

# United



# and

# Equal



— THE PROGRESS OF  
CHINA'S MINORITY  
NATIONALITIES

# UNITED AND EQUAL

THE PROGRESS OF CHINA'S  
MINORITY NATIONALITIES

by Yin Ming

China is a country of over 50 nationalities. The Han people make up the great majority. The others, with smaller numbers, are commonly called minority nationalities.

After China's liberation in 1949 all her nationalities stood up. The minorities obtained political equality. With the concern and help of the Party and state they are prospering economically as well.

This book tells about the life of these nationalities, the relevant policies of the Party and government, how social reforms have been carried out and regional autonomy is practised in their areas, the achievements there in industry, agriculture, culture and education and public health and happiness.

Readers who wish to understand China, and those who themselves live in multi-national countries, will find much in it of interest.

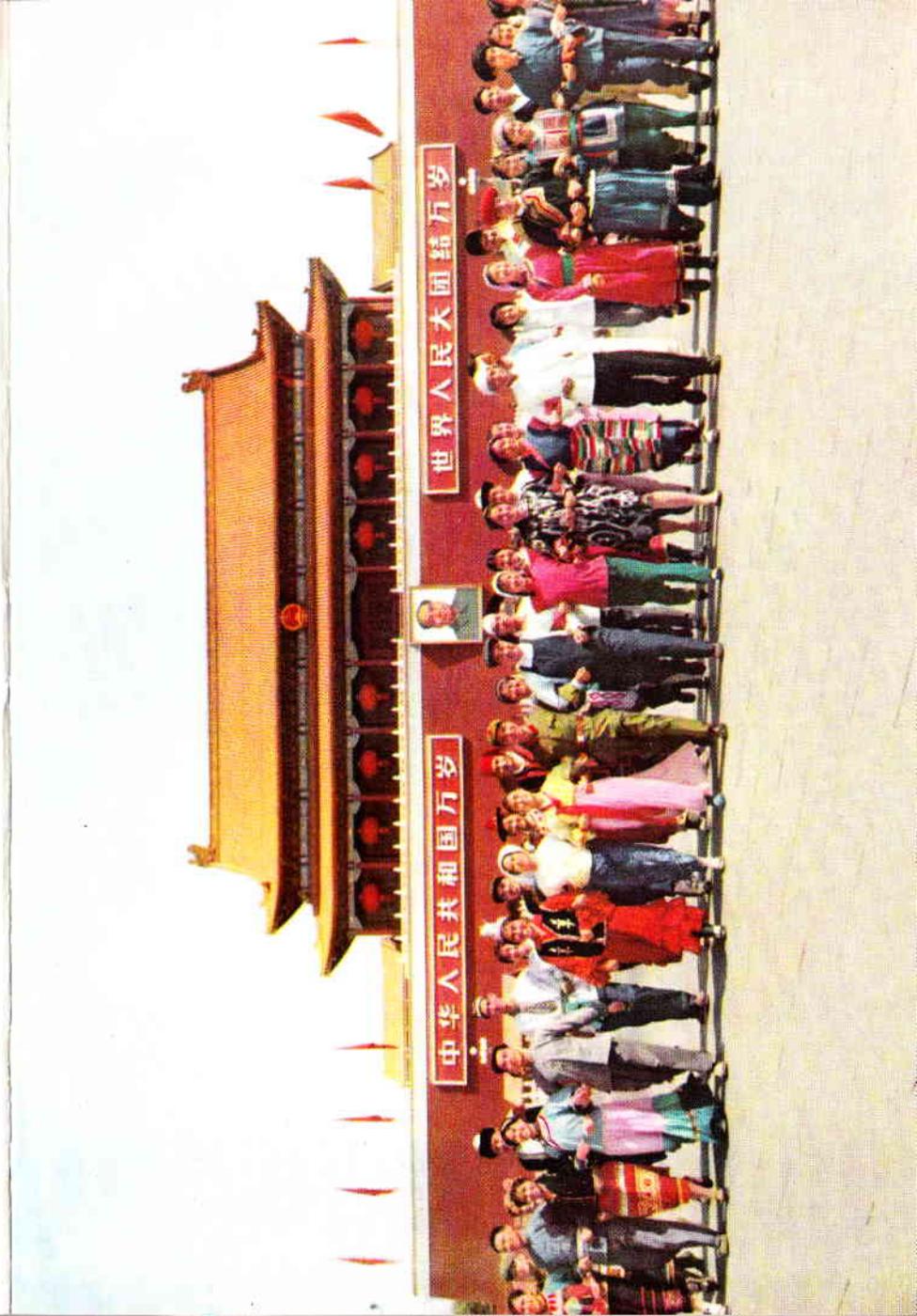
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中華人民共和國  
各民族團結起來

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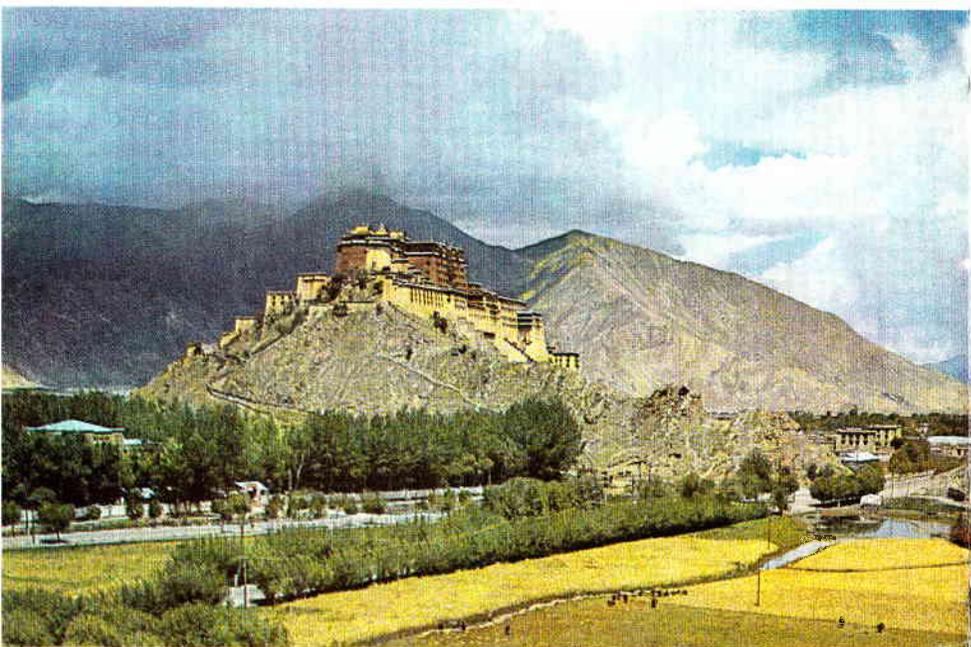
"All Nationalities of the People's Republic of China, Unite!"  
— inscription in Chairman Mao Tsetung's handwriting.





The Ailagol Mosque in Kashgar, Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Built in the 9th century, it is a historical site preserved by the state.

China is a multi-national country. Her 55 fraternal nationalities are equal and united.



The Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet Autonomous Region, was first built in the 7th century. One of China's famous ancient structures, it too is a protected historical site.

The beautiful grassland.





The Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking trains cadres of the minority nationalities. New enrollees from 16 provinces and autonomous regions get a warm welcome.

The people in minority-nationality areas live a happy life.



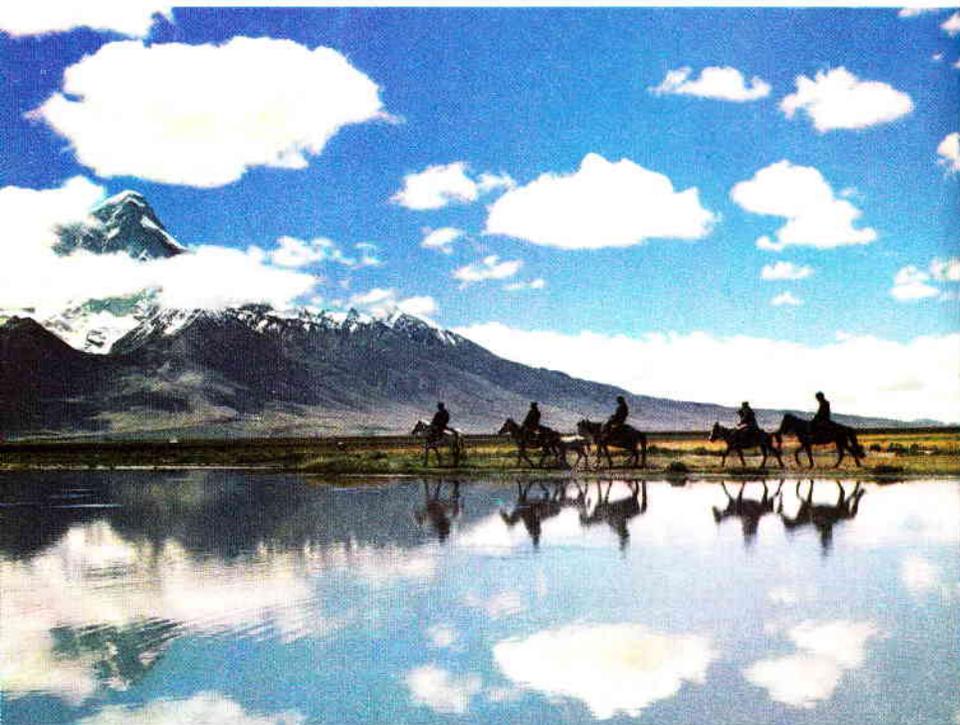


Dance of the Korean nationality.



Minority-nationality cap and dress designs.





Ever on guard on the motherland's frontier.

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## A Unitary Multi-National State

The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. Since antiquity the ancestors of its various nationalities have laboured and lived on the motherland's vast and fertile soil, and jointly created China's long history and splendid culture.

Before liberation, under class and national oppression by the reactionary ruling class, the various nationalities were unequal in status. No matter which nationality's exploiting class gained power over China's central government, it invariably practised national oppression and brought suffering to the people of all nationalities, with the smallest ones suffering the deepest oppression. Some were decimated by armed force; some were compelled to leave their native places; some driven into desolate border regions and mountains.

In the hundred years or so before China's liberation, the people of all nationalities suffered together from imperialist aggression. Evil-doing imperialism invaded and occupied our territory, harmed and enslaved the people of various nationalities and sowed discord and splits among them, all in a vain attempt to subjugate China.

The people of all nationalities in China replied to the oppression and exploitation by internal and external

enemies, and to their splitting schemes, by strengthening their unity and waging resolute struggle. Over a long period they rose up together against the reactionary rule of feudal dynasties, opposed exploitation and extortion by the ruling classes of their own nationalities, and waged a common struggle against imperialist aggressors. Every large-scale revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism in the century before liberation was a multi-national one. For instance, the famous Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement (1851-64) started in Kueiping County, Kwangsi Province, where several nationalities lived together. People of all these nationalities participated in it from the very beginning; the revolutionary movements in the other nationality areas in the southwest and northwest also gave it support and co-ordinated their own actions with it.

The history of the Chinese people's revolution since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party is the history of heroic struggles waged by the people of various nationalities under the Party's leadership. After the First Revolutionary Civil War in China (1924-27), many of the older revolutionary bases were set up in minority areas and the people of all nationalities made important contributions to the common cause of liberation. After protracted and dauntless struggles, in 1949 the people of China's many nationalities finally overthrew the three big mountains on their backs — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — and the revolution was crowned with success. Since then our unitary multi-national state has been united into a fraternal co-operative family, opening a new chapter in the history of China's more than 5,000 years of civilization.

At present there are 55 nationalities in China. The Hans are the most numerous; the remaining 54 nationalities total about 40 million people. Due to their relatively smaller population they are called minority nationalities.

These in turn differ greatly in size. The largest is the Chuang, with about 10 million people. The Olunchun, numbering about 2,700, is one of the smaller ones. The Hoche nationality has just over 700.

Among the 54 minorities 10 have a population of over one million each: the Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Uighur, Miao, Yi, Chuang, Puyi, Korean and Manchu. All the others have less. Among them, 18 number over 100,000 each: the Tung, Yao, Pai, Tuchia, Kazakh, Hani, Tai, Li, Lisu, Wa, She, Kaoshan, Tunghsiang, Nahsi, Lahu, Shui, Chingpo and Lopa. Twenty-six nationalities each have a population of under 100,000, including 16 with 10,000 or more each: the Khalkhas, Tu, Tahir, Mulao, Chiang, Pulang, Sala, Maonan, Kelao, Sibo, Achang, Tajik, Nu, Uzbek, Pumi and Monba. Ten have a population of under 10,000 each: the Russian, Owenke, Penglung, Paoan, Yuku, Ching, Tartar, Olunchun, Tulung and Hoche.

Before liberation the minority nationalities were severely oppressed and exploited by enemies at home and abroad, which led to a decline in their population. To say nothing of the past, in the 1930s the reactionary warlords perpetrated massacres of the Hui people in Kansu and the Miao and Yao peoples in Kwangsi; in the 1940s the reactionary Kuomintang government slaughtered Mongolians in the Ikh Chao League, Inner Mongolia, and suppressed the Uighur, Kazakh and other nationalities in Sinkiang. In all these cases the victims numbered thousands. When Japanese imperialism invaded China, it slaughtered the Hoche people in the Northeast, and

carried out inhuman bacteriological experiments on the Owenke, nearly extinguishing these nationalities. In Tibet, under barbarous serf-owner rule the population decreased by 60 per cent in the course of a century.

After liberation, national oppression was abolished; since then socialist revolution and socialist construction have been carried out, and health and medical services have developed. The downward trend in the population of the nationalities has been fundamentally reversed; they have become more numerous and prosperous. The Chuang people in Kwangsi have increased from over six million at the time of liberation to about 10 million at present; the Hoche, of whom there were only 300 or so at the time of liberation, have grown to 700 today.

The 40 million people of the national minorities make up only a small proportion of China's total population, but they are spread over 50 to 60 per cent of the country's total area.

The minorities live mainly in the country's western half; a comparatively small number live in the other parts of China, including islands off the southeastern coast. Particularly it should be noted that there is hardly any place along China's long border without its communities of minority nationalities. Among them are the Kaoshan in Taiwan Province in eastern China; the Li and Miao on Hainan Island in the south; in the northeast the Koreans along the Tumen River, the Hoche along the Wusuli River, the Owenke and Olunchun along the Heilungkiang River; the Mongolians in Inner Mongolia; the Kazakhs, Uighurs, Khalkhas and Tajiks in Sinkiang; the Tibetans, Monba and Lopa in Tibet; the Lisu, Tulung, Nu, Chingpo, Wa, Tai and Yi in Yunnan; and the Chuang and Ching in Kwangsi.

The historical migrations of the nationalities have given rise to the characteristic of their population distribution: mixed in the main; ethnic homogeneity — except for the Han regions — in relatively small areas. The map of ethnic distribution resembles a mosaic. All provinces and autonomous regions contain several nationalities. Seventy per cent of all counties and cities in China contain people of more than two nationalities. It is true, the Hans, the most numerous, are spread throughout most of China, and their areas of concentration are large. In varying numbers, they are generally found in all the minority communities as well. Most of the other nationalities also have their areas of concentration, different in size, some being spread over a vast area. For example, the Hui who are spread over 60 per cent of the counties and cities in China also have their concentrations in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region in northwestern China. The overlapping communities of large and small nationalities form an inseparable whole.

The areas inhabited by minority nationalities are vast and rich in resources. The land, beautiful and fertile, is suited to the development of agriculture and animal husbandry and abounds in minerals, forests and other industrial resources, with many characteristic local and special products. However, under the savage plunder of the reactionary ruling classes in the past, the people in these areas became poor and deprived, and their economy developed very slowly. After liberation all resources reverted to the people of the various nationalities, ensuring broad prospects for the development of their economies and playing an ever increasingly important role in the socialist construction of the motherland.

The languages of the minority nationalities are many and varied. More than 20 of them, used by 74 per cent of the entire minority-nationality population, belong to the Han-Tibetan family which, besides the Han language, includes three other branches: Chuang-Tung, Tibeto-Burman and Miao-Yao. The minorities speaking Han-Tibetan languages live mainly in south-central and south-western China. About 15 nationalities, making up 21 per cent of the total minority population, use Altaic languages; they are found mainly in China's northwest and northeast. The Altaic family is divided into three branches: Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu. Moreover, the Korean nationality speaks Korean. A few nationalities with small numbers living along the south-western and northwestern border speak, respectively, South Asian or Indo-European languages. The Hui, Manchu and She people now use the Han language as their own.

Before liberation only 10 of the minority nationalities — including the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Korean and Kazakh — had their own written national languages. Many, oppressed by generations of feudal rulers, were never able to develop their own writing. Some kept records by knotting strings or carving wood. The reactionary Kuomintang government practised a policy of compulsory assimilation of the nationalities, forcing them to use the Han language in speech and writing. They were deprived of the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages; those who did so in public were humiliated and punished.

After liberation a policy of equality among nationalities was put into effect. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China provides: "All the nationalities

have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages." In order to satisfy the demands of the masses of some nationalities, the state has helped them create written languages or reform existing ones. Publication in the nationality languages is now flourishing. A great many books, newspapers and periodicals have been published in Mongolian, Tibetan, Korean, Uighur, Kazakh and other languages. Works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao as well as the documents of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the government have been translated and published in them. All autonomous regions and most autonomous prefectures have newspapers in the language used by the respective nationalities. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has programmes in minority languages. The local radio stations in autonomous areas broadcast in the local languages. At some institutes of higher learning, and institutes for nationalities, numerous cadres are being trained to work in such languages.

Thanks to the equal status obtained by all nationalities, a new trend of learning the languages of other nationalities, by personal volition and for practical need, has developed among the masses. Han cadres who work in minority areas enthusiastically learn the local languages; minority people eagerly learn the written Han language for direct access to books published in it. All this is important in the promotion and strengthening of national unity, cultural exchange among China's nationalities and their joint efforts to build up the socialist motherland.

Various religious beliefs, customs and habits are found among the minorities. These are related to the

original social and economic systems of these nationalities. The development of society brings with it constant changes with regard to religion, customs and habits.

Before liberation the exploiting classes of the minority nationalities used religion as a tool to oppress and enslave their labouring people; imperialism used it as a weapon for aggression. The people of some nationalities were forced to embrace a given religion. For example, the Tibetans and the Mongolians were forced to follow Lamaism and to send their sons to the temples to become lamas, condemning them to lifelong celibacy.

In the past the following religions were prevalent among the various nationalities: Islam among the Hui, Uighur and Kazakh; Lamaism among the Tibetan, Mongolian, Tu and Yuku, and Hinayana Buddhism among the Tai and Pulang. There were also Shamanists, Eastern Orthodox Christians and polytheists. Imperialism spread Protestantism and Catholicism among some nationalities as part of its cultural invasion.

After liberation the Party and the government fully applied the policy of freedom of religious belief. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China provides: "Citizens enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism." The people of the minority nationalities enjoy these fundamental rights of citizens just as the Han people do. Feudal privileges and oppression and exploitation in religion have been resolutely abolished.

The customs of various minority nationalities as regards marriage, funerals, festivals, dress, food and drink were developed over long periods of history and determined by their different social and economic conditions. After the foundation of socialist economy was laid, the

customs left over from the old society underwent corresponding changes. In the past the reactionary ruling class discriminated against these customs and made use of them to sow national discord. Since liberation, the Party and government have respected the customs of all the nationalities, which the latter have the freedom to preserve or reform. With regard to old customs that impede production, national development and social progress, the people of each nationality have constantly and voluntarily carried out reforms. With the development of the socialist revolution the people of all China's nationalities have greatly changed their customs.

In the old society the minority nationalities were subject to oppression and discrimination; in new China the equality of all nationalities has its full expression in their political status. The people of all nationalities are the masters of our country. They manage the affairs of the state jointly and on an equal footing.

There are cadres of minority nationalities occupying leading positions in the Party and the state. Among them are members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee, members or alternate members of the Central Committee, Party secretaries of provinces or autonomous regions, and vice-chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Deputies of minority nationalities have been elected to all the sessions of the National People's Congress, the highest organ of state power. All 54 minority nationalities had deputies attending the Fourth National People's Congress convened in 1975. The ratio of the number of deputies of minority nationalities to the total number of deputies exceeds their ratio in the

population as a whole. The same is true of the local people's congresses at all levels.

While ensuring that the people of all nationalities manage the affairs of the state together, various minority nationalities practise regional national autonomy in areas which they inhabit compactly, thus their people have the right to be their own masters and manage local affairs within their own nationality. Regional national autonomy ensures their equal status and takes account of their special characteristics. Their initiative in participating in the political life of the state and in building socialism is brought into full play and the unity and cooperation among the various nationalities are constantly enhanced.

Now the task of establishing national autonomous areas and autonomous organs has been basically accomplished throughout China. There are five autonomous regions, equal in status to a province; 29 autonomous prefectures, equal to prefectures of a province; and 69 autonomous counties. In autonomous areas the various nationalities enjoy the right of self-government. Equality of rights for minority nationalities scattered among or mixed with other nationalities is also fully safeguarded.

On the basis of exercising their right to be masters in their own house, the various minority nationalities have carried out democratic and socialist reforms, putting an end to oppression and exploitation. Nationalities still living in feudal or slave society or even retaining remnants of primitive communism have skipped the historical process that would otherwise take one or several centuries to accomplish and entered socialist society. The establishment of the socialist system greatly liberates

the productive forces and opens a broad path for socialist construction in the minority regions.

The minority regions in China's border areas have ended their history of complete lack of industry and backwardness in agriculture and animal husbandry. Now large iron and steel enterprises have been built on the vast grasslands, and oil-fields and coal-mines in the immense deserts; many modern machine-tool factories and textile mills dot the mountainous areas. Contingents of the working class of the minority nationalities are rapidly maturing. Those that lacked even handicraft workshops in the past now have their own first generation of industrial workers. Production in agriculture and animal husbandry has grown greatly. The backward production methods of some minority nationalities such as slash-and-burn agriculture or nomadic pasturing have gradually changed to more up-to-date ones.

The Tibet Autonomous Region, after the democratic reform of 1959 in which the reactionary and barbarous system of feudal serfdom was abolished, went on to the socialist transformation of agriculture and animal husbandry. By 1975, people's communes had been set up in the entire region. The million and more emancipated serfs now hold their destiny in their own hands, bringing their revolutionary zeal into full play, greatly reforming their methods of cultivation and developing scientific farming. On the cold and high "roof of the world" they have planted wheat on large tracts of land and reaped bumper harvests, achieving a record high yield of 700 kilogrammes of wheat per mu.\* In 1974 the entire region

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\* 1 mu = 1/15 hectare or roughly 1/6 acre.

became self-sufficient in food. The total output of grain was 15 per cent more than that of 1973 which was a bumper year, and 2.5 times that of 1958, the year before the democratic reform. The total number of animals was 2.3 times that of 1958. This was a historic change.

Since its founding the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, with the support of the people of the whole country, has advanced in the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and rapidly changed from the backwardness and poverty left by the old society. Over the last 20 years or so Sinkiang has set up scores of light and heavy industries. Besides the large and medium-sized enterprises that form the core, small-scale industries run by counties or communes have sprung up everywhere. Before liberation this region had no modern industry; almost all industrial products came from the more developed provinces or were imports. Now Sinkiang's rate of self-sufficiency in industrial products is increasing constantly; in some there are even surpluses. Socialist collectivization has been achieved in its agriculture and animal husbandry; people's communes have been set up in both farming and pastoral areas. Agricultural techniques have been substantially reformed. Dams with a total storage capacity of more than 4,300 million cubic metres have been built, watering much agricultural land on which high and stable yields are thus assured. The level of mechanization in agriculture is steadily rising, with the output increasing by leaps and bounds. The sad pre-liberation spectacle of peasants, enslaved by landlords, using primitive implements to till arid lands has vanished into history.

The Olunchun people who live in the remote mountains and dense forests of the Greater and Lesser Khingan

Mountains in Heilungkiang Province used to wear animal skins, build huts of birch bark and warm themselves with bonfires. They eked out a living by hunting. Now, helped by the state, they have settled down, built new hunters' villages, and moreover have developed agriculture and set up small factories. Their lives are happy.

With the development of agriculture, industry, communications and transport and the rise in the people's living standard, the level of culture in the minority regions is rising rapidly. In the past poor peasants and herdsmen had no right to education; now primary and middle schools have been set up in the vast agricultural and pastoral areas of the minority regions, with institutes for nationalities and colleges in major areas where they live in concentrated communities. Each nationality, including the smallest, has its own college students. In the past, medical and sanitary conditions were deplorable, and diseases rampant. Now the co-operative medical system has been set up everywhere. Barefoot doctors have been trained; counties and communes have their own hospitals and clinics. The masses of the people conduct large-scale patriotic health campaigns and health has improved.

Thus, in the 20 and more years since liberation, profound changes have taken place in the minority areas. The following chapters will introduce in more detail their great achievements in politics, economy and culture.

## A Big Fraternal Co-operative Family

In the big parks of China's capital, Peking, on major holidays one can see men and women, old and young, wearing colourful national costumes, singing and dancing and praising Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party and socialism in different languages and melodies. An atmosphere of fraternity and unity prevails. But in this same country before liberation, there were mutual distrust and misunderstanding, discrimination and even hostility among the nationalities. Many of the nationalities then suffered misery in an abyss of class and national oppression. What tremendous and fundamental changes have taken place in their relations in the short period of a quarter-century or so!

Our country is a big multi-national family. The ancestors of our many nationalities have lived together in this vast land since ancient times. Together they created a remarkable culture and a unified country, and together they defended their motherland. This long history laid the solid foundation of the flesh-and-blood ties among our fraternal peoples.

Before liberation the people of all China's nationalities were ruled and cruelly exploited and oppressed by the exploiting classes. Taking advantage of the national

differences among the governed, they used the method of "divide and rule" to consolidate their control. This was the source of inequality among the nationalities.

Chairman Mao has clearly pointed out, **"In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle."** National oppression is a form of class oppression. Only by overthrowing the rule of the exploiting classes will it be possible fundamentally to abolish national oppression, realize the equality of nationalities and build fraternity and unity among them.

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels expounded the truth, **"In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."** China's success in bringing about relations of fraternity and co-operation among her nationalities powerfully corroborates this Marxist truth.

The dissemination of both Han big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism was a most vicious means used by generations of reactionary ruling classes to sow discord among nationalities. Both types of chauvinism express the reactionary thinking of the landlord and bourgeois classes on the national question. In China such expression was mainly Han chauvinism — the prejudice spread by the Han ruling class to oppress the smaller nationalities whom it degraded and humiliated as uncivilized and inferior. Obviously its whole purpose was to create a theoretical basis for national oppression. It was extremely detrimental to the unity of China's multi-national family.

The Kuomintang reactionaries did not even admit that China is multi-national. In 1943 Chiang Kai-shek flagrantly distorted the facts in his book *China's Destiny*, denying that there was any nationality other than the Han and asserting that the Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan and Miao were branches of the Han people with different customs and habits. The Kuomintang reactionaries stubbornly carried out their Han chauvinist policy of national oppression, exploitation, discrimination, humiliation, suppression and even massacre of the minority people.

The latter, in response, waged constant struggles against cruel oppression by the Kuomintang reactionaries. In many minority areas armed uprisings took place, most of which were suppressed. In 1947 the Kuomintang magistrate of Tanchai County in Kweichow Province issued an order forbidding the Miao people to speak their own language and forbidding Miao women to wear skirts or tie their hair in a bun. On the days of Miao fairs he sent his minions to forcibly cut off the hair and skirts of the women, humiliating them and threatening them with punishment as bandits if they did not change their style of dress. This aroused large-scale resistance. An armed struggle ensued, which continued until the liberation.

In old China the labouring people of all the minority nationalities had a blood-stained history of harsh oppression. Personal experience taught them that the essence of national oppression was class oppression. In their resistance struggle they recognized that the labouring people of all nationalities, tormented by enemies of the same class, were themselves class brothers and sisters, sharing weal and woe. The exploiting classes created



Tapping rubber trees.

Minority areas, once culturally backward, now have broadcasting stations in every county and commune.







Games in a  
Tai hamlet.



Happy  
Uighur  
family.

national contradictions to cover up the class struggle; the exploited classes, on their part, forged unity among the nationalities in the course of class struggle.

To undermine such unity is a common trick of the exploiting classes of all nationalities. Not only did the Han ruling class spread Han chauvinism to facilitate their oppression of the minorities; the ruling classes of the latter also spread local-nationality chauvinism to sow mutual discord and preserve their sway over their own people. A Tibetan woman, Tsering Drolma, a student of the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking, has vividly exposed the crimes of the reactionary manorial lords who frantically provoked discord between the Tibetan and the Han people in the course of the Tibetan people's liberation.

Tsering Drolma was the daughter of a serf who worked in the mint of the manorial lords. From her childhood she herself had toiled for them, without enough food or clothing. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the People's Liberation Army entered the region and set up an iron works, where she became a temporary worker in 1953, at the age of 19. Her mother did not want to let her go there, because, before the People's Liberation Army arrived, the serf-owners had spread propaganda that the Communists were Hans "who would eat people." However, in half a month at the iron works, Tsering Drolma could earn 16 silver yuan. At that time five yuan could buy a bag of *tsamba*, enough to feed four people for half a month. So not only would she have enough to eat but the whole family would no longer go hungry. For this reason she insisted on taking the job.

The bondage of long-continued religious superstition and the rumours and sabotage of the manorial lords did have some influence on ordinary people. Tsering Drolma's own mother did not dare eat the rice distributed by the government, because the manorial lords said that whoever ate Han rice would never go to heaven. Nor did she dare wear shoes given by the government, because of rumours that there was an image of the living Buddha in the soles which must, therefore, not be stepped on. But what Tsering Drolma saw at the iron works was the complete opposite of the manorial lords' lies. None of the Han workers at the factory spat in her face or scolded her as the manorial lord had done. When she was sick, a Han woman interpreter took care of her as of someone in her own family. Personal experience clearly showed Tsering Drolma that the purpose of the manorial lords' slanders was to sow discord between the Han and Tibetan people so that labouring Tibetans would forever go on working themselves to death for those same lords.

Tsering Drolma awakened, and so did her mother. She would grasp the hand of a Han comrade and not let go, and say to everyone she met that the real man-eaters were precisely those who spread that rumour about the Communists. During the suppression of the serf-owners' rebellion, her whole family cared day and night for Han and Tibetan people wounded by the rebels. Bitter indeed was their hatred for the reactionary manorial lords. They called them devils who would murder people without batting an eye.

The big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism spread for generations by the feudal ruling class and the reactionary rulers of various nationalities

who trampled on the people impaired the relations among China's nationalities. The Party and the government did many kinds of work to eradicate this influence. In the period right after liberation, while wiping out the remnant forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries in the minority regions, the People's Liberation Army and government cadres at various levels were strict in discipline and firmly carried out the Party's policy on nationalities. They treated compatriots belonging to the minority nationalities like brothers, forbade national discrimination against them, respected their customs, habits and religious beliefs, mediated disputes among them, helped solve the problems of supplying them with daily necessities like grain and salt, and treated their sick free of charge. By these practical actions they gradually eradicated old suspicions and fears.

The central government and the local governments at various levels sent missions deep into the minority regions to convey Chairman Mao's deep concern for the people there and to propagate the nationality policy of the Party. At the same time, tours were organized for representatives of the various nationalities to go to Peking, sometimes to participate in National Day celebrations, and to a number of provinces. They were warmly received by the Han people, increasing understanding and cementing relations between the Han and minority nationalities.

To safeguard the equality of status and rights of the minority nationalities with the Han people, the central government promulgated a series of decrees forbidding all discrimination, humiliation and disrespectful language and acts directed against minority nationalities. Examples are the 1951 "Directive on the Handling of Terms of Ad-

dress, Place Names, Inscriptions on Stone Tablets and Scrolls Discriminating Against or Humiliating to the Minority Nationalities” and the 1952 “Decision on Safeguarding the Right to National Equality for Scattered Members of Minority Nationalities.”

In order to eliminate the ideological remnants of Han chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism, the Central People’s Government regularly reviews the implementation of policies with regard to nationalities and educates the cadres and masses in national equality and unity. Especially since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the criticism of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the whole country has presented a scene of thriving national unity.

In the past, mixed communities where several nationalities lived together, and in particular the border areas between provinces or counties, were places where the sowing of discord and creation of disputes among nationalities by the exploiting classes of various nationalities constituted the most serious problem. Since liberation it is precisely in these areas that the changes in relations among the nationalities have been the most remarkable.

People of the Han, Miao and Tuchia nationalities live along the Yushui River at the foot of Wuling Mountain on the border of Szechuan, Hunan and Kweichow provinces. There is a sandy island in that river where, before liberation, none of the three provinces exercised control and various nationalities clashed in armed fights — so it was then called “Feud Island.” After liberation it became “Friendship Island.” The various nationalities living on the border of the three provinces decided, after

consultation, to present this fertile piece of land to the Han peasants of the Hungan Production Brigade of the Red Flag People’s Commune, Hsiushan County, Szechuan Province, who opened it up and turned it into an experimental farm for fine cotton seed. The Han peasants, in their turn, presented the fine seed to the nearby peasants of the Miao and Tuchia nationalities and went to their homes to pass on experience in planting. As a result, cotton cultivation spread more widely in this border area. The Miao and Tuchia peasants, who had never planted cotton before, said with emotion, “The Han brothers have sent us something precious. Gone forever are the days of the old society when it was said that ‘Copper cannot adhere to iron, nor can the Miao to the guests (guests meaning the Han).’”

Along the Yushui River a solid and magnificent dam was built by common effort of the people of the several nationalities. At its east end, the Hungwei Pumping Station sends two streams of clear water uphill to irrigate over 18,000 mu of good land. Construction had to be finished before the river flooded, but the transport of materials lagged. Hearing this, the Red Flag Commune in Hsiushan County promptly and voluntarily brought a team of draught animals and two tractors to the work-site, ensuring completion ahead of schedule. When the pumps were being installed, the Wansen Production Brigade of Sungtao County, Kweichow Province, where many people of the Tuchia nationality live, organized a 40-man shock team to help. After three years of hard work the people of all these nationalities, inspired by the spirit of fraternal co-operation, finished this gigantic project in the three-province border area, where it is now affectionately called “Unity Dam.”

National unity now flourishes in all the minority areas. Not only are the Han and minority peoples as close as brothers, but the minority nationalities regard one another as flesh-and-blood kin.

One multi-national area is the Lichiang Autonomous County of Nahsi Nationality at the foot of Yulung Hsuehshan Mountain in northern Yunnan Province. Its Chinchiang People's Commune has members of seven nationalities: Nahsi, Pai, Yi, Han, Miao, Lisu and Pumi. Before liberation the feudal landlords of these nationalities colluded to oppress the labouring people. Among the handful of big landlords owning most of its land were the Li family (Han nationality), the Chang family (Pai nationality) and the Ho family (Nahsi nationality). The labouring people of all seven nationalities were actually serfs of these landlords, who sowed discord among them, classifying the seven nationalities into different grades, with the Yi and Miao, who were not treated like human beings at all, at the very bottom. According to legend, the Yi people had originally lived on good land close to the hot springs, but were driven into mountain gullies by the landlords of the Pai nationality who forcibly seized their land and used them as slaves, stepping on their backs when mounting horses. If the Yi labouring people saw the landlords and rich on the road and did not lower their heads and move aside, they were beaten up. In this small mountainous region there was no equality among its nationalities. Their people dared not have any social relations with each other, and intermarriage was out of the question.

Since liberation, their relations have changed completely. They live together in the same collective, which

is an embodiment of fraternal co-operation. This new climate of national unity is not only manifested in the commune alone. It also inspires socialist collaboration on a larger scale. Upon learning that the neighbouring Chiho Commune had begun to build the Tungshan Irrigation Channel, involving much hard work, Chinchiang Commune organized a shock team of 420 people of all its seven nationalities to lend support. They laboured for 60 days — totalling more than 25,000 man-days. The Tungshan Channel, when completed, irrigated tens of thousands of mu of land, and power stations were set up along it. Later Chinchiang Commune, with the support of Chiho Commune and others nearby, also built river dams, other water conservancy works and power stations. Its members cut roads along the cliffs and transported the required material and equipment. The input of labour totalled almost 100,000 man-days. The huge undertaking was accomplished in 1973. When electric lights appeared amid the mountains, shining at night like so many stars, the people of different nationalities exclaimed from their hearts: "Long live Chairman Mao! Without Chairman Mao how could the people of all our nationalities unite into one family? Without that unity how could we have such joy today?"

## The Minority Peoples Are Their Own Masters

Looking at the map of the People's Republic of China one can see many local administrative areas designated as autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures or autonomous counties of this or that nationality. These are areas where one or more nationalities live in considerable numbers in compact communities, and where regional national autonomy is carried out.

Regional national autonomy is a fundamental policy by means of which Chairman Mao, applying the Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question, has solved the national question in China. Chairman Mao stressed long ago, **"Recognize the right to equality and autonomy of the minority nationalities within the borders of China."**

The autonomous areas, like the ordinary administrative areas, i.e., those compactly inhabited by the majority Han nationality, are inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China. Organs of state power in autonomous areas (i.e., their organs of self-government), like all other local organs of state power in the country, follow the basic principle of democratic centralism and the system of people's congresses; they constitute levels of local government under the unified leadership of the central

government. In these respects the national autonomous areas are the same as ordinary local administrative areas. However, to enable the people of the minority nationalities, engaged in the great cause of jointly building the socialist motherland, to manage their own internal affairs in accordance with their own local national characteristics, organs of self-government in national autonomous areas not only exercise the powers of ordinary local state organs but also, within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, exercise the right of self-government. This right of autonomy, fully safeguarded by the state at various levels, constitutes the difference between these organs of self-government and ordinary local organs of state power.

This dual nature of the organs of self-government in the national autonomous areas of various levels reflects China's character as a unitary multi-national state. On the one hand it guarantees the unity of the country, on the other it takes into account the existence of many nationalities and, through the right to self-government in their internal affairs, implements equality among the nationalities and strengthens their common unity.

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas enjoy certain rights to autonomy. In financial matters, for instance, they have the same sphere of competence as the ordinary local organs of the state at the same level, but exercise greater powers in the scope and management of financial revenues and expenditure. For example, in the national autonomous areas the central government classifies more types of revenue as local; and increased income from such sources resulting from the economic development accrues to the locality. If local revenue falls short of outlay, higher state organs

assist with appropriations. Since 1960 the state financial subsidies to the Tibet Autonomous Region have defrayed a large part of the latter's entire expenditure. Over the last two decades and more, state investments in, and financial subsidies to, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region have totalled 9,320 million yuan. All the revenues of Sinkiang are reserved for spending within the region, in addition to which the state provides large subsidies. From 1955, the year the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was founded, up to 1974, central government subsidies have made up 53 per cent of its total revenue. As for taxation, autonomous areas are either exempt or pay at reduced rates depending on their needs.

Organs of self-government may organize the public security forces and militia of their own areas in accordance with the unified military system of the state.

Organs of self-government may, in the light of the political, economic, and cultural characteristics of the respective nationalities, formulate rules of self-government and other special regulations applicable only to the given locality. These acquire legal force after being submitted to and approved by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. For example, with respect to social reforms within an autonomous area, the time, mode, and other aspects are decided by its organ of self-government in conformity with the wishes of the majority of the people of the given nationality. Or, take health care for instance. There are autonomous areas where, like the Tibet Autonomous Region, special measures of free medical care are adopted. In economic construction, all autonomous areas have the right to determine the specific provisions of their own plans, within the framework of the national plan.

Organs of self-government, in performing their administrative duties, have the right to use the written and spoken language or languages of the resident nationalities. Every national autonomous area in China uses the written and spoken languages of the local nationality in its work. The people's courts there conduct trials in the local language. It is used for verdicts, announcements and other public documents.

The right of autonomy in the areas where it is practised proceeds from the unity and co-operation of China's nationalities; it is designed to ensure equality among them; its aim is the promotion of socialist revolution and socialist construction in those areas.

The training and employment of minority-nationality cadres closely linked with the masses is an important key to the thorough implementation of regional national autonomy. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: **"Without a large number of communist cadres of minority nationalities, it would be impossible to solve the national question thoroughly and to isolate the minority nationality reactionaries completely."** The Party and the government have always attached great importance to the training and use of such cadres and formulated the guideline: **"Train cadres of minority nationalities everywhere and in large numbers."** Through the mass movements of each period — such as the democratic reform, regional national autonomy, socialist transformation, people's communes — and through different kinds of work in economy and culture, minority-nationality areas have trained and turned out large numbers of their own cadres. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they have grown ever more sturdily.

In the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region over 16,000 cadres from among its minority nationalities have been promoted to leading positions at various levels since the Great Cultural Revolution. In 1975, it had 29 times as many minority-nationality cadres as in the period just after liberation, and double the number of 20 years ago when the autonomous region was founded. In Nilka County they make up 87 per cent of all leading cadres at the county, commune and production brigade levels. In the Lichiang Prefecture of Yunnan Province, many nationalities live together. Aside from the Han people, there are Tibetans, Yi, Lisu, Tulung, Nu, Nahsi, Pai, Pumi and others, over 10 nationalities in all. Minority-nationality cadres there now comprise 50.1 per cent of the total. They include 67 per cent of the membership of leading bodies at the prefecture, county, and commune levels. Among them there are 56 Party secretaries or deputy secretaries of the prefecture or its counties, and chairmen or deputy chairmen of prefectural or county revolutionary committees.

At present all nationalities in the minority areas, including those that were small in number and were relatively backward in social development before liberation, have cadres of their own. Most are from the families of poor peasants or herdsman. Nurtured and tempered in fiery revolutionary struggles, they have profound proletarian feelings for the Party and Chairman Mao. Familiar with local conditions and able to make close contact with the masses, they have played an important role in helping the nationalities to be their own masters and manage their own internal affairs, and in speeding socialist revolution and socialist construction in the frontier regions inhabited by minority nationalities.

The process of implementing regional national autonomy is one of continually accumulating experience in revolutionary practice and of constant development and progress by the people of different nationalities.

In the course of the revolutionary struggle led by Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, organs of people's political power with local nationalities as their mainstay were set up in minority areas even before the country-wide liberation. In 1932, following the establishment of the revolutionary bases in the Shensi-Kansu Border Region, an organ of Red political power of the Hui people was set up in Lungtsuitzu, Kansu Province. During the Long March in 1935-36, the Red Army passed through Tibetan-inhabited areas, and set up a series of "Boba people's governments" in Ahpa and Kantze in Szechuan, and Tiching in Yunnan. In Tibetan, "Boba" means the Tibetan people. Subsequently, village governments of the Hui people were set up successively in Hsincheng, Yenchih and Tingpien counties in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, then a base area for the War of Resistance Against Japan.

The earliest autonomous region with a status equal to that of a province was set up in 1947 in Inner Mongolia, where the Mongolian people live in compact communities. They, together with the labouring people of the Han and other nationalities in the area, had built up its local economy. But in the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911) the feudal ruling class utilized, divided and bribed the Mongolian feudal upper strata, undermining unity among the Mongolians themselves as well as that between the Mongolian and Han people. After the Revolution of 1911 the Northern warlords and later the Kuomintang reactionaries, who pursued the reactionary policy of national

assimilation, went further in carving up Inner Mongolia into parts of provinces governed by Han officials. Japanese imperialism invaded China in the 1930s, occupied Inner Mongolia by force and groomed its own agents to serve its plot of dismembering China. The people of the various nationalities in Inner Mongolia responded with protracted and bitter struggle. During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party they set up a base in the Taching Mountains. After Japanese imperialism surrendered in 1945 the people of various nationalities in Inner Mongolia were liberated. On May 1, 1947 the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was founded, ending the long history of division and subjugation and enabling the Mongolian people really to exercise their right to be their own masters. The people of the Han and other minority nationalities in the autonomous region also took part in local government on an equal footing. In 1947-48, led by the Party, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region carried out various democratic reforms, thus entering the new phase of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Revolutionary practice there set a good example for the over-all implementation of the policy of regional national autonomy when the whole country was liberated.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, regional national autonomy was vigorously implemented in areas compactly populated by minority nationalities. At first, in accordance with the conditions then obtaining, autonomous areas below or at the level of a county or a group of counties were set up on a relatively small scale. Subsequently, on the basis thus laid, autonomous regions equal to a province were established: the Sin-

kiang Uighur Autonomous Region founded in 1955, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region in 1957, the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region in 1958, and the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1965.

Sinkiang is the western bastion of China. Called the Western Region in ancient times, it is an inseparable part of Chinese territory. In the middle of the 19th century tsarist Russian imperialism invaded this region, cutting off and occupying a large expanse of Chinese territory. Sinkiang at present has 13 nationalities, the largest of which, the Uighur, constitutes two-thirds of its people. In the 100 years before liberation, the people of all nationalities there continuously struggled and shed their blood to oppose the savage rule of the feudal monarchy, warlords and Kuomintang reactionaries as well as frenzied aggression by imperialism. After liberation in 1949, national autonomous areas were successively set up in areas compactly inhabited by the Kazakh, Khalkhas, Mongolian, Hui, Tajik, Sibo, and other nationalities. Democratic reforms were carried out throughout the region and local minority-nationality cadres trained. On this basis the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was established in 1955. It includes five autonomous prefectures and six autonomous counties set up on the basis of compact communities of minority nationalities other than the Uighur.

The Chuang and Hui are two relatively large minority nationalities in China. Most of the Chuang live in western Kwangsi. The Hui people are scattered throughout the country; about a fourth of them live in Kansu Province. By 1956 four Hui autonomous prefectures and 10 Hui autonomous counties had been founded in China. Because of the position of these two nationali-

ties, the Chuang and Hui, in the big family of the motherland, their autonomous regions at the provincial level were set up in 1957 and 1958 respectively.

Of the 2,770,000 Tibetans on the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau, about 1,600,000 live in Tibet and the rest in the four provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, Szechuan, and Yunnan. The areas inhabited by the Tibetans have been an inseparable part of China continuously since ancient times. Following the founding of the People's Republic of China, Tibet was peacefully liberated in 1951, with the agreement of its original local government, in order to eliminate the influence of the forces of imperialist aggression, complete the unification of our territory, achieve full sovereignty, defend the country, and emancipate the people of various nationalities in Tibet.

Between 1950 and 1957 nine Tibetan autonomous prefectures, one autonomous prefecture of Tibetans and other nationalities, and two Tibetan autonomous counties were set up in areas inhabited compactly by Tibetans in Kansu, Chinghai, Szechuan and Yunnan. In 1958 democratic reforms were carried out there. In Tibet itself, a preparatory committee for the autonomous region was established in 1956, but obstruction and sabotage by the serf-owning class blocked the democratic reforms so urgently demanded by its million serfs. In 1959 the former reactionary Tibetan local government, headed by Dalai, colluded with imperialism and foreign reactionaries, tore up the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet and launched a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion. After the rebellion was put down, the million serfs stood up and started a democratic reform movement which turned the old order upside down. They put an end to the dark, cruel, reactionary, and barbarous system

of serfdom that had for so long weighed upon the Tibetan people. On this basis the Tibet Autonomous Region was formally founded in 1965.

The establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region marked the victorious completion of regional national autonomy in all areas of China compactly inhabited by people of the minority nationalities.

Altogether, within the People's Republic of China, there are five autonomous regions at the provincial level, 29 autonomous prefectures at the prefectural level and 69 autonomous counties and banners at the county level. Earlier, as has been said, autonomous areas were set up at levels below the county, and played a positive role at the time. But, due to their very small size, it was in fact hard for their organs of self-government to exercise this right fully. So in 1954 it was decided to discontinue autonomous areas below the county level. Instead, in the relevant areas the minority-nationality inhabitants would have their equal political rights guaranteed by such measures as quotas for their representatives in local organs of the state.

In their composition, China's national autonomous areas are of three types.

1. Those set up on the basis of compact communities of one minority nationality, for example, the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region. Most autonomous prefectures and counties are of this kind.

2. Those set up on the basis of compact communities of one numerous nationality but also including compact communities of several less numerous ones. Examples are the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, which includes the Ili Autonomous Prefecture of Kazakh Nationality, and the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Re-

gion, which includes the Chinghsiu Autonomous County of Yao Nationality. Also of this type are some of the autonomous prefectures.

3. Those set up on the basis of the compact communities of two or more equally numerous nationalities, where they jointly practise self-government. These generally bear the names of both nationalities, as in the case of the Hsianghsi Autonomous Prefecture of Tuchia and Miao Nationalities in Hunan Province. When more than two nationalities exercise joint self-government, in some cases all are listed by name, as in the Haihsi Mongolian, Tibetan and Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture in Chinghai Province, but in other cases, the names are not all specified in detail as in the Lungsheng Multi-National Autonomous County in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region.

There are Han people living in the autonomous areas of all three types. In some they even outnumber the minority population. The practice of regional autonomy is conducive to unity and mutual aid among nationalities, helping to promote the prosperity and development of these areas.

The Chinese Communist Party's policy of regional national autonomy, applied on a country-wide scale, fully safeguards the equal rights of the minority nationalities, accelerates the strengthening of unity and co-operation among the nationalities, and promotes the economic and cultural development of the minority areas. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's principle of solving the national question by integrating Marxism-Leninism with the historical and present conditions of China's nationalities.

## Leap Towards Socialism

Socialism is the only road to prosperity and development for all China's nationalities. Under the leadership of the Party, all the 50-odd nationalities in the country have embarked on the socialist road, starting from their own social and economic bases each of which has specific characteristics, but advancing together in close unity.

Chairman Mao had earlier pointed out, "**After the Opium War of 1840 China gradually changed into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society,**" and "**China's economic, political and cultural development is very uneven.**" The unevenness in the social development of the minority nationalities was even more marked than that in Han areas. It existed not only between the minority nationalities and the Han, but also among the former. Imperialist aggression, oppression by successive reactionary ruling classes and the damage done by the exploiting classes within each nationality lay at the root of the political, economic and cultural backwardness of the minority nationalities.

Before liberation about 30 of the minority nationalities lived, like the Han people, in a feudal landlord economy. They included the Chuang, Hui, Manchu, Uighur, and others, with a total of nearly 30 million people,

about 85 per cent of the aggregate minority-nationality population. Feudal serfdom held sway in areas inhabited by over four million people, mainly the Tibetans in Tibet and the Tai nationality in Yunnan. Slavery prevailed in areas with about one million people, mainly the Yi nationality in the Liangshan Mountains area, Szechuan. Other areas, inhabited by about 600,000 people had basically entered the stage of class society but still retained remnants of primitive communism to a certain degree. They included the areas of the Olunchun and the Owenke nationalities who lived by hunting, and the Tulung, Nu, Pulang, Wa, Lisu and Chingpo, who were agricultural.

All the various forms of oppression and exploitation among the minority nationalities had to be completely wiped out before their labouring people could be genuinely emancipated. Marx and Engels pointed out long ago, **“And in order that their interests may become common, the existing property relations must be done away with, for these property relations involve the exploitation of some nations by others.”**

The people of China's many nationalities, who suffered such deep miseries in old society, had long hoped to free themselves from class and national oppression. Chairman Mao has pointed out the road to liberation for all of them, **“Only socialism can save China.”** They all want to take the socialist road, their common road to prosperity and development. This has necessitated social reform within each nationality and realization of socialist ownership of the means of production. Only thus could the transition to a socialist society be made.

Due to the unevenness in their social and economic development, the minority nationalities could not

advance along the socialist road at the same pace. As Lenin has said: **“All nations will arrive at socialism — this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way.”** Chairman Mao, too, has taught us time and again that we must work in the light of the differing conditions in the areas inhabited by each nationality.

In carrying out social reform in minority areas, the Party and the state adopted lines of policy that were both active and careful, took full account of the characteristics of each area, respected the wishes of the people of each nationality and of their public leaders who had ties with the masses, and relied on the cadres and the activists of each nationality to do the work.

In nationality areas with a level of development on the whole similar to those of the Hans, the course of the democratic reforms was also similar — such was the case among the Chuang, Manchu, Hui, and Korean minorities. As in the Han areas, the masses were mobilized to launch struggles and accomplish the reforms.

In minority areas where economy and culture were comparatively backward and where national and religious relations were relatively complex — as in parts of Sinkiang, Yunnan, Kansu, Chinghai, Szechuan, Tibet and some pastoral regions — more moderate methods of carrying out democratic reforms were used. Whether this could be done or not depended on the attitude of the upper strata of the exploiting classes towards reform. In Tibet a handful of the most reactionary serf-owners rejected it and launched an armed rebellion. Only after the rebellion was put down could social reforms be carried out.

In the few areas where there were still remnants of primitive communism, no large-scale democratic reform

movement was generally launched. Instead, these places developed their economy and culture with state help, and later, through the mutual-aid and co-operative movement, moved gradually on to socialism.

Following the democratic reforms in the nationality areas, the Party and the state started the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises there. By 1958, except for Tibet and a few other places, agricultural co-operation had been achieved. In pastoral areas, socialist transformation took place through organizing livestock co-operatives, state livestock farms and joint state-private livestock farms. For the handicrafts, small pedlars and private industrial and commercial enterprises, the methods were co-operation or joint state-private management. People's communes were set up in most nationality areas in 1958. Finally, in the frontier regions of Tibet and Yunnan, communes were established during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Through such social reforms, all the nationalities took the socialist road. Advancing along it, they have further overcome their former unevenness of economic and cultural development.

To illustrate how minority nationalities at different stages of social development underwent social reform and entered socialist society, thus rapidly changing their characteristics, we cite the four examples of the Chuang, Tibetan, Yi and Nu nationalities.

Most of the Chuang people live in compact communities in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. Before liberation feudal landownership prevailed there. The landlord class, comprising 5 per cent of the rural

population, owned most of the arable land. Through rent, hiring of labour and usury, it cruelly exploited the impoverished peasants, and through the reactionary local regime it practised counter-revolutionary dictatorship over all the labouring people.

Post-liberation social reform in the Chuang area was fundamentally like that in the Han areas in its timing, steps and method. From the end of 1950 a vigorous land reform movement was launched. It relied on the masses of the labouring people, who themselves waged struggles against the feudal landlord class and confiscated the land, draught animals, grain, agricultural implements and extra houses appropriated by the latter. All this, apart from an appropriate share left to the landlord elements, was distributed among impoverished peasants and other labouring masses. The land reform wiped out feudal landownership, established the superior position of the poor and lower-middle peasants and liberated the productive forces in the countryside.

Subsequently, in accordance with the Chuang people's wishes and the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit, the Party actively led them in embarking on the co-operative road towards prosperity for all. By 1956 the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises had been basically completed among them. Since the setting up of people's communes in 1958, and especially after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, economy and culture in the Chuang area have developed rapidly.

In Tibet, before its democratic reform, the darkest, most cruel, savage and reactionary feudal serf

system still existed. The three types of manorial lords — the nobles, monasteries and officials — constituted less than 5 per cent of the population but owned all the land, most of the livestock, and all the serfs and slaves.

The serfs, over 90 per cent of Tibet's population, had for generations been tied to the manorial estates. They were themselves the lords' property, tilling their land and performing *corvée* labour and other services for them. Another 5 per cent of the population were slaves called *nangzan*, which in Tibetan means "home-fed." Without means of production or personal rights, they were pressed down to the very bottom of society and did heavy domestic labour for the serf-owners.

Each serf-owner divided his land into two parts: one for his own manor farm, the other for allotment to the serfs to till under enslaving conditions. The serfs had to perform unpaid labour and services in the manor. Manors were equipped with prisons and instruments of punishment — whips, manacles and fetters — and serfs could be flogged, imprisoned or killed at will. To uphold the class interests and dominance of the serf-owners, the local government of Tibet compiled an extremely reactionary code, providing a whole set of most savage and hair-raising punishments, such as hamstringing, cutting out the tongue, chopping off the hands or feet, cutting out the heart, gouging out eyes, throwing people into dungeons with scorpions in them, and so on.

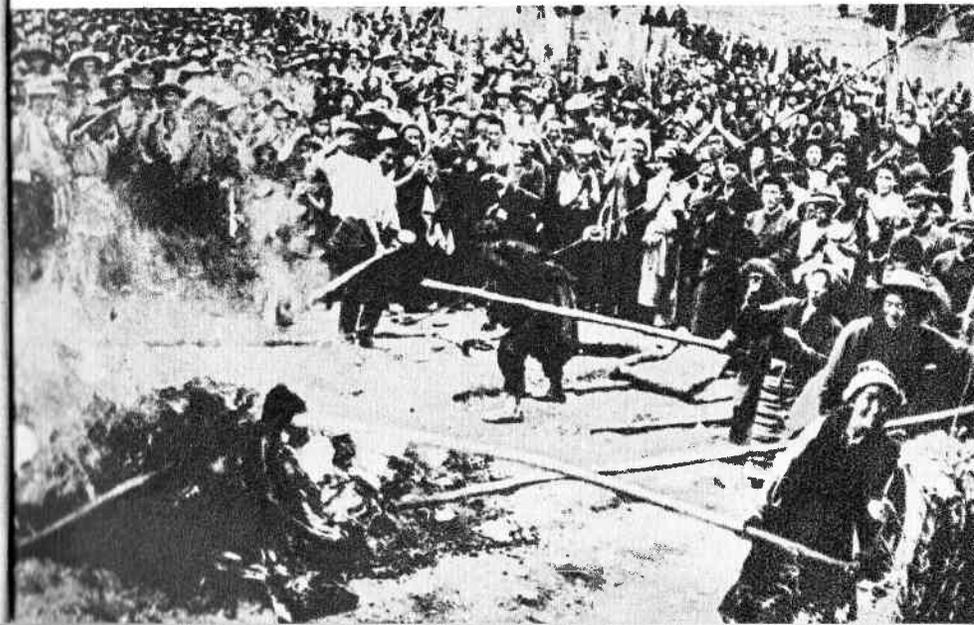
The process by which the Tibetan region went from peaceful liberation to democratic reform was briefly as follows:

After the peaceful liberation of Tibet in May 1951, under the brilliant leadership and with the warm concern of the Party and Chairman Mao, a great deal of work



Tibet was peacefully liberated with the entry of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in 1951.

Emancipated Tibetan serfs burn certificates of bondage and debt.





This happy Tibetan child will never experience the bitterness of the past.

In pre-liberation Tibet serfs had to register their new-born children with their feudal lords and pay a poll tax. Thenceforward, the child too was a lifelong serf, deprived of all rights.





In Tibet and all minority regions the people enjoy the right to elect and be elected.

beneficial to the Tibetan people was done: highways were built, hospitals set up, interest-free loans granted, and trade developed. But the reactionary elements of the upper strata in Tibet obstructed the implementation of the democratic reform, resisted the reorganization of the Tibetan local troops and attempted to preserve the reactionary feudal serf system forever.

This traitorous reactionary clique with Dalai as its ringleader, made a completely wrong estimate of the situation. On March 10, 1959, they launched a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in collusion with imperialism and foreign reactionaries, clamorously raising such reactionary slogans as "an independent Tibet" and "drive out the Hans." They slaughtered patriotic and progressive Tibetan officials, killed and wounded People's Liberation Army soldiers, disrupted transportation and massacred people. Thus, they took the road to self-destruction.

On March 28, 1959 the State Council issued an order dissolving the reactionary local government of Tibet. The rebellion was quickly quelled with the support and assistance of the mass of the people, and of patriotic personages of the upper strata in Tibet. The million serfs, formerly afflicted by countless woe, stood up under the Party's leadership. The earth-shaking democratic reform movement spread like a raging fire.

In Tibet's agricultural areas a movement was set in motion known as the "three againsts and two reductions": against rebellion, *ula* corvée and personal enslavement, and for reductions in rent and interest. In pastoral areas the "three againsts" were also carried out, and a policy instituted that benefited both herdsmen and herdowners. Pastoral serfs were emancipated and be-

came hired workers at reasonable wages. In the monasteries there was also a "three againsts" movement — against rebellion, feudal privileges and the feudal system of exploitation and oppression — and democratic management was introduced. The masses of serfs waged struggles against reactionary serf-owners who had taken part in the rebellion and opposed reforms, with due punishment for those who had committed atrocious crimes.

The next step in democratic reform was land distribution. The land, houses, livestock and agricultural implements of serf-owners who had participated in the rebellion were without exception confiscated. Towards those who had not been rebels, a buying-out policy was carried out. Thus Tibet's million serfs overthrew the feudal serf system. Shaking off the feudal yoke economically, they also won full emancipation politically and became masters of the new society.

After the democratic reform the emancipated serfs and herdsmen responded to Chairman Mao's call "**Get organized!**" and established over 20,000 mutual-aid teams. Then, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which began in 1966, they triumphantly carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture and animal husbandry. Thus, people's communes were established throughout Tibet. In the years since, production has been good in both agriculture and animal husbandry. Before the democratic reform, a fifth of Lhasa's inhabitants were beggars or vagrants. Today the members of the people's communes are living happily and, with great enthusiasm, marching towards socialist new Tibet.

The Yi nationality area, with about one million people, lies in the Greater and Lesser Liangshan Moun-

tains in Szechuan and Yunnan provinces. A cruel and backward slave system existed there before liberation. The slave-owners enforced a rigid ladder of four social strata: the *nuo*, *chunuo*, *achia*, and *kahsi*.

Most of the *nuo* belonged to the slave-owning class, which owned by far the greater part of the land and livestock, and also owned the people of all the three governed classes. The *nuo* were hereditary aristocrats and did not intermarry with the governed classes.

*Chunuo* meant "clean people." Though they were, to a certain extent, free labourers, their bodies still belonged to the slave-owners from generation to generation. They were obliged to perform unpaid corvée labour for their masters for a certain number of days each year.

*Achia* meant "people inside and outside the master's gate." They lived around the house of their master, who allotted them small plots. They had to spend most of each year in unpaid corvée labour for him. Their children ran the risk of being seized by the master at any time to be his *kahsi*.

*Kahsi* meant "hands by the stove." Taken from among the *achia* children, or Han captives seized in raids on the surrounding areas, they lived in the dark and damp corners of the master's house and did heavy labour in his house or fields year after year. When old or sick *kahsi* could no longer work, their masters sold them or threw them into deep gullies.

Slaves were merely talking tools and cattle in the eyes of their owners. The latter had the right to decide their fate. They could inflict on their slaves every form of cruel punishment, such as locking them up in chains, manacles and fetters, forcing their feet into cramping wooden "shoes," nailing them to doors, burning the soles

of their feet, hamstringing them, gouging out their eyes, cutting off their noses and ears, or drilling through their shoulder-blades. The more extreme penalties included skinning, dismemberment, burying alive, burning to death, drowning and death by shooting. Many slaves became disabled for life after torture. The vicious slave-owners even killed the slaves' children as sacrificial offerings. In order to increase their wealth, they ranged everywhere to seize labouring people of the Han, Yi and other nationalities to be their human chattels.

The Yi area in the Liangshan Mountains was liberated in 1950. Due to the complicated conditions there democratic reforms were not started immediately. First, the Party and the government did much hard and careful work. They provided the slaves and labouring people, who had just been freed from oppression by the Chiang Kai-shek regime and the slave-owners, with various forms of relief. Large amounts of iron tools, food grain, winter clothing and loans were distributed free to help them develop production. The Liangshan Autonomous Prefecture of Yi Nationality was established in October 1952.

Before the democratic reform the reactionary slave-owners, in a desperate attempt to maintain the slave system, had manacled and fettered or even tortured or killed slaves who demanded reform. To protect the interest of the masses of slaves and labouring people, the Party and the government issued decrees prohibiting the torture, killing or flogging of slaves, dunning for rent or debt, increases in rent and seizure of land. However, the reactionary nature of the slave-owning class did not change; their behaviour grew even worse. These new crimes further fired the indignation and resistance of

the masses of slaves, and their urgent demands for democratic reforms.

The Party and the government firmly supported these just demands of the masses and from 1956 to the spring of 1957 launched the earth-shaking democratic reform movement—consisting mainly in the abolition of slavery, emancipation of slaves, and distribution of land.

The democratic reform eradicated slavery. Over 600,000 slaves won personal freedom and their share of land, agricultural tools, houses and other property. In "speak bitterness" meetings they displayed ears and fingers chopped off by the slave-owners, instruments of torture that had been used to kill slaves and the blood-stained clothes of slain relatives. With flaming fury, they enumerated the atrocious crimes of the slave-owners, and settled accounts with them for the wrongs accumulated over generations.

Led by the Party, the emancipated slaves quickly realized agricultural co-operation. In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution they set up people's communes.

The Nu nationality, in the frontier region of north-western Yunnan Province, numbers over 13,000. Before liberation, most of them lived in a society with vestiges of primitive communism. Productivity was low and iron tools had to be brought from the outside. Hoes of wood and bamboo were commonly used. Most arable land, after being cultivated for two or three years, was left to lie idle for a few years. The people farmed by the slash-and-burn method, that is, every spring they felled trees and let them dry in the sun, burned them to ashes before

the sowing, then poked holes in the ground with wooden sticks to sow maize. Only a small part of the land was ploughed with oxen. The average per capita consumption of food grains was below 100 kilogrammes. The people subsisted mainly on game and wild vegetables.

Most of the cultivated land was privately owned. A smaller part of it, and the uncultivated mountains and forests belonged to the villages and could be freely used by their people. Thus, some features of the ancient agricultural commune still survived: private and public ownership of land existed side by side; fairly common were group ownership and tillage by several households, which shared the crop equally. Certain areas still retained some remains of even more ancient forms of the family and clan community. But private ownership of land and its gradual concentration set in motion the process of polarization into rich and poor. The rich households were mostly those of village or family chiefs. Under the influence of the feudal landlord economy of the surrounding nationalities, the sale and purchase of land, tenancy, hiring of labourers and usury had begun to appear.

In early 1950 people's political power was set up in the various counties in the Nukiang River area. The people's government distributed large quantities of grain, seed, agricultural tools, oxen, and clothes free of charge. Many cadres, organized into work teams, were sent there to help the Nu people develop production. Starting from 1955 mutual-aid teams were set up, followed in 1956 by co-operatives. The Kungshan Autonomous County of the Tulung and Nu nationalities was established the same year.

In introducing agricultural co-operation, Party organizations relied on the poor peasants and mobilized the masses fully to carry out necessary democratic reforms. For example, feudal landownership, the former relationship between tenants and landlords, and the exploitation of hired labourers in the guise of primitive co-operation were all abolished. Where there were remnants of primitive public ownership of land they were gradually changed into socialist collective ownership on the basis of voluntariness, mutual benefit and consultation and by having the people involved join a co-operative together.

Agricultural co-operation advanced production by leaps and bounds. In 1958 the Nu people launched a production movement with stress on water conservancy work and the building of paddy fields. To secure fine harvests, they widely adopted deep ploughing and careful cultivation. In 1969, people's communes were set up. Production rose greatly. By 1972, the output of grain in the Pingchungluo Commune, Kungshan County, was four times that of the early post-liberation days. The commune became more than self-sufficient in grain, and paid as tax and sold to the state over 150,000 kilogrammes.

In the past, the Nu area had no industry at all. After liberation, agricultural implement factories were built, putting an end to the Nu people's history of farming with bamboo or wooden hoes. Now the Nu nationality has its first generation of workers, including electricians, blacksmiths, road builders and technicians.

The Nukiang River area, with its high mountains and dangerous waterways, was formerly hard of access. After liberation the state appropriated funds and mobilized the masses to build highways. Twelve rainbow-

like suspension bridges hanging on steel cables were built over the rushing Nukiang and Lantsang rivers. Some are for motor traffic, others for pedestrians and horses. Twenty-one iron chain bridges were also put up. Precipitous, dangerous paths were cut through to build over 1,000 kilometres of caravan roads. Gorges and other natural barriers can now be readily crossed.

For hundreds and thousands of years the Nu nationality kept its records by carving wood and knotting string. Now it is shaking off its cultural backwardness. The Party and the government have sent in many teachers and built schools. Today there are middle schools in the county and primary schools in the communes and production brigades. The Nu people have their own first generation of college students, people's teachers and medical doctors. In the old days, when illness struck, the poor peasants sought help from gods and spirits, and infant mortality was 54 per cent. Now the entire Nu nationality enjoys free medical care, and health has greatly improved.

Regardless of their previous stage of social development, since liberation all of China's 54 minority nationalities have leaped centuries forward into socialism through social reform under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party. In a short period of over 20 years their societies have changed profoundly. At present, on the basis of the victories already won, all these nationalities are advancing along the socialist road with fresh vigour.

## Surging Advance of Industry and Transport

Industry in the minority areas has been vigorously built up since China's liberation. And the workers of the nationalities there, increasing rapidly in number, high-spirited and strong-willed, have made a great contribution by exercising the role of their class as the main force in socialist revolution and construction.

In old China the vast border regions inhabited by minority nationalities remained very backward economically, despite their wealth of natural resources. Modern industry was a blank there. In Tibet, not even a screw could be made, and the few existing handicrafts served the feudal manorial lords. Sinkiang had no iron or steel smelting and not a single spinning machine. At the time of liberation its industry consisted of a dozen or so small establishments producing coal, salt, leather, bricks, flour, cooking oil and the like with outdated equipment. Inner Mongolia had a few dozen factories, mostly handicraft workshops. Although livestock, furs and hides were abundant in this area, the leather and felt boots needed by the herdsmen, and even the bits of woollen yarn the women used to tie their hair had to be supplied from the outside. Imperialists, colluding with

the Chinese reactionary ruling class and the feudal forces in this minority area, monopolized the export of its local and pastoral products (including hides and furs) and dumped their industrial goods there. Imperialists also plundered Tibet of its wool at a quarter of the price they would have had to pay at home. Tibetan herdsmen had to give about 50 kilogrammes of wool in exchange for 1.7 kilogrammes of tea. Herdsmen in the Tsaidam Basin, Chinghai Province, had to pay 50 kilogrammes of wool for a foot of cotton cloth, and a whole sheep for a box of matches.

Among some minority nationalities such as the Manchu, Korean, Chuang, Hui and Pai, industrial workers appeared relatively early. Mainly employed in mines, railways, and shipping run by the old government, they were sorely oppressed, had no political rights, and were exploited and trampled on by bureaucrat-capitalists and feudal foremen. They toiled more than 12 hours a day, in some cases up to 18 hours. Working conditions were extremely bad and wages very low, not enough to support a family. Accidents, injuries and deaths were frequent; life itself was unprotected. And unemployment was a constant menace.

After liberation, the Party and the government gave active help to the minority-nationality areas in developing their industries, vigorously fostering the growth of the indigenous working class. In the minority areas, new-born industries developed from small to big. Today, big modern industrial bases like Paotou in Inner Mongolia, Karamai in Sinkiang and Tsaidam in Chinghai have appeared alongside tens of thousands of small and medium-sized factories. They cover many industries, including iron and steel, coal, petroleum, electric power,

machinery, cement, non-ferrous metals, timber, chemicals, textiles, printing, paper, leather and sugar. Workers of local nationalities in the four autonomous regions of Sinkiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Ningsia now number several hundred thousand. In the Yenpien Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Kirin Province, the workers of Korean nationality have increased from several hundred at the liberation to tens of thousands today. Everywhere, the mass movement **"In industry, learn from Taching"** has been launched,\* speeding industrial development.

On the vast grasslands of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region one of the largest modern iron and steel complexes in all China has been built, the Paotou Iron and Steel Corporation. Its ingot and rolled steel are used throughout the country. At the same time, a great many small and medium-sized factories have sprung up. Fairly comprehensive woollen textile, leather, meat-processing, dairy and animal products-processing industries turn out hundreds of different products, not only for domestic markets, but in some cases for export abroad. In old Inner Mongolia, not a single county or banner (a unit equivalent to county in parts of its area) had electricity; the pastoral people burned cow dung for warmth and sheep fat for light. Now half of its communes are electrified. The amount of electricity consumed by the villages and pastoral settlements of the autonomous region is now almost 20 times its total output (larger cities included) immediately after liberation.

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\* Taching is an important petroleum base in China. The workers, self-reliant and full of vigour, have achieved outstanding results in China's oil production. Taching is an example all China's industries are urged to follow.

Formerly the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region produced no steel. Now it has a number of small and medium-sized iron and steel mills, and has built coal mines, power stations and factories producing machinery, chemicals, construction material, textiles, sugar, paper and foodstuffs. Its steel output in 1971 exceeded that of all China in 1949. Its total industrial output in 1974 was nearly 3.49 times that in 1965, the year prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The gross value of industrial output in the city of Liuchow in 1974 was 75 times that at the time of liberation.

The Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region in the old society had a few handicraft workshops, employing less than 300 people. In the last 20 years, its industry has incessantly developed. State investment in Ningsia's industrial construction since 1966 has exceeded by 85 per cent that of the entire 17 years before the Cultural Revolution. The state has transferred many workers, cadres, engineers and technicians and complete sets of equipment from eastern, northern and northeastern China, helping Ningsia build a number of large and medium-sized enterprises in a relatively short time. The region's industrial output for 1973 in terms of gross value, was 4.5 times that of 1965. Workers doubled in number in the same period.

The Tibet Autonomous Region, in the past, had only some blacksmiths and coppersmiths. Today it has over 250 small and medium-sized industrial enterprises including coal mining, metallurgical, machine, electric power, woollen textile, leather and sugar. Of these, 70 per cent were built or expanded during the Cultural Revolution. The gross value of the region's industrial output in 1974 was almost four times that in 1965. Nu-

merous former serfs and slaves have mastered modern industrial skills. Among the over 67,000 workers, most are Tibetans. After liberation, all China's provinces and autonomous regions at various times built their own textile industry, except for Tibet where some people alleged the high elevation and thin air made it impossible to spin or dye yarn. The workers, creating history with their own hands, refuted these fallacies. In 1966 with the warm support of fraternal workers in the motherland's interior provinces, the Shanghai Weilun Woollen Textile Mill moved to Tibet and set up the region's first such plant in Linchih. The Tibetan and Han workers, shoulder to shoulder and united as one, overcame many difficulties to build the factory and installed the machines. On New Year's Day 1967 the first machine-made woollen fabrics, blankets and yarn produced in Tibet were put on display at Lhasa, the regional capital. Over the last few years such products have increased from 27 varieties to over 280. The first generation of Tibetan modern woollen textile workers is growing up rapidly. They now account for a third of the total in the Linchih factory, which also has Tibetan worker-cadres at all levels of leadership.

Linchih, formerly a desolate, bramble-filled gully, uninhabited and the haunt of wild animals, is now a newborn industrial city in Tibet. Over 100 enterprises in the woollen textile, electric power, printing and other industries have been set up there. Lhasa, once a bastion of medievalism, is also becoming a socialist producer city. Its new buildings of all kinds have a floor-space more than 10 times that of the old urban area. Close to 30 small and medium-sized factories have appeared on the banks of the Lhasa River. Elsewhere in Tibet, new

industrial areas are growing in Chamdo, Shigatse, Loka, Nagchuka and Ari prefectures and counties. The share of industry in the total gross value of Tibet's production (in industry, agriculture and animal husbandry) went up from 8 per cent in 1965 to 22 per cent in 1974. Formerly dependent on the interior provinces or abroad for almost all its industrial products, Tibet is now self-sufficient in some industrial goods for daily use.

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region has become a modern industrial base producing iron, steel, coal, petroleum, electric power, non-ferrous metals and motor vehicles. The gross value of its industrial output in 1974 was over five times that of 1955 when the autonomous region was founded, and dozens of times that of 1949. Industrial products have increased from less than 20 varieties before liberation to over 2,000 today.

One of China's famous oilfields is Karamai, in northern Sinkiang. Its name itself, in the Uighur language means "black oil." In the past it was a gale-swept desert, without plant or animal life. Now a modern petroleum complex has been built there. Both the Ching Dynasty government and the Kuomintang had made starts in exploiting petroleum in Sinkiang. But on the eve of liberation, all that remained of this were two oil wells, and two refining tanks in the Tushantzu area, turning out two or three tons of crude oil a day. Now it takes less than two days for the Karamai Oilfield to turn out more than the total amount of crude oil extracted over decades by the Ching government and the Kuomintang in Sinkiang.

Khotan, at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains, is famous in Sinkiang for its silkworms and mulberry trees. The Uighur people have long dreamed of a silk industry

in their home region. But before liberation it had not a single modern plant in this field. In 1954 the Party and the government built the up-to-date Khotan Silk Factory. In the last 20 years it has made great quantities of silk fabrics and products, including the print scarves loved by Sinkiang's nationalities. Uighur women have become able workers, the backbone of the whole enterprise. Many are leaders at the factory and workshop level.

All the 50 or so nationalities in China, with large or small populations, now have their own industrial workers. This is true even of the nationalities in the frontier region of Yunnan Province, who had used wooden sticks and knives in slash-and-burn cultivation. The Tulung nationality has its first generation of fitters, the Nu, its first generation of electricians, the Chingpo, its first generation of lathe-operators, the Lisu, its first generation of motor vehicle drivers and printers. Workers of the Wa nationality now number over 700. The Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Szechuan, without a single industrial worker before liberation, has over 4,000 Yi workers today.

The Hoche, the country's smallest nationality, had lived entirely by fishing and hunting. After liberation, aided by the Party and the state, they not only settled down and learned farming, but developed their own technical workers — electricians, builders and so on. There are 36 Hoche workers at the Chiehchinkou and Pacha people's communes in Tungchiang County of Heilungkiang Province where most of this nationality live. Eighteen-year-old Fu Shih-ying of the Pacha Commune, assigned to the county power plant after graduating from senior-middle school, was the first Hoche

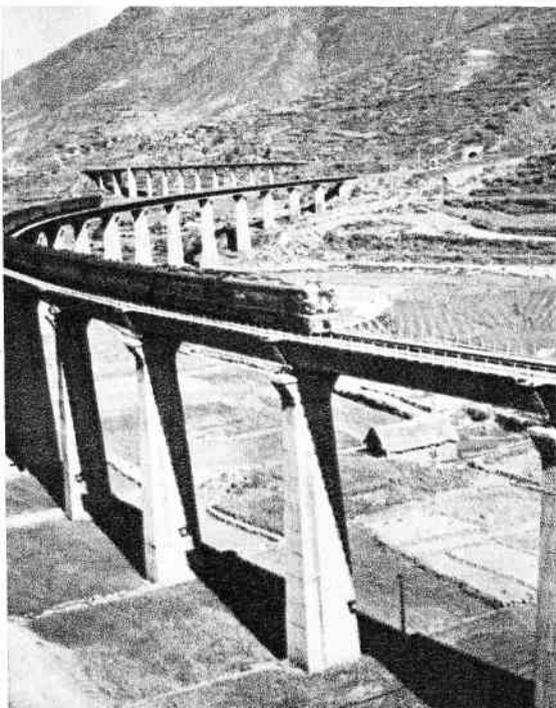
woman electrician. Veteran Han workers taught her enthusiastically; now her skills include the repair of electric motors. In 1973, with state investment, a brickyard and an oil press were built in the Chiehchinkou Commune. Half of its 60 workers are Hoche. The state, showing great concern for the development of production by the Hoche people, has allotted them motor boats and tugs for fishing and transport. Their communes, which now use agricultural machinery, have trained Hoche tractor drivers.

People in mountainous minority areas have set up numerous small hydroelectric stations. From 1967 to the first half of 1973 the 16 counties under the Chientungnan Miao and Tung Autonomous Prefecture built over 1,100 small hydroelectric stations and installed over 1,200 generators, with a total capacity of 17,900 kilowatts. The Tunghsing Autonomous County of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region has erected 112 small stations. Such installations have simple equipment, need little investment and produce quick results. Communes and production brigades can afford them and, relying on collective strength, can design, finance and build their own. These small stations provide power for processing, pumping water for irrigation, and lighting, thus promoting industrial and agricultural production and improving life for the masses.

People of the Chingpo nationality along the western frontier of Yunnan Province formerly used wooden mortars to hull their rice, and could hull at one time only what could be eaten in a day. Now, with small hydroelectric stations, they have rice-hulling machines that can handle 10,000 kilogrammes of rice a day, as much as 700 women could do by hand. A great deal of labour

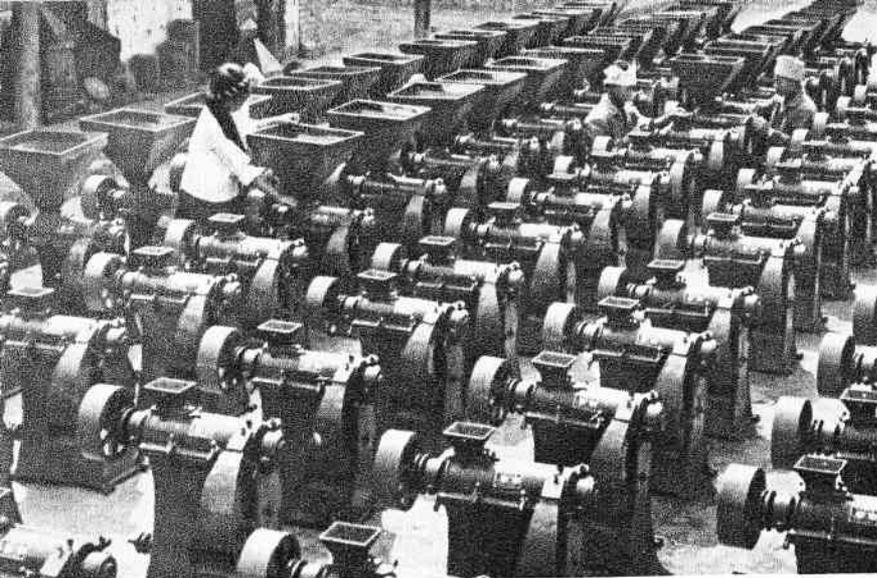


Tibet's first woollen textile mill, situated in Linchih.



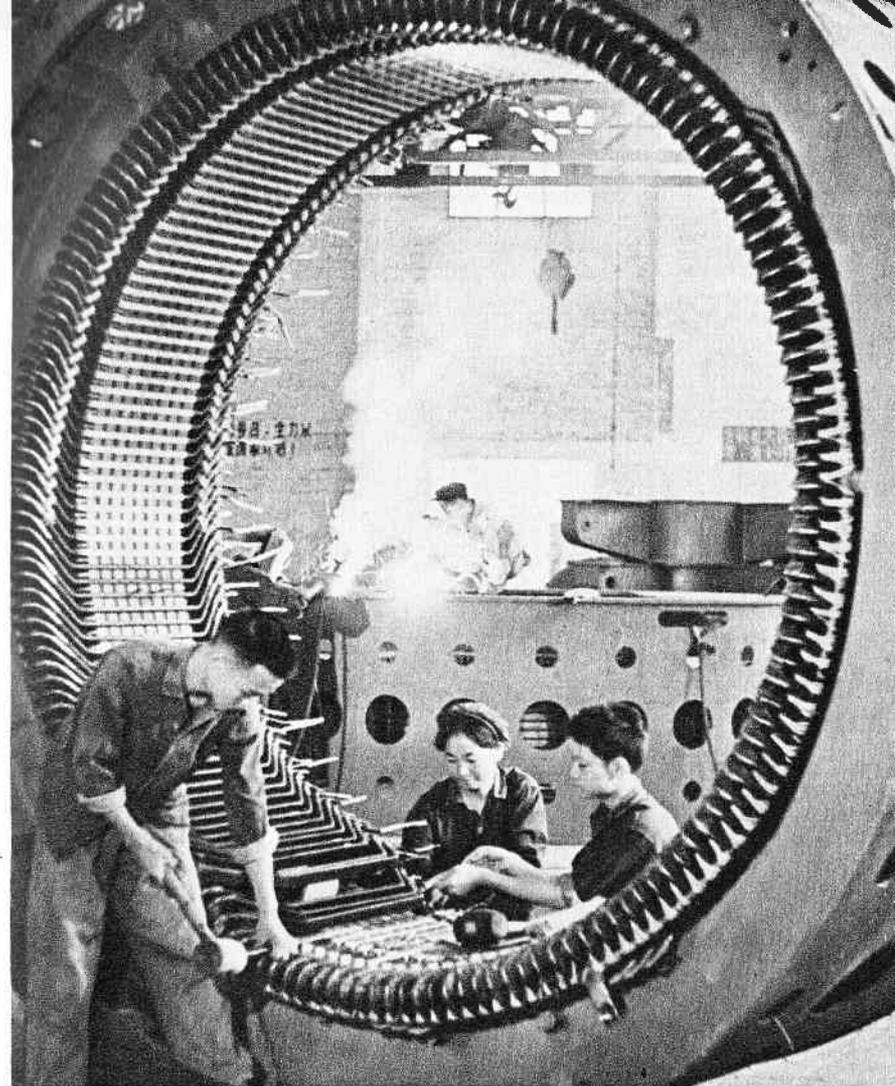
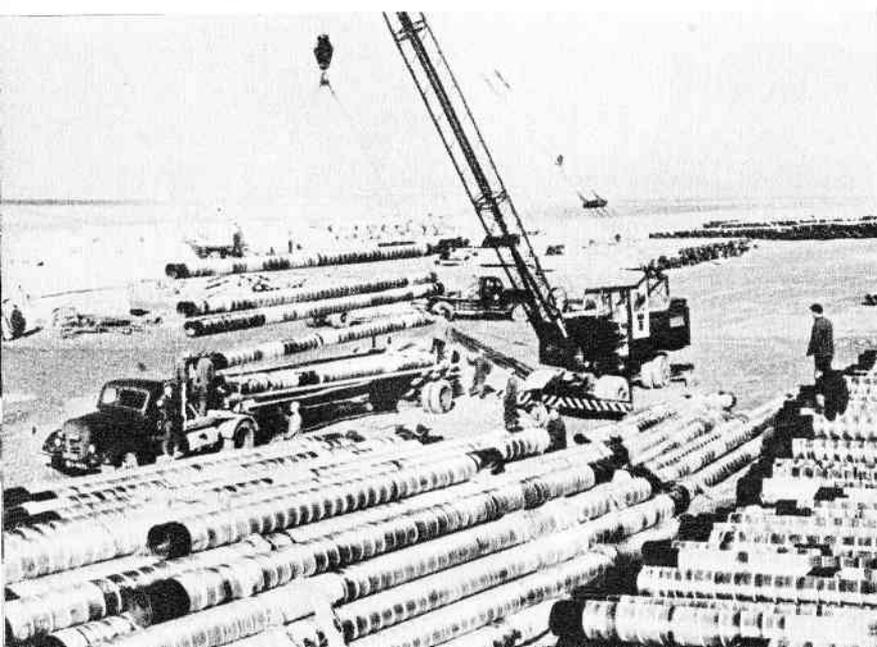
In the past the minority areas were rarely accessible by modern communications. Now the people's government has built airfields, railways and highways.



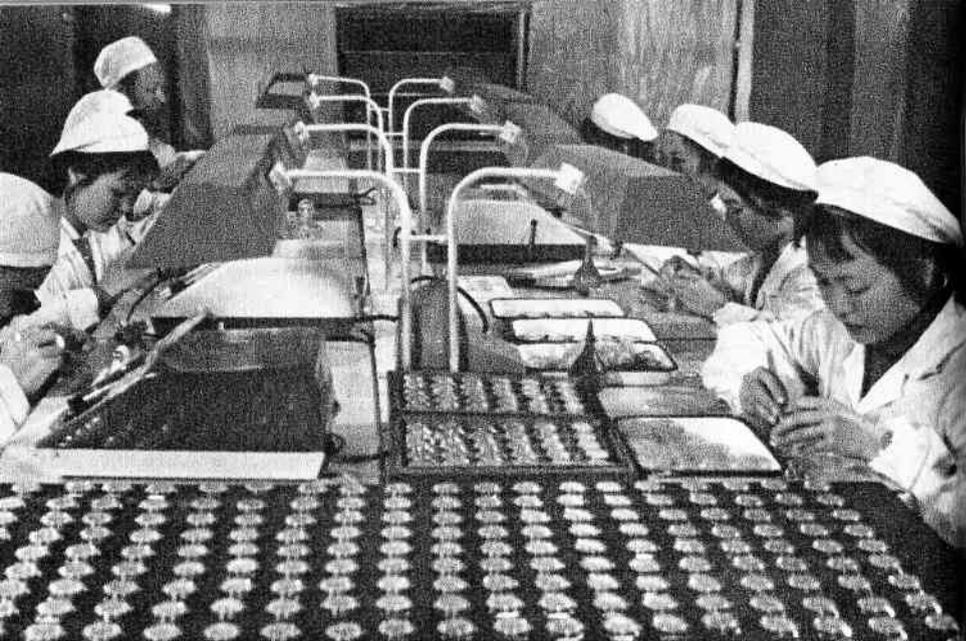


The Wa people of Yunnan who formerly practised primitive slash-and-burn farming now make farm machinery of their own.

Moving oil pipes in the Karamai Oilfield, Sinkiang.



Chinchengkiang, a small town in the mountains of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, now makes 3,200-kw. water-turbine generators.



Watch factory in the city of Nanning, Kwangsi.



Han and Tibetan workers learn from each other.

Goods specially needed by the minority people are widely produced. Making brass tea-urns in Sinkiang.





Minority workers are growing in number and skill.

power is thus released for production. Chingpo poor and lower-middle peasants used to live in “thatched huts in which you could see the stars through the roof” and burn twigs for illumination. Looking up at the stars in the sky, they dreamed that one day they might have bright lamps on earth. Now, the Chingpo mountain villages are lit by electricity. Seeing the present and recalling the past, the poor and lower-middle peasants have poured out their feelings in a song:

*Chairman Mao sprinkled stars with his hands;  
The stars fell on our Chingpo mountains.  
Bright lights shine on the world of man;  
The glad songs of the Chingpo linger among  
the clouds.*

Industrial and agricultural development in the minority-nationality areas is inseparable from development of their communications and transport. These areas are vast and mostly located along the frontier regions, with high mountains, sheer valleys, barren deserts, quicksands and primeval forests often sealed in ice and snow. Since ancient times, travel through these regions has been difficult and much feared. Transport in the southwestern regions used to depend on animals and human carriers. Over a month was needed to go from central Yunnan Province to its border counties. Even more difficult was the journey from the interior to the Tibetan Plateau. Natural conditions made it very hard to develop the economy and culture of the minority nationalities.

After liberation the People's Liberation Army and the people of all China's nationalities responded to

Chairman Mao's call, **"Defy difficulties and work hard to build the highway in order to help our fraternal nationalities!"** They performed great and arduous feats, taming the mountains and rivers which had stood in the way of contact among the nationalities for thousands of years. Natural barriers changed into thoroughfares.

Pre-liberation Tibet, for example, had not a single kilometre of highway in its entire area of over 1.2 million square kilometres. Now, smooth highways traverse its cloud-shrouded mountain ranges and snow-capped peaks; modern bridges span its turbulent rivers. A road network centred on Lhasa has grown up. The Szechuan-Tibet Highway, begun soon after liberation and opened to traffic in 1954, runs far over 2,400 kilometres, crossing 14 high mountains and 10 large rivers. The 2,100-kilometre Chinghai-Tibet Highway, completed at the same time, traverses hundreds of kilometres of desert and tundra — at an average height of 4,000 metres above sea level. The trunk highways in Tibet keep increasing in number and length. Now there are 91, totalling 15,800 kilometres, and Tibet is linked with neighbouring Szechuan, Chinghai, Yunnan, and Sinkiang.

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region has an area of over 1.6 million square kilometres, including high and precipitous mountains and vast desert. Between its major cities, in most cases, lie distances of some 500 kilometres. Before liberation there were no railways over its vast expanse, comprising a sixth of China's territory, and highways were few. More than half of Sinkiang's counties were unreachable by truck, bus or car. After the founding of the autonomous region, the situation changed fundamentally. By 1965 a network of highways had been built, with Urumchi as the centre, connecting up

Sinkiang's agricultural, pastoral, industrial and mining areas. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution more were constructed in formerly inaccessible high and cold mountainous areas, and all Sinkiang's counties were linked by highway. The present total length of highways in the region is almost nine times that right after liberation. Since the Cultural Revolution it has surpassed that of all China's highways before liberation.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, trunk railways have been built in Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang. One can go by train from Peking directly to their regional capitals. Great have been the achievements, too, in building railways linking minority-nationality areas in China's southwest. The Chengtu-Kunming Railway, opened to traffic in 1970, passes through the Greater and Lesser Liangshan Mountains in Szechuan, inhabited by the Yi nationality, and connects dozens of minority areas in the three provinces of Szechuan, Kweichow and Yunnan. The Hunan-Kweichow and Kweiyang-Kunming railways were completed somewhat later. All play a very important role in strengthening the unity among China's people of all nationalities, promoting industry and agriculture in minority areas and accelerating socialist construction.

## Tachai Flowers Bloom in China's Borderlands

Among the people of the minority nationalities, the great majority are agricultural. Only three million or so are herders, but the pastoral areas are immense, accounting for 40 per cent of the area of all China. Over nine-tenths of them are located in parts of Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet, Kansu, Chinghai and Szechuan mainly inhabited by minority people. Most of the Kazakhs, Khalkhas, Tajiks, Yuku are pastoral, as are part of the Mongolians and Tibetans.

Before liberation most of the land, grazing grounds and cattle in those areas had been forcibly appropriated by landlords, serf-owners, slave-owners, princes, tribal chiefs, herd-owners and upper clerics. Poor peasants and herdsmen were cruelly oppressed and exploited. Agricultural and pastoral production were seriously impaired. Both the farming areas and the vast grasslands were impoverished and undeveloped.

After liberation the Party and the state made great efforts to help the minority areas develop agricultural and pastoral production. In all of them democratic reforms were carried out at different times, and production rose steadily. By 1958, the great majority had set up

people's communes, which contributed greatly to the economic and cultural development of all the nationalities and strengthened their unity.

In 1964 Chairman Mao issued the great call, "**In agriculture, learn from Tachai.**" Tachai — the red banner unit commended by Chairman Mao — is a production brigade in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province. For over two decades it has persisted in the socialist orientation and, through self-reliance and hard struggle, built a poor and backward mountain village into a new and thriving socialist one, setting a shining example for China's people of all nationalities in the building of socialist agriculture. Taking the Tachai road is crucial to changing the economic and cultural backwardness of the minority areas and winning common prosperity for China's nationalities. In the farmlands and vast grasslands of these areas, a powerful "learn from Tachai" mass movement is under way and many advanced models have emerged.

The Tuan Autonomous County of Yao Nationality is an example in learning from Tachai in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. Its achievements in this movement illuminate the profound changes that have taken place today in the agricultural areas inhabited by the minority nationalities. Situated in the rocky mountainous area in western Kwangsi, it has 700,000 people belonging to seven nationalities: Yao, Chuang, Han, Miao, Mulao, Maonan, and Hui. Most of its 700,000 or so mu of cultivated land are scattered in over 20,000 *lung* (flat pieces of land resembling pot-bottoms surrounded on all sides by rocky mountains). People describe the locality as "nine parts rock and one part soil," vulnerable to both waterlogging and drought, where "three days of

sunshine set the mountains on fire and a heavy rain drowns the land." Before liberation the average yield was a little more than 50 kilogrammes per mu. Even after liberation, despite protracted efforts, it had reached only about 150 kilogrammes per mu by the eve of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Could production be increased in Tuan County? This depended upon how one treated the difficult natural conditions. Before the Cultural Revolution some people on the Tuan County Party committee, influenced by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, thought that they could not be overcome and that the only way was to move elsewhere. A handful of class enemies, also grabbing the chance, spread such ideas as "On Tuan's mountains and in the fields there are only rocks; since ancient times it has been a land without promise," and instigated the masses to move away. Faced with poverty and hardship, should one run off or fight to change things? The people of different nationalities in the county, after heated debate, resolved to do the latter. Taking Tachai as example, the county Party committee firmly led them in the work. "Tachai transformed seven gullies, eight ridges and one slope," they said. "Tuan County will wrest a tribute of land from its thousands of mountains and flats." By self-reliant labour, hills were removed to create fields. The poor and lower-middle peasants of the Kanwan Brigade of the Chenghsiang People's Commune did so on Kanwanao, a rocky slope "where even birds will not build their nests." Since there was no soil to start with, they went everywhere to look for it, even in precipices and ravines. They dynamited away 1,000 or so cubic metres of rocks and moved almost 10,000 baskets of soil on their backs. After a month's hard work, 0.9 mu

of flat new land appeared on the rocky mountain. People said in praise of their hard-working spirit, "A hundred cubic metres of rocks yield a tenth of a mu of land, 1,000 baskets of soil bring 50 kilogrammes of grain." The county Party leadership propagated this experience, and the battle to open up the mountains and build new land flared up throughout the county.

Yuan Tsu-chiu and three other old poor peasants of Yao nationality at the Sanchihyang Commune, situated on Fenghuang Mountain, had had their fill of suffering in the old society. Though ages averaged 61, they volunteered to create new fields on a barren slope which formerly grew only thorns. People tried to dissuade them from such heavy work at their time of life. But Yuan Tsu-chiu, a Communist Party member, answered: "The rocky mountains are vast but in the old society there wasn't an inch of land to feed the poor, not even room enough for a poor man's burial. Today, to change these Yao mountains, everyone should sweat a bit more." So, carrying iron hammers on their shoulders and hatchets at their belts, the old men went up the mountain. In three years of constantly chopping away the brambles, dynamiting rocks and building stone embankments, they removed over 6,000 cubic metres of stone and built a 24-mu terraced field with 61 levels which has yielded successive fine harvests.

Yuan Han-mao, a young Communist Party member of Yao nationality, came home to the Sanchihyang Commune after being demobilized from the army, immediately put on his knapsack, went with 24 militia members and camped out in a mountain cave. Working even by the light of the moon and stars, they dynamited rocks, erected embankments and in three years built up 73 mu

of terraced fields, transforming four barren mountains. The place where they worked is called Lungletung. Formerly it produced only 1,750 kilogrammes of maize a year. After its transformation it produced 11,500 kilogrammes, a 6.5-fold increase.

To bring in water to irrigate the fields, divert flood waters and drain waterlogged areas, the multi-national people of Tuan County dug over 230 tunnels in its rocky mountains. The first, built by the Hsia Ao Commune through the centre of Taluo Mountain, was 407 metres long, two metres high and two metres wide; its purpose was to bring spring water from the northern to the southern slope to irrigate over 500 mu of rice paddies. Frequent cave-ins greatly hindered the builders. Lu Wan-feng, an old stone-mason in his seventies, came to the work-site leaning on his stick and eagerly taught the commune members to quarry rocks and build arched walls. After some 40 days of hard struggle, they stopped the cave-ins and raised the quality of work. Concerned for Lu's health, they asked him to return home. The aged stone-mason brought out the 12-pound hammer with which he had laboured for the landlords and mountain despots and handed it to his eldest son, Lu Yu-kang. "I'm old," he said. "Take this and join the battle. Fight with all your strength." The son, bearing his father's hammer, drilled holes for dynamiting, carried huge rocks, and worked in the forefront at every task. He was commended as an activist in tunnelling. Once, when protecting comrades-in-arms by eliminating a hazard, he sustained an injury. Calling his own son, Lu Chien-kuei, just out of junior-middle school, he told him: "My job isn't done yet. Here's Grandpa's sledge hammer. Take my place." Chien-kuei, taking the hammer, went to work

with revolutionary zeal. When the tunnel was completed, he joined in digging the next. That's the story of the "sledge hammer of three generations."

Through several years of hard struggle, Tuan County changed greatly. Over 40,000 items of water conservancy work and 130 tunnels with a total length of over 40,000 metres were built in its rocky mountains. Where there were once heaps of rocks, 160,000 mu of terraced fields appeared and 200,000 mu of irrigated fields were added. In 1973 the county produced 216 million kilogrammes of grains, more than twice its output for 1965. In the past, the people here had for years consumed grain supplied by the state. In the last few years they have delivered and sold to the state 100 million kilogrammes of grain.

The Tibetan Plateau, the "Roof of the World," averages 4,000 metres above sea level. Its natural conditions are grim. Its million emancipated serfs, relying on the collective strength of the people's communes, have launched a valiant assault on nature and substantially increased agricultural output over large areas. They have succeeded in growing winter wheat on high, cold fields, with high yields of 500 kilogrammes per mu. In 1974 Tibet's total output of food grains was 48 per cent above that of 1965 when the autonomous region was founded, and 2.5 times that of 1958, the year before the democratic reform there. The total number of livestock in 1974 was 25 per cent more than in 1965 and 2.3 times that in 1958.

Animal husbandry is important in the economy of the minority nationalities. The guideline for construction and production in the pastoral areas is: Put the main emphasis on animal husbandry while combining it with

farming and forestry, take account of local conditions, ensure all-round development. Adherence to this policy has resulted in rapid increases in livestock. The mass movement for animal husbandry to learn from Tachai has greatly changed things in the vast grasslands.

The red banner unit in this movement, the Wushenchao People's Commune, in the Maowusu Desert of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, is called "the pastoral Tachai." It consists of 915 households — Mongolian, Han and Manchu — with over 3,900 people. Most of the members are Mongolians. Before liberation the place was poor, backward and desolate. Over 70 per cent of the livestock was forcibly monopolized by princes, nobles and herd-owners. A folk ballad portrayed the misery of the poor and lower-middle herdsmen in those days:

*Outside the gate there are only mounds of  
yellow sand.*

*The poor herdsmen have no cattle or sheep  
of their own.*

*They're clothed in tattered skins;  
They drink bitter-herb soup;  
They live in willow-withe sheds.*

After liberation the relations of production there changed fundamentally. But natural conditions were still very bad. More than half of the commune's area of 1,600 square kilometres consisted of shifting sand dunes where nothing grew. Natural pastures occupied a third of the area, but big and small sand dunes split them up into more than 10,000 pieces. Fodder grass was sparse. Disasters — wind, sand, drought, waterlogging, parasites, and *tsuima* weed (livestock which grazed on this weed

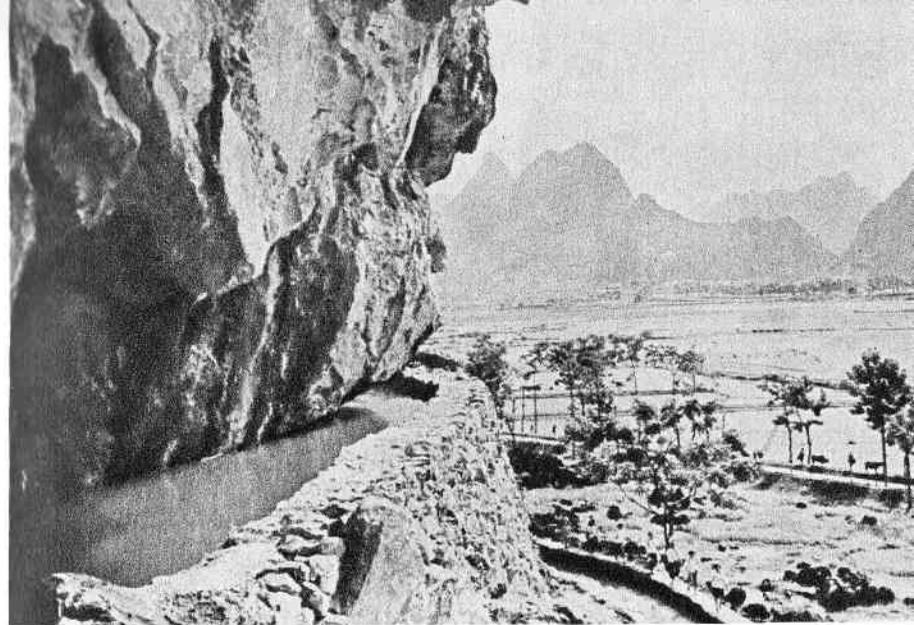
appeared intoxicated, then wasted away and died) — posed a constant and severe threat to the people. Their recently acquired collective strength was still insufficient to cope with grave natural disasters or for over-all reconstruction of the grassland. So in the early days after liberation Wushenchao's herdsmen still depended on nature's vagaries. They had to move their herds from pasture to pasture and the development of animal husbandry was slow and unstable. In 1957 a severe drought killed 11 per cent of their cattle and 40 per cent of their horses. In the nine years from 1949 to 1958 the number of livestock increased by only 20,000 or so.

The people's commune was set up in 1958. Relying on its greater collective strength, the cadres and herdsmen of various nationalities in Wushenchao mounted an attack on the desert. Summing up practical experience gained over the years, they resolved to fundamentally change their conditions of production, change the backward ways of driving the animals from pasture to pasture and relying on nature for increases in their number. For only then would they be able to develop socialist animal husbandry, ensure high and stable yields and fine quality.

Large-scale reconstruction of pastures at Wushenchao began with the eradication of *tsuima* weed. In the past people were told it was "divine grass" and nobody dared touch it. Pastures overgrown with it became a forbidden area for grazing. Paojihletai, 20-year-old daughter of a poor herdsman, was then the branch secretary of the Communist Youth League (today she is a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party). She organized a 60-member youth shock team which declared war on the *tsuima* weed, shattering

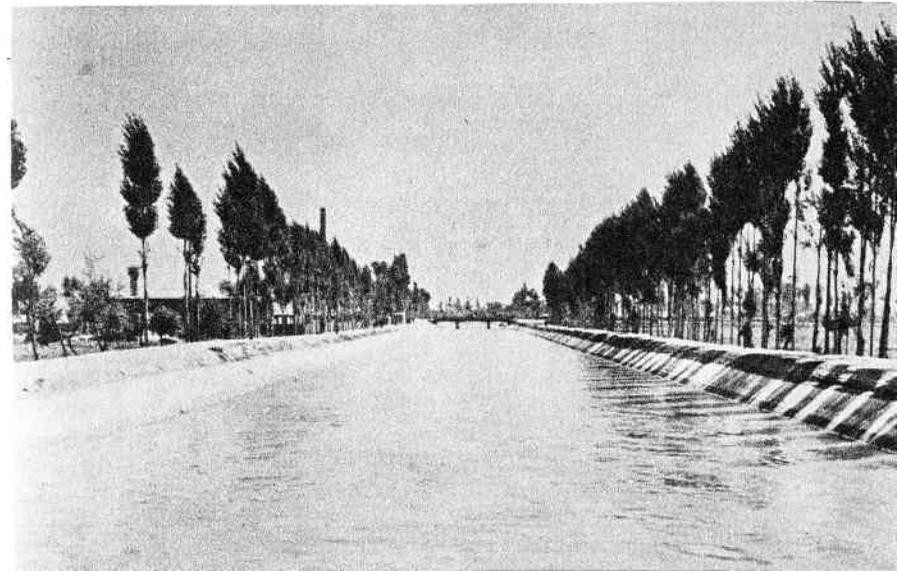
the fallacies of "divine right" and "heaven's will." The Party organization actively supported the young people's revolutionary action. It organized over 1,300 commune members to follow their example and after a hard fight of more than 20 days, 420,000 mu of pastures were rid of the weed. That year the deaths of livestock from poisoning were reduced to less than 1 per cent, and the number of animals increased by 32 per cent. Since then on the commune has persisted in destroying *tsuima* weed every year, making it possible to utilize a large area of natural pasture to the full.

In the past Wushenchao had vast expanses of yellow sand. When the wind blew, the sand moved, swallowing up pastures, houses and livestock sheds. The poor and lower-middle herdsmen were determined to conquer the desert that had done people such harm for centuries. They raised the bold battle cry, "We'll force the desert to yield grass, trees, grain, water and turn it into an oasis." Inspired by the experience of the Tachai Brigade they said, "Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants were able to build fields with high and stable yields on their seven gullies, eight ridges and a slope. We are determined to build fertile grasslands on the Maowusu Desert." They planted the sand dunes with sagebrush, which survives drought and cold, and is easy to grow. However, a windstorm uprooted and swept the new plants over a vast area, and only three survived. Paojihletai encouraged her comrades: "Three plants have lived through it. That means three thousand, or three hundred thousand or three hundred million can do so too." The commune members did not lose heart; led by Paojihletai, they launched nine assaults on the Burd Desert. Eventually they summed up from experience an effective



Members of the Kaoling People's Commune, Tuan County, Kwangsi, have cut an irrigation canal round the mountain.

The Chinchu Canal in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region, with a history of 2,100 years, has a new look after dredging and repairing.



Levelled terrace fields in a mountain area inhabited by minority people in Yunnan.



Tai commune members drying grain.



Breaking away from old practices, Tibet's high and cold areas are planting winter wheat and getting good harvests.



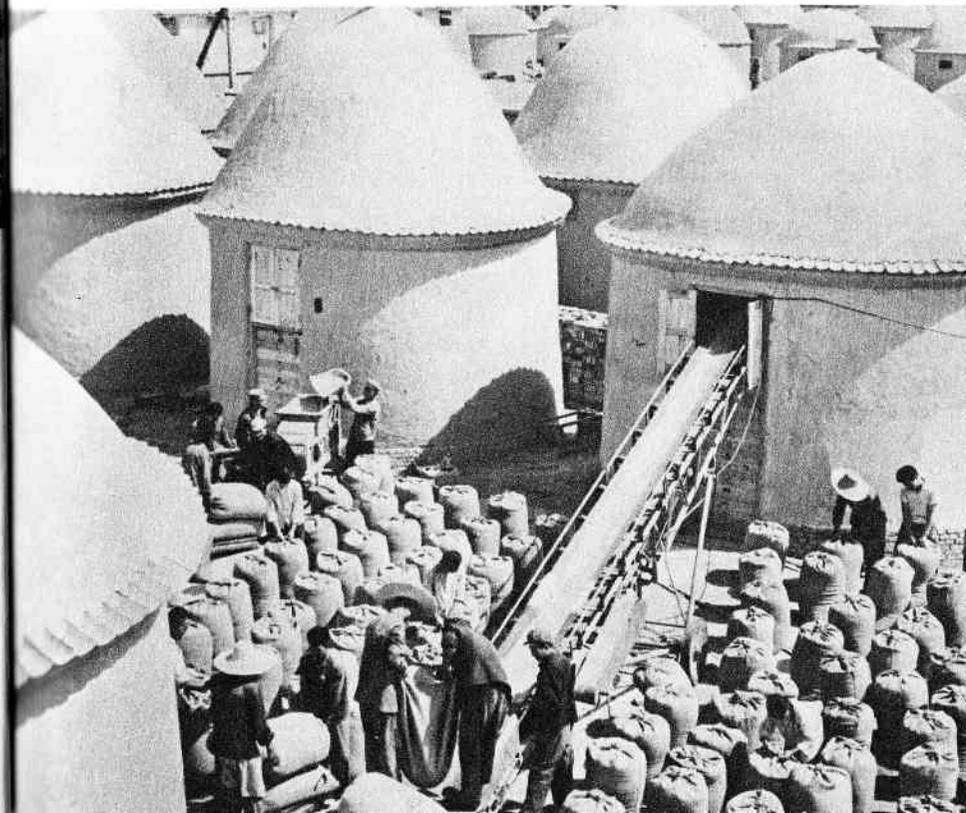
The Paotzehung Brigade in Sinkiang remade 1,000 small plots into 44 larger ones, ensuring stable high yields.



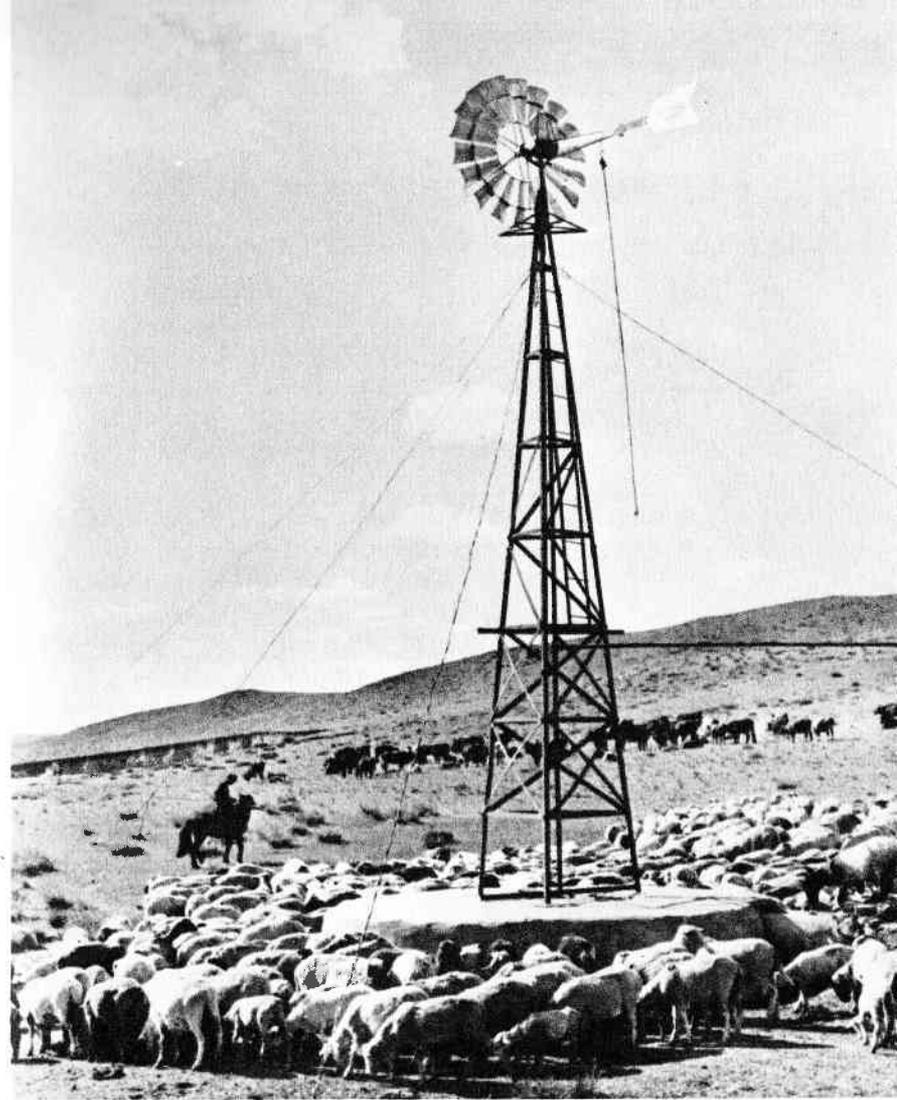


Harvesting by Li, Miao and Han commune members in Chiungchung County, Kwangtung Province.

A granary in Tuan County, Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region.



Yi commune members of Kweichow have succeeded in apple-growing experiments in high and cold areas.



The Hsianghuang Banner of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, a model animal husbandry unit in China, uses wind power to pump water for the livestock.



The Olunchuns, who formerly lived only by hunting, have now begun to grow grain. Here they are delivering grain, by sled, for sale to the state.

Since liberation formerly nomadic herdsmen have gradually changed over to a settled form of life.



method of turning the sand dunes green. After more than 10 years of great effort, over 180,000 mu of dunes were planted to sand sagebrush and sand willows, turning almost 80,000 mu where nothing grew before into good pastures lush with trees and grass. Before liberation the commune had only 92 old trees growing around a few temples. Now it has over 800,000, forming a green forest belt that hems in the moving sands.

After taming the desert and expanding their pastures, the Wushenchao people decided to grow fodder crops. They built basic grazing fields in the form of *kure* (which in Mongolian means "garden" and denotes pastures surrounded by earthen walls, willow fences or wire). Within these enclosures they planted good fodder grass, blocked the sand from encroaching and renewed the natural pastures. They planted trees, built up seedbeds and established fodder-growing bases with high and stable yields. They did water conservancy work and tamed the sand dunes. In the commune, 57 *kure* were built, with 200 kilometres of encircling walls and a total area of over 73,800 mu, the largest measuring over 20,000 mu. With indomitable determination, the herdsmen cut through numberless sand dunes to dig a trunk drainage canal over 100 kilometres long, eliminating the threat of flood to 150,000 mu of grassland. They also sank over 450 wells for watering the livestock. Grain and feed grown within the *kure* greatly raised their degree of self-sufficiency. This was done in a place where, before 1958, the people did not even know how to grow grain and had had to rely completely on state supplies.

Energetic work to improve livestock breeds followed. Now the commune has over 30 stations and farms for breeding fine-wool sheep. By 1973, some 63 per cent

of all the sheep in the commune were of improved breeds. More than 50 veterinarians and "barefoot veterinarians" were at work preventing and curing livestock diseases.

Following upon the development of the collective economy, the commune has gradually mechanized its operations. It now has over 80 items of mechanized equipment — trucks, tractors, diesel engines, fodder-processors, mowers, and shearing machines.

By 1975 the commune had more than 100,000 animals, six times as many as in the period right after liberation, and more than twice as many as in 1958. In the 10 years from 1965 to 1974 it had delivered and sold 62,000 head of livestock and 500,000 kilogrammes of wool to the state.

The great victory of Wushenchao's people in building up the grasslands put an end to their nomadism — moving with the herds from pasture to pasture. Now they have fixed abodes and livestock bases. Wushenchao, once poor and backward, has become a lush oasis. The herdsmen live in well-lit houses. Formerly without fresh vegetables, they now eat cabbage, potatoes, cucumbers and tomatoes of their own planting.

By building up the grasslands and developing animal husbandry, the Wushenchao people have blazed a revolutionary path in building a socialist pastoral area. Following this example, all other such areas in China have begun a learn-from-Tachai movement, in light of their own local conditions, focussed on the construction of grazing bases.

Among China's five large pastoral regions is the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Its present number of livestock is 2.4 times that in 1949, the year of liberation. The immemorial nomadic pasturing at the mercy of nature is gradually being replaced by the build-

ing of fodder bases, settled life and fixed pastures. Even where this transition is not yet complete, the conditions of production have been greatly changed.

This can be seen by comparing the past and the present of an ancient herdsmen's trail that runs between Santai and Kuotzukou deep in the Tianshan Mountains in the Ili Prefecture of Sinkiang. Early every spring, over 200,000 head of livestock travel along it from winter to spring pastures. Before liberation the Kazakh herdsmen grimly called it the "suicide path." Accompanied by their children, they had to drive their animals on for more than 10 days and nights before reaching their destination. Not a single place along the trail — which runs for over 100 kilometres — provided food and lodging. When hungry or thirsty, the people would eat dry rations prepared beforehand, and quench their thirst with handfuls of snow. At night, they had to stop amidst ice and snow. One early spring 40 years ago, a particularly severe blizzard killed over 60,000 of the 100,000 or so head of livestock moving along the trail, and many herdsmen froze to death or were severely frost-bitten. Families were broken up, dear ones died. Now the Party and the state, with great solicitude for the herdsmen of various nationalities in this frontier region, have established more than 30 food-and-lodging stations along the trail. Nearby counties and communes send motor vehicles, tractors and horse-drawn carts to help the herdsmen move to the new pastures, by carrying their old people and children there directly and transporting fodder for the livestock. Hospitals assign doctors to accompany the herdsmen in their migration. A dozen mobile stores serve the trekking herdsmen day and night. At the entrance to Kuotzukou, where a number of food-

and-lodging stations are located, film-projection teams and literature and art propaganda teams put on shows for the herdsmen. Old Kazakh herdsmen, remembering the bitter past and contrasting it with the happy present, often bring out their *dombra* (indigenous plucked string instruments) to sing the praise of the socialist motherland and the great leader Chairman Mao.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China the labouring herdsmen of all nationalities in Sinkiang, beginning with democratic reform, gradually took the road of socialist collectivization and set up people's communes. In recent years, with large-scale support and assistance from the Party and the state, the pastoral communes have given full play to their collective strength in active reconstruction of the grasslands, achieving notable results in the promotion of animal husbandry. In the four years from 1971 to 1974, pastoral areas in Sinkiang built over 600 water conservancy projects and sank over 1,180 wells which can irrigate over 600,000 mu of pastures. They have sown over 500,000 mu of man-made pastures, opened up more than one million mu of new pastures and built over 60,000 livestock sheds. They have also built dwellings, schools, stock-breeding stations, watering places, shearing-sheds and so on.

Such basic construction has created the material conditions enabling the herdsmen of different nationalities to go over to a settled mode of life. Before liberation, Kazakh herdsmen on the Gungnais Grasslands lived in tattered felt tents and mountain caves, migrating in all the four seasons of a year. Without fixed dwellings for themselves or shelters for their livestock, they were unable to resist natural disasters. Now, on the same grasslands, according to incomplete figures, Hsinyuan

County alone has built over 6,000 houses for the herdsmen, 3,800 livestock sheds, and 150 breeding stations and chemical dips for livestock. A settled mode of life and stock-raising has, in the main, been achieved. Everywhere prosperity greets the eye.

## Education Develops Vigorously

In the 20-odd years since liberation, education among the minority nationalities has scored brilliant successes.

Under the system of national oppression in old China one could hardly speak of cultural and educational growth in their areas. Some had a few schools, but only those set up by the reactionary government to carry out its policy of national assimilation. At the time of liberation, Sinkiang had only one institute of higher education, 20 middle schools and some 1,300 primary schools. Most were concentrated in the cities, towns and the landlord estates. Vast Tibet had not a single modern primary school, the only education was by monasteries and private family schools which trained clerics and officials for the feudal serf system. Only the children of serf-owners went to them. The sons and daughters of the masses of agricultural and pastoral serfs were deprived of all rights to education. In many minority areas there were no schools whatsoever, and records were kept by carving wood, knotting strings, drawing pictures or arranging stones.

After liberation minority-nationality culture and education developed fast. The state adopted a series of measures which ensured and propelled its development:

setting up national educational institutions in various areas, providing subsidies, giving preferential treatment in admissions and making great efforts to train teachers.

Today the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region has eight institutes of higher education. Over 350,000 students attend middle schools, almost four times the number before the Cultural Revolution. Over 1,640,000 pupils go to primary school, more than eight times the figure at the time of liberation and 58 per cent more than that before the Cultural Revolution. The Tibet Autonomous Region has set up two institutes of higher education, 12 vocational middle schools, over 20 general middle schools and over 4,000 primary schools. Not only every county but every commune has its own schools. Enrolment in colleges, middle and primary schools totals almost 200,000, or 2.7 times that in 1965. In the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region every production brigade has one or more primary schools, with 95 per cent of children of school age attending. Over 90 per cent of the people's communes have middle schools. The region has 10 institutes of higher learning.

The Yenpien Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Kirin Province is an example of areas where culture and education are relatively developed. Yenpien University was established as early as 1949, followed in 1958 by colleges of medicine and agriculture. Primary education was universalized in 1952, and junior-middle school education, in the main, in 1958. The Tungsheng People's Commune, in Yenchi County, contains over 4,000 households with 21,000 people. Here, in 1958, the Liming Spare-Time College of Agriculture was established, the first of its kind in all China — with students spending part of their time working in production and another

part in study. Up to the present, over 1,200 of its graduates have gone back to their own posts on the agricultural front, where they play a great role. This commune runs 12 primary schools, four junior-middle schools, and one senior-middle school, with over 4,800 students.

Over the last few years the minority areas have worked vigorously to universalize five-year primary school education. But most of the nationalities are scattered over the mountain and pastoral areas of China's frontiers where children have to climb slopes and cross rivers to go to school, presenting many obstacles to this goal. To meet this situation, the Party and government departments concerned have followed the guideline, "Diversified methods should be adopted in setting up rural schools. Apart from those established by the state, energetic steps must be taken to encourage people to set up schools by collective effort." Aside from increasing state-run schools according to plan, they have helped establish people's schools far and wide in the agricultural and pastoral areas. Such schools get state aid in funds and personnel but are run by collectives — people's communes or production brigades. In different places, in the light of their local situations, they adopt a variety of forms, making it easier for peasants' and herdsmen's children to attend.

The Yaochai Commune in Nantan County, Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, consists of over 800 villages. Its people of nine nationalities including the Yao, Chuang, Miao, Han and Maonan are scattered over some 2,600 ravines and mountain tops. Under the sway of the revisionist line in education, which stressed the plains while ignoring the mountain areas and emphasized "regularization," there were few schools here and many

children could not attend. In recent years, the Party committee of the commune has not only set up all-day primary schools but adopted many other forms suited to local conditions, such as mobile teaching, multi-grade classes (several grades in one room), morning, noon, and evening classes, part-farming, part-study classes, literacy classes, and teachers going to the pupils' homes. Seventy-three "teaching points" were added, solving the problem of education for over 600 children who lived too far from the schools, or were unable to attend in regular hours because their families had too few workers but many mouths to feed. In 1973, the school attendance here rose to 96 per cent. The poor and lower-middle peasants declared feelingly: "In the old society our eyes were fine, but for generations no one could read. Now schools are set up right in front of our door. In the past, who could have dreamed it?"

In accordance with Chairman Mao's 1968 directive, **"In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants, the most reliable ally of the working class,"** the poor and lower-middle peasants here assumed power over culture. Under the leadership of the Party organizations, they take part in important decisions concerning the schools, accelerating the revolution in education. In 1969 the Lapati Brigade in Weihsi County, Yunnan Province, mainly inhabited by the Lisu nationality, organized a school-management committee composed of poor and lower-middle peasants and established two primary schools run by the people, one part-farming, part-study primary school and one junior-middle school class, absorbing between them 95.8 per cent of the school-age children. The committee firmly observed Chairman Mao's guidelines

for education, organizing teachers and students to study them often, and invited old poor peasants to lecture to the students about how the poor had suffered owing to their illiteracy in the old society and how necessary it is to acquire culture to build socialism. The committee built bases for the study of farming in which class work was combined with productive labour, re-educating the teachers and helping them revolutionize their thinking. These schools are full of vitality and the masses say that the poor and lower-middle peasants run them really well.

The pastoral areas are vast, and their population is sparse and very mobile. To suit their special features, in addition to all-day primary schools in fixed places, a good new form for universalizing primary education was created in the "tent schools." These have no fixed location, desks or chairs. They move wherever the herdsmen drive their animals so children do not have to walk long distances to get to class. The poor and lower-middle herdsmen say: "Tent schools are fine!" One commune in Uchia County, Sinkiang, on the Pamir Plateau, stretches for more than 130 kilometres from east to west and more than 50 kilometres from north to south, averaging less than one person to 10 square kilometres. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it set up four tent schools which enabled almost all the children of its herdsmen of Khalkhas nationality to go to school.

The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region's 189 pastoral communes have set up over 1,200 primary schools and 1,620 mobile "teaching points," serving over 56,000 students. Middle schools in its farming and pastoral areas number almost 400. In the old society, a poor herdsman who received a letter often had to ride his

camel 50 or 100 kilometres to find a literate person to read it. Now sounds of school children reciting their lessons can be heard from the Mongolian yurts on the grasslands. This is an unprecedented change.

The Olunchun and Owenke nationalities, hunters and formerly nomads, have led a settled life for 20 years now. New villages for hunters have been built in the area, with free state schools for their children. One serves the Owenke nationality at Aolukuya, deep in the dense forest at the northern foot of the Greater Khingan Mountains. Hunters going up the mountains leave their children at this school, where each gets a state living-expense subsidy of 16 yuan a month. Nearby Mankuei Township has built special dormitories and dining-halls for hunters' children, and allotted medical personnel to care for their health. All the children between the ages seven and 14 are in school. Besides elementary pupils, there are sons and daughters of hunters in middle schools and colleges.

In some minority villages, due to the influence of old thinking, fewer girls than boys used to go to school. In one remote mountain hamlet in Tachang People's Commune in Liangho County, Yunnan Province, not one had ever done so. People there thought, "Girls eventually marry into other families, what's the use of educating them?" So the custom was for boys to go to school and girls to tend pigs. In 1974 the village launched a campaign to repudiate Lin Piao and Confucius, with mass criticism of the Confucian idea that "men are superior and women inferior." With the production brigade cadres taking the lead, all the poor and lower-middle peasants sent their daughters to school for the first time. In a brigade composed mainly of people of the Sala na-

tionality in Red Flag People's Commune, Hsunhua County, Chinghai Province, very few girls went to school. In the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius, after the masses had criticized the idea that males were important and females were not, its primary school set up a class for girl pupils, who increased from four to 61.

Where a nationality has a written language in current use — as in the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean areas — the schools employ it for teaching. At the same time, courses in the Han language, or those of other nationalities in the locality, are undertaken at the appropriate grade. In the Mongolian areas there are brigades of Han people and Mongolians respectively. In some such cases, separate Mongolian and Han primary schools are set up, or joint schools that teach in both languages. In minority areas with no script of their own, the textbooks are in Han but oral teaching is in both Han and the local language.

With the growth of education, large numbers of local-nationality teachers are maturing. In 1973, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region had 84 per cent more Mongolian primary-school teachers than in 1965, and Mongolian middle-school teachers had increased by 93 per cent. Yunnan Province has over 36,000 teachers of nationalities other than Han. The Kashgar District in Sinkiang, with less than 1,000 teachers from the minority nationalities at the time of liberation, now has over 10,000. In the Tibet Autonomous Region, where the shortage of teachers was most severe, the state has given special help by organizing large numbers of middle-school teachers from Peking, Szechuan and elsewhere to go there to help its people develop socialist education. Many educated youth from various parts of the country

The Institute for Nationalities in Yunnan Province.



Reading room of Sinkiang University.





Schooling in the language of their own nationality.

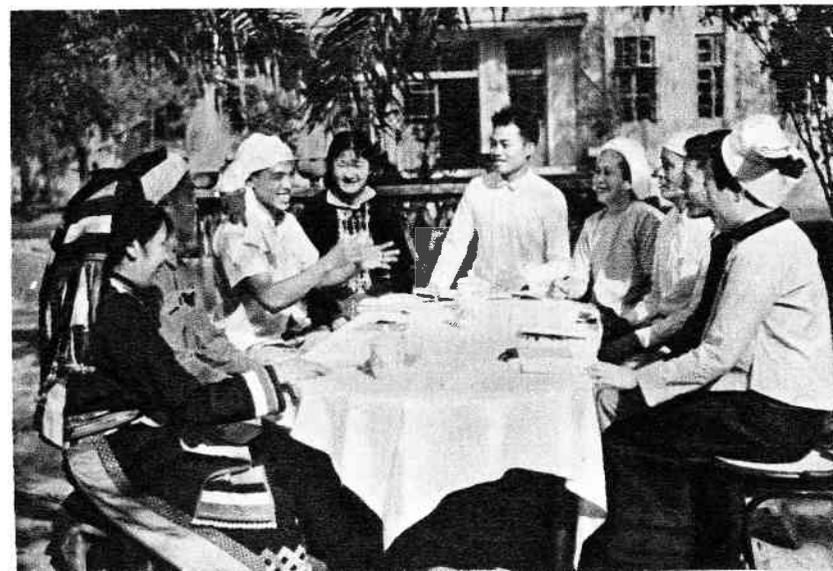


Han and Tibetan teachers discuss problems of education.

Students in a cadre school of the Tehung Autonomous Prefecture of Tai and Chingpo Nationalities, Yunnan.



Mongolian university students.





Pastoral areas set up mobile schools for the herdsmen's children.

Commune members of Penglung nationality in a night school.



have volunteered to be teachers among the nationalities in frontier regions.

Higher education among the minority nationalities has developed greatly. Since the Cultural Revolution was launched, the number of their students in institutes of higher learning run by autonomous regions and prefectures has increased each year. Very numerous too are minority-nationality students at universities and colleges in Peking and elsewhere in China.

Colleges that train cadres of their own nationalities for the minority areas include the central and local institutes for nationalities.

As early as 1941, the Party set up the Yanan Institute for Nationalities, training many cadres who made contributions to the revolution. In 1949 Chairman Mao issued a directive, **“Without a large number of communist cadres of minority nationalities, it would be impossible to solve the national problem thoroughly and to isolate the minority nationality reactionaries completely.”** In November 1950, the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government promulgated the “Tentative Programme for Training Cadres of Minority Nationalities” and “Tentative Programme for Setting Up the Central Institute for Nationalities.” In 1951 the Central Institute for Nationalities was inaugurated in Peking. Later, similar institutes were set up in north-western, southwestern and central-south China, and in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Chinghai and Tibet.

Over more than two decades, all have trained considerable numbers of cadres for minority-nationality areas. The Central Institute for Nationalities alone has taught close to 10,000, belonging to some 50 nationalities.

After graduation most go back to work in their areas of origin. They have close ties with the people of their own nationalities, whose history, spoken and written language and customs they know well, and have a strong desire for socialist revolution and construction by their own people. So equipped, they have played an important role in implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the Party's policies and guidelines, consolidating the unity of the motherland and strengthening unity among the nationalities. Many Tibetan graduates of the institutes, for example, returned to their own region and threw themselves actively into the suppression of the reactionary serf-owner clique's rebellion in 1959. Subsequently, shoulder to shoulder with the masses of serfs they made contributions in the struggle to smash the feudal serf system in Tibet and overcome backwardness in the region.

Many minority nationalities now have their own first generation of college students. Li Pu-lung, from the border areas of Yunnan Province where his people only moved out of the primeval forest in 1958 to start a settled life, went to Tungchi University in Shanghai. Liu Kuei-jung, who was elected by the masses to attend the Yunnan School of Chinese Medicine, became the Penglung nationality's first college student. Tsomu, a woman of Monba nationality who attended the Central Institute for Nationalities, is the deputy chairman of the revolutionary committees both of Lepu District in Tsona County and of the entire Loka Prefecture, and a member of the revolutionary committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region. In the past the Monba people did not know the word "school." Tsomu's going to college was an earth-shaking event for them. Tsomu has

not disappointed the hopes of the emancipated serfs. She studied hard and has made outstanding achievements.

Many such worker-peasant-soldier students have graduated from institutes for nationalities, colleges and universities in various places. Fired with revolutionary zeal, they have returned to the front lines of socialist revolution and construction among their own peoples. For example, among those in the 1973 class of the Kwangsi Institute for Nationalities, some went back to be grass-roots cadres in communes and production brigades, some became teachers, others were elected by the masses to the leading bodies of districts or counties. Full of youthful vigour, they are wholeheartedly serving the multi-national people. Li Kuo-ying, a college student of Yao nationality who had been Party branch secretary in his production brigade, requested after graduation to go back to work in that brigade. When asked, "Since you've gone to college, why come back to plough behind an ox?" Li Kuo-ying replied, "The Party trained and sent me to college, not to make me into an official, but to give me more skills with which to serve the people, serve the poor and lower-middle peasants." He is determined, at the head of the masses, to devote all his strength to transforming the Yao mountains.

As socialist revolution and construction develop further in the minority areas, education among the minority nationalities is bound to flourish all the more.

## Fast-Growing Medical and Health Services

Before liberation health-care conditions in the minority areas were very backward. For the poor peasants and herdsmen, there were neither doctors nor medicines. Impoverished and disease-stricken, they lived in misery. The reactionary rulers were completely indifferent to the people's well-being. Tibet, 1.2 million square kilometres in area, had only one hospital before liberation. The vast Inner Mongolian region had only three, all in the cities and serving the few — the feudal ruling class of serf-owners, princes and nobles.

When the labouring people fell ill, aside from folk herbal medicines their only resort was to gods, spirits and incantations by practitioners of religious cults. Among some of China's northwestern nationalities, an *ahung* (Muslim cleric) was invited to recite scriptural texts. He would write incantations on a piece of paper, which was put in a bowl and burned; then the patient would mix the ashes with water and drink the mixture. In Inner Mongolia and Tibet, cattle and family property would be sold to pay the lamas in the monasteries to chant sutras. Among the Tai nationality in Yunnan, there was a superstition that sickness was due to a *pipo*

spirit which a witch doctor would be invited to exorcise. Such religious and superstitious practices cost the lives of countless labouring people. Also, quacks wandered from village to village, and the masses, for lack of doctors, had to seek their help with costly feasts and gifts. Hence, illness among the poor meant that they had to spend all they had, so that some families broke up and their members perished. The destitute sick could only wait for death. The feudal manorial lords proclaimed that life, illness and death were preordained by heaven, and the poor should resign themselves to fate.

In these conditions, diseases and epidemics were rampant among the labouring people of the minority nationalities, destroying many villages and taking the lives of hundreds of thousands. The population of some of them declined rapidly. In Inner Mongolia, the Silinghol League had 84,000 people at the end of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911); in 1936, only 36,000 or so were left. The Ikh Chao League had 400,000 people in the middle of the 17th century, but only 80,000 remained in 1949, on the eve of liberation — a decline of 80 per cent in less than 300 years. On the Altai Grassland in northern Sinkingiang 100,000 Kazakh herdsmen once lived in communities. Epidemics and poverty forced them to scatter in different directions, leaving only 50,000 at the time of liberation. Of the smaller minorities, the Hoche were an example. At the end of the 19th century they numbered about 3,000, by 1949 only some 300. Such nationalities approached the tragedy of extinction.

After liberation the Party and Chairman Mao showed infinite solicitude for the health of the minority peoples. The people's government sent numerous medical

personnel to their areas to provide mobile service. Allotting large sums for the purpose, it vigorously built public health institutions and trained medical personnel for them. As a result, some minority nationalities previously unable to reach even a single doctor now have their own first-generation medical personnel. In the early 1950s the government led the masses in waging a tenacious struggle against the diseases that wrought the greatest havoc among the minority peoples — such as malaria and venereal diseases. Two examples are given here.

The Tehung Autonomous Prefecture of Tai and Chingpo Nationalities at the western frontier of Yunnan Province was a historical “pestilential area,” at the very mention of which people turned pale. Malaria, plague, cholera, smallpox and dysentery were endemic there. Mangshih, world-renowned for “super-high incidence of malaria,” was known as “the city of death.” A saying went, “If you are passing through Mangshih, buy a coffin first.” Some villages near it were wiped out by malaria, others were called “village of weeping ghosts,” or “village of widows.” Houses stood without occupants and desolation was everywhere. Many innocent peasants, whom the local officials and manorial lords denounced as “*pipo* spirits,” the supposed sources of disaster and disease, were driven from their villages and persecuted. Mangshih, originally with over 5,000 people of the Tai nationality, had only some 1,800 in 1949. After liberation, in accordance with the guideline, “prevention first,” the government mobilized the masses throughout this autonomous prefecture for a patriotic health campaign, focussing on the extermination of malaria. Measures were taken to wipe out mosquitoes and to fill holes and pits of stagnant water. Each year, the state provided

quantities of anti-malarial drugs. After protracted and repeated struggles, malaria, the greatest threat, was brought under effective control as were other contagious diseases. Morbidity declined from 70 per cent for the early days after liberation to 0.45 per cent in 1972. Today Mangshih has grown into a new industrial town with a population approaching 20,000. The once pestilential subtropical plain of Tehung, now more or less free from malaria, is thriving. Its people live long and harvests are good.

Another big battle was waged against venereal diseases. At the time of liberation, in areas like Inner Mongolia, 50 per cent of the local nationalities were afflicted with them — in some places even 90 per cent. One of the reactionary policies adopted by the Ching Dynasty emperors, Japanese imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries alike was to deliberately abet the spread of venereal disease in some minority areas, so that their nationalities would die out. The Japanese invaders claimed: “Even without conquest by force, the people in Inner Mongolia will die out from syphilis of their own accord in 50 years.” Beginning with 1950, the people’s government sent a great many medical teams into the vast grasslands and desolate deserts for a planned battle against the venereal diseases that had scourged the people. Within a few years treatment had been extended to all sufferers. Many, long ill, got a new lease on life. Some bed-ridden for years regained their working ability. Women, sterile for a decade or more, produced healthy babies. Many Owenke people gave children born after their cures the name of “Naminhu,” meaning “child of the Party,” with fervent thanks to Chairman Mao.

But although medical and sanitary conditions among the minority nationalities improved a great deal after liberation, the influence of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line of "stress on the cities and ignoring the countryside" in health care still limited the access of many peasants and herdsmen to medicine and doctors. Difficult communications in some frontier regions, the language barrier, and underdeveloped economy, were also obstacles. Urgently needed were medical personnel of the nationalities themselves, in their own areas.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution brought implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in health care. Responding to his call, **"In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas,"** numerous qualified personnel went from the cities to the countryside. Now communes and production brigades have, in general, established their own medical institutions. The growth and strengthening of the ranks of "barefoot doctors," i.e., doctors not divorced from production, play an important role in setting up and consolidating co-operative medical care, now established throughout the minority areas.

For example, in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, all the 283 communes in the 19 banners and counties with compact communities of Mongolian people have built hospitals with a total of over 3,000 medical personnel. Three-quarters of the region's production brigades have co-operative medical stations, numbering 1,200 and staffed by over 3,000 "barefoot doctors," averaging two or three to each brigade. Lower down, the production teams have over 2,000 health workers. Of the health personnel in the entire region, 57.7 per cent

A new hospital built after liberation in the Pose area of Kwangsi.



A Wa student in a chemical laboratory class.



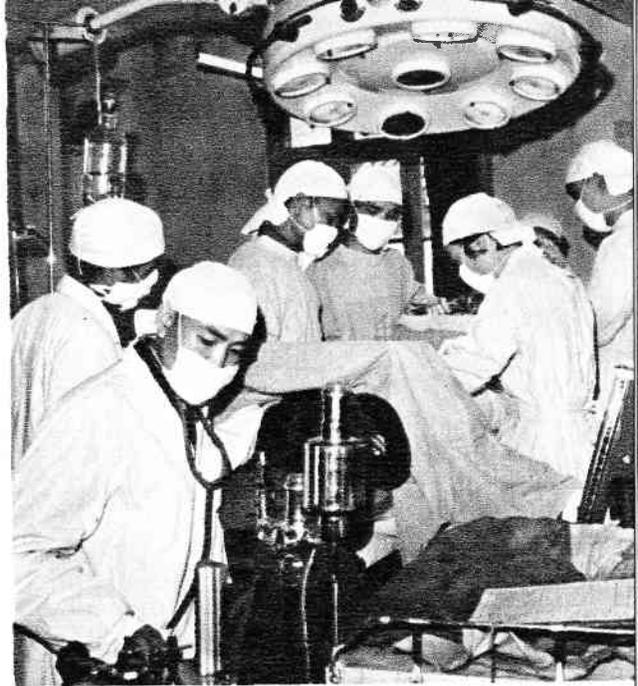
Khalkhas doctor examining a commune member in the field.



Malaria, once rampant in Yunnan's minority areas, is now virtually stamped out. Medical workers continue to make regular checks for malaria.



Operating room in Kanlo Hospital, western Szechuan, one of the many set up by the people's government in minority areas.



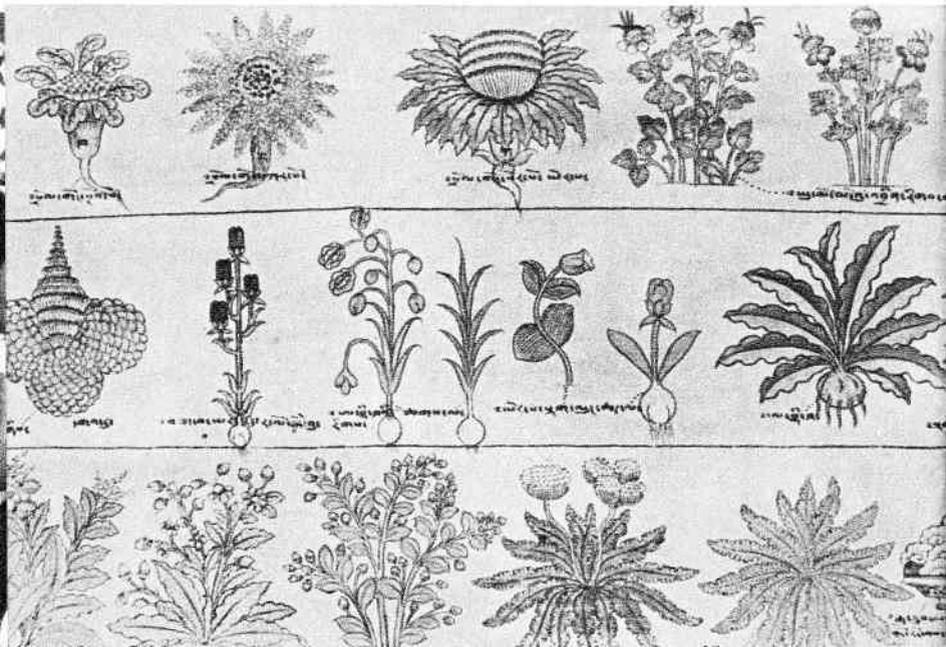
Chang Shih-yung (left), formerly deputy head of the Peking Anti-Tuberculosis Society, volunteered to settle down in southern Kansu grassland among the Tibetan herdsmen.





A periodical physical check-up on Tajik children in Sinkiang.

Tibetan medicine and medicinal herbs have a long history. This is a coloured herbal chart drawn in 1668 and recently discovered.



work in the villages and pastoral areas, which have 70 per cent of the hospital beds and absorb 62 per cent of the medical expenses.

The Tibet Autonomous Region, since its founding in 1965, has trained over 1,300 Tibetan medical workers; in its agricultural and pastoral areas over 6,000 barefoot doctors, health workers and modern-type midwives have been trained from among the peasants and herdsmen — an average of two or three to each commune (or township). Even the Monba people who live in the Lepu Valley at the southern foot of the Himalayas and were called “savages” by the feudal manorial lords have the first generation of medical and health workers from their own midst, with barefoot doctors in all their townships.

The central government, provinces, cities and People’s Liberation Army frequently send mobile medical teams deep into the villages and vast pasturelands of China’s frontier regions. Besides preventing and curing diseases, they enthusiastically train barefoot doctors for the nationalities there, leaving local medical teams that stay on. Prefecture, county, district and commune hospitals hold training classes, at irregular intervals, for barefoot doctors.

It is precisely these ordinary barefoot doctors who play an important role in solving the problem of preventing and curing diseases for hundreds of thousands of minority-nationality people and changing the whole aspect of public health in their areas.

Health care for women and children used to be the poorest of all. When a woman gave birth, there was often nobody around to help. Among many nationalities in-

fluenced by religion and superstition, working women were forced to give birth alone in the wilderness. Olunchun women had their babies in temporary tents in the open; Tibetan female serfs were forced to do so in cowsheds or stables. In the pastoral areas of Sinkiang, childbirth was considered unclean; a woman had to go into the wilds and lie down on a pile of grass, an old blanket, or even a heap of sand or cow dung, and cut the umbilical cord with a potsherd or sliver of bamboo, or simply bite it off. Some babies bled to death because the umbilical cord was not tied. Pre-liberation infant mortality in China was 200 per thousand; in the minority areas it was even higher. Now all that has changed completely. Modern methods of delivery have been rapidly popularized in the minority villages. Infant mortality has greatly decreased. By 1973, in the Yenpien Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Kirin Province, it had declined to 6 per thousand.

Because the Party and the government attach great importance to the health care of women and children, the minority children grow ever sounder and stronger. Take the Maonan, one of China's small nationalities. In the old society, they were stunted in growth and prone to sickness. But Maonan boys and girls in the new society are tall and strong. A seven-year-old weighs on the average three to five kilogrammes more than a child of the same age before liberation, and the average height has increased by over 10 centimetres.

Through study and practice barefoot doctors generally learn how to treat common and recurrent diseases in the rural areas. They are able to combine traditional Chinese and Western methods of prevention and cure. In

the pastoral areas of northern Tibet, with their frequent snowstorms throughout the year, many herdsmen suffer from arthritis. Barefoot doctors treat them with acupuncture and get good results. During the seasons when infectious diseases like meningitis rage there, barefoot doctors travel all over the grasslands to inoculate the herdsmen in their tents.

In the Tibet Autonomous Region, and some minority areas in Yunnan and Heilungkiang provinces, free medical service is given to all. In other areas, co-operative medical care is developing and being consolidated. Commune members contribute a small sum of money (about one yuan) each year, and each commune or brigade allocates a part of its public welfare fund to make up the co-operative medical fund. In general, these commune members do not pay for treatment or medicine.

Some nationalities have their own traditional medicine, forming a valuable component of the treasury of the motherland's medical science, to which the Party and the government have attached great importance since liberation. Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Tibet and Yunnan have organized their national doctors so that they can better serve the people of all nationalities. Tibet has established the Lhasa City Hospital of Tibetan Medicine, with 65 Tibetan doctors. Frequent meetings for exchange of experience in national medicine have been held in various places. Works devoted to it are published. Before liberation not a single book on Uighur medicine had been printed in the Uighurs' own language — now there are four, on medicine and pharmacology. Great importance is attached everywhere to the role of traditional doctors; at the same time, young modern doctors are being actively trained.

Due to the establishment and development of co-operative medicine and the sound growth of barefoot doctors, medical and health care in the minority areas has undergone profound changes. Many of them have basically achieved the following objectives: early prevention for the healthy, early treatment for the sick, treatment of all minor ills within the brigade and of all common diseases within the commune; treatment without hindering production; cures at little or no expense—none of these existed before. Every minority area has many barefoot doctors who travel in wind and rain, can be sent for in the small hours of the night and serve the people heart and soul. The people say with deep emotion: “The old society and the new are two different worlds!”

With the rapid growth of medical and health services in their areas the population of all the minority nationalities has increased since liberation. In the 100 years and more before the democratic reform, that of Tibet had decreased by three-fifths. In the 15 years after the 1959 democratic reforms, its net increase was over 200,000. In the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, since its founding in 1955, the minority population has increased by 44.3 per cent. The population of the Sibo nationality in the Sinkiang Chapchal Sibo Autonomous County has almost doubled since liberation. The Tajik population in the Tash Kurghan Tajik Autonomous County has increased by 61.5 per cent. In 1949, only 50,000 Kazakh people were left on the Altai Grassland. Thanks to natural increase, and the return of the people who had been driven by hardships to other places, over 160,000 Kazakh herdsmen live there now. The small

Olunchun and Hoche nationalities have more than doubled in number.

The long-cherished aspiration of every minority nationality for more people and a prosperous life has been realized under the socialist system of new China.

## National Arts of Colour and Beauty

In the treasury of China's arts, those of her minority nationalities are a resplendent component. As early as 2,000 years ago, the Chuang people in Kwangsi painted the "Flower Mountain Murals," reflecting their social life, on the cliffs that stretch for many kilometres along the Tsochiang River. The murals in the Thousand-Buddha Cave in Kuche, Sinkiang, date back more than 1,000 years. The Tali Autonomous Prefecture of the Pai Nationality in Yunnan has three pagodas, built in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) — the main one, splendid and imposing, is over 50 metres high, with thousands of murals inside, outside and all around it. The Tung people who live along the triple border of Hunan, Kwangsi and Kweichow provinces have preserved many of their intricate and beautiful drum-towers, bridges and bridge-pavilions built hundreds of years ago. The folk ballads of the Pai people and the dramas of the Tibetans and the Chuang have a long history and it is uncertain just when they originated. All the nationalities have rich and colourful arts and crafts. Their songs and dances, marked by grace and style, are jewels of art.

Many minority nationalities are famed for their fine singing and dancing. The Uighur people habitually express their feelings through singing and dancing. Those of the Yi people often go on all night — at festivals, weddings and ceremonies. Most Miao villages have ensembles in which the men play reed-pipes and the women dance. They are an indispensable part of the New Year festivities. When dozens or even hundreds of reed-pipes are played at once, the music can be clearly heard very far away. The people of many nationalities not only sing and dance on holidays and in everyday life, but also hold special song and dance festivals.

In the old society, however, their arts were trampled underfoot and folk artists were persecuted, humiliated and deprived of a secure livelihood. Local despots and gentry in Tali, Yunnan, posted bans against the ballads of the Pai people. The reactionary ruling class in Ningsia slandered theatre-going, acting, singing and dancing by the Hui people as contrary to religion. Minor "offenders" were fined and "major" ones flogged, sometimes until they were maimed. A folk song circulating widely in the Tibetan area of Tiching, Yunnan, sharply portrayed the barbarity of the reactionary rulers in forbidding the labouring people to sing. Its words went:

*All because I sang a song,  
My neck is locked in a cangue.  
You wonder what is in my song,  
The cangue itself tells the story.*

The greater the oppression, the more violent the resistance. The labouring people used their art as a weapon against the reactionary rulers. The "Bow and

Arrow Dance," widespread among the Tibetans, describes the heroic deed of a serf in the Tibetan area of Ahpa, Szechuan. When forced to dance before a local official, he shot and killed the tyrant with a bow he had concealed in his sleeve. Before liberation the arts of all the nationalities were like flowers under slabs of stone, sprouting, branching, and blooming with added tenacity.

These arts could flourish to the full only after liberation, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's principles: **"All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers"; "let a hundred flowers blossom" and "weed through the old to bring forth the new."** For example, "The Twelve Mukam," a masterpiece of classical music created by the Uighur labouring people, was on the verge of being lost. After liberation, through search and reconstitution, it was restored in its entirety and elements of it were absorbed into new compositions.

To develop the songs and dances of the nationalities so they can better serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, over 60 professional national ensembles were set up throughout the country within a few years after liberation, and the Central Nationalities Ensemble was established in Peking.

In view of the vastness of the pastoral areas, the wide dispersion of the herdsmen and the inconvenience of communications, many small but effective *ulan muchir* (Red cultural troupes) have been organized in various banners and counties of the Inner Mongolia and Ningsia Hui autonomous regions and Liaoning Province. They constitute the light cavalry of literature and art and are active all over the vast grasslands, where they carry the fine tradition of the propaganda teams of the old Red

Army. Fearing neither hardship nor fatigue, they penetrate to all corners of the pastures, each averaging 150 performances a year. The 12-member *ulan muchir* troupe of Ongniot Banner, in the course of seven years, has ranged over this banner's 11,000 square kilometres, visited every one of its 129 production teams and put on more than 800 performances, with an annual attendance of some 100,000. It has a ringing slogan: "The most difficult, the most faraway places are where we take our dances and songs." The Shihhan Commune of the Ongniot Banner has a production team of only six households far out in the desert. With many sand dunes to be crossed on the way, it is inaccessible by motor and hard to get to even on horseback. To perform there, the troupe's artists carried their own luggage and stage properties on foot for 15 kilometres over the dunes and arrived in the production team exhausted. Just the same, they wiped off their sweat, drank a few mouthfuls of buttered tea and started performing. The herdsmen exclaimed: "Actors educated by Chairman Mao remember even us out in the sands!"

On one occasion the *ulan muchir* of the Alashan Left Banner walked for more than 20 kilometres to perform for some herdsmen there. Just after they had finished, another herdsman hurried up and said that, moving with the flocks every day, he was very seldom able to see a performance and most anxious to do so now. The members of the team, in spite of the late hour and fatigue, repeated their programme just for him.

The *ulan muchir* are the literary and art contingents of the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves. They come from their midst, serve them, and live among them. When on tour, they help tend the animals, cut fodder

and shear the sheep; they also repair implements of production for the masses and even give haircuts. Through participation in collective productive labour, they keep remoulding their own world outlook and at the same time perfecting their art.

The minority-nationality areas in China's frontier regions also have their professional literary and art troupes. Like the *ulan muchir*, these serve the workers, peasants and soldiers enthusiastically, go all out to propagate revolutionary art and literature, and are active in developing the songs and dances of the nationalities concerned.

The singers and dancers of the minority nationalities, besides enjoying boundless prospects of artistic development, are in the ranks of the masters of the country politically. Tsetan Drolma was a child-serf shepherdess. In 1958 the Party sent her to study at the Shanghai Conservatory. Not only did she grow into a Tibetan singer warmly received when performing at home and abroad, she also became a member of the National Committee of the Fourth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and was elected to the Party Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

The literature and art of the minority nationalities originally sprang from a broad mass base. After liberation, with the support and encouragement of the Party and the government, mass activities in both fields were revived and developed. They have flowered particularly since the great Cultural Revolution, combining national form with socialist content. Tens of thousands of literary and art propaganda teams of Mao Tsetung Thought are active north and south of the Tienshan Mountains and the Great Wall, in the dense forests and deep valleys,

and on the shores of the South China Sea. The Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region alone has over 14,000 amateur teams of this kind, with 310,000 members and over 6,900 amateur writing and composing groups.

On the basis of this rapid mass growth, writers and artists of the minority nationalities have made bold innovations in the songs and dances and developed them further. Some originally rich in variety and content are now even more splendid and colourful.

For example, the Yenpien Korean Autonomous Prefecture Ensemble, in order to better adapt its songs and dances to the spirit of the present time and create heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers, broke away from old conventions and introduced new, forceful and agile movements from the revolutionary modern ballets. Open and natural postures replaced the former constrained ones. The old strengths of grace, delicacy, subtle charm and lyrical quality have been retained, and new elements of vigour, openness and forthrightness added, leading to a new development of the Korean nationality's dances.

A further example. The techniques in playing the traditional Mongolian instrument, the horse-head fiddle, have advanced remarkably since the old days when it was used only to produce slow, plaintive melodies incapable of reflecting the fiery revolutionary struggles of today. Now both bowing and the fingering have been improved. In bowing, the once exclusive long stroke has been supplemented by short, jumping and cutting strokes, tremolo and pizzicato. The instrument's range has been expanded to three octaves: bass, alto and soprano. It can now play more dramatic music. In the past there was

not a single composition written especially for it. Now there are many.

The rich, colourful songs and dances of the minority nationalities are warmly welcomed not only in their own areas but throughout the country. Learned by many Han people, they have become an important part of all China's mass literary and art activities, been widely incorporated into films and ballets, and contributed to the splendour and colour of our new literature and art.

In addition, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, a large number of new songs and dances have been created in the minority areas. They embody the spirit of the socialist era and are rich in national character. The Mongolian dance "Militia Women of the Grasslands," the Yao dance "Logging," and the dance of the Tai and Chingpo peoples "On the Way to Deliver Grain" are all based on the raw material of national folk dances, refined and processed to create profound and heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers of the minority nationalities. The writing and composing groups of the Tibetan Ensemble, which went at different times to villages, pastoral areas and army units in Milin, Nagchuka and nine other counties in the region to work, study and carry on revolutionary criticisms jointly with the masses, composed more than 30 new songs and dances which won their acclaim. Similar groups from the Hainan Ensemble of Kwangtung went into the Li and Miao villages and created a number of fine national songs and dances. Many contemporary works rich in content and new in form have appeared on the stage in different national areas and been well received by their workers, peasants and soldiers.

On National Day each year songs and dances of minority nationalities are staged in Peking. This is a Yao dance, "Logging."



Literary and art workers of Sinkiang's minority nationalities earnestly study Chairman Mao's works.





Polo is a popular sport among the Mongolians.



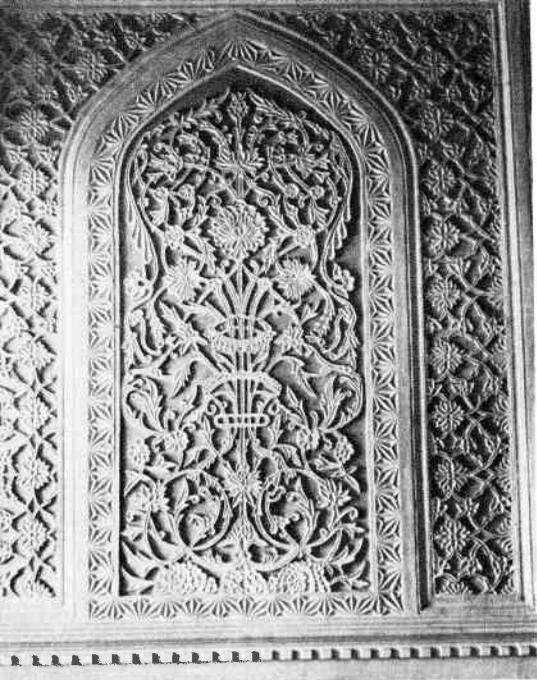
Sinkiang children learn to play the *dombra* (a Kazakh musical instrument) from their earliest years.

China's literary and art workers make frequent tours to perform in the countryside.



Tibetan carpets are rich in national colour.





Fine architectural sculptures in Sinkiang.



Detail of the large clay-sculpture group "Wrath of the Serfs," depicting a little Tibetan girl who has lost her mother and is following her dying father into exile.

Fine art, too, is constantly developing. Minority-nationality artists are growing in numbers and strength. Their works covering a broad range of subjects and forms appear in China-wide art exhibits as well as those of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Many are by amateur art workers. Old, national folk crafts like Tibetan design drawings and the clay figurines and butter sculptures of Chinghai have also been preserved and developed.

Minority-nationality crafts with a long history and tradition have progressed by leaps and bounds since liberation. In crochet, embroidery, brocades, wax-dyeing, paper-cuts, carpet-weaving, architectural ornaments, and silver jewellery, many new motifs and varieties have been added. To develop the crafts, the government has helped build special factories in minority areas with a fine craft tradition in this regard, such as the Hsianghsi Miao and Tuchia Autonomous Prefecture. Their products have won acclaim at home and abroad. The embroidered costumes of the Uighur, Miao, Tai, Puyi, Chuang, and Yao nationalities, each with its distinctive style, are noted for skilful needlework and beauty. The silk brocades of the Chuang, Tai, Tung and Li, and the cotton brocades and wax-dyed fabrics of the Miao are rich in colour and striking in design. The floral-design skull-caps of the Uighurs, the inlaid daggers and inlaid saddles of the Mongolians, the boots of the Tibetans and the carpets from Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia — all are strong in national characteristics and artistry. These fine handicrafts are the product of the wisdom of China's people of all nationalities.

Under the bright sun of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, the cultural workers of all

China's nationalities sing with full voice as they stride forward. In the garden of national arts, hundreds of flowers are blossoming gloriously. Spring is everywhere.

## NAMES OF CHINA'S MINORITY NATIONALITIES

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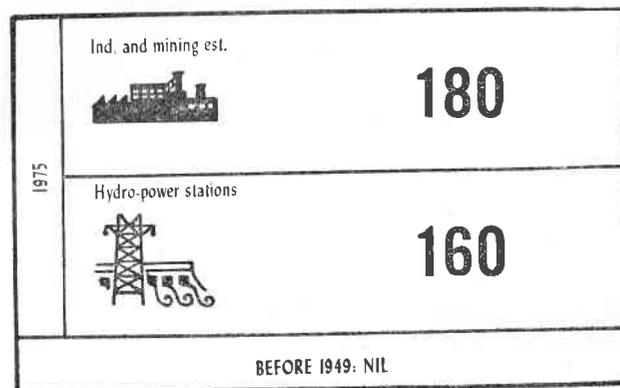
Mongolian	Lisu	Sibo
Hui	Wa	Achang
Tibetan	She	Pumi
Uighur	Kaoshan	Tajik
Miao	Lahu	Nu
Yi	Shui	Uzbek
Chuang	Tunghsiang	Russian
Puyi	Nahsi	Owenke
Korean	Chingpo	Penglung
Manchu	Khalkhas	Paoan
Tung	Tu	Yuku
Yao	Tahur	Ching
Pai	Mulao	Tartar
Tuchia	Chiang	Tulung
Hani	Pulang	Olunchun
Kazakh	Sala	Hoche
Tai	Maonan	Monba
Li	Kelao	Lopa

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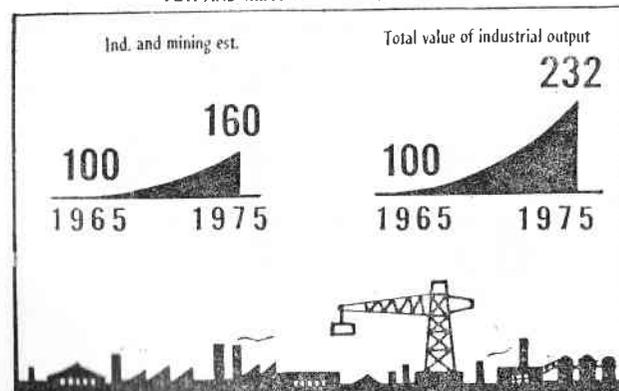
TABLE OF NATIONAL AUT. AREAS IN CHINA

Location	Aut. Rgn.	Aut. Pref.	Aut. Counties (or Banners)
Hopei Prov.			2
Inner Mongolia Aut. Rgn.	1		
Liaoning Prov.			2
Kirin Prov.		1	2
Heilungkiang Prov.			4
Kansu Prov.		2	6
Ningsia Hui Aut. Rgn.	1		
Chinghai Prov.		6	5
Sinkiang Uighur Aut. Rgn.	1	5	6
Hunan Prov.		1	4
Kwangtung Prov.		1	3
Kwangsi Chuang Aut. Rgn.	1		8
Szechuan Prov.		3	3
Kweichow Prov.		2	9
Yunnan Prov.		8	15
Tibet Aut. Rgn.	1		
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>69</b>

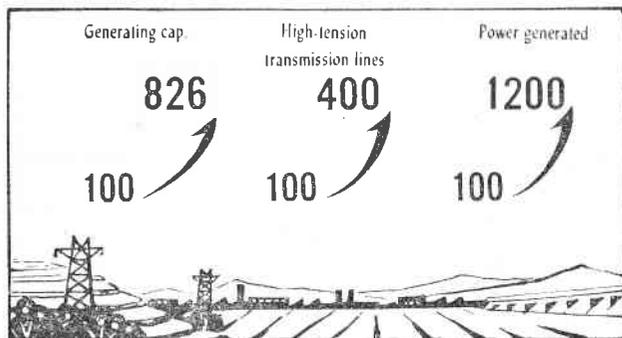
NUMBER OF INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS IN HSISHUANG PANNA TAI AUT. PREF., YUNNAN



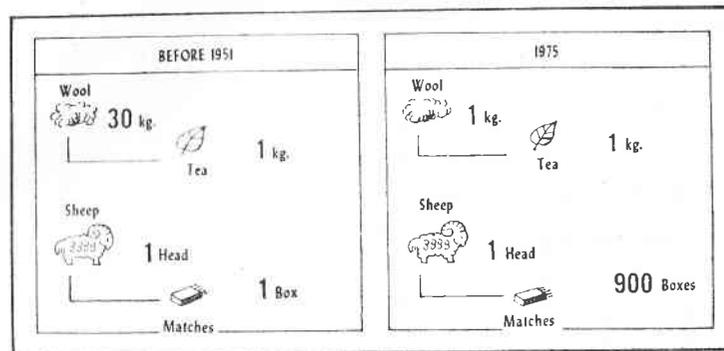
GROWTH OF LOCAL IND. IN CHIENNAN PUYI AND MIAO AUT. PREF., KWEICHOW



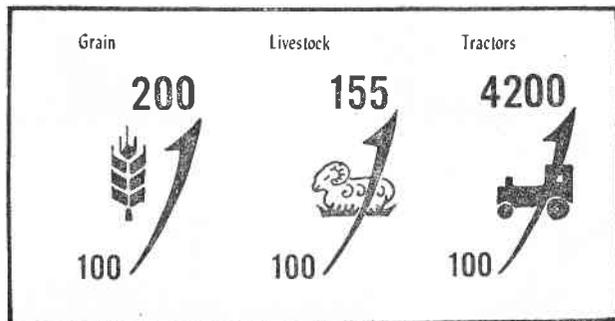
GROWTH OF POWER INDUSTRY IN NINGSIA  
(1965-1975)



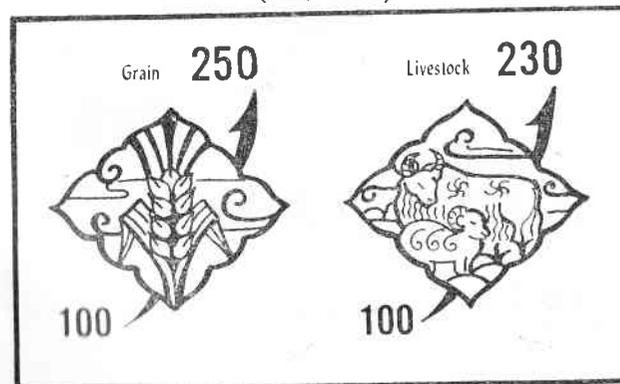
PRICES PAID FOR LOCAL AND SPECIAL PRODUCTS IN TIBET



GROWTH OF AGR. AND ANIMAL HUSB. IN SINKIANG  
(1955-1974)



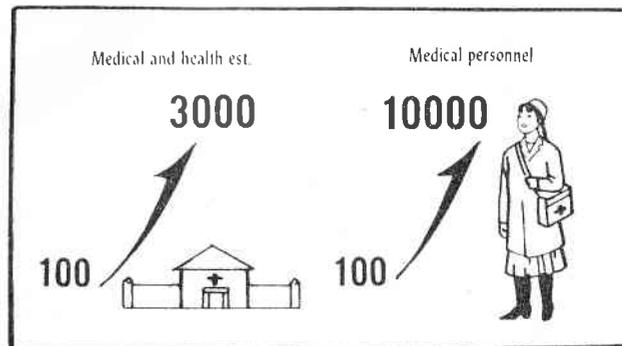
GROWTH OF AGR. AND ANIMAL HUSB. IN TIBET  
(1959-1974)



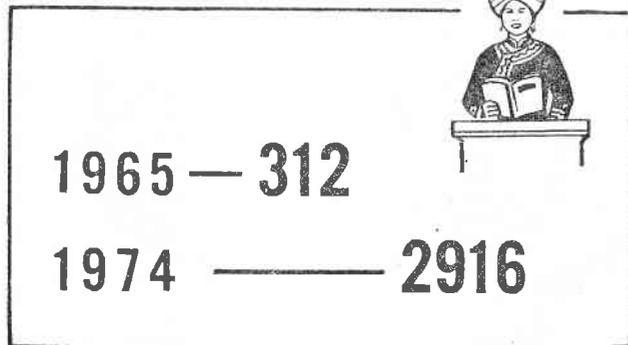
GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN TIBET

	Primary schools	4000
	Middle schools	20
	Secondary vocational schools	12
	Colleges	2
BEFORE 1951: NIL		

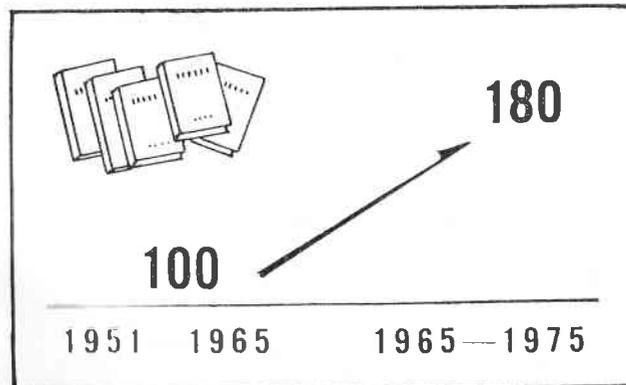
DEVELOPMENT OF MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH IN SINKIANG  
(1949-1975)



INCREASE IN NUMBER OF MINORITY-NATIONALITY  
TEACHERS IN LIANGSHAN YI AUT. PREF., SZCHUAN



GROWTH OF BOOKS EDITED, TRANSLATED AND  
PUBLISHED IN MINORITY LANGUAGES IN SINKIANG





中国少数民族在前进  
尹 明 著

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