain was 25.8%. The total number of head grew from 102,381 in 1958 to 128,907 in 1959. This truly is expansion at an unheard of rate!

The Ta-lai commune, to foster a many-sided economy, has opened up a broad avenue. Following the aim put forth by the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Party committee: "Keep herding primary, conjoin farming, herding, and forestry, develop a many-sided economy," and

by using its own favorable factors of labor and funds being abundant and skills concentrated, and by bearing in mind the special aptitudes of Mongols, Hans, and other racial members, this committee has made a unified organization of labor and materials for a vigorous expansion of production. In industry the commune established electricity, wood and iron, leather, milk products, rugs, and shoe plants, six in all. In the first 10 months of this year, the value of the products of these plants amounted to over 40,000 yuan. In agriculture, the commune organized a production team and opened up 630 mou of land, adding it to the original 120 mou of the former cooperative. The commune now has 750 mou which is planted in barley, oats, lucerne, millet and other grains and feeds; also beans, cabbage, celery, turnips, melons, and the like; and although suffering floods in September of this year, they could still partially solve fodder and food problems. The commune, while fostering industry and farming side by side, has also pushed side-line production. A side-line production team was organized embracing over 130 of the members, which since last winter has utilized spare time in herding to operate 150 camel carts for transport, dig sodium sulphate, cut reeds, hunt, fish, and other side-line tasks.

In the first ten months of this year, the income from all side-lines was over 93,400 yuan, over twice more than for the whole of last year. Besides, a hog-farm has been started, and 50 mou of forest planted.

The growth of many-sided management has quickly changed the prairie economy solely devoted to herding into one where "herding is primary, industry and farming pursued side by side, with farming, forestry, herding, side-lines and fishing being comprehensively developed"; while at the same time the income of both the commune and its members has been augmented. The growth of a many-sided economy is very favorable for steady and speedy growth of stock-raising. This year the commune's wood-iron shop has made for the commune 700 iron-wheel carts and wooden carts, the felt plant made 1,500 Mongol rugs and 1,000 pairs of felt shoes, and the leather plant processed sheep hides which had been stitched by the members. All these testify to the commune's provision and the members' needs. In the past, while there were many milch cows, due to shortage of labor and lack of processing quarters, the herders got little milk for their own use. After the commune this year made a unified assignment of labor, 330,000 kg. of milk was marketed, more than three-fold more than last year. This milk, which is processed in the commune plant into butter, milk-powder and so on, is sold all over the nation.

The commune is a good school for inculcating in the members socialism, Communism, and racial amity. After communes became prevalent, the members' socialist awareness rose notably; they loved the

the commune as their own home, and in particular a brand-new relation was instituted between man and man. Before communes, Mongol-Han amity and mutual aid was mostly shown in trade. Mongol herders had to turn over their animal products to Han artisans for processing, solely in this way getting their daily needed felts, warm shoes, tanned leather, and such articles of daily use. Han artisans too could only get the things needed for their own production and living by means of such exchange. After communes came, Mongols and Hans were in a united commune, laboring together, learning from and helping each other, laboring directly to satisfy each other's needs. The commune, making the Han artisans primary, started six small factories and organized farming, side-lines, and building specialist teams to make houses, felts, warm shoes, leather clothing and other consumer goods directly for Mongols. This satisfied the Mongol herders' production and livelihood needs and solved the problem of the Han members having not been able to keep producing the year round for lack of means of production. Likewise they learned each other's production skills and experiences. This promoted the growth of all constructive enterprises in the commune and the common development of all the races.

After communes came, the members' material and cultural living rose notably. Due to the growth of herding and other kinds of production in the Ta-lai commune, the income of the commune and its members followed suit. This year the commune's total income amounted to 1,005,300 yuan, of which 103,000 was members' income from side-lines at home. This is more than double that of last year's primary-grade cooperative. Deducting reserve and welfare funds, cost of production and other accumulations by the commune and teams, and government taxes, the members' share can reach 496,760 yuan; and adding earnings from home side-lines, members' income may reach 600,000 yuan, more than 50% of the commune total, or 332 yuan for each individual, 50% more than last year. A study of the 73 households of the commune's second team shows that during the 8 months between November and the end of June this year, in preliminary distribution 14 homes got over 1,000 yuan, 20 over 500, and the lowest got 102. Over 50% of the commune members' families had a gain in income.

Due to the rise in income, the members' buying power grew rapidly. Between January and September of this year, sales in commune stores alone amounted to 112,149 yuan, 94.32% more than all through last year. Members quite generally changed to new Mongol wraps which were in ample supply. In every settlement the herders built 30 or more new houses, some of which were equipped as few city homes are, with spring mattresses, electric lights, radios and the like; while almost every home had a sewing-machine, and herders' wardrobes included silk and woolen garments of handsome colors. People's best costumes vied with the prairie sky for brilliance, and people looked like blossoms from the plain.

With the coming of communes, culture, education, and health flourished a great deal. Students grew in number from last year's 102 to 141. In the whole commune are left only 28 illiterates, all the others having discarded their dunce-caps; so the commune has become a "culture commune." Now most members' homes subscribe to a newspaper. Their amusement life, health and welfare work show much improvement. In a temple on the commune premises there has been founded a club, a radio station, a health center and a joint Chinese-Western health station, while each production team has provided itself with two physicians. The commune has decided on free treatment for members becoming ill in the course of duty, and days absent for sickness to be counted as labor days. Pregnant women are to have 50 days for accouchement, also reckoned as labor days. At the team's quarters, a seasonal nursery has been set up. The "five guarantees" are applied to the aged who have lost their strength and have no one to depend on.

All the above have been warmly welcomed by the members and the prairie people say: "Communes are good. In the past the following was current among herders: 'The rich cannot stand a storm, the brave cannot stand a bullet.'" These sayings reflect the unsteady nature of the herding economy when productivity is low, before organization. Now the herders say: "Now with a commune, steady growth of stock-raising is guaranteed, and we will never again fear a storm." Due to growth of all kinds in the commune, income has risen for all strata everywhere, laborers' awareness has flown forward; and the old doubt, wavering, discontent, and even opposition of rich herders and herd-owners toward the commune has had to be changed. The owner Wu-erh-t'u-na-shun, on receiving 1,000 yuan preliminary distribution, said; "I have never received so much money at once in all my life." Now they are saying as the herders do: "Collective riches are secure, but not those of an individual."

The above proves that when communes are run well, they are "very, very good"; and are not like what rightist opportunists say, "run poorly" and "very, very bad."

Now the members of the Ta-lai commune are raising the red banner of the main line and of the commune; they are a spirited horse galloping forward, continuing to rush forward to a bright and happy future.

3. Like a Family

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With the coming of communes, China's friendly race relations entered a new stage. People will ask, What are race relations in the commune really like? Recently we did a bit of investigating in the East Wind commune in Wu-su Hsien. Take a look at the real state of affairs there!

East Wind commune is in the northwest part of Wu-su Hsien city in Sinkiang. In this fertile region at the foot of T'ien Shan, there live Hans, Kazakhs, Uighurs, and Huis as fraternal races. In the five production teams, the Hsi-hu and Ma-ch'ang-hu teams are mostly in Han territory, with some from the other races; T'ou-t'ai and Ch'e-p'ai-tzu teams are mostly in Kazakh land, with a few from other races; Kan-ho-tzu is a mixed population with Hans predominating.

Wu-su does not have a very good history of race relations. Before liberation, Kuomintang Great Hanism reactionary rulers cruelly oppressed all races and sowed dissension among them, thus causing many rifts, sometimes leading to armed conflict. Of course, this is one aspect of past race relations. In such disturbances, there are many instances of races protecting each other. Yet the influence of the rifts has been very deep. In the early days of liberation, there were many disputes between Hans and other peoples over letting hogs roam, or allowing animals to consume harvests. After the coming of cooperatives, and especially communes, things were entirely different. The four fraternal races in the East Wind commune have now formed a big home of amity and friendship. Such an atmosphere of sincerity, warmth, amity and unity among members from different races has caused men everywhere to feel, "The races are like a family."

The outstanding example of race relations in the East Wind commune is the members from different races working side by side and living together in harmony. They labor and live together, learning from each other and making progress together. Now all the members are cooperating in production, already not merely among families, homes, and individuals, but among teams sometimes 100 li apart; and there have developed relations of mutual help in human and material resources. Last winter, just after the commune was organized, the Hsi-hu and T'ou-t'ai teams jointly built a reservoir, which has increased the irrigation area by 3,000 mou this year, and can add ten thousand mou when finished next year. Last year the Hsi-hu team had difficulties with grain and fodder, so the T'ou-t'ai supplied them with 20,000 chin of wheat and 70,000 chin of corn. In spring of this year, the Hsi-hu team was busy with planting paddy while the T'ou-t'ai and Ch'e-p'ai-tzu teams were slack in farm work; so the T'ou-t'ai assigned them 12 oxen to help for 2 months; while the

Ch'e-p'ai-tzu assigned 15 oxen and 5 men to help for 1 month. At wheat harvest, that of the Ch'e-p'ai-tzu ripened 10 days earlier than the Hsi-hu's; so the latter sent 1 man, 1 reaper, and 2 horses to help the former reap 260 mou; the Kan-ho-tzu team sent 2 men, 2 reapers, and 4 horses to help them for 18 days, reaping 405 mou. When the Ch'e-p'ai-tzu harvest was over, they at once helped Kan-ho-tzu and Hsi-hu reap. During the autumn planting of wheat, Kan-ho-tzu did not have enough water, so it went over and planted 4,000 mou of Ch'e-p'ai-tzu land. In the past, such a thing was impossible; anyone wishing to do so would meet with local opposition. But now, not only do Ch'e-p'ai-tzu members not resist, but they want to help with the problems of seed, water, grain, and feed. They gave the Kan-ho-tzu team 30,000 chin of fine seed wheat (Ukraine 83), 5,000 of corn, 1,000 bundles of clover, and appointed a man to help them look after water. Such mutual aid among the races brought the members much stimulus, greatly raising their enthusiasm for productive labor. In June of this year, when Ch'e-p'ai-tzu's 8,000 mou of winter wheat was ripening and when it seemed they could not hasten reaping for shortage of labor and that they would suffer a loss, reaping-machines came from Kan-ho-tzu and Hsi-hu teams, along with the commune Party secretary. Popular enthusiasm rose at once. Men and women, old and young, all who had strength went out to the fields to reap wheat. Children were put in the nursery, every house was locked. Even the 60-year old woman K'a Jih-i'ai in one day cut $2\frac{1}{2}$ mou of wheat, exceeding the women's quota of 2 mou for all day. A skilled reaper cut 9 mou in 1 day, and demonstrated and told his advanced experience to the crowd. They said: "This truly is the commune being good, and the races united. Since the Han big brothers have come thus far to help us reap wheat, we promise to finish our task of quick reaping."

Such friendly relations among the races in East Wind commune are also seen in their respect for each other's customs. These varying customs arise out of differing social and historical conditions, a fact not at all surprising. But before liberation, since these customs differed, inter-racial chasms were created and there was even contempt and quarreling. After liberation, all customs began to be respected, and with the coming of communes, they were the more so. Take eating, for example. The diners of the East Wind commune give full recognition to different customs. Here, some big teams run separate diners according to the members' customs. Some teams have followed the wishes of members by starting joint diners, where ordinarily everyone eats Moslem food; but when Han members want to eat pork, they take it home to cook. In some teams Kazakh and Uighur members are very few, sometimes just one or two families; so they take the way of having grain, oil, vegetables, meat and so on apportioned to them, which they take home and prepare for themselves. The minorities in like manner respect the Hans. In the Kan-ho-tzu team there

were 3 sections with but few Hans; at this year's mid-autumn festival the diner supplied each Han member family with half a chin of oil; in the Ch'e-p'ai-tzu team, the three sections had only 2 Han families; but at this year's Spring Festival they shot a wild boar for them to eat. Such good feeling was never known before. Because these minority people on seeing a hog would shun it, who would go out to hunt one? Heretofore the minorities would oppose the Hans eating pork; now they not merely do not object, they even ask the Hans to raise hogs. For hog raising can augment income and provide manure for promoting production. Besides, every New Year's, members from different races call on each other and warmly exchange greetings. That members from different races thus respect each other's customs fully attests to their equality, friendliness, and unity.

These friendly relations among the races in the East Wind commune are more evident in the members' interest in each other, and in mutual aid. The branch secretary of the three sections of Kan-ho-tzu team, Ha-ssu-mu (a Kazakh), was unusually thoughtful of Han members in their illness, and learning that there were ill persons in the Li and Jen homes, he turned over to them one of the diner's milch cows to be milked for the ill persons. And this section's public nurse Chao Ying (a Han), took much interest in and care for Kazakh children who in turn loved her, affectionately calling her "Mama." Kazakh mothers were very grateful to her. A caretaker in the Home for the Aged, Liu by name, (a Han), treated both Han and minority inmates very nicely indeed. Members from the different races drew no lines, on occasion of marriage or funeral they expressed rejoicing or sadness and helped each other in time of trouble. At their assigned posts, they would learn from each other, frequently exchanging experiences and using surpluses to supplement want. Kazakh members have given rather little time to farming and their skills are shallow; Han members are always trying to help them become skillful, while they humbly learn. Many who have known little about farming are now adept at it. Many members of different races, because of this friendliness and reliance, do not want to be separated. The three sections of the Hsi-hu team had only one Kazakh family which lived in a mutual aid team from the beginning with a Han family, and since relations are so good, just will not move to where there are more Kazakhs. A young Kazakh in Ma-ch'ang-hu, who learned from a Han how to operate a reaper, would rather stay among the Hans than move to a team where Kazakhs are more numerous. When the team wanted to move its quarters, and was mobilizing this section's 8 Kazakhs to a section with more Kazakhs, they all declined to leave the Hans.

With the coming of communes, contacts and travel among the races became more complex, so there was increased emphasis on learning each other's languages. In the multi-racial Lin-ho-tzu team, there used to arise numerous misunderstandings through the lack of a common

language. Now that Kazakh and Uighur members are familiar with Han, there are more and more Hans who can use a few words of Kazakh. In the mostly Kazakh T'ou-t'ai and Ch'e-p'ai-tzu teams, Kazakh has become locally current. Uighurs, Huis, and a few Hans can use it. But in daily intercourse Kazakh and Uighur are in fact used in common; one speaking Kazakh or Uighur is not necessarily one of that race. Among them, chasms caused by language are gradually being closed. Members of a race now consider it an honor to know another language. Members from the minorities, especially youth and cadres, earnestly ask to learn spoken and written Han. They know that having learned these they will be released from the small confines of race and can the better absorb advanced science and culture. In the Ch'e-p'ai-tzu team school, besides middle schools having each week 5-6 hours in Han courses, in many elementary schools where there are no Han students, now due to the request of Hui, Uighur, and Kazakh students, preparations are being made to establish Han language classes. In the Hsi-hu team elementary school, four families of Kazakh and Uighur students are voluntarily studying Han, and one Han student is studying in a Kazakh language class. Such things never happened in the past. They fully show how friendly and united are local race relations.

The above-named facts fully show the brand-new race relations within the East Wind commune. How were these socialist relations brought about? This is discussed below.

First, the greatness and correctness of the racial policy of the Party and Chairman Mao have been a definite factor in strengthening racial amity. Before liberation, under the reactionary rule of Kuo-mintang Great Hanism, the policy of racial oppression was pursued and the minorities in our country had no position of equality. After liberation, the Party and government wiped out the system of racial oppression and promoted the policy of racial regional autonomy, enabling minority communities to establish autonomous places and agencies, to realize the rights of being master and exercising control over the race's internal affairs, and to obtain political equality. Scattered minorities were also protected in their right to enjoy racial equality. Moreover, the Party and government strongly helped to develop the minorities' economy and culture, vigorously raising their standards of living, gradually eliminating all factual inequality among the races. Taking the Kazakh as an example, in 1954 they set up the I-li Kazakh Autonomous Chou, realizing the right of being masters in their own house. In Wu-su the Kazakhs comprise only 29% of the population, yet in the hsien official organization, a Kazakh is magistrate and another is Party secretary. Of cadres who are section heads or deputies in the hsien committee, or who are section heads or deputies of people's councils of office rank or above, Kazakhs comprise 34%. Since liberation, with help from the Party and government, Kazakh production has grown year after year, with their standard of living rising

all the time. For example, the Kazakh community Ch'e-p'ai-tzu team last year netted 600 yuan for each family, doubling that of the days soon after liberation; and now wherever one goes, the minorities are no longer suffering contempt or insult. As one of their old men said: "In the past we were crushed underfoot, now we are in heaven. All this has been brought by the Party and Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao is the father of all our races' peoples."

Second, democratic reform and socialist construction have wiped out the social origins of racial oppression. Racial oppression began as a reflection of class oppression in race relations. Before liberation, the land around Wu-su was mostly owned by Han landlords. There were also some landlords who were Uighurs, or of other minorities, chiefly Kazakhs; the land was very little in quantity, most of it pastured or cultivated for the Han landlords. Before liberation, the T'ou-t'ai team had four Han families, all of them being landlords, who occupied all the land around there, and wanted money from the Kazakhs for pasturage, firewood, and even land-rent for a hut. Boundaries between the races were very strict. There were even signs posted forbidding strangers to pass one step beyond the "thunder pool." Such rifts and animosities among the races clearly were caused by cruel class oppression and exploitation. After liberation, under Party guidance, there was land reform, with the extinction of the landlord class. All peoples in struggling together built up a revolutionary friendship and in distributing the fruits showed mutual consideration and care, radically eliminating racial chasms caused by past class oppression. After land-reform, the various races, under Party guidance, walked the path of mutual aid teams and cooperatives, organizing groups for such purposes. In these political struggles, the races learned from and helped each other, fostered production, improved living, and strengthening inter-racial amity and unity, thus even more doing away with historical rifts.

Again, selfless aid by the liberation army implanted a bright example of racial amity. Two East Wind commune teams, T'ou-t'ai and Ch'e-p'ai-tzu, were just in the midst of the collective farm of the Production-Construction Army Corps. Since the farm's founding, its help to these two teams in human and material resources and in production skills has been very large. Take Ch'e-p'ai-tzu as an example: Before liberation this area was a wilderness with matted growth and many wild beasts, and few human dwellers save some nomad Kazakhs. In 1950, the aforesaid Corps came here and for the first time opened up this rich soil. After the 1952 land reform, five families of Kazakh herders, led by Mao Tan, settled here. The troops built them up into a mutual aid team and helped them plan production. They were short of work animals, so they plowed with camels; they lacked tools and seed, and the troops helped them with this problem. They had no skill at farming, so the troops sent men to teach them. Through

this unselfish help, their production grew year after year, and so did their mutual aid. In 1957 they formed a primary cooperative of 27 families. At this time, with abundance of labor and resource, they were far better off than in the days of mutual aid; but many difficulties remained. Seed and tools were sorely lacking, and in all this they looked to the troops for help. In 1958 they joined with two other cooperatives to form a collective farm; membership was enlarged to 224 families and output increased. This year they exchanged some land with the troops, who built for them new houses of one style. Now the whole team has 319 families, 1114 men, 30,000 mou of land, and over 200 work animals. It is estimated they can this year harvest 3,393,560 chin of grain and 87,280 chin of cotton bolls. That is, 2,300 chin of grain and 6,000 chin of cotton, not counting other crops such as tobacco, melons and so on will be produced per person. Besides, they have 2,000 large animals and 12,800 sheep. These age-long Kazakh nomads are now settled in new houses, with no more worries about food or clothing. This unselfish aid from the troops has deeply impressed Kazakh adults and children alike. Just mention the liberation army and all will raise their thumbs and say it is good. They fully recognize that but for this army's help they could never have settled down, much less developed farm and herd output. For this reason, they are willing to be always close to this army, never caring to move away. They have earnestly asked that the collective farm cadre Wang San-hsiao, who has helped them several years in succession, be assigned to help the team in its work. Wang later became the Party committee secretary.

Finally, and most important, is the fact that the commune's founding has truly welded people of different races into one family. Everyone knows that the old society's race prejudice was born on the foundation of small production and private ownership. The exploiting class used this habitual prejudice of small producers to arouse racial discord, create rifts, cause racial contempt and oppression. Only by overthrowing reactionary rule and destroying the exploiting class could racial oppression be wiped out and racial equality and amity appear. And only as private ownership was done away with and the small producers' forms of production and livelihood were changed, would the social origins that cause racial prejudice be eliminated. In our country, ever since national liberation, racial oppression has been done away with and racial equality has appeared, thus greatly improving racial friendliness and unity. Since democratic reform and socialist construction, the exploiting class and private ownership have disappeared, and each race has built a foundation for friendly cooperation not merely in politics but also in economics. The cooperatives were rather small in size, and growth of mutually helpful relations among the races still suffered definite limitations. Only as communes came could such helpful relations advance. In 1957, T'ou-t'ai and Hsi-hu collective farms had a dispute over irrigation. But

after communes became prevalent, these two teams jointly built a reservoir and increased the irrigated area. This year, T'ou-t'ai planted 2,000 mou of paddy and reaped an unprecedented harvest. If the commune had not enlarged the foundation for racial friendly cooperation and in politics raised the races' awareness and fostered relations of mutual help, could such results have possibly been obtained? A commune is not merely an organization for production, but also for living. The quality of "big and just" makes all peoples in the big home of a commune work and live together with no distinction in political station or economic living. Thus they are truly one family. For this reason, their thoughts and feelings have been correspondingly changed. They will never again treat brother races as strangers but as home folks, forming brand new socialist racial relations. The commune has built a firm social foundation for augmenting racial amity, for fostering socialist relations. This is the historical contribution of the commune for fostering race relations in our country.

4. Flying Growth in the Kweichow Minority Areas

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The population of the minorities living in Kweichow is 4 million, about 1% of the total population of the province. Before liberation, the life of the laboring people was full of hardship. Following Kweichow's liberation in 1949, they began to walk the path of a new life. For the past 10 years, all people under the intelligent guidance of the Party central committee and Chairman Mao, and under the bright light of the main lines of the transition age and of building socialism, have experienced a series of revolutionary movements. The people's socialist consciousness has risen as never before, there has been a huge growth in building economics and culture, and race relations have seen radical deep changes.

I

Racial regional autonomy is the fundamental policy of the Party central committee and Chairman Mao for solving China's race problem. Applying this policy is an important task of racial work in our province. In line with the central committee's directive, and according to distribution of races and other practical conditions in our province, and after genuine preparation, we have formed the Ch'ien-tung-nan Miao and T'ung autonomous chous, the Ch'ien-nan Pu-i and Miao autonomous chous, the San-tu Shui and Sung-t'ao Miao autonomous hsiens, the Wei-ning I, Hui, and Miao autonomous hsiens, besides over 140 racial hsiangs. The forming of racial regional autonomies has further strengthened inter-racial and intra-racial amity, has promoted mutual aid, learning from each other, and common progress. It has fanned patriotism among the races, raised socialist awareness, furthered close relations between the Party and the races, tightened the ties between the autonomous agencies and the people, aroused popular enthusiasm for building socialism, and stimulated the advance of socialist revolution and construction in these areas. In sum, since inaugurating the right of "master in one's own house" of minorities in managing their own internal affairs, they can develop racial regional autonomy, according to local circumstances and characteristics, following the socialist path in politics, economics and culture; and also along with fraternal races in the united fatherland big home, they can together build a socialist fatherland.

With the forming of racial regional areas and further applying of the racial policy, a large number of minority cadres quickly matured and became strong. In 1951 there was founded the Kweichow Races' College, which in the past few years has trained over 3,400 minority cadres, and in a planned way selected and sent on racial cadres to the Central Races' Institute, and Southwest Races' Institute for study; and technical schools have taken in a large quantity

of minority cadres for study. Still more noteworthy is the promoting of a large number of activists thrown up in political movements and in actual work. As of now, the province has 20,000 minority cadres, about 3% of this number being leading ones of hsien rank or above, and most of them enthusiastically apply all Party policies, promote racial amity, and do revolutionary and constructive projects. Many of these progressive elements have gloriously joined the Party or the Corps.

II

In the past 10 years, with the establishment of land reform and cooperatives, the socialist construction of handicrafts and of capitalist trade and industry, the reform and anti-rightist struggles and the broad deep censure of nationalism, the Kweichow minority areas have won a great socialist victory on the political, economic and ideological front. Men's socialist and Communist consciousness rose rapidly, and added to this was strong help in human, material, and financial resources from the Party and from Hans, thus causing an onrush in all sorts of production and construction. Particularly after the Party enunciated the main line of building socialism, due to the big leap forward and the coming of communes, the minority areas' backward status showed a fundamental change. In agricultural production, according to figures from five racial autonomies, the 1958 value of all farm output exceeded that of 1957 by about 45%, and grain output was 2½ times that of 1949. Each person's grain rose from an average of about 400 chin in the early days of liberation to over 940 chin in 1958. The drought of 1958-1959 was unprecedented in many places, several months or even half a year being without rain to speak of. But the people, relying on the commune's unexcelled strength, under Party guidance, firmly implanted the idea "Man's will overcomes Nature," aroused tremendous fervor, struggled obstinately against the dry weather, repaired countless irrigation works, in some cases carrying the water, and in the end reaped a very large harvest. This year, on the foundation of last year's leap forward, they again conquered serious floods, drought, and insects, getting a big harvest. The Ch'ien-nan Autonomous Chou has already reaped 1,230,000 mou of paddy (77% of the acreage), with a unit yield of 831 chin, this being 37.3% higher than last year; the Ch'ien-tung-nan Autonomous Chou, near the end of September had reaped 1,100,000 mou of paddy with a unit yield of 904 chin; while Chien-ho Hsien averaged 1,317 chin per mou, the total yield being 61.18% over last year. Huang-p'ing Hsien averaged 1,150 chin per mou, this being 43.5%, exceeding this year's contract production quota by 35.3%. The high and dry Wei-ning Autonomous Hsien has already reaped paddy averaging over 800 chin per mou.

Forestry, herding, side-lines, fishing, and the like are also growing. "Depend on and live by the hills, climb them to get your treasures" is an important aspect, not to be neglected, of increasing income through a many-sided, hill-country economy. Particularly forestry, which occupies a fair position in minority economic life, is rapidly flourishing. Five racial autonomies in 1958 planted 15 million mou in trees, 10 times as many as in 1957, and cut 87,000 cu.m. of timber, aiding the San-men Gorge Reservoir, the Pao-t'ou to Lan-chou Railway, the Pao-t'ou Steel Works and other construction projects. The 1958 big leap forward brought to light the fact that many pines [shan] are quick-growing and rich-producing, and with this arose the experience of Chin-p'ing of changing "18 shan" to "10 shan," thereby winning a red flag as the national award on the forest production front.

Before liberation, minority areas in our province lacked modern industry, and had only a few struggling handicrafts. After liberation, Party and government helped minority peoples to restore and expand handicrafts that were of advantage to the national economy and the people's livelihood and built some urgently needed modern industries and shops, bringing minority area industries from nothing to something, from few to many. Especially since the big leap forward under the bright light of the main line, due to correctly applying fully the whole set of aims for "walking on two legs," we have stirred up a thundering movement among the masses. Myriads of minority people, forgetting sleep and food, threw themselves into the iron-steel drive. Many women's furnaces appeared, and in a short space of time furnaces were like trees and molten iron like streams. For the first time people of these five areas produced 7,440 tons of crude steel, and six and a half times as much iron as in 1957. Guided by the aim, "Let steel steal first, advance all along the line," the great iron-steel drive carried along other industries as bamboo sprouts spring up after a rain. By the end of last year, these five areas had opened 15,600 industrial projects, and the value of their products was some 2.7-fold beyond that of 1957. The Ch'ien-nan Autonomous Chou with wretched equipment made iron smelters, steel furnaces, bellows, simple lathes, deep plows, small farm machines, all-purpose tractors and many light industry goods. This chou at the end of 1958 had multiplied the value of its modern industrial products about 10 times, comprising 31% of the total value of farm and plant products, and 63% of the value of industrial products; and this year's value of industrial products is an increase of 56% over that of the same period last year. The value of Ch'ien-tung-nan Chou's industrial products for 9 months of this year exceeds by 21.9% the total value for all last year. Commune-run factories are already spread all over the minority areas. Just the 72 communes of Ch'ien-nan Chou at the end of August this year had started 1,918 small enterprises. Heavy industries too have grown much in the minority areas: the Fu-ch'uan

and Tu-yun iron-works and the K'ai-li Hydroelectric Plant are noteworthy examples. The proportion of minority workers has grown along with the growth of industry, numbering now some 100,000. They are an important factor in socialist enterprises in minority areas.

Along with the advance in agricultural and industrial production, transport in minority areas has grown much, too. At the beginning of this year, racial autonomous areas had 4,370 kilometers of trafficable highways, 8 times as much as in 1949. Cars could travel from hsien to hsien, and carts from hsiang to hsiang. On 200 kilometers of the Ch'ing-shui and Tu-liu rivers, motor-junks and small-draft tugs were in use. The former high-priced transport by coolie or animals, with the failure to ship local products away from home, is now much changed.

Along with growth in production, our minorities' material living has been notably improved and raised. In minority areas, community retail goods in 1958 were 39% more than in 1957, and 5.9-fold that of 1950. Judging by the buying-power in several autonomous units, each person averages 42 yuan, 5 times higher than in 1949. In Ch'ien-nan Chou each person's buying power will be 5.6 times what it was in 1949. In 1952, each person bought on the average 7.18 feet of cloth, in 1958 this had grown to 8.7 feet. In Chiu-yang Hsiang of Chien-ho Hsien, before liberation 1,800 or so families lived in bark huts for the most part; very few ate fat-cooked vegetables; in winter the whole family spent the night huddling around a fire-pit. Now each person averages 1,423 chin of grain, and every family has cotton bedding, clothing, cloth or rubber shoes, and many use flashlights; 75% of the families have money deposited, the average being 67 yuan.

After communes came, with the widespread starting of communal diners, nurseries, homes for the aged and other collective welfare projects, a large number were freed from the details of home labor, laboring side by side with the men, daily showing more and more usefulness on the farm and factory production front. Thus the old saw that "an old knife does not cut briars, women do not handle business," was thoroughly refuted. And the custom that "men do not enter the garden, women do not enter the fields," was thoroughly changed. Hill villages that used to be called barren and solitary now everywhere present a lively, colorful new appearance.

III

Before liberation, in minority areas schools were very few. The children of laboring people could not attend school, the vast majority were illiterate. In some places they had long been recording events by knots and notches. After liberation, Party and government gave close attention to education among the races, giving much help. Besides

helping with teachers, buildings, and so on, they subsidized minority children with books and materials, with people's scholarships, free medical care, and suitably enlarged their age for school attendance, relaxing entrance requirements. This ensured the children of minority laboring people the right to get an education. Especially under the light of the main line of building socialism, on the one hand they correctly fulfilled the aim of "walking on two legs," promoting all-day, half-day, and spare-time schools simultaneously; on the other hand they fulfilled the educational aim of education serving proletarian politics and education being conjoined with productive labor, thus causing education in racial areas to advance as never before. At present, each racial area has basically universalized elementary education, and practically every hsien has a senior middle school, every commune has a middle school, and two autonomous chous have higher and specialist schools. At the beginning of this year, according to figures from five racial autonomies, there were 3,695 elementary schools, 396 middle schools, and over 600,000 students from the minorities in the province, about 15% of the minority population. This is an increase of 27-fold over 1950, represented as follows: elementary students, 27.7-fold; middle, 20-fold; and higher, 35.7-fold; and the quality has greatly improved. The proportion of minority elements among the teachers is constantly rising, and many young men have discarded their dunce-caps. The multitude sing:

"Who says hills are cold and lonely?
Day and night they ring with noise;
Grade and middle all are building,
Sound of study everywhere."

Culture stations, cinemas, loudspeakers, libraries, clubs, and troupes are found everywhere, virtually forming a culture-net. Moved by the Party art aim of "Let all flowers bloom; let stale give place to new," a popular art and authorship movement is spreading rapidly; many traditional fine songs, dances, art works, and popular literature are being unearthed. Songs of considerable merit are being warmly received by racial groups throughout the nation, and some numbers were performed at the Moscow World Youth Festival where they receive international acclaim.

Before liberation, under reactionary rule, in minority areas diseases were prevalent throughout the year. Fevers and contagious diseases were very severe, and such places were called "plague spots," with myriads of people dying there. After liberation, the Party and government strongly pushed health measures and spent much to enable affected persons to get free treatment. Now in minority areas not only is there a hospital for every hsien, and a health center (or hospital) for every commune; but production teams too have their own

sanitary corps. By the end of last year, there were in the province health and medical centers numbering 2,017, an increase of 30-fold since 1949, with patient beds multiplied 358-fold and medical personnel 83-fold. Since the big leap forward, they have opened on a large scale anti-four-pest movements for collecting fertilizer, stressing health, changing customs, and making village sanitation status all new, with much reduction of disease and growth in population. As the minority people say: "Destroy pestilence and the plague demon and men will live longer, fields yield more, domestic animals flourish."

In these 10 years, the brilliant results of racial work in our province have encouraged us much. This is a big victory for the Party transition period line, the main line of building socialism, and the Party racial policy. These results flow from the intelligent and correct guidance of the Party central committee and Chairman Mao speed in the development of racial areas, strive to build a prosperous happy socialism and to enter upon the most excellent Communist society, completely abolishing all racial inequality in fact. At present the people of the minority in our province, responding to the call and urge of the Eighth Assembly, are unitedly following the Party main line of building socialism. With one heart and mind they are bound together, are earnestly going forward to resist rightists, are arousing fervor, and with 100-fold confidence are striving to overfulfill this year's production and construction task, and fulfill this year the chief quotas in the Second Five-Year Plan.

5. Population Growth of Kweichow Minorities

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Kweichow is a multi-racial province. Minorities living here are chiefly Miao, Pu-i, T'ung, Shui, I, Hui, I-lao, Yao, T'ung, and so on. Their population at the end of 1958 was 4,075,300, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of that of the province.

In old China, due to imperialist aggression, class and racial oppression, Kweichow minorities lacked sufficient food and clothing, and were vagrants without abode. The people were constantly subject to illness and such calamities as drought. Fevers, small-pox, numbness, cholera, colds, dysentery and such contagious ailments were everywhere. The death-rate was high, and the birth-rate lower than the death rate. The Ko-mo Hsiang in Shui-ch'eng Hsien, largely inhabited by Miao and Pu-is, in 1946 lost 33% due to a widespread fever; the Shui autonomy of San-tu, due to pre-liberation old methods of midwifery, had an infant death-rate of 66.1%, causing the picture, "We see only women pregnant, but never a child walking." Especially in bad years of famine or epidemic, often whole families, or the majority in a hamlet, would die. In the big drought of 1925-26, Mao-kung Hamlet in Li-p'ing Hsien had over 700 families, the largest element there; but of these, 600 families died or fled. A small community in San-tu had some 60 families of minority people; due to calamity or sickness they all died or fled and only a ruined village was left. In short, before liberation, because of class exploitation, racial oppression, and economic stringency, added to which were wars, bandits, calamities, epidemics and accompanying troubles, the Kweichow minority population kept on declining. In the Pu-i and Miao chous of Ch'ien-nan alone, figures from Li-po Hsien show that in the 10 years from 1937 to 1947, the population declined by 27,514 persons, roughly 25% of the original number.

Since liberation, under guidance of the Party and people's government, the Kweichow minority population has changed from constant decline to annual increase. At the time of liberation in 1949, the province's minority population was only 3,470,700 persons. By the end of 1958 it had grown to 4,075,300. In a short 9 years there were added 604,600 persons, the annual rate of growth being 1.93%. In the past 10 years of liberation, how could Kweichow's minority population make such a rapid increase?

First in importance is the correct guidance of the Party and people's government. In the midst of the minorities they have fulfilled a series of aims and policies advantageous to their real interests, enabling them to gain liberation and new life. Kweichow minorities mostly live in villages and follow farming. In 1951 and

1952 they carried out land reform and then formed cooperatives after liberation and under Party guidance, and in 1958 they adopted the commune system. The change in the ownership system on the one hand abolished class exploitation, which was crushing the people of all races, enabling fraternal races to obtain genuine equality and freedom; on the other hand it freed productive power in the countryside, following which they took a series of measures for increasing production, thus quickly giving production a huge growth. Statistics say that racial autonomous places in 1957 more than doubled the 1952 output of paddy rice, and more than tripled the output before liberation. Industrial output too made flying growth. Figures from the five autonomous places at the end of 1958 show that 15,600 enterprises were begun, and the value of industrial products was five-fold more than in 1952. Accompanying this advance in farm and factory production, the level of people's living was being continually raised. This can be seen from the increase of retail community goods. In the province's racial regions these increased 189% from 1952 to 1957, and by 1958 were 30% more than in 1957. Most noticeable is the minorities' wearing of foreign cloth garments, new cotton clothes, health clothes, rubber shoes, and bed clothes and rugs, and using toothbrushes and paste, thermos bottles and other consumer goods. In a hamlet of the Miao-t'ung Chou, called Ch'ien-tung-nan, there live 104 families totaling 523 persons. Before liberation the whole hamlet had only 7 cotton gowns and no cotton bedding, they all wore straw or bark or huddled by the fire during winter. By 1950, the hamlet owned 250 pieced of bedding, and several dozen times the number of cotton garments. In Pu-i-Miao hamlet in Ch'ien-nan in the first half of 1958, 93% of its people had bank deposits, averaging 113 yuan per family. These facts show that the racial people's livelihood is already reliably guaranteed. They have radically thrown off the threat of hunger and cold and are beginning to live comfortably. This is of course enough to raise greatly the infant survival rate and to prolong much the life of adults.

Secondly, much effort has been put forth on medical and health work. This has been an important factor in lowering the death-rate. After liberation, the Party paid special attention and interest to such work in minority areas. Health and medical centers were established throughout these areas. Before liberation, the Miao-T'ung Autonomous Chou in Ch'ien-tung-nan had 14 incomplete health centers and four patients' beds. During liberation, too, they were damaged in varying degrees. Medicines were looted and carried away by employees of the reactionary government. With liberation and restoration by the people's government, the whole chou now has 54 hospitals, 17 combination hospitals, 14 anti-plague stations, 3 fever-prevention stations, 1 research institute, and over 1,000 beds. People-run health projects have increased greatly. Now in each racial area each autonomous chou, hsien, and commune has its own hospital or health center and similar facilities for women and children.

The Party and government, to stop the spread of infectious diseases, have done community-wide prevention and healing service against the most prevalent and harmful diseases, such as fevers, small-pox, colds, numbness, and so on; and have widely given vaccination and combination shots against them, free of charge. Thus the spread has been controlled, much reducing the death-rate. In Wang Chia Hamlet in San-tu, before liberation the incidence of fever was 90%, in 1957 it dropped to 1.64%. The Pu-i-Miao Chou in Ch'ien-nan had practically eliminated small-pox and undulant fever by 1954 and 1957, respectively. During 1957-1958, this chou reduced fevers 81.25%, dysentery 67%, and numbness 83.7%.

The Party and government also have opened up strongly in minority areas health care and treatment publicizing work for women and children. They have popularized new obstetrical methods and trained many midwives. In past days, minority women have mostly delivered their children themselves, causing many deaths; now, 90% of the pregnant women use new methods of delivery, reducing much the infant survival rate. In K'ai-hsiao Hsiang, inhabited largely by Miaos, 50% of the babies died in 1950. In 1951 this was lowered to 17%, in 1955 it was 2.4%, after 1956 practically none died from this cause. Especially when communes came, with their communal diners, nurseries, kindergartens, homes for the aged and such common welfare projects, not only were women's heavy burdens in the home lightened, but also the health of children and old people was much improved. At the same time, the commune gives special care to women in time of need, greatly reducing their special ailments and miscarriage of those who are pregnant.

6. Refute the Slander That Forestry Has Blundered

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After liberation and particularly since the 1958 leap forward, Kweichow's popular forestry movement gained tremendous results. However, rightists opportunists have closed their eyes, disregarding facts, and have wickedly attacked our large-scale afforestation movement. They stupidly say of this movement: "Distant waters do not quench present thirst"; and, "Year by year we plant trees, but no forest is seen, so forestry has blundered," and so on. This is wholly a confusion of black and white, a lie throughout.

For the past 10 years, Kweichow's planting of trees and forests has brought excellent results in soil conservation, in husbanding water, and in modifying the weather; and it has furnished large quantities of lumber, forest by-products, and the like, powerfully aiding provincial and national industrial and agricultural production and construction, also increasing the masses' income. For example, both sides of the P'ing-chuang River at Tu-yun, in the Pu-i-Miao Autonomous Region of Ch'ien-nan, were always thickly forested. In 1945 the Kuomintang reactionaries went amuck, cutting down everything, making this little stream a dry ditch, while nearby good fields became a silt-covered dry plain. Harvests diminished year by year, leaving the people bereft of food and clothes. After liberation, Party and government initiated raising forests in enclosures, put strength into tree-planting, covered 4,000 mou of bare hills with forest again, and turned 450 mou of dry land into paddy. Forestry income rose rapidly, and farm output increased yearly. In 1957, 186 families in P'ing-chuang earned an average of 30 yuan from forestry, and the whole village sold 140,000 chin of surplus grain, and 51% of the peasants reached or surpassed the living level of local rich medium farmers. Such cases are innumerable. The masses conclude: "When barren hills become woods, and poor hills become rich ones, forests mean water and water means grain." Forest-dwellers sing:

"Main line comes as a bright lamp,
Myriad bare hills turn to woods;
Everywhere shake money from trees,
Gold at dawn and silver at night."

This shows that forestation can satisfy not alone nearby thirst, but also big thirst.

In the past 10 years the province has planted a total of 65 million mou of trees, equal to 8 times the entire acreage of forestation in the nation during the 22 years of Kuomintang rule. Forest areas in our province at the time of liberation comprised only 9% of the total

surface, but is now 34%. In 1958 alone, 32 hsiens in the autonomous areas became covered with verdure all at once, showing the incomparable prowess of the forest area communes. The comments by rightist opportunists, "Planting year by year with never a forest, somebody has blundered"; and "the survival rate is too low," entirely fail to square with the facts. When we plant a forest we use a large body of troops, a big popular cooperative movement, and since planning is precise, before planting we first diagram the land, clear it, and treat it according to the slope, resulting in a high survival rate and everyone being pleased. This is truly "making each hill green as we go, and maintaining alive every bit we plant." Doing such transformation of Nature on a big scale, what does it matter if a moderate percentage does not survive? Never has 100% survival been heard of anywhere.

The remark above quoted from rightist opportunists is really a vicious attack on the Party main line of building socialism, a shameful slander against the Party's mass line, and vilification of the strength and achievements of the masses in all the races. We must thoroughly overthrow all this reviling; and also, on the foundation of the anti-rightist victory, push the forestry movement on to new crests. We firmly believe that Kweichow before long will be a fine place "abounding in verdure, water, flowers and shade, woods and oil, fruits and tea."

7. Communal Diners Firm as T'ai Shan

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Just as rightist opportunists and others with a different purpose were viciously attacking communals diners, spreading slanderous rumors that "the diners are started by compulsion and command," that diners "usurp labor strength, hinder production, lower the people's scale of living, are unsuitable for the masses," and so forth, we on 24 December went to visit the communal diner of the Yang-nan team of Ai-shan commune in I-shan of Kwangsi. This diner from its inception has been heartily welcomed by the masses, and for the past year has been getting better and better, gaining a widespread reputation. The local committee, hsien committee, and commune Party committee have held spot conferences no less than 10 times, and the visitors in groups have totaled no less than 6,000, not counting individual experimental observers. The Ch'ing-yuan Ho-p'ing commune's second diner have even brought in cooks and carpenters (to learn to make vegetable-cutting tables) for special study. The Lo-tung commune delegates, on leaving after a visit, wrote for them a poster:

"Yang-man diner steel-like strong,
Name and favor wide and long;
Local leaders here did meet,
Province gave a bell to greet."

Yang-man diner in 1958 was ranked as a progressive unit in socialist farming, being awarded a motto and an octagonal clock, while banners from Party committees covered the diner walls.

Does such a diner deserve vilifying? Yet rightist opportunists are still doing so.

Firm as T'ai Shan

In July and August of this year, to put the diner in good order, there was conjoined with it a democratic movement. When the commune was founded, a wealthy peasant Chou Chao-ho, who had moved to his grandmother's home, took a chance to come back and live a dissolute life, wishing to incite the members to withdraw from the diner. First he said to his younger brother, Chou Chao-hai, "Everywhere now the diners are disbanding, what are you holding on to them for? When you cook your own meals you eat, as much as you want, and have more freedom; why are you still bound to the diner?" Unexpectedly the brother replied, "Don't disband just because other villages disband, ours will not do so." To counter Chou's ruinous conduct, the team Party branch and cadres let the multitude express themselves three evenings, finally having a democratic testing, to explain that the diner was run

well, and patronizing it was a voluntary matter; so members should sign up again. During the debate, almost all the members stated that the diner was their root of happiness, it could not be overthrown, disbanded, or driven out. The result of the vote was that out of 57 families, 56 registered. Old man Wei alone would not listen to the crowd's urging, and insisted on withdrawing from the diner.

I asked the team chief, "Why is your diner thus unshakable?" He told me about many circumstances. He said, "With our team's acreage each laborer must on the average be responsible for over 14 mou, more than in any other team. In 1957 we planted 210 mou in first sprouts, 180 in second; in 1959, 12 went elsewhere to labor, but we still planted 350 mou in first, and 258 mou in second sprouts. We were likewise able to get ahead of the seasons, tilling the paddy fields three times, compared with once before. The 1957 total output of grain was 150,000 chin, this year it will be at least 210,000." Here he spoke more fervently, "Were it not for the communal diners, we could never have made such a success of production. They have only 57 families in the team, and 80 laborers; before diners started, only 50 would come out to work." The team-chief took a fountain-pen and arranged the roll of workers into teams. He said, "Speaking just of the 20 women in this hamlet, there are 5 who never can get out to work. They have many children, and all the household work they can do. The other 15 are busy with house work and can only get out at noon. They must quit work earlier, a little after five in the afternoon, coming home to carry water, cook, and feed the hogs. After the diners started, these women on going to work would put their children in the nursery or kindergarten, and work just like the men, morning and evening going to and coming from work on the same path, eating each time in the diners." No wonder that when some spoke of disbanding the diners, the mother of Li Kuei-ying who had long been tied at home with house work, exploded: "The diners being managed so well, who wants to disband them, I'll never consent! Though other villages disband, we cannot, so there! Even if they drive me with whips, I'll stay in the diner."

The chief went on: "This team of ours contains T'ungs, Mo-laos, and Hans. Formerly we lived in deep poverty, and from April through June did not even smell fat. Now salt, fat, and vegetables are all contracted for by the diner, with no break the year round, and there are extra dishes at New Year's. This hamlet of 212 persons consumes 151 chin of vegetables daily, each one getting over 10 liang. Living is good, work pays well, and the members keep in good health!"

There were eight persons in the family of T'an Chia-liang, of whom two were laborers. In the past they would dig yams in the famine months; when others had a noon meal, he had nothing, and was very

thin. Members said that if he was carrying a load of firewood home, a gust of wind would blow him over; also, his wife had a chronic ailment. Now he eats well in the diner, is well paid, and his body has filled out. When recently the commune was selecting some robust fellows to take part in industry, he was chosen. His wife is well again. Before diners began, she never earned more than 100 work units in a month; now, she earned 317 points in June alone. When I called at her house, she brought out a big pile of old ration cards for oil, saying, "The founding of a commune and a diner has been a lifeline of happiness for my family. In the past, for only 6 months of the year did I get a whiff of fat, and the other 6 months I did without. There were many in the family and only my husband and I could work, and we were not strong. Sometimes we had no salt for food, let alone vegetables. When others all went home for lunch, we just rested in the shade a while and then went back to work. Things are now extremely better. In the commune we get more rice to eat, diner food is good, there is never a lack of vegetables; salt and fat are sufficient, and there are extra dishes at festivals; our bodies have fattened out, and we can go out to work. Now I do whatever the team or diner asks me to do. I am determined to make the diner a success."

Members here say that before the advent of communal diners, those who went to the hsiang government were married couples seeking a solution for turmoil in the home. Now, people go there to attend a meeting, to exchange experiences, or to carry good news. T'an Shan-hsueh, an old team-chief of the primary-grade cooperative period said with deep appreciation: "Now as team chief I can give my whole attention to production. When in past days I was team-chief, my head went crazy trying to settle the quarrels arising between husband and wife, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law over cooking, feeding hogs, and carrying water."

Yang Tzu-fen was a quick-tempered husband and his wife was sharp-tongued. In the old days hardly three days passed without a quarrel. One day both arose late, missed going to work, and there was not a drop of water in the cistern jar. The woman thought to carry some water, but the bucket leaked and the children were crying, so she upbraided the husband for not helping, and her husband blamed her for doing nothing at home all day. One said one thing, one another, soon they were quarreling and fighting, and even the water buckets were smashed. The hsiang cadre only after much effort was able to quiet them. But after diners were started, they were neither of them found fuming again. On the evening of the 24th they came to the diner for a meeting, she bringing one child in her arms, and leading two others; when they cried, Yang hastened to quiet them. He said to me: "Our being able to live such happy lives is entirely due to the communal diner, which is the root of our family happiness."

Old man Wei Kuo-hsien, having just sold a few baskets of bananas and pumeloos and thus had a little money in his pocket, and feeling the diner was not good, thought to keep house himself, and thus enjoy being free, so he insisted on withdrawing from the diner. But he was so busy housekeeping he could not keep going out to work; when he did so, there was no food when he returned; and further he must buy fat, and salt, and vegetables, and beg for a match. He had no program for using fats, and on the seventh moon festival members had extra dishes in the diner, while he at home ate plain food. Before reaching the Yellow River you know not that the water is yellow; and after getting this lesson, he came across! Of his own accord he hunted up the chief and confessed: "Chief, I was mistaken. In a moment of stupidity I quit the diner. Excuse me this once, I will never, even at risk of death, withdraw from the diner!" Of course the chief warmly welcomed him back.

Spend Rich Years Like Poor Years: Austerity Is Glorious

Some say that operating diners means waste of grain. If they are speaking of when these are first started, such conditions have occurred, due to lack of experience, then such criticism is permissible. But now such a state of affairs is no longer true.

This team increases its output every year, but it spends rich years like poor years and spreads the excellent tradition of austerity. At the end of every ten days, the diner bulletin board is a very crowded place, for all are eager to see which family got first in economy of grain, to plan for their own frugal use of grain. In executing the policy "Fix the amount according to the persons, and distribute to the families; eat at the diner, and keep what is saved," there have been some difficulties. At first some did not believe strongly, and T'ien Ssu-lien said: "That's the way they talk, but only as grain gets in hand do we know; now we first get a grain and then eat it." But on the festival of the 4th moon, eighth day, old calendar, many members got glutinous rice which had been saved, while the rest had none. Having lost out this time, he at the Tuan-wu feast in the 5th month got out of the common savings 10 chin of glutinous rice which they made into dumplings and ate. Now he has become the diner's champion in the saving of grain.

The diner cooks are chosen by competition, three poor peasants and one lower medium (the treasurer). In 1958, despite being in the midst of much irrigating and the iron-steel drive, due to lack of experience and the feeling that in a good harvest they could feast at will, the control of grain was relaxed and there was some waste, resulting in first laxity, then tightness; nevertheless, by using every device for mixing in diverse grains, or substituting processed grains, over 30 kinds of good food were made. The local committee secretary

and other visitors ate these foods praising them without stint. Delegates from two hsiens presented a large silk red banner, bearing these words:

"Yang-nan diner is all right,
Many dishes give delight;
All the flavors are complete,
Frugal saving much to eat."

So 10,000 chin were saved in 1958. Diner sanitation is excellent. Not a person has become sick last year or this.

In the past when they ate gruel it was always made of corn grain, but each time the treasurer went to grind them, he worked his abacus, and every time it came out that 100 chin of corn made only 60 chin of grain, the other 40 being chaff; it could be ground into flour and a thick gruel so the members could eat more; but he feared the members might not like it, so the team cadre called the members to a conference on this objection. To the treasurer's surprise, the members consented to this plan, but they added: "By doing so we can eat 100% of the corn and get 40 chin besides. We can save that much more grain, but perhaps the cooks will have a harder time!" For this kind of gruel becomes more fragrant and tasty the more you cook it, and also thicker. The cooks said at once: "Just so the members eat well and enough, we are glad to work a little harder." I was a guest here for two days, and with my own eyes saw the treasurer while men slept apportion the grain for the second morning, and the cooks get up at one or two in the morning to cook gruel, having it ready at daybreak. This year between July and the end of September they had saved 5,578 chin.

Frugality applied not merely to grain, but in other aspects, too, fine waters flow long. From the killing of hogs and adding of vegetables in last year's iron-steel drive, much lard remains to the present day.

A Boundless Future

Since the day this diner began, the Ai-shan commune Party committee and the I-pan Party branch have paid attention to leading them in practicing common savings. Last year the diner raised vegetables, and in addition to supplying their own needs, sold 200 yuan worth to aid the cities and towns. Deducting expenses, they still had 110 yuan to put in the credit union. This year's vegetables, while seriously damaged by insects at first, was later put under stricter control and now there still is hope. According to estimates by cadres and crop watchers, this year's yield, besides supplying needs, can be sold for 150 yuan. They now have 40 jars of

pickled cabbage and are raising 150 chickens. The number next year will be a thousand. They now have 33 old ducks and plan to buy 67 more, with plans for 1,000 next year. They now have 600 chin of fish, and plan to have at least 1,300 chin next year; they are raising 9 hogs for the team and 6 meat hogs of 70-80 chin. Three sows will have litters in a month or so. The profit is to be shared 40-60 with the team. The diner plans to raise over 30 next year. Thus they can promise to fulfill the national plan, while the members still have more meat and eggs. The team chief T'an said most confidently: "In the future our diner sales office will ordinarily have meat and vegetables, salted vegetables, eggs, fresh fish, liquor and other things to sell. There will be given more care to pregnant women, the sick, and to guests who are members or their friends. This really is life getting better as it goes along!"

III. ARTICLES FROM MIN-TZU YEN-CHIU, NO 11, NOVEMBER 1959, PEIPING

1. Victory of the Party Racial Policy in Yunnan

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In Yunnan, where over 6 million people of 21 minorities live on different levels of social development, in the past 10 years, under Party guidance, and on the foundation of strengthening fatherland unity and racial amity according to racial characteristics, there have taken place democratic reforms and socialist construction. Particularly since 1958, through popular reform and struggle against local nationalism, and under the bright light of the Party main line of arousing fervor, striving for the upper reaches, and "much, quick, good, cheap" building of socialism, as in the rest of the country, there has appeared a big advance in industrial and agricultural production and the new situation of a crest in the commune system.

In racial areas of 4 million people, communes have now generally been formed, and the rapid growth of productivity has opened a broad avenue for elevating each race's degree of organization and consciousness to reach a new stage.

In the border areas where live 2 million tribe members whose level of social economy is rather low, the masses are urgently demanding a change in their backward condition of "still poorer, still barer," and have high fervor "for doing, for revolution." In 1958 were repaired irrigation works for over 2 million mou, three times more than in all pre-liberation history, equal to all the paddy area opened between liberation and 1957. Many areas progressed from an absence of fertilizer to having fertilizer on a large scale. Production techniques are constantly improving and the age-long crude primitive methods are being changed. Large-scale cooperation in labor has called for the masses to organize; and in this process they have beat back the destructive actions of unlawful landlords and rich peasants who obstructed the cooperative movement, fiercely attacked counter-revolutionaries, swept aside obstacles, and throughout the border regions the date of having cooperatives was advanced by 3 years. Membership of peasants in cooperatives in 1957 leaped at one jump from 15% to 91%; and 42% of the area went into the commune system and started communal diners. Through the big leap forward of 1958 and the consolidating processes of the first half of 1959, all the new cooperatives and communes became more entrenched. Establishing and consolidating communes stimulated an unceasing rise in production by the masses. In 1958, the border regions raised 30% more grain, and of these, 10 hsien increased their output from 50-100%. It is estimated that 1959 will add 20% to the 1958 production. The whole border region continues to maintain the big leap forward status.

While the races have been changing the face of nature and society, they have also changed their mutual relations and their spiritual status. During the hot struggles the masses have seen their own powers, they will never bow to the disposition of fate, but will dare to match forces with demons and gods, wage war against the influence of tradition, and of their own accord discard many feudal superstitions and stale customs that do not help production or racial amity. Devil hills, lands, waters, trees, days and such taboos are done away with. The Ha-ni tribe has felled the "Lung-pa-men" (devil gate) and the K'a-wa tribe has destroyed "human head village ornament." In a few short months, thousand-year bad customs have been changed. Myriads of T'ai women have learned to plow, breaking down the age-long barriers handed down from the old society of men and women dividing labor. The racial masses have helped each other, breaking down the walls between tribes and between races, expanding men's vision, greatly raising collectivist ideas and Communist mores. The various races in common toiling and living have formed a Han-centered close and socialist racial relation of common growth and prosperity.

Through expansion of racial work during the past 10 years, the social characteristics of Yunnan minorities have already shown historical deep changes. Noteworthy are the border minorities at a backward level of growth leaping over one or several historical stages, flying toward socialism. This is a brilliant victory for the racial policy of the Party and Chairman Mao. Looking back over the road we have traveled will be very significant for further confirming and expanding our victory.

Everyone knows that the Party's fundamental principle in solving racial questions is: Whatever stage of growth a minority race is in, the Party must lead and help said race to get rid of inequality in fact, handed down by history, and to make the transition to socialism and Communism. And to make the economic elements of varying social status to coalesce into a united socialist economy, we must perform a series of huge, hard, and painstaking actions. The most effective of these is through unending production to raise each race's patriotism and class-consciousness, mobilizing and organizing the masses to actualize democratic and socialist revolution in racial areas, and carrying on the whole revolution to the end, pushing the entire race forward.

Except for minorities whose social economy approached that of the Hans working with them for socialist reform, in the border region of the T'ai, Ha-ni, La-hu, and Tibetan people, numbering 1,700,000, there still practically exists a feudal society with a proprietor economy; 70,000 I maintain the slave system; among 600,000 of the other tribes named there linger varying traces of primitive communes of the producing and living type. Whatever the disparity in social development and

level of production, on the whole they are backward in production techniques, and their living very poor. Most of the hill country practices crude farming, with wood or stone tools. Some races still offer sacrifices to demons, and engage in fighting, head-cutting, drinking liquors, and seriously hinder production and living. Clearly enough, such indigent and backward status is the fruit of long racial and class oppression. For this reason, in going away with racial oppression and practicing racial equality and self-government, if we do not wipe out class exploitation within a race, we cannot radically change race relations, fully release productive powers, open up a way for growth in economy and culture, and strengthen national borders on a reliable mass basis. Even those racial areas that preserve the remnants of primitive communes must conjoin them with necessary social reforms of socialist construction; only thus can the masses be liberated from the bonds of certain exploiting elements and the primitive backward state. Under this basic premise, we must notice these differences between border and interior: in border regions race relations are complex, rifts are deep, upper classes have a definite influence over the masses, and class divisions in the races and personal enmities overlap. Therefore we begin with increasing production, helping the populace solve difficulties in production and living, using friendship and good deeds to unite all elements within the races that can be united, ease race relations, promote self-government, and train racial cadres. We must raise the masses' anti-imperialist, patriotic, and class consciousness, and make democratic reform in these areas be the spontaneous demands of the populace. From 1955 to the beginning of 1958, we adopted the plan of peaceful consultation, thus finishing up successfully the democratic reform. As to those races which, while already largely under private ownership, yet preserved the primitive commune system, the Party decided as follows, in order to develop production, and to intensify self-enemy conflict and racial amity: Use growth in production to organize the masses; in the movement of cooperatives, cut out certain exploiting factors, directly pass over into socialism. Facts prove this course to be wholly correct.

Border racial regions having put in democratic reforms, the Yunnan provincial committee, following the instructions in Chairman Mao's "On the agricultural cooperative system," proposed an appeal to "urgently start up movement for mutuals and cooperatives," so that the masses would not discontinue their victory in democratic reforms, but plunge into the yet greater tasks just ahead. These were the facts: The poor and lower medium peasants who had received land did not have enough of the means of production nor were they actively organized with the result that they could not produce well. The Party seeing this state of affairs took remedial action. "All strength and all sides expand production, actively and steadily begin to practice the cooperative system in farming." After land-reform, the masses urgently demanded expansion of production and betterment of living, and

we led the masses into large-scale production. In line with racial characteristics and the masses' immediate experience, we impregnated them with socialist ideas, adopting the method of persuasion, exemplification, and government aid. Through many practical varied forms of transition, we led the peasant individual economy into the path of cooperatives and thus greatly expanded production. The peasants through practical action appreciated the incomparable superiority of cooperatives over going it alone. In areas of direct transition, due to taking hold of the multitude's desire for expanding production, we united the indigent peasants and forced the hill chiefs and princes to relinquish tribal and village public land which they had seized. These lands, as soon as they were made into paddy by the masses, at once became collective owned, and on this foundation cooperatives were formed. Thus we in 1958, in Yunnan's border regions, promoted socialist construction all along the line.

Another characteristic of Yunnan racial areas is: The land is at the fatherland's borders, and for a long period of history directly suffered imperialist aggression, with Chiang bandits still holding the outskirts, and with support from US imperialism plotting to break up racial amity. For this reason, all work at the borders must be subservient to the highest advantage for national unity and racial amity. This has been for several years our highest principle for directing race relations.

Fatherland unity and racial amity are the fundamental need for our nation's historical growth, and are the common desire of the people of all races. No matter what racial oppression existed, in past history that created inter-racial rifts, in our province the coexistence among Hans and minorities and all races still goes on expanding. For a long period, border peoples have firmly chosen unity and amity and have together sought the way of liberation. They have often joined with Hans in resisting imperialist aggression and Kuomintang rule, forming a common political destiny. The success of the great Chinese people's revolution, for each race's liberation, has opened a new page. At the beginning of 1950, the People's Liberation Army entered Yunnan, with Party guidance and strong support and help from all races, and destroyed openly armed counter-revolutionaries, drove out imperialist forces, protected everyone's life and property, and established a peaceful social order. Despite the enemy not taking defeat cheerfully, with their often disturbing race relations and causing dissensions on the border, yet because of our strict reliance on the multitude, we thoroughly broke down enemy destructive plots; and especially following border democratic reforms and the victory of the socialist revolution, the Party mass foundation among the minorities was much strengthened, and the people's anti-imperialist patriotism was much raised. Thus the fatherland border defense was strongly built on the foundation of relying on the masses.

Of course, so long as imperialism remains in the world, they will continue plotting to divide the races of our country. Therefore, we must teach all races to intensify caution a hundred-fold, always being careful to attack evil doings of domestic and foreign enemies; regularly teaching people and cadres socialism, Communism, and patriotism; continuing to resist every type of bourgeois nationalism and rightly settling the questions that arise among the races; unceasingly supporting national unity and improving racial amity, protecting the great gains already won by each race in politics, economy, culture, and so on.

Innumerable actual cases prove that in racial work, as in other revolutionary and constructive work, Party guidance is the fundamental assurance of our winning the victory. The racial problem is an integral and important part of the proletarian revolution and dictatorship, and it must be under the Party's absolute guidance, before it can proceed from victory to victory. The weighty results obtained in the racial areas of our province are the fruits of correct guidance by the Party and Chairman Mao. The Party not only leads each race to wipe out racial and class oppression, but it also leads each race to carry on socialist revolution and construction. Minority people compare the Party to the "people's savior," and Chairman Mao to the "Red Sun." Out of the struggle of actual living they appreciate the truth that "each race's people is a family, and understand that the interests of the laboring people of differing races are the same. So they arrive at the correct conclusion that "the Communist Party is the representative of the essential interests of each race; without the Party there would be no happiness for the races." Thus it appears that without Party guidance, there would be no genuine liberation of the races, no large amity among them, nor any socialism. This is the entire meaning of the minority peoples linking together their whole life destiny with the Communist Party and Chairman Mao.

To strengthen further the Party's guidance of minorities, successfully fulfill the Party's task on the racial problem, and thoroughly solve it, we must continue to train Communist-minded racial cadres, making firm among the races a core of proletarian leadership. Through various struggles and the planned disciplinary training in racial colleges and schools, since liberation over 30,000 racial cadres have been trained, among them 15,000 being Party or Corps members. Since the Party has a large number of racial cadres born in the laboring class, it can through them strengthen its relation with the people at large, show its purpose and policy, and thus win victory in all sorts of revolutionary and constructive projects in racial areas. Han cadres sent to do work in racial areas, in racial work and especially in helping racial cadres to mature and rise, have made a big contribution. Hereafter, along with raising present racial cadres, we must constantly draw new blood from the races; especially adding training to those

high-quality persons who emerged in the big leap forward and promote them to leading positions in an effort to prepare a brigade of cadres born of laboring people, capable of bearing hardships, both red and expert. It should be mentioned that the great achievements of racial work in our province, cannot be separated from the close cooperation of Han cadres with racial cadres under Party guidance. Any belittling of Han cadres' tremendous usefulness in aiding minority growth is harmful; likewise, it is a mistake to overlook the decisive function of racial cadres in solving racial problems. Both Han and racial cadres must be Communist-minded, they must all use Communist standards in evaluating, they must all be united on a Communist foundation, offering all their resources for building up our great socialist fatherland. Existing minority cadres and Han cadres are closely united. Under Party guidance, they are resolutely executing the Party main line, honestly carrying out the decisions of the Eighth Assembly, resisting rightist trends, and arousing fervor. Along with people of all races in the nation, they are striving in 1959 to advance by three years the fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan, striding forward along the victorious road of socialism.

2. Big Changes in Lin-hsia Autonomous Chou in the Past Ten Years

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The Hui Autonomous Chou at Lin-hsia in Kansu is a multi-racial area of seven races, (Huis, Hans, Tung-hsiang, Pao-an, Sa-la, T'u, and Tibetans), and 887,000 people, distributed as follows:

Huis,	333,000 people	37.4% of whole
Hans,	380,000 "	44.19% "
Tung-hsiang,	159,000 "	17.11% "
Others	8,054/sic7	

The whole chou measures 13,000 sq.km., with 2,600,000 arable mou. It is pleasant, well-watered, mild, and rich in minerals.

To maintain their bloody rule over the races before liberation reactionary rulers sowed dissension and fostered quarrels and murder within and among the races. From the 5th year of the Ch'ing Shun-ch'ih to the 18th year of the Republic (1848-1929), there were ten bloody disputes between Huis and Hans, not only causing much loss of life and property, but also rifts and hatred among the races. Especially the bloody rule for 80 years of the three Ma's in the Lin-hsia area (Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Pu-fang, Ma Pu-ch'ing) with its cruelties and exactions, caused the races in this pleasant land to live lives of extreme hardship, below that of cattle, lacking clothes and food, vagrant and moaning along the roadside. Originally Mo-ni-kou of Lin-hsia Hsien had 1,433 families, of which 86 were landlords who possessed over 75% of the total arable land, employed 300 permanent laborers, 200 slave girls, and 1,000 women laborers who lived a slave's life, while the landlord had the right to kill them, give them away, or trade them. In 1946, Ma Pu-ch'ing wanted to make a butterfly palace for his four concubines, so he forcibly enclosed 600 mou of land, razed three villages, and compelled 300 indigent peasants to flee elsewhere, taking their aged and toddlers with them. Because of their poverty-stricken lives, they were very backward in culture and education. Illiteracy in the whole chou reached 90%. Before liberation, although the reactionaries operated some middle and elementary schools, these schools became in fact cannon fodder camps where the three Ma's enslaved the youth and enlist them as soldiers.

The Lin-hsia Hui Autonomous Chou was liberated in August 1949, and each race was aware of its good fortune. In the past 10 years, under intelligent guidance from the great Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, under the bright light of the Party racial policy, based on racial equality and amity, we wiped out bandits, suppressed secret agents, had land-reform, crushed counter-revolutionaries, took part in the resist US-aid Korea campaign, launched a series of movements such

as the "three-antis" and the "five-antis," and thoroughly broke down the feudal system. We destroyed the landlord class and thereby provided 300,000 poor peasants with little or no land with land and other means of production. Next we started a socialist revolution, successfully completing a socialist reconstruction of farming, handicrafts, and capitalist trade and industry. Particularly through the nationwide reform movement and anti-rightist struggle of 1957, and the 1958 movement in autumn against the religious feudal special privilege system and the feudal exploiting system, we won a tremendous victory on the political and psychological fronts, and the whole situation in the chou presented an inspiring new change. The socialist consciousness of the laboring people was much raised, the popular amity under guidance of the working class became stronger, and enthusiasm for production rose to new heights. For this reason, after the Party central committee in September of last year issued its directive on the villages forming communes, the peasants of each race warmly responded, actively supported it, and in October were enthusiastically under the commune system. As soon as this new form of social organization appeared in Lin-hsia, it brought with it strong vitality to the whole chou and a leap forward and big change, showing its incomparable superiority. Under the bright light of the Party main line of building socialism, in 1958 the whole chou made an advance all along the line and prepared a new lay-out for a bigger, better, more comprehensive advance this year. People of all races hail the communes and the success of the big leap forward.

For these 10 years the chou's grain production has gone up on a straight line. There was an increase of 2.2-fold in 1958 over 1950, and of 51.53% over 1956. It is estimated that unit production this year may be 470 chin, and the total yield 970 million chin, an increase of 14.2% over the big advance year 1958, giving each person 1,112 chin of grain. For this reason, since 1958 it has been a grain-surplus instead of a grain-deficit chou. As to irrigation, the chou has completed 1,800,000 mou of watered land, about 80% of the chou's arable surface of 2,300,000 mou, 11 times as much as the 153,000 mou watered during the thousand years or more preceding liberation. Noteworthy is the Heroes' Canal, known throughout the province, which the laboring people use to bring water up the hills, which is a new venture in irrigation, a socialist enterprise conquering drought. It has saved from erosion 7,100 sq.km., more than 60% of the chou's area. They have put 7,640,000 mou into forests, equivalent to 7 times the preliberation forested area. The rate of revival has risen from a preliberation 5% to 46%. All these devices provided an excellent foundation for a future grain increase, and have thoroughly changed the drought status. Domestic animals show a big increase: large animals have increased from the preliberation 120,000 head to 189,000, a net 47%; sheep have increased 70% from the early days of liberation; hogs, 298%, about three-fold; and chickens, ducks, rabbits, and so on,

several fold. Before liberation, Lin-hsia industries were a blank page, with products valued at only about 600 yuan. After liberation, under Party guidance, there were enlarged or built foundries, farm-tool plants, hydroelectric, flour, sugar and alcohol plants, and coal-mines. Particularly since the 1958 all-Party all-people drive for widespread local industry, in less than a year there were built 2,946 plants with 2,703 being commune operated. New types of products numbered 125, and the value of industrial goods by the end of 1958 reached over 27 million yuan, an increase of 3,000-fold since the early days of liberation. Values of same for January to August this year are 25.05% more than over the same period last year.

Following the ceaseless expansion of industrial and agricultural production, marked improvements have occurred in culture, education and health. The chou has 7,300 students in middle school, an increase of 36-fold from before liberation, and elementary students in school number 140,000, over 90% of those of school age, and an increase of 300-fold since before liberation. Elementary education is practically universal, and also we have started one higher and three technical schools, in many ways preparing experts and teachers. We have specially started movements for popular culture and education in spare time. The whole chou has 300,000 young men studying culture, as of now, 70% of the adults have become literate. Also there has been much expansion in cultural life. As of now, besides new bookstores and culture stands and cinema teams, we have built movie theaters, playhouses, and formed a glee club, and each commune has started a spare-time drama troupe, and widespread spare-time cultural and physical activities. Taking part are over 110,000 activists who are very useful in proclaiming Party policies, raising popular ideology, enriching the masses' cultural life and improving their physique, and strongly pushing production. Health matters in the chou, on the foundation of former extreme backwardness, now show 573 health organizations, 80-fold the preliberation figure, and medical personnel number 15,064 for a 770-fold increase. Of these, some 25% are native-trained and foreign-trained workers of the minorities. Especially in the last few years there has been a popular movement for eliminating the seven pests and promoting health, and the whole country has a new look; there is much less disease. Now the chou has rid itself of prevalent diseases, such as small-pox.

Due to unceasing expansion of production, income has been augmented steadily. Material living has been notably bettered for all the peoples. Buying power has risen much. The 8.14 yuan average of 1950 has become 47.86 yuan for 1958, an increase of over fivefold. Ma Liu-chin of a production team in the Tung-hsiang Autonomous Hsien has six in the family. Before liberation they had no rice or clothes for fighting off the cold, no house or land, and lived by begging. Now the whole family has plenty to eat and wear, and it also has six beds with

bedding, two of these to accommodate guests; on the brick-beds there is no longer just a covering of earth, but heavy wool rugs. Before liberation, 100 families in Ho-cheng Hsien, due to cruel exploitation by reactionary rulers and to severe natural calamities, suffered shortages of food and clothing the year round and went out begging. Now that they are in a commune, they not only have enough to eat, but each man gets yearly some 200 chin of reserve grain. Here it should be specially mentioned that the women of the minorities, due to their obtaining complete liberation through last year's anti-religion anti-feudal struggle, have gained the right of equality in politics, economy, and culture. They have gained freedom in marriage, and actively participate in all sorts of production and construction activities, and social and cultural affairs. The Hui women of the Eighth Square in Lin-hsia, through long being under feudal restrictions, "would not go out by the big gate, nor step out by the second gate." Now over 95% enthusiastically join in production and construction, laboring side by side with the men. A Hui woman of a commune in Lin-hsia Hsien led a team of 160 to turn up in 3 days and nights 160 mou of land to an average depth of 1.5 feet, doing better than the men. In learning culture and art, women are more active, getting better grades than men. Women of the minorities are now thoroughly freed. With a hundredfold fervor, they march bravely on every front. Under Party guidance, they stand alongside men and burst through every obstacle, overcoming a multitude of troubles and achieving amazing successes.

In these 10 years, the reasons why our chou has been able to obtain such brilliant victories and rapid growth, have been chiefly:

1. We have thoroughly fulfilled the Party policy of racial equality and amity, and that of freedom of religious belief. Before liberation, due to the reactionary rulers' high-pressure murders and policy of sowing dissension, deep rifts were formed among and within the races. After liberation, we pursued the Party policy and introduced many social reforms, setting up racial joint mutual-aid groups, peasant associations and communes. By means of toiling and producing together, we formed new relations among the races. The former mutual hatred and lack of touch gave way now to a close fraternity. A village of Lin-hsia used to have fierce race vendettas, but in these 10 years, through production, amity has been promoted. In 1954, the peasants set up a joint race production society, and in that year there was a 40% rise in production. Later this became a collective farm, and then a commune. Huis, Hans, and other races learned from each other, supplementing as needed. For this reason, the commune gained huge advances not merely in grain production, but in other kinds also. The increase in grain was 18% over last year, each person getting more than 1,000 chin. Before liberation Lin-hsia was a Han city with Hui suburbs, mutually distrustful; now the two are linked with good approaches. Water in the canal of the Huis in the Eighth Square for several decades had not been allowed to enter the

city, to the delight of Huis and Hans. Now amity songs are popular among all the races; in other words, "Amity has become an honored standard for all peoples, it has become an auspicious title": such as Amity Journal, Amity water, bridge, road, and so on. Particularly after communes appeared in October of last year, in the I-ta-erh-kung commune, we solved further hard problems among and within the races concerning economic construction and over-all plans, which formerly were difficult; and racial amity grew more. After the struggle throughout the chou against religious feudal rights and the feudal exploiting system, consciousness of socialism and Communism rose much, and by means of movements, the roots of inter-racial and intra-racial conflicts were dug out. The founding of communes shows that the Lin-hsia peoples have made big strides forward in forming new socialist race relations, and age-long mutual hatreds will be thoroughly buried by the communes. For after communes became prevalent, amity among the races was built on the new foundation of socialist and Communist ideas, with mutual learning and help, common toil and living, supplementing as needed, advancing hand in hand; and now there is Communist big cooperation among hsiens, communes, and teams helping each other. This summer in Ho-cheng Hsien, a Hui group in a commune voluntarily organized a band of 1,500 to help a Han production team reap earlier. The Tiao-t'an commune used cooperation a great deal, the Han old peasants helped the Huis and Tung-hsiangs to change broadcast sowing to line sowing, and by means of labor used the master-apprentice method to train 340 experts at yao-lou. In another commune, the output of a Han team was 25% larger than that of a Hui team. The two teams held a joint meeting, drew lessons from experience, sought the cause, and discovered that the Hui team used little manure and had poor leadership. The Han team then gave the manure of 100 Hui animals to the Hui team, and elected their Party secretary to act for all the Hans and go to the Hui team and teach them techniques, so that they might produce better and catch up with the Hans. Last year a Han team harvest was flooded out; this year in June when the Hui team heard over the radio news of a heavy rain, the whole lot of 300 laborers helped the Hans strengthen their dykes, and overcame the flood. In sum, this Communist mores, functioning as new racial amity and mutual help, is to be found everywhere.

2. We have thoroughly fulfilled the Party policy of racial regional autonomy. Beginning with 1950, the Party followed the desire of all races in the Lin-hsia area and in minority areas promoted regional autonomy. Between 1950 and 1953, there was formed the Tung-hsiang Autonomous Hsien, and the Kuang-t'ung Hui Autonomous Hsien, and in November 1956 at the request of all races, there was formed the Lin-hsia Hui Autonomous Chou. After communes became prevalent, the chou founded 44 of them. Thus was further shown the minorities' readiness for building socialism. In line with each race's features, they completed "much, quick, good cheap" building of socialism. The initiating

of racial regional autonomy showed the ability of the minorities to be masters in their own house and to manage their own affairs, and thus make racial amity more secure and expansive.

The Tung-hsiang Autonomous Hsien and Tung-hsiang population areas within the chou have for several years made much progress in politics, economy, and culture. They have fully changed their drought-ridden appearance, and now have a unit yield of 309.5 chin of grain in this land of formerly peakless hills and bottomless ravines. The grain output is threefold more than before liberation, and 40.24% more than the leap forward year of 1958. Before liberation, almost everyone was illiterate, now elementary education is universal. All this bespeaks fully the great achievements of the Party policy of regional autonomy. It is just the key for solving the race problem. As Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i said in his report on the draft constitution: "We must resolutely affirm that we must allow each race to participate in the nation's political life, and also let each race according to the principle of racial regional autonomy have the ability to be master in its own house and manage its own affairs. Thus we can abolish historical rifts and racial contempt, constantly augmenting interracial confidence and amity."

3. We have thoroughly fulfilled the Party's widespread and large scale policy of training minority cadres. In 1949 Chairman Mao advised us: "To solve thoroughly the race problem, and completely isolate racial reactionaries is impossible without a large number of Communist cadres who are natives of the minorities." For this reason training Communist cadres among the minorities, and building a core of stalwarts is the key to the Party doing good work among the minority areas. During these 10 years, the chou has systematically fostered Party organization and built up the Party leaders' strength. The chou now has 18,366 Party members and 25,264 Corps members. And in accord with the highest principles of the Party's Communist-minded cadres, they have trained, with planning and patience, 2,392 minority cadres, over 27% of the total number of cadres. Among them are 46 of chou or hsien rank or above, and 212 first-grade leading cadres. Noteworthy is the maturing of minority women cadres, some of whom have become leading strong cadres of hsien or commune first-grade rank, and who have been of real use in contacting the public in various movements. Along with training minority cadres, local and incoming Han cadres have matured a great deal. In these 10 years, these have earnestly and painstakingly served the minorities, achieving huge results in socialist construction, much welcomed and honored by all the peoples.

Bourgeois nationalists (both local and Great Han) have attacked the Party cadre policy from all sides (especially during the anti-rightist struggle of 1957), and local nationalists among the minorities have without principle stressed cadres being nationalist and the rights of self-government. They refuse the help of Han cadres and those

of other races, breaking down the normal race relations of equality, amity, and mutual help. They prate: "The autonomous chou has been formed, why are the Han cadres still so numerous?" Some even say publicly, "Unless the Han cadres go away, minority cadres cannot be promoted." They scatter slanders such as "The forming of a self-rule chou turns out to be one of Huis ruled by Hans." They even draw a distinction between native and incoming minority cadres. It is easy to see that such talk is very false and reactionary. Some, on the plea of "self-government rights" and "race-minded," oppose Party guidance and exclude nonlocal Han cadres and racial cadres. Such bourgeois race viewpoints must be sharply reprimanded. Facts prove that the minorities' desire to build as soon as possible a happy socialist society, seeking their own race's prosperity and growth; and that they must first learn from their Han big brothers, welcoming from everywhere Han and other racial cadres to give unselfish help. Only by extending assistance can we make each race quickly advance. If we isolate our own race, get away from Party guidance, and refuse help from other advanced races, not only will we fail to get for our own race prosperity and growth but we will put ourselves into a backward and indigent state. In the latter part of the 1957 reform and during last year's struggle against feudal privilege to strengthen fatherland unity and amity among and within races, we started among minority cadres a fight to condemn local nationalism, widely exposed the serious harmfulness of same against the building of socialism, and attacked all anti-Party, anti-people, anti-socialism elements that falsely borrow the placard of self-government. At the same time we criticised the remnants of Great Hanism among certain Han cadres, and we further distinguished between the proletarian and bourgeois race viewpoints, and the thought-boundary between socialism and nationalism, thus making inter-racial amity more expansive and firm on a new foundation. Also among cadres and each race's masses we improved the teaching of socialist and Communist ideas, implanting the proletarian race viewpoint, arming them with the Marx-Leninist world-view and race-view. We have regularly waged an obstinate struggle against bourgeois nationalism and other capitalist hold-over ideas, causing them more quickly to build socialism under the bright light of the Party main line.

In the past 10 years, our Lin-hsia Hui Autonomous Chou has obtained the following chief results in various constructive endeavors: We have persistently and honestly carried out the Party race policy, strengthened Party core leadership, held fast to the mass line, helped much in popular movements, maintained revolutionary doctrine, forever pushing the work forward. Under united guidance from the Party and government, we have fully developed our race's self-governing ability. To build Lin-hsia as soon as possible into a grain and stock-raising base, to actualize better commune and village industrialization, to fulfill successfully and more rapidly the 1959 goals and those fixed in the Second Five-Year Plan, and overfulfill them, and show this year a

bigger and more complete leap forward, we must now, on the basis of victories won, fulfill the spirit of the Eighth Assembly decisions, keep on overcoming every form of rightism, arouse revolutionary fervor, overturn hills and sea, and with the might of a storm, stir up a high tide of an over-all leap forward, led by the peasants. On the farms keep on with the big autumn increase movement, do more manuring and weeding, try to have each mou yield 50 chin more of grain than first planned. All along the line in industry start an austerity movement, with high quality, much output, and low waste, trying hard to fulfill early and to exceed this year's production quota. In other lines of work all latent resources must also be tapped. Mobilize all resources to meet the growth in industry and agriculture and stir up acrest in a yet bigger leap forward. Let every locality and unit, each store and occupation, strive hard for the upper reaches and take all effective measures to arrive at the stage where every day is red, every 10 days is red, and every store red throughout. Under the bright light of the main line and the intelligent guidance of the Party and of Chairman Mao, the great leader of all peoples, everyone in our chou will certainly raise high the banner of the commune, continue to show the incomparable superiority of communes, and further strengthen amity among all the races to fulfill early and to exceed all this year's plans for the national economy, boldly advancing and advancing!

3. Facts Refute the Nonsense That the People's Communes Have Been
Established Prematurely and Are Badly Managed

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The Meng-ts'un Hui Autonomous Commune was originally the Meng-ts'un Hui Autonomous Hsien. After communes became the vogue in 1958, it was combined in November with Yen-shan, and became the Yen-shan Meng-ts'un Hui Autonomous Commune. The commune embraces 131 villages and 102,296 persons, among whom 23,842 are Huis. It is a region of Hopeh settled by Huis. The commune has 386,000 mou of arable land. Some 56% of the land is low-lying and the soil brackish. Floods came 9 years out of 10. Before liberation the unit yield was not over 50-60 chin. Life was very hard, and the area was one of much deficit in grain. Since liberation, under Party and government guidance, the people by means of land-reform and mutual aid movements changed the poor and backward condition. Especially after the founding in 1955 of the Meng-ts'un Hui autonomous hsien, economy and culture have been further stimulated, in the first year of the system of collectives, this barren land became a grain-surplus instead of a grain-shortage country, and the people more and more recognized the excellence of collective production. When communes became prevalent, the status of this region radically changed. In the short year since their founding, not only has agricultural production rapidly advanced, but good harvests, industry, forestry, herding, side-lines, fishing, all have gone ahead on wings. The countryside landscape, status of production, and state of spirits are undergoing huge changes.

The commune is sending forth rays of great length, yet a blind man certainly cannot see the sun. The rightist opportunists and others who oppose the commune movement insist on describing this popular movement that follows Heaven's law and pleases men's spirits, as: "Portrayed by a few in accord with their subjective desires"; "Premature, hasty, badly done"; "Communes have no points of excellence"; and so on. We must answer them with facts of the commune's life since founding!

To let rightist opportunists see that the commune is not "premature and hasty," let us first look back at the circumstances of this commune's founding, before describing its great superiority shown in the past year and tremendous results it has obtained. Everyone is familiar with the saying "When the melon is ripe, the stem drops off, when the water comes, the canal is complete"; no more is the aforesaid commune a tree without a root, a well without a fountain. The large expansion in paddy irrigation and agricultural production and the big rise in the socialist consciousness of peasants are the foundation and cause of this commune coming into being.

After land reform was successfully concluded, the peasants here began under Party guidance to walk the path of mutual aid and cooperation for a total rejection of poverty. For several years, as these mutual aid movements grew, better and better harvests were reaped. When cooperatives first appeared in 1955, the grain output turned out to be 12% higher than in 1954. The first year of collective farms -- 1956 -- showed an increase of 51% over 1955. In 1956, besides expenditures for the whole area's people and animals, 7,090,000 chin of grain were sold to the government, changing the age-long grain-shortage status. Thus the fact of annual increase has showed the masses that a cooperative is better than a mutual aid, a collective better than a cooperative, and that the road of collective producing becomes wider as one goes along. Particularly after cadres and masses went through the 1957 reform, the anti-rightist struggle and the movement for teaching socialism, awareness of socialism and zeal for labor rose to new heights, not merely demanding a big reorganization of nature, but also an over-all expansion of workers, peasants, traders, students, soldiers, farming, forestry, herding, side-lines and fishing. Out of this arose a new conflict. The average cooperative with about 200 families was small, lacked labor, had few materials and little financial strength, was unable to do large-scale construction, and found it hard to develop all along the line and to conquer natural disasters. For example, the shallow lake most harmful to all the inhabitants, pours down water from 18 upper villages on 10 or more nearby ones, bringing harm year after year. In 1952 this was a sea of golden kaoliang ready to harvest, and then a huge rain flooded the whole area. "Seventy-two ponds and a shallow lake, cause locusts in spring drought, and floods in autumn harvest" -- thus the peasants express their sombre feelings over such natural disasters. Another spot grows not a blade of grass; in spring dust covers the crops, they dare not plant wheat less than two li away. With these terrible disasters over the years, how the peasants long for a change! But how can a group of dozens or hundreds of families bring it about? Even small enterprises sometimes are not feasible because the groups are restricted by being small. In 1956, Meng-ts'un and four other villages joined together to renovate Tung-sha-wo, but failed through lack of resources. They planted 300 fruit trees which all died soon; they dug a large reservoir which became filled with sand. Two other villages mulled for two years the joint cutting of a canal; but they would have to take land from the Yen-chuang-tzu cooperative, so it was not done.

To produce on a large scale, there is also needed large-size tools and equipment. Again, since the group's funds are small, this cannot be done. All this made them realize more and more that a small group of dozens or hundreds of families fetters production on a big scale.

The rise in productivity stimulates a change in the means of production. This is the outworking of objective laws, not according to men's will. So in the 1958 big leap forward, on their own initiative, men broke down boundaries of cooperatives and of hsiangs, initiated large socialist cooperation, organized 35,000 laborers as a cooperative brigade, fought hard during a winter and spring, opened up the shallow lake as a flowing stream, repaired 150 li of retaining wall, and made the shallow lake which had plagued men for ages a reservoir with a capacity of 160 million cu.m. and a precious reserve for watering 200,000 mou. They also helped other hamlets dig 9 trunk and 36 branch canals, and 343 ditches. They also built 9 diversion sluices, made the famous Chao-ho area "weedy, brackish, 9 out of 10 years crab-producing," become a fish and rice country. There was also built a big "1 August" reservoir irrigating 40,000 mou, and many other reservoirs and canals were dug. The whole area's natural status was notably changed. However, after all this irrigation work was finished, new problems arose. There were conflicts between cooperatives and between teams over water for upper or lower section, while objective conditions further stimulated mutual cooperation among the cooperatives. Through large cooperation on irrigation, not only were contacts more frequent and relations closer among the cooperatives, but also men were led to consider deeply the advantages of collectiveness on a big scale. Thus it was that many cooperatives of their own accord did their business jointly, with united leadership, united programs, and united organization for producing. The four original collective farms of Meng-ts'un Hsiang, in the 1958 big leap forward, of their own accord collected over 70,000 yuan for united digging of machine wells, for running side-lines and factories, and for buying machines. The original 14 cooperatives of Shih-ch'iao Hsiang combined to start an iron foundry, a hog plot and a small farm. Many other cooperatives came together of their own accord. Among the 1,800 families of Chao-ho Hsiang, 1,397 wrote bulletins and resolutions asking for the cooperatives to be combined. We understand that 122 collective farms had 95 requests for the establishment of a commune. Circumstances at that time showed that the founding of a commune had already become the urgent desire of the masses, and the embryo of a commune was taking shape, as an infant about to be born. So at the end of August 1958, after the report came of Chairman Mao's saying "Better to have a commune," it spread over the area like lightning. Men looked bright and smiling, drums sounded loud everywhere; members hastened to post placards and write resolutions asking to have a commune. In the town of Meng-ts'un, bulletings written by members to this effect were placed all over the Party committee office and walls along the streets. Militia companies working outside sent special messengers bearing their resolutions. Thus a large, wide, joint government-society commune came to birth amid the rejoicing of thousands.

From the historical background of the founding of this commune it may be seen how mendacious are the shouts of commune-opposers, "Communes are not an inevitable trend of historical development, they are premature and hasty," and so on.

The Meng-ts'un Hui commune has been founded only a year, yet in spite of its short history, it shines far like the rays of the rising sun. This new-born social organization has already abundantly shown its overflowing vitality and tremendous excellence. This spring with less than 50mm. of rain, the entire area of 110,000 mou of wheat had a good harvest, an increase of 43% over the big leap forward of 1958. Of this, 14,350 mou reached a unit yield of 280 chin, and 528 mou of Satellite fields had a high yield of over 700 chin. The autumn harvest was likewise unprecedented, the members picturing it this way: Kaoliang is like a red hill, corn like a golden stream, spring and summer taroes large, corn ears a foot-and-a-half long. The whole grain acreage of 272,000 mou has been fully reaped, the total yield being 92 million chin, for an average unit yield of 341 chin, or 27.9% more than in the big leap forward year of 1958. While the acreage sown was 28,000 mou less than last year, the total yield was nevertheless 24.3% more.

This is true not only of farming, but also forestry, herding, side-lines, fishing and other elements of our diversified economy have flown forward on wings. Hogs have increased from pre-commune 6,000 to 10,500; sheep from 19,000 to 34,000; and artificially raised fish from almost none to over 3 million in 1959. Figures for January-August show that the commune many-sided economy brought in 813,600 yuan, double the amount for the same period last year. Meng-ts'un production teams, who before communes had only pottery and transport as side-lines, now after communes have come, due to labor and materials being under a united program, have increased them to 36 kinds; in the past they averaged about 1,000 yuan a year, while this year from January to August they got 17,500 yuan.

As production has grown, living conditions have been rising. In this year's summer distribution, 90% of the members received more income. This year the total commune income is 9,813,300 yuan; after deducting expenses, each person gets 73.20 yuan, a 44.95% increase over the 1958 average of 50.50 yuan. The Hsiao-pei production team of Chao-ho was a poverty-stricken team; this year's earnings averaged 92 yuan per man, 54% over 1958. Through the expansion of a many-sided economy, this year the members' personal income will be much augmented, the increase averaging 17 yuan, or more.

As income has increased, the members' buying power has grown very much. The total value of goods sold by the commune, January-August, was 2,754,436 yuan, 42% more than the same period last year. By the

end of August, peasants' bank savings were 492,200 yuan, more than a twofold increase over the same period last year. In one village of 353 families, 303 had money in the bank, each family having over 70 yuan on deposit.

"Water has sources, trees have toots; good harvests likewise have a cause." Why did this commune, within a year, in its rapid growth of productivity, show such tremendous prowess? The members have expressed it well: "With many trees one can make a forest, with many threads one can twist a rope, a commune has big resources, with many men we can level a hill." These words fully set forth the excellence of a "big and good" commune. Take the matter of irrigation. In the past, due to a group having small resources, there were conflicts over whether the advantages of building up irrigation would be large or small, so in many places irrigation did not progress very well. To illustrate: The two villages of Meng-ts'un and Chang-sha, because of a small drainage canal, used to have every year disputes about clearing and blocking. Still less could a big project involving thousands of men be carried through successfully. The whole force of the [present] commune, from 1949 to 1957, could only build enough irrigation works to water about 10 thousand mou, 3% of the arable land. Even the existing sources of water could not be fully used because of lack of tools. Since the breaking down of boundaries of hsiang and cooperatives, and the expansion of working together, until founding the commune, the commune has dug 525 ditches, and 4 large canals criss-cross the area in all directions. Through the building of the three large reservoirs (Shallow Lake, 1 August, and Youth) which can water 100,000 mou of land, and the building of 1,800 smaller reservoirs and canals, and the boring of 456 machine wells, 360 cistern-pipe wells, and 4,880 brick wells, the irrigated area has been enlarged from 10 thousand to 290,000 mou, or 80% of the total cultivated area. The recurring droughts and floods have thus been eradicated and the country had become an irrigated area. In order to make full use of the water sources, after communes became prevalent, they bought gas and electric machines and similar irrigation equipment totaling 280 pieces, and 1,830 water carts. They built 13 water distribution stations, and eight villages, including Meng-ts'un, distributed electric power. This year the whole commune area of 110,000 mou of wheat has been irrigated 3-4 times. The former Chao-ho area, with the help of 20,000 laborers from the commune, started big irrigation works; this year with one rain stretching over 100 kilometers there was no flood, and they reaped an unprecedented harvest. It is estimated the total grain yield of the whole area will reach 5,100,000 chin, nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the total yield of 2,100,000 chin during the leap forward year of 1958.

Due to the commune being large, labor, materials, and land can be unitedly arranged and reasonably programmed over a larger sphere, and various output-augmenting measures can be added. Last fall after the

commune was founded it at once undertook the three autumn tasks, the working of steel and other duties; the whole commune, under united planning of labor and materials, organized a three-pronged brigade, for quick reaping, working steel, and deep plowing. The 110,000 mou for wheat were everywhere plowed to 7 inches or more, and 20,000 of them to between 1 and 2 feet; the garden-plot style was used, with thick planting, making a foundation for a good harvest of wheat. Steel and reaping tasks were finished ahead of time; acreage of taroes and paddy rice was enlarged this year to 240,000 mou, compared to a pre-commune 110,000. Manuring was much augmented. Under the slogan "Let fertilizer take the lead," they started a movement for year-round collecting of manure and for large-scale making of crude chemical fertilizer. In a year they either collected or manufactured 1.4 billion chin, which raised the average spread from 1,000 to 4,000 chin per mou. Noticeable was the post-commune more careful planning, to plant the various crops in accord with differing soils and conditions of cultivating. In five areas including Chao-ho, with more than usual low and brackish places, the commune stressed growing of kaoliang; in six areas including Meng-ts'un, where land was high and sandy, the commune advised planting taroes and corn. The Hsi-liu-chuang production team, farming 2,500 mou, decided this year on four formulas for growing taroes, corn, millet, and kaoliang, fulling bringing out the soil's hidden strength; and the team's total output will exceed last year's by 250,000 chin. Due to the establishment of various collective welfare projects, a large amount of woman labor has been released, and control of fields for various crops has been much strengthened. In the past, at the most hoeing was done 3 times, this year it has averaged 4 or more, and anti-calamity measures have been much increased. In June of this year, 60,000 mou of commune land developed insect plagues, which were entirely wiped out in less than 3 days.

Due to the commune being large, there is much improvement in administrative strength. There used to be 31 grain-short teams; after the commune was started, special officers were appointed to be responsible, and this year 18 teams have a grain surplus. Chun-chuang Village during the 1958 big leap forward still lacked 70,000 chin of grain; after the commune was founded it sent a control area secretary to strengthen the leadership, and in one stride this year it became a grain-surplus village that could deliver to the government 100,000 chin of surplus grain.

As productivity grew and the means of production changed, people's mental status also changed radically. A new atmosphere came, of daring to think and do, helping each other and advancing side by side; ancient rifts became by-gones, Huis and Hans were in close amity, all had leaped forward into a new stage. This spring there was a drought and water was short. Five thousand laborers from five control areas including Meng-ts'un organized a big brigade of racial cooperation in building irrigation, repaired the north-south 60 li Racial Amity canal, and dug 134

canals for joint bringing of water to irrigate and to ensure a good wheat harvest. Because there had been annual disputes over one small ditch between Meng-ts'un (Hui) and Chang-sha to have planned use of water they jointly installed eight electric water-distribution machines on the Youth reservoir, which both had helped to build. Ting Village (hui), lacking a labor force, saw 300 mou of summer crops suffering from weeds; then Chang-sha (Han) voluntarily sent 60 laborers and 20 animals to help with mid-season plowing. To meet the needs of over-all growth in production, Huis and Hans began an exchange of techniques. Meng-ts'un town (Hui) knew how to tan hides, so they sent two men to Wang-chai and Chang-sha to teach the art; Wang-chai (Han) knew how to make taro flour, so they sent two men to Meng-ts'un as teachers. Huis and Hans now go ahead hand in hand.

Before communes became the vogue, Meng-ts'un was limited in labor, materials, and finance, and had only one agricultural cooperatives, so it had no industry to speak of. The skills of its 30 iron and wood workers was quite low, and they could not make even small farm-tools. After the commune came, due to their having a commune's united leadership and program, there was plenty of labor, materials, and funds. Due to men's thoughts being liberated, much fervor was aroused, and local industries grew rapidly. Farm-tool making and repair plants, factories for chemical fertilizer, bacteriological fertilizer, alcohol, sugar, processed foods, rugs, and cement sprung up like bamboo sprouts after rain, to the number of 76. Within the past year, local industries with the aim of helping agriculture, have made 2½ million chin of chemical and 200,000 chin of bacteriological fertilizer, 18 power grinders, 512 large new-type farm tools, 24,000 other tools, all of which strongly aided farm output. Noteworthy was the presence of an electric apparatus plant under adverse conditions, where the workers, lacking technical guidance, and with paucity of equipment, by their own efforts and smartness, made many electric machines. Thus they not only aided the whole commune with electric irrigation, but also supplied the needs of city industries.

The commune, moreover, has initiated various welfare projects for its members, and opened a broad avenue for bettering their material living. In the past year, as production grew, the commune has prepared for all its members year-round and seasonal communal diners numbering 612, with 21,560 families patronizing them, which equals 98% of the whole farm population. Seventy-eight sewing-rooms have been started, 18 small flour mills, 8 homes for the aged, and 343 nurseries enabling worried oldsters to spend their evening years in comfort and joy. Lively natural children in nursery and kindergarten get even better care. Women are no longer bound down by household trifles, but all come gladly into production. The Hsi-liu-chuang production team formerly had not more than 20% of its 132 women engaged in production, now that the commune has opened diners, and nurseries, there are ordinarily 94% in production. Of these, 78 were at work every month from January to August.

Then too there has been a marked advance in the commune's working at culture, education and health. In the past year they have started 84 elementary schools, enabling 3,023 children of school age to attend school; and 9 commune middle schools, with 1,746 students. Of spare-time schools there are 166, with 16,516 young men in attendance the year round. Besides, the commune has cinema teams, drama troupes, and every village has a wire radio broadcasting station, greatly changing the backward status of culture. The area, besides a hsien-built hospital in Meng-ts'un, has 12 hospitals of its own, and 26 clinics; and 36 production teams have founded a maternity hospital in addition. The incidence of current ailments has been much lowered, with a consequent rise in popular health.

From the aforesaid facts it can be seen that the cries of commune opposers, "Communes are Badly Managed" are purely lies and slanders.

The Meng-ts'un Hui Autonomous Commune, like other communes throughout the nation, has during the past year shown excellent features which are only the first rays of the sun. It will in the future shine forth with yet greater prestige.

4. Solving the Race Problem Among Mingled and Scattered Minorities

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Among the 38 million minority people in China, about 10 million live mingled and scattered in Han and other population areas. The number so living is about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the entire minority population. In about 70% of our hsiens and cities there are at least two races living side by side; in Yunnan and Kweichow over $\frac{3}{5}$ of the hsiangs are multi-racial. Huis are distributed in some 60% of the centers in the whole land. China has only 13,000 Uzbeks, but they are distributed among 60 centers in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area. This is a natural condition which has developed in racial intercourse over a long period of historical growth.

The mingled and scattered minorities, under the reactionary rule of the old China, suffered oppression, contempt, and exclusion. Not only had they no political position, but some to maintain existence, had to conceal their own racial origin, change their race status, and cover up their racial characteristics. Most of them lived a hard life and were backward in culture. Some such who lived in cities and towns, due to differences in customs and language from the Hans, were somewhat circumscribed in their social occupations. After liberation, the Party and government did away with racial oppression, and protected such members of minorities in the enjoyment of racial equality. It helped them greatly in getting employment, in their hard problems of producing and living, and fostered an economy and culture together with the Hans.

In the past 10 years, through democratic reforms and socialist construction, particularly through the big leap forward and commune vogue of 1958, these people's material and cultural living has risen much, and they have formed strong friendships with the Hans; and this friendly cooperative fraternizing has grown strong and flourished.

1. We have preserved equal rights among the races. The national constitution provides: "All races are equal. It is forbidden to despise or oppress any race, or to act so as to destroy racial amity." To preserve equal rights among these mingled and scattered minority elements, in 1952 the previous State Council issued a decision protecting all scattered minority elements in enjoying the right of racial equality. For several years, in the relevant policies and laws fixed by Party and government, there has been constant attention to protecting the equality of rights of such people. When the nation was founded, to protect their right of participation in any level of local government in regions of mixed population, governments were set up which complied with the decisions of the previous State Council on practical methods for local racial democratic coalition government. This proved of real service in satisfying demands to share in the regime, to help manage national and local affairs, to strengthen racial amity, and so

on. For several years, as a result of the Party and government fully executing the policy of racial equality, in an area where there were in local and national agencies a definite number from the minorities, each race had a suitable number of delegates and cadres. After the constitution was made public, minority membership in all local congresses and people's councils was fully protected as a right. Therefore, according to the constitution, in the last few years local racial democratic coalition governments have not been continued. To ensure that scattered minority peoples may have suitable quota of delegates who could be in all local people's congresses, and could help manage national affairs, it is laid down in China's election law: All scattered minority elements must take part in electing delegates to all people's congresses, representation to be according to population. The constituency represented by each delegate may be less than that for the local population, but usually not less than half. In all local people's councils, each race concerned has a suitable quota of members. In four provinces and cities including Honan and Peiping, the minority population is only 2.3% of the whole; but in their people's congresses, minority delegates take up 7.7%, while in the various councils they comprise 7.15%. In eight provinces and cities, including Hopeh and Peiping, the minority population comprises 12% of the whole, but in people's congresses of towns and their territories, minority delegates comprise 13%, and in people's councils, 15.2%. In local congresses and councils, there is always suitable representation from the minorities, enabling national agencies to receive opinions and reactions from all strata of the populace, and thus to do better the work related to the minorities. Local national agencies have great respect for reaction from congress members, councilors, and populace of the minorities, and constantly of their own accord listen to views and desires from the various races. In policies and handling of daily business decided by local agencies of the national government on important questions affecting the minorities, there is full consultation with each concerned race's delegates, councilors and cadres. Decisions are made only with their consent, thus bringing all actions of said agencies fully in line with the desires of each race, and enlisting the aid and support of all the peoples.

The Party and government, in socialist revolution and construction, have paid attention to training cadres from among the scattered minorities and increasing the proportion of minorities who are Party or Corps members. Incomplete figures from nine provinces and cities including Hopeh and Peiping show 30,000 minority cadres working in the various agencies, 600 or so being of hsien rank or above. The proportion of minority people who are Party members in seven centers including Shantung is over 35,000; for five provinces including Heilungkiang, minority Corps members number over 70,000. In 1959, Shensi had 120 cadres from the minorities, only three being of hsien rank or above. In 1958, such persons numbered 547, 13 of hsien rank or above, an

increase of $3\frac{1}{2}$ -fold during that period. These examples show that China's scattered and mingled minorities have already fully enjoyed democratic rights, and have on a basis of equality taken part in managing the nation's affairs, as masters of the nation.

People of all races in China have the freedom to use their own spoken and written language. Those of scattered and mingled minorities, long living together with the Hans, have already widely adopted the Han language. However, those of the minorities who keep their own language still have the freedom to do so. In the nation's political life and in social contacts, they all may use their own language. They may do so in all government conferences, the national agencies on the spot providing needed interpreting. When a minority citizen is in litigation in a people's court, they may do the same, the court providing needed interpreting. For this reason, in our country, since the proportion of races and of languages varies, limitation of personal political rights and of social activities is essentially nonexistent.

2. In our country's socialist revolution and construction, mingled and scattered minority people live side by side with the Hans and are showing democratic revolution and socialist construction; and in 1958 in the nation-wide forming of communes, they willingly joined. Under the bright light of the Party main line of building socialism, the city, countryside, and industry and farming experiences a rapid advance, while the minority people had a bigger rise and improvement in their material living.

Mingled and scattered minority people, along with the Hans, came into the system of agricultural cooperatives; and in line with such persons' peculiarities of living, and their own wishes, there was a widespread forming of inter-racial societies. In them was fully brought out each race's talents for production, and there was fostered a variety of production such as each race was accustomed to practice; thus production grew. In these societies, care was taken to look after and defend the interests of the minority members, thus ensuring that they all added to their income. Care also was taken to train leading cadres from the minorities; and among the leading cadres of these societies, each race had its proper representation, while within the society each race's language and customs were respected. So inter-racial societies not only outdistanced others in production, but also served an important role by cultivating racial amity and cooperation. When last year there was a nationwide acceptance of the commune system, these scattered and mingled minority people, along with people of local brother races, set up multi-racial joint communes. Thus they had the excellent features of communes in general, and at the same time there was more amity and mutual aid among the races, which meant much for growth and prosperity. Among the communes formed in partnership among the various races, there was shown still further the relation of mutual aid and mutual learning, supplementing as needed close cooperation. In commune congresses and in

commune committees, races concerned are fairly represented. Within the commune each race's special talents are fully brought to use, special features of living are respected, and they learn each other's language. And so in the short interval of a year, they have shown much excellence. The P'iao-li commune in Kweichow is a multi-racial one made up of T'ung (0179), T'ung (0392), Han, Miao, Yao, and Tibetans. Before its founding, while the races had some relations, it was not close enough. Because of historical influence, some races did not have enough confidence in, or respect for, others, and differences were significant in conditions of production and in level of livelihood. After the commune was founded, relations were greatly changed. Through the races laboring and living in partnership, direct contacts became more frequent and reciprocal understanding better. Thus, friendship among them increased, lack of confidence disappeared, and a multi-racial big home was set up where friendship abounded as in a family. This was true not only in race relations, but the full bringing out of each race's commune members' talents and characteristics caused a greater growth in production than for local communes in general. In this commune, Hans and T'ungs (0179) are good at farming, T'ungs (0302) and Yaos at forestry, and Miaos and Yaos have a talent for hill-country side-line occupations. The commune fully brought out these special talents, organized the results of production, and last year made a big leap forward in the five standard lines of production, achieving more than did the nearby communes. Since the commune encourages teaching and learning in production among all its members, often with an exchange of advanced experience, the former condition of only one or two being versed in living has become one where most members are familiar with the five lines and also an all-round skill in producing, making very favorable conditions for a further advance in production. Race relations in the P'iao-li commune are a miniature of relations in scattered and mingled minority areas in China.

During the socialist construction of private trade and industry, there was practiced joint public and private management among minorities just as among the Hans. For the past few years jointly-managed trade made big advance in production and in doing business, and the private persons were satisfactorily taken care of. Among mingled and scattered minorities, people in private trade and industry and small merchants and peddlers were especially numerous; among Hui traders in Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghai, and such big cities, 80% were peddlers. The Plan of cooperatives was put in among them at the same time as among the Hans. Some of these cooperatives have now become State enterprises. Before liberation, many of these peddlers had very uncertain production and living. A considerable amount of their business was temporary or seasonal, and about 80% of the Huils in cities and towns came under this category. After going through socialist construction, their circumstances were radically changed. Some became employees in State or in

joint enterprises. For several years, the number of former peddlers placed by the Tientsin people's government in State or joint enterprises has been over 2000. Some have, with help from the people's government, changed occupation; and now their production is steady and their living assured. During the socialist construction of private industry and of peddlers and small merchants, care was taken for the needs and special features of minority people. For example, Hui food stores were not as a rule combined with those run by Hans; the original signs and trademarks used by the Huis were all preserved. If need demands combination, Hui consumers are given consumers' advantages.

Mingled and scattered minority people, especially those living in cities, before liberation suffered seriously from unemployment or partial unemployment. For the past 10 years the Party and people's government have been much concerned about their getting employment, and have used various devices to help them solve this problem. In labor employment, Party and government have looked after the interests of minorities. In 1952 the Ministry of Labor of the central government issued this directive: "In registering for employment for labor, or bringing it about, give prior consideration to minorities." So each locality in employment gave preference to minorities. And it adopted positive measures, such as training classes, to provide the conditions for local minority people to get employment. In Peiping, during the past few years, we have introduced over 27,000 persons to the building of socialism. Among scattered minority people in Shanghai, before liberation, the unemployed comprised 6.8%. After liberation, with the interest and help of the local people's government, all unemployed have been absorbed into factories, businesses, or agencies, and many have been trained as cadres or skilled workers. China now has no unemployed in cities and towns; their employment is steady, and their livelihood is secure and is continually improving. Before liberation, the T'ien-mu Hui Hsiang in the northern suburbs of Tientsin had 80% of its 1,400 families engaged in peddling, and only 1/3 of the population could support themselves, while 40% of the families barely existed year after year through borrowing. Now among 1,862 families in the whole hsiang, 1,090 are employed in State and joint enterprises. Among the 8,000 or more persons in the hsiang there are 3,000 bicycles alone, and there is a radio for every two families. We thus see how much richer their life is.

In the past 10 years, the Party and people's government, in addition to adopting social reform, employment and other fundamental measures among these minority people, have also made various types of loans, distributed relief funds and supplemented the expenses of production, thereby greatly developing and improving production. Between 1949 and 1958, 13 provinces and cities, including Hopeh and Peiping, spent on production 7,190,000 yuan, on community relief 1,068,000 yuan

and on loans for production 43,140,000 yuan. In Shantung, in 1958, supplements for farm tools amounted to 250,000 yuan, and minority people living the province's villages received on the average three small farm tools per family. Some hsiens in the Shang-ch'iu Special District of Honan, suffered one disaster after another before 1957, and the living of local people was often harmed. In the past 5 years the government has given them over 4 million yuan in relief funds, helping them live through the drought. Local people of the minorities said feelingly: "In a year of such severe calamity, under the old social order how many people would have perished from famine? Now, under the Party's care, not merely has no one starved, but they have seen to it we all had enough to eat."

As a result of the aforesaid measures taken by the Party and government, there has been a large growth in production by these mingled and scattered minority people, and their living has everywhere improved and risen. Particularly since 1958, with the nation-wide stirring of an over-all big leap forward for building socialism, and the coming of communes, these people's production and livelihood have yet more advanced and risen. The Yu tribe in Fukien, before liberation, mostly lived a hard life, eating grain for half the year, and vegetables and chaff the rest. Now they not only have enough grain to eat, but also deliver a large amount to the government. In their region, between 1950 and 1958, grain increased 6.2-fold, reaching 1,100,000 tan; rapeseed doubled, amounting to 76,000 tan; hogs multiplied 5-fold, each family having $1\frac{1}{2}$ on the average. Forest acreage in 1958 had increased 4.1-fold over 1952. In Hopeh, in the Hui-Han mixed district of Meng-ts'un, the 1958 grain output was over 6-fold that of 1949, averaging 1,100 chin per person. Comparing 401 families on Cow Street in Peiping before liberation and now: At that time the 401 families had 1,580 persons, or 3.9 to a family; now they have 2,289, or 5.6 to a family, an increase of 43%. At the beginning of liberation, the employed numbered 532, now 846; those who worked in government agencies, factories, shops, and such units numbered 146, now they number 586, an increase of 3-fold. At the beginning of liberation, income averaged 36 yuan per family, and 9 per individual; now the respective figures are 87 and 15, an increase of 70% over the first days of liberation. As China's socialist economy is continually built up, and production by these minority people constantly grows, life in all these races will be yet more improved.

3. Along with development of the national economy, and culture and education, the number of persons receiving education among these mingled and scattered minority people has increased year by year; especially in the 1958 big leap forward throughout the nation in industry, farming, and culture and education, the number of students among these people has multiplied markedly. Concurrently, there has developed among them an active anti-illiteracy drive, leading young men out of

this letter-blind state. To remedy these people's backward status, the Party and government, in areas where they are more numerous, have started racial schools or racial classes in ordinary schools; and in all schools, during enrollment, have given heed to the number from the minorities. Special attention was also given to students coming from poor homes, while the government has given grants-in-aid. As a result of these efforts to promote education among the minorities, in the short period of 10 years, culture and education among these people has seen a fundamental change. Now practically all children of school age among them are in school, and elementary education is universal. According to figures from the 13 centers mentioned above, students from the minorities of all grades in 1949 numbered 35,960; in 1952, 114,627; in 1957, 255,968; and in 1958, over 510,000, an increase of 14-fold over 1949. Teachers among the minorities in 1949 numbered 1,448; in 1952, 4,334; in 1957, 9,405; and in 1958, 10,887, an increase over 1949 of 7.5 fold. These city minority people averaged one student to each 6.6 persons. Their number in middle and higher schools in general matches that of the Hans in proportion. Nanking City has one middle school student to 17 persons, Anhwei Province has 1 to 45. On the eve of liberation, Shensi Province had from the minorities 17 higher school students, less than 100 middle, 1000 elementary. Comparing the then proportion of minority middle school students with Hans, the latter exceeded by more than 2-fold; however, things are different now. Minority students and Han students bear about the same proportion to their respective populations; and in unusual areas bear a higher proportion than do Han students to the local Han population. In 1958, the province had from the minorities 320 university students, 1,561 middle school students, and 6,316 elementary students. Compared with pre-liberation times, 1958 shows an increase of 18-fold in university students, 15-fold in middle students, and 5-fold in elementary students.

Community education, too, has expanded much among the mingled and scattered minorities. Anti-illiteracy work among young men in Hopeh, Fukien, Shantung and other provinces has already attained about 80% of its objective.

The cultural life of these minority people is rich and varied. Each locality has tried to spread its time-honored racial literature and art, and the people's government has helped build or supply places for their cultural activities, and led these people to organize such activities, thus satisfying the desires of each race's cultural life. In some of their areas, we have in accord with need and ability, started and published newspapers and books in the local minorities' dialects. Heilungkiang and Liaoning have initiated Korean newspapers for Koreans who live in these provinces, with a circulation of over 20,000. This provides one copy for each 2.5 families living there. These papers and books emphasize publicizing the Party main line of building socialism and various policies for a better understanding of

these among the races concerned, so that they may show yet more earnestness and initiative in the nation's building of socialism.

4. Socialist race relations have been everywhere formed and expanded. When the Chinese People's Republic was founded, the mingled and scattered minority people, like all races in the nation, in a united big fatherland home for the races, began a new life of equality, amity, friendship and cooperation; but because of historical racial oppression by the ruling class and inter-racial contempt caused by policies which favored such an attitude, mutual lack of confidence and even rifts still persisted during the first stage of liberation. Thus normal relations and growth were affected. To meet these circumstances, the Party and government emphasized racial amity work among all the races; and among cadres and masses in the city and country, and in agencies, businesses, and schools of all races, the strengthening of racial amity was made an important political duty. The Party and government also regularly gave suitable censure and needed struggle against all factors that harmed racial amity or hindered race relations. They also further encouraged racial amity, mutual aid, and mutual expansion. Party groups everywhere used racial amity month, or week, and other devices, and proclaimed models of racial amity as factors to help it along.

To overcome Great Hanism and local nationalism, and to improve racial amity among cadres and masses of minority areas, and throughout the nation, we have taught patriotism and socialism and proletarian internationalism. Also, in 1953 and 1956, when investigating the execution of the racial policy in the nation, we strongly criticized the contempt felt by Han cadres toward minorities, their failure to respect minority customs, and other tendencies of Great Hanism. In the 1957 reform movement and anti-rightist struggle, while continuing to overcome Great Hanism trends, we strongly criticized minority cadres for their conservative exclusiveness, their stressing of characteristics, their isolationist going it alone, and other trends of local nationalism. Also, there were exposed and attacked a few bourgeois nationalist elements who were harming fatherland unity and destroying racial amity. At the same time, on the foundation of each race's socialist awareness being greatly raised, we thoroughly routed evil men in religious circles who put on the cloak of religion and fiercely attacked the Party, people, and socialism. Through criticizing the aforesaid psychological tendencies, exposure and attack on local nationalists; and struggle in religious circles against evil men and deeds, we gave thorough instruction in socialism to cadres and masses of all races. Thus they elevated much their understanding of patriotism and socialism and implanted more deeply the international view of race. After a conflict between the two paths, they won a decisive victory for socialist revolution on the political ideology front, confirming among all races Party leadership, the socialist system, and strong amity among the races.

Following the nation-wide deepening and expanding of the socialist revolution and construction in mingled and scattered minority areas and large amity and cooperation among the races, socialist relations involving common labor and growth were formed and expanded more widely. Particularly after the victory of the reform movement and anti-rightist struggle, the big all-round leap forward for building socialism, and the coming of communes in 1958, there were stronger and wider relations among members of various races in the communes, factories, businesses, agencies, schools, and city residents. In the races' common producing and living, learning from and helping each other, progressing and expanding side by side, socialist race relations grew more and more.

All these things show that under the bright light of the Party racial policy, and with warm help from the Hans, mingled and scattered minority people in our land not only enjoy the right of political racial equality, but also in economics and culture along with the Hans, obtain a common growth and prosperity.

Now these people are closely united with the Hans, with a common mind and morality. They raise high the red banner of the main line of building socialism, of the big leap forward and of communes, striving together tirelessly for a bigger, better, more comprehensive leap forward, and another after that.