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CHINESE POLICIES TOWARDS MINORITIES:
An Essay and Documents

by

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**Overleaf:
The Great Unity of Nationalities in China
(Painting by Yeh Ch'ien-yu)**

Preface

Over the past several years, I have been surprised by the lack of knowledge of Communist Chinese policies toward minorities on the part of otherwise well prepared graduate students beginning to specialize in contemporary China. To help remedy this regrettable state of affairs, I offer this collection of documents and introductory essay in the hope that it will provide a handy reference tool and a starting point from which a novice may strike out for detailed investigations of China's minorities.

The essay does not pretend to offer a full-scale analysis of Chinese policies toward minorities. It does attempt, however, to give a general introduction to the problem of China's minorities and to focus on some of the objectives and results of China's policies, as presented in the documents.

The documents are selected laws, regulations, policy statements, and official summaries of experiences pertaining to all minorities in all parts of Communist China. The documents are in my judgment the most authoritative, comprehensive, and representative of the Party's general line at certain times. I have omitted documents which may be equally authoritative, comprehensive, and representative but which refer wholly or mainly to only some minorities or to only some parts of Communist China.

All documents are taken from available translations which were checked against the Chinese originals. I have made many stylistic and terminological changes to correct errors of translation and of

Interpretation to enhance clarity of meaning. I have made an effort to use certain terms consistently throughout this compendium. The terms mintsu 民族 (nationalities) and shaoshu mintsu 少数民族 (minorities) are the most important in these documents. Chinese sources present a problem. Besides failing to define the meaning of either term - a task which I will try to do later - they have been extremely inconsistent in their respective use of "nationalities" and "minorities." Whatever else one can say about "nationalities," it is logically the more inclusive of the two terms; it includes all minorities as well as the Chinese who constitute the majority of the country's population. The Chinese Communists, however, frequently refer to "nationalities" when "minorities" are meant, as in mintsu tifang tzuchi 民族地方自治 (regional autonomy for nationalities). Because regional autonomy applies only to minorities and never to the Chinese, the correct term is shaoshu mintsu tifang tzuchi 少数民族地方自治 (regional autonomy for minorities). To alleviate the confusion somewhat, I use the term "minorities" where either the originals or the context clearly or probably refer to minorities only. Where the context is ambiguous, as it is exceedingly often, or where it clearly includes the Chinese, I use the term "nationalities."

The term shaoshu mintsu is rendered in English translations by both Chinese and foreigners as either "minority nationalities" or "national minorities." I use instead the simpler "minorities" which is less cumbersome and, in the context of this compendium, unambiguous. The term ta-Han chuyi 大漢主義 which has been variously translated as "great Han-ism," "great Han chauvinism," "great-nation chauvinism," and others, is rendered uniformly throughout this compendium as "Chinese chauvinism." Finally, I have omitted the word "people" which the Communists are fond of inserting into organizational terms, as in "people's government" and "people's representative assemblies," because it does not contribute to clarity. The only exception is the term "People's Republic of China" where the omission of the word "people" would blur the distinction between

Communist China and the Republic of China, since 1949 on Taiwan, the P'enghu Islands (Pescadores), and some offshore islands.

I wish to thank my graduate assistant, Mr. Shen Pei-kan (Patrick Sim), for many hours of hunting down sources and of numerous other errands. I also thank the following publishers for permission to reprint excerpts: Harvard University Press (Communist China 1955-1959: Policy Documents with Analysis (1959)); Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, The Government and Politics of China, 1912-1949 (1950); Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank, A Documentary History of Chinese Communism (1952)), Praeger Publishers (Theodore H.E. Chen (ed.), The Chinese Communist Regime (1967)), Nijhoff Publishers (William L. Tung, The Political Institutions of Modern China (1964)), and Fred B. Rothman & Co. (Albert P. Blaustein (ed.), Fundamental Legal Documents of Communist China (1962)).

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March 15, 1971

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One of the compelling reasons for studying China's policies toward minorities is that the problem of minorities has become nearly universal in the sixties. It is curious that within a few years, this problem should attract and consume the passions of such diverse countries as the United States, Czechoslovakia, and Nigeria. Of course, the problem has existed in all these countries for centuries but it is the characteristic of the sixties that their governments pay unprecedentedly great attention to it.

One of the most embattled issues in the United States is the hitherto subordinate positions of Americans of African, Mexican, and Indian ethnic background. In Czechoslovakia, the long-standing issue of the minority Slovaks was partially solved in 1968 by the promulgation of a new constitution which provided for equal status for Czechs and Slovaks in the national assembly. In many countries of Asia and Africa, struggles involving minorities threaten to tear apart the fragile structure of recently created states. The most tragic of these struggles was raging not too long ago in Nigeria between the federal army and the secessionist Ibo state of Biafra.

In these and many other countries, the problem of minorities commands great importance if not dominance. The nature of the problem, however, differs from country to country. In the post-industrial United States, the main issue is the lack of equal opportunity. Except for some very small groups among Black Americans that wish to opt out of the American state and society (e.g. the so-called Republic of New Africa), the American minorities consider themselves as full-fledged citizens of the country.

It is precisely because of this full commitment that the demands of equal opportunity have become so insistent.

In many of the newly established states of Asia and Africa, the issue over equal opportunities for minorities is by no means absent, but the prime issue most common in those countries is the lack of commitment to them on the part of minorities. Their governments feel frustrated in their attempts to develop national economies and national loyalties by the persistence of local and regional economies and loyalties. Ironically, the leaders of governments in many of these states make their own task more difficult by leaving the monopoly of the top political decision-making posts in the hands of one ethnic-linguistic group. Moreover, all countries suffer from a sharp cleavage between the metropolitan center and the rest of a country.¹

This division between city and countryside has placed at least two major obstacles in the path of economic development and national solidarity. Large numbers of people, including minorities, have flocked to urban centers in search of fame and fortune. Most of these migrants, enticed by word-of-mouth and more modern communications media, principally the transistor radio, do not find either and become public burdens. While it could be argued, with some justification, that the harsh crucible of the contemporary Asian city provides the necessary conditions for both economic development and national solidarity, it provides them at a high cost of human misery. Even if one accepts the validity of this interpretation, it cannot be denied that whatever the long-range benefits may be, the immediate consequences of the massive migrations to the metropolitan centers tend to hamper the new government's tasks of creating national economies and national loyalties.

¹ While the large underdeveloped countries like India, Pakistan and China have many urban centers, most countries have only one large city. Examples are Manila in the Philippines, Rangoon in Burma, Bangkok in Thailand, Lagos in Nigeria, Accra in Ghana, and Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania.

The second obstacle created by the sharp cleavage between city and countryside is the huge difference in the conceptions of self and others separating the literate urbanite from the illiterate rustic. The worldview of the political leaderships, the intellectuals and other politically conscious people most of whom reside in the metropolitan centers is shaped by abstractions and generalizations. The view from the capital cities sees minorities as constituent elements of the nation. The Nagas in India, the Somalis in Kenya, and the Kazakhs in China are conceptualized in the respective political centers of these countries as subordinate entities; the minorities concerned generally do not share this view except occasionally when in visible contact with an outsider. The leaders in the metropolitan centers also view their minorities as fellow citizens of an entity they call the nation; the minorities generally have little awareness of the nation. Thus, the task of creating a sense of national solidarity is made difficult by pre-existing animosities between ethnolinguistic groups, compounded by the clash between the abstract worldview of the political leaders in the cities and the concrete worldview of rural populations which include most minorities.

China shares many of these attributes and problems because she, too, is an economically underdeveloped country with many millions of its citizens belonging to minorities. Most foreigners are surprised to learn about China's minorities because they visualize China as a land of rice fields, pagodas, Confucius, characters and other such "typically" Chinese things. In purely quantitative ways, this image is not far from the truth. Although no one knows the exact size of China's population, there is no doubt that the overwhelming majority is Chinese in ethnic, linguistic and cultural terms. A "mere" six per cent is said to be non-Chinese. If one accepts the current official estimate of 700 million for the entire population, these six per cent could represent some forty-two million people who in at least some ways do not conform to the general image of China. If these forty-two million people were living in one contiguous area and were to form their own state, that state would be more populous than most

states in the world. The minorities of China do not, however, live in one area but in thousands of communities scattered over many regions of the country. Most of them are concentrated along the land frontiers, particularly in Yunnan, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet.

During the past one hundred years, Chinese governments have considered the minorities along the frontiers as their subjects, and the present leadership in Peking invariably stresses the historical unity of the Chinese with their minorities. The central article of faith has been that, in Wang Feng's words, "China. . . has been existing in the world for a long time as a country of many unified nationalities." (Document 22) The key elements of this image of a perpetually unified country are "centralized power" and "the Chinese people as the main constituent." There is no acknowledgement of the historical fact that, except for a few and relatively short periods, vast areas of what have been claimed to be parts of China were in fact partially or entirely independent from China.

Throughout Chinese history, foreign powers conquered parts or all of China from time to time. From the fourth to the sixth centuries, much of Northern China was abandoned to foreigners who established many different regimes on what the Chinese have steadfastly considered their territory. After the T'ang 唐 Dynasty, when China was temporarily united, Northern and Western China again fell under the control of foreigners. The Liao 遼 or Khitan 契丹 Dynasty ruled over Northern China between 937 and 1125, and the Hsi-Hsia 西夏 or Tangut 唐古忒 rulers controlled the territories between Liao and what is now called Sinkiang in the years 1031 to 1227. The Mongols controlled all of China for almost a century, from 1280 to 1368, and the Manchus improved upon the Mongols by controlling China for two and one-half centuries, from 1644 until 1911.²

² It should be mentioned, however, that the Manchu case differs from the others in that the Manchus had already adopted some Chinese practices before their conquest of China and that in time they became indistinguishable from the Chinese in everything but name.

Throughout the Manchu or Ch'ing 清 Dynasty two of China's most important minority areas, Tibet and Sinkiang, were rarely under Chinese control. Tibet was briefly invaded in the 1720's; at all other times, it was substantially independent from China. China's control of Sinkiang was somewhat more substantial but was neither secure nor permanent. For the first fifty years of the dynasty, there was no trace of official Chinese control. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Chinese obtained a foothold in Qomul (Hami 哈密), Sinkiang's easternmost city. After some unsuccessful attempts to conquer Sinkiang, China succeeded in the 1750's to bring all parts of that huge region under control. But a hundred years later, she lost almost all of it to Moslem rebels and, in the Ili valley, to Russian invasion. Sinkiang was reconquered by 1880 and made officially a province of China in 1884. The Chinese government remained more or less in control until sometime after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty in 1911, but from then until 1949 the province was, generally speaking, once again independent from China.

The various governments of China between 1911 and 1949 not only did not control Sinkiang, Tibet, and other minority areas, they showed little interest in them except possibly for strategic and economic purposes. They cared even less about the minority peoples. As Document 1 illustrates, five constitutions were formulated and only the last, dated December of 1946, can be said to contain more than the most perfunctory platitudes. It should be pointed out, moreover, that the Nationalist government had no time left in which to implement its constitutional provisions for minorities. The civil war had already broken out, and in less than three years, the government was forced to move to Taiwan.

Given their small share of the total population and their widely scattered locations, it may seem surprising that China's minorities have received so much attention from the Communist leadership although very little from Western scholars. Three possible reasons account for this. First, the particular circumstances under which the Communists encountered minorities before 1949. As early as the establishment

of the Kiangsi Soviet area (1931-1934), the Communists had had some dealings with a few Miao on the border between Kiangsi and Fukien.³ This experience with minorities broadened after October of 1934 when the Communist First Front Army embarked on its Long March. Of the 371 days spent on that march, 124 days were spent marching through areas inhabited by Tibetans, Miao, I, Hui, Yao, and T'ung.⁴ On some occasions, the Communists outdistanced their pursuers by successfully negotiating with minorities for peaceful passage through their territories. One example was Wang Cheng of the Sixth Red Army who in February of 1936 negotiated a "peace treaty" with the Miao in Kweichow to cross their territory.⁵ The sheer necessity of obtaining help from several minorities during the Long March developed an appreciation and friendly attitude toward minorities. The various encounters during the Long March may also have created in the Communist leadership an image of the minorities much larger than their small proportional share of the total population would otherwise have created.

Because in their many years of experiences with minorities before 1949, it is not surprising that long before they assumed state

³ See, e.g., Chang Yu, "Hung-chün ti much'in" 紅軍的母親 ("The Red Army's mother"), Hung-ch'i p'lao-p'lao 紅旗飄飄 (The Red Flag Flutters) (Peking: Chungkuo ch'ingnien ch'upanshe, 1957), I, 234-250.

⁴ Chungkuo kung-nung hung-chün ti-l fangmien chün ch'ang-cheng chi 中國工農紅軍第一方面軍長征記 (A Record of the Long March of the First Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army) (Peking: Jenmin ch'upanshe, 1958), 447. The distribution was (in days): Tibetan 91, Miao 21, I 5, Hui 4, Yao 2, and T'ung 1. For a description of methods used by the Communists to overcome distrust among the I, see Aerhmuhsia (Wang Hai-min), "Hung-chün hung-chün, I min ti ch'in yu," 紅軍紅軍羣民的親友 ("Red Army, Red Army, close friend of the I people"), Hung-ch'i p'lao-p'lao, III (1957), 51-59.

⁵ See his biographical sketch in Nym Wales, Red Dust (Stanford, 1952), particularly the photo on p. 19. See also the photo on p. 113 showing Lo Ping-hui with some Miao bodyguards and orderlies in Kansu in 1936.

power in all of mainland China, the Communists gradually evolved a set of policies towards minorities. As early as November 7, 1931, the Constitution of the Soviet Republic (Document 2) promised to help minorities to develop their cultures and languages. This policy has been maintained to this day. The Communists also promised "complete freedom and autonomy" in which they included the right to secede from China if the minorities so desired, but this generous gesture, manifestly copied from the Soviet Union, has never been repeated.

Little is known about Communist policies toward minorities between 1931 and the outbreak of war against Japan in 1937, but we may assume that little was done in this respect during the remainder of the Kiangsi Soviet period. Once the Communist forces resettled in Northern Shensi, their experiences with minorities on the Long March and the presence of some Hui and Mongols in their new base area encouraged the rapid evolution of a full-fledged policy toward minorities. By the end of 1941, the Communists had developed several plans almost all of which were continued after 1949. Besides condemning Chinese chauvinism, the Communists advocated two kinds of assistance to minorities. In political and administrative matters, minorities were to be given the right to govern themselves at the village level. They were also to be given preferential treatment in elections, and minority affairs committees were to be established at various levels of government. In the cultural sphere, the Communists called for the development of minority cultures, the reinvigoration of religious customs, the refurbishing and building of temples and the opening of minority schools.⁶

If a cooperative policy toward minorities was essential for the successful completion of the Long March, it was to be no less so

⁶ See Lin Po-ch'u's speech on November 8, 1941, reprinted in Shen-Kan-Ning piench'u ti-erh-ch'u ts'anyihui chungyao wenhsien 陝甘寧邊區第二屆參議會重要文獻 (Important Documents of the Second Conference of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region) (Yenan: General Office of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Government, July, 1944), 29.

during the war against Japan. The dozen or more major Communist base areas were surrounded by Japanese and puppet troops, and harmonious relations between the Communist leadership of these areas and their populations became absolutely essential for survival. In several outer base areas such as on Hainan Island and on the Kwangtung-Fukien border, large numbers of minorities were under Communist control. The two major base areas in Northern China, Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia (often referred to as the Yen-an area) and Shansi-Chahar-Hopei, also had some Mongol and Hui communities. Obtaining the loyalty of the Mongols in these areas was of crucial importance because the Japanese had on their side Mongol military units who attacked the Communist bases. Likewise, the loyalty of the Hui in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia base area was being solicited because many other Hui outside the area had sided with the central government in its efforts to contain and eventually crush the Communist base area.

The second reason for the seemingly disproportionate attention to minorities by the Communist leaders after 1949 may have been the economic and strategic importance of the minority areas. As Table 2 shows, most of the major concentrations of officially recognized minority areas lie in the West and Southwest where many of China's raw materials are located. Until 1963 when China's largest oil field, Tach'ing, opened in Manchuria, the West had furnished practically all of China's meager oil supplies. Lead, uranium, tungsten, and many other important minerals are also located within these minority areas.⁷ During the first decade of state control when the new economic plans concentrated on building up heavy industry, the economic importance of these minority areas was obviously paramount. Since the end of the fifties when friction with both the Soviet Union and India increased, the same areas also grew in their strategic significance. These factors, combined with poor transportation links to Eastern China, historically strained relations with the Chinese, and in some

⁷See Albert Herrmann, An Historical Atlas of China (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966), 60.

areas continued close ties with people living in neighboring and no longer friendly countries, raised the importance of the numerous tiny minorities in the plans and policies of the Communist leadership.

The third reason is closely related to the second and concerns the leadership's attempts to use the minorities and their areas for foreign policy objectives. For many years, Peking tried to garner good will in Asia and Africa by an ostensibly conciliatory policy toward minorities of the Buddhist (Lamaist) and Islamic faiths. All delegations from Buddhist and Moslem countries were unfailing entertained by minority representatives of these faiths and were shown the few monasteries and mosques which the leadership immaculately maintained for just this purpose. When relations with most neighboring countries cooled in the mid-sixties, Peking stepped up its strategy of fomenting so-called wars of national liberation by using minority areas, particularly in Yunnan, as staging and training areas.

China's policies towards minorities have been applied in two broad fields, the administrative and the cultural. Administrative policies have been called shaoshu mintsu ch'uyü tzuchi 少数民族区域自治 (regional autonomy for minorities). As Table 1 shows, the Communist leadership has designated fifty-four groups as minorities. Most minorities by far were designated during the first five years of the Communist period but a few, like the Loyü of Sikang, were not officially recognized as minorities until much later. A few occasional additions to the present list of fifty-four minorities can, therefore, be expected in the future. Although the Communists have been quite prolific in their designation of minorities and, as the small selection in this compendium suggests, in the issuing of laws, regulations, policy statements, and work reports, they have never publicized their definition of a minority. A glance at Table 1 offers a clue to the lack of such a definition. None of the familiar labels apply to all minorities: unique ethnic features, a separate language, or a distinctively different value system (religion, superstitions, philosophy, and the like). My guess - and that is all one can offer in the absence of a clearcut official explanation - is that the Communists give minority status to

any group which in some ways, often not entirely clear to the outside observer, differs from neighboring groups. There is also the possibility in at least one case, the Manchus, that minority status is awarded for some obscure (at least to me) political purposes. Most Manchus had become thoroughly Chinese in language, customs, and habits, and many had through intermarriage become ethnically indistinguishable from the Chinese decades before the Communists assumed state power.

Regional autonomy was first applied during the war against Japan, as mentioned earlier. Shortly after the war, on May 1, 1947, the first major province-level area to be declared autonomous was Inner Mongolia. After the assumption of state power in 1949, its area was greatly expanded so that by 1965, it was the second most populous autonomous region in China. The four other autonomous regions are Sinkiang, Kwangsi, Ninghsia, and Tibet (See Table 2). As Table 2 shows, most autonomous areas were established during the first eight years of state rule. Autonomous areas have been created at all levels of administration. As described in Table 3, the hierarchy of autonomous areas parallels the regular governmental hierarchy for areas where the Chinese predominate. Autonomous areas also intermesh with regular administrative units in such a way that, no matter how large, autonomous areas always come under the control of higher-level governments which are staffed wholly by Chinese. Even the autonomous regions cannot escape this control as they are directly answerable to the central government in Peking. According to Article 2 of the General Program of the People's Republic of China for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Minorities (Document 8), "the autonomous organ of each autonomous area is a local government led by the government of next higher level, under the unified leadership of the central government."

Each autonomous area is named after the largest minority within its borders, like the Pama Yao autonomous county in Kwangsi (Document 8, Article 8). Sixteen areas where no single minority clearly predominates, are named after two or more minorities, like the Haihsi Mongol, Tibetan, and Kazakh autonomous chou in Chinghai. Three autonomous counties have such complex ethnic-linguistic composition that they have been designated

kotsu 各族 ("every minority") areas. By the end of 1965, thirty-six of the fifty-four minorities officially recognized in China have had at least one autonomous area at the county level or above. The other eighteen minorities may have also been given autonomous areas at lower administrative levels, but we cannot be certain because no systematic statistics have been published for these levels.

The specific political and administrative rights of regional autonomy in minority areas, as specified in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, include proportional representation in congresses and governments, management of finances, organization of public security forces, and the formulation of statutes governing the exercise of autonomy in minority areas. All of these rights, however, are subordinate to national programs, laws, and regulations (Document 10, Articles 68 and 70). Thus the right to manage local finances does not include any share in the decision-making on national economic and financial plans. Local security forces are totally subordinate to the "unified military system of the state" (Document 4, Article 52; Document 10, Article 70). Statutes drawn up by organs of minority areas are subject to approval by the central government.

Above all, it should be noted that these rights can be exercised only in the government. As in all Communist countries, the government in China is wholly subordinate to the Party. The Constitution of the Party, however, not only fails to mention any rights and privileges of its minority members, it declares emphatically that there is no room in the Party for regional autonomy (Document 16).

In the cultural field, China's policies towards minorities consist of the preservation and use of native languages in official business such as government meetings and court proceedings, and of native traditions, customs and religious beliefs (Document 4, Article 53; Document 10, Articles 3, 71, and 77).

In areas where minorities form only a small percentage of the population, so-called democratic-coalition governments of nationalities were established (Document 6). Special provisions for minorities

applied to the representative conferences and to the local governments of such areas. The general principle is equal representation, but especially small minorities are allotted disproportionately more places in conferences and governments (Document 6, 1, 1 and 11, 1). Representatives of minorities in these two types of organizations also have the right to use their own languages in their work (Document 6, 1, 4 and 11, 4). The provisions for representation of minorities in democratic-coalition governments are the same as those for all other areas at all levels of administration where minorities reside (Document 11, Article 2).

During most of the fifties, the Communists were quite pragmatic in their approach towards the problem of minorities. Until 1957, the leadership readily acknowledged that it knew little about the historical, social, and economic features of most of China's minorities (See, e.g., Document 9), and it insisted that all policies must be implemented in a highly flexible manner to accord as much as possible with local conditions. The government actively helped the minorities in trade, health, and education. Before 1949, rural and nomadic minority communities had been disadvantaged in all three fields. Wars killed people, destroyed property, and interrupted trade. During peacetime, despotic native rulers exploited the people for money, goods and services. Those minorities whose livelihood depended on handicrafts had seen their markets taken over by Chinese and foreign manufactured goods. Many minority groups had suffered grievously from epidemics, and spotty and rough estimates suggest a long-range decline in population among several minorities. Formal and secular education had been unknown in many minority areas. Although the Moslem and Buddhist (Lamaist) clergies had provided some education, it was almost always restricted to urban religious centers where instruction rarely went beyond the rote learning of religious matter. Some Chinese government schools had operated in some cities in Sinkiang and a few other minority areas. On the whole, however, education had been very much retarded in the minority areas.

The Communists began by improving trade, health and education in the early fifties when they sent scores of government convoys into the

minority areas. Previous governments had sent occasional convoys for the ritualistic purpose of showing the flag and collecting token taxes. By contrast, the Communist missions, far more numerous and more frequent, have been designed to help integrate the minority areas into a centralized state. Each major mission had several specialized sections. Party and government officials explained to the minorities the nature of the leadership and its policy of regional autonomy. Dance and song troupes entertained communities with politically oriented programs. Medical personnel ministered to the sick and sometimes left behind medical supplies with instructions of how to use them. Trade cadres donated salt and other necessities or bartered them for local products.

By 1951, Chou En-lai could report that state trading companies had established regular trade with many minorities at parity or subsidized prices and that prices for local products had been increased about three to four times during the first two years (Document 5). Health teams had established 309 clinics and 38 hospitals for minorities throughout the country and more than 2,700 minority members had received some medical training by the end of 1953 (Document 12). By the end of 1958, 750 hospitals as well as 25 sanitariums were reported to have been established in minority areas (Document 21). Formal education also sharply increased during the first decade. By 1954, there were about 2,546,000 primary students, 163,000 secondary students, and 5,500 students in higher education among the minority peoples (Document 12). The respective figures for 1958 were 3,190,000, 310,000, and 16,000 (Document 21).

It is virtually impossible to evaluate these figures. We do not know, for example, the relevant figures in trade, health, and education for all minority areas at any time before 1949. Nor can we determine from the published figures the degree of qualitative improvement since 1949. Take education as an example. If improvement in the quality of instruction did not keep pace with that in the Chinese areas, minority graduates of high schools may have been seriously disadvantaged in the competitive college entrance examinations. Likewise, we cannot be certain whether the increased prices for local products, as reported

by Chou, did more than compensate for inflationary pressures. These and many other uncertainties prevent us from determining how much the material lot of the minorities was actually improved. My assumption is that, in very general terms, the Communists tried their best during most of the fifties to improve the life of most minorities and that they actually succeeded in several instances.

It should not surprise anyone if the leadership failed in the fifties to provide a satisfactory livelihood for everyone. After all, its plans consistently exceeded China's available resources. To cite only one example, since the earliest days of state power, the leaders aimed at free compulsory education for all children of school age. Yet until 1958 when the rhetoric of the Great Leap Forward drowned out candor, Chou En-lai and other leaders admitted repeatedly that funds allocated to education were far from sufficient to achieve this goal (See, e.g. Document 5). Even if we assume that the minorities received some form of preferential treatment like proportionately more tuition scholarships, it is most unlikely that free education was made available for all children at any time and in all minority areas.

But, however much or little the minorities' material lot was improved during the fifties, it was of primary importance to neither the leadership nor probably even to the minorities. As these documents clearly show, the subject of relations between Chinese and minorities assumed the greatest importance. By 1957, it had become so urgent that discussions of material improvement received only secondary attention. By 1959, the leadership ceased mentioning absolute figures of material achievement and became preoccupied with relations between the Chinese and the minorities.

As discussed in these documents, this problem revolved around the twin phenomena of Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism. A variant of the latter was pan-nationalism. Liu Shao-ch'i gave the most succinct description of Chinese chauvinism which he called "a tendency to look down on the minorities" (Document 15). It expressed itself in many Chinese cadres peremptorily taking over leadership positions in minority areas instead of working through local minority officials, in

discriminating against minorities in the hiring and promotion of personnel and in the allocation of resources. Most significantly, during the early and middle fifties, official documents implied that the root cause of the high-handed manner of many Chinese cadres was the belief that the Chinese were more advanced in all fields of human endeavor, a belief which these documents condemned as erroneous.

Several documents in this compendium contain brief references to Chinese chauvinism, including Chou En-lai's reports on government work (Documents 5, 12, 21, and 25), the constitutions of the People's Republic and of the Communist Party (Documents 10 and 16), and Mao's brief remark on minorities in connection with his discussion of "contradictions among the people" (Document 18). These documents place in ritualistic fashion equal blame on both phenomena.

Other documents, however, discuss the problem of the relationship between Chinese and minorities at greater length. We can discover two distinct phases in these documents. During the first phase, lasting until some time after the Eighth Party Congress in September of 1956, the leadership placed much greater stress on Chinese chauvinism than on local nationalism. As the Summary of Basic Experiences (Document 9) put it, Chinese officials manifested "disregard for the special characteristics and concrete conditions of the minorities and the mechanical application of the experience and methods gained and employed in the Chinese areas."

This forbearance is quite remarkable in light of the stiff resistance put up by some minorities in the early years. The Kazakhs and Tibetans, especially, fiercely fought Communist troops throughout the first four years. The leadership freely acknowledged having fought battles lasting as much as three weeks. By summer of 1954, however, most major resistance had been broken. In some instances, the Communists were extremely cruel, as in the execution by torture of the Kazakh leader Osman Batur. In other instances, the Communists proved to be exceedingly patient and conciliatory. The reasons for the leadership's reluctance to blame local nationalism for the difficulties it encountered during the first few years rested ultimately with Peking's

optimistic, almost cocky, outlook. The early fifties, after all, were on the whole the most promising years since 1949. A huge land reform had been carried out without a major setback in its timetable. The economy was being rapidly rebuilt and expanded and the runaway inflation was brought under control. Abroad, the war in Korea was being stalemated away from China's frontiers where American troops had once been, and no other threat was in the offing. The Soviet Union began to aid China with loans, technicians and machinery and may have raised expectations in Peking for much increased aid in the future. Within this rosy picture, the leadership viewed the pockets of resistance among some minorities far away from ethnic China as relatively small disturbances. Being still highly pragmatic and flexible, the leadership readily conceded that it still had much to learn about the minorities, and it was generally disposed to blaming the allegedly oppressive policies of previous governments for continued friction. Its pragmatism dictated caution also because the leaders knew that many raw materials, needed for the First Five-Year Plan and located in the minority areas, could best be secured under conditions of harmony between Chinese and non-Chinese.

By 1957, however, the first ripples of anxiety disturbed the serene surface of optimism and helped bring about a shift in attitudes toward the minorities. It is not appropriate to present here a lengthy discussion of all major contributing factors for this important change, but a brief sketch is necessary. In the economy, the First Five-Year Plan, to end in December of 1957, had by all outward appearances succeeded beyond expectations. Production indices in virtually all fields had been rising since the early fifties, and they had been rising particularly rapidly in heavy industry. But instead of bolstering their optimism, the fast growth in the industrial sector had begun to worry some leaders, including Mao Tse-tung. Unlike some of his fellow leaders who opted for a continuation of the same kind of plan after 1957, Mao had expressed his concern as early as the summer of 1955 that the preference given to industry was creating a whole series of imbalances which he called "contradictions."

He opposed the technocrats who had been increasingly in command of China's administration and who could see nothing but progress in further massive doses of state investment capital pumped into heavy industry. For them, single-minded concentration on industry was the panacea for all the ills of an industrially backward country.

By contrast, Mao saw a widening gulf between industry and agriculture, city and countryside and between their respective social and cultural milieus. Progress in industry, as impressive as it had been, had been purchased at a heavy price which, in Mao's view, might cause the breakup of the country in the not too distant future. Industrial advancement during the First Five-Year Plan had been underwritten largely by maximum agricultural exploitation and by aid from the Soviet Union. But the actual amount of aid received up to 1957 proved to be much less than China needed, and as the Soviet Union began to render aid to other countries, some of whom non-Communist, it became clear in Peking that sharp increases in Soviet aid could not realistically be expected for the Second Five-Year Plan. Consequently, agriculture appeared to be in for another five years of maximum sacrifices in the name of industrial development. But agricultural production increases had come almost wholly out of non-capital sources, such as increases in arable land and reorganization. By the middle fifties, increases began to level off and barely kept pace with population increases. Mao argued that unless more state capital was allocated to agriculture, both agriculture and industry would be endangered.

More important than purely economic considerations was the effect of industrial primacy upon society. With all mass media incessantly praising industrial progress and technical expertise which accomplished it, people, particularly the younger people, became attracted to the cities where industry and higher education beckoned them. Aside from severe strains on urban facilities, the pell-mell rush to the cities had, in Mao's view, at

least three major undesirable and potentially dangerous consequences. It engendered disappointment in thousands of ambitious young people who could not be accommodated by either higher education or industry simply because supply far outstripped demand. It also strengthened the age-old antipathy between city and countryside. Specifically, it made a career in agriculture appear less attractive precisely at a time when maximum effort had to be generated in agriculture in order to achieve the country's ambitious industrial goals. Finally, it did nothing to strengthen the still fragile bonds of national feeling. On the contrary, by praising the urban expert, the First Five-Year Plan had unwittingly deprecalated the rural jack-of-all-trades. Yet in an overwhelmingly rural society such as China's, economic progress and national unity apparently can be achieved only by giving a larger share of capital and prestige to agriculture.

The dispute on these issues between Mao and the technocrats ushered in a period of indecision and finally crisis among China's leadership that has not yet been resolved. The crisis was deepened by the disappointingly insufficient aid from the Soviet Union which led eventually to strained relations between the two countries in the sixties.

The effects of these economic policies in the fifties upon the minorities seem to have been somewhat indirect. During most of the fifties, many minority areas had been exempted from agricultural reorganization. The vast herding areas in Western China had not been affected at all, and in many instances, the reorganization of farms in minority areas was delayed for years. Thus, friction with the authorities arising from reorganization was kept to a minimum there. Likewise, the great surge in industrial construction was mostly concentrated in ethnic China, and only occasional projects such as the oil fields in Karamai (Sinkiang), located in sparsely populated areas, had been placed in minority areas.

Nevertheless, the minorities felt the great changes taking place in ethnic China in many indirect ways. The most important effect was caused by the officially directed migration of Chinese from the overcrowded cities of Eastern China to the minority areas in the frontier regions. Even under more ideal circumstances, the influx of an estimated several million of Chinese migrants into minority areas would have generated friction between newcomers and natives.⁸ While theoretically capable of absorbing a much larger population over a long period of time, the minority areas could not instantly accommodate that many newcomers without causing social and economic dislocations. Unfortunately, the circumstances were not ideal, because many of the Chinese newcomers had been sent under duress. They resented being driven out of the cities and into alien surroundings, and they gave vent to their dissatisfaction by lording it over the minorities. Countless reports and many references in the documents in this compendium spoke of manifestations of Chinese chauvinism.

Friction between Chinese and minorities reawakened the century-old legacy of ethnic antagonism and rekindled counter-measures by the minorities, a phenomenon the Communists have called "local nationalism." One of the best descriptions of local nationalism is found in Wang Feng's report on "The Rectification Campaign and Socialist Education Among Minorities" of February 9, 1958 (Document 20). According to Wang, local nationalism found expression in three ways. Minority leaders began to demand larger administrative areas and higher positions, some even asking for the right to secede from China. Minorities grew more reluctant to cooperate with the Chinese and, in some cases, ousted Chinese officials and people. Minorities chafed under the Party's refusal to give them even token recognition in the form of proportionate ratios

⁸ For a survey of migration to some minority areas in the fifties, see my "Chinese migration to Northwest China and Inner Mongolia, 1949-1959," in China Quarterly, October-December 1963, 62-74.

of officials and members.

The official Chinese reaction to the deterioration of relations with the minorities was most unfortunate. It consisted of three aspects which existed, as the documents show, until at least 1964. One aspect has been the declaration of local nationalism as a greater evil than Chinese chauvinism. The first instance showing the new attitude is found in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's report on minorities to the Eighth Party Congress on September 23, 1957 (Document 19).

The second aspect of the new attitude toward minorities was the end of partial or total exemption of minority areas from some major policies. Since 1958, the official policy has been gleichschaltung of minority areas in agricultural reorganization. Hence, when the rural communes were unveiled in August of 1958, they were ordered established everywhere in China, including all minority areas.⁹ Whereas in 1956, Liu Shao-ch'i could still afford to say that some minorities were more advanced than Chinese in some fields (Document 15), the official line since 1958 has been the blanket assertion that Chinese are more developed in all fields (Document 20). It is difficult to escape the implication that Chinese are naturally superior to minorities, an attitude observed throughout Chinese history. There can be little doubt that the sharp increase in unrest and occasional open revolts in minority areas since 1958 was causally linked to the change in official Chinese policies.

The third aspect was the increasingly heavy use of Marxist-Leninist dogma in official documents. There is a world of difference between the Summary of Basic Experiences (Document 9) and Liu Shao-ch'i's political report (Document 15), dated 1954 and 1956, and the articles by Chang Chih-i and Liu Ch'un (Documents 23 and 24), written about a decade later. The first two are relatively straightforward discussions of actual problems; the latter

⁹In practice, however, a few exceptions continued to be made.

two appear to be affirmations of Chinese superiority, couched in obtuse and heavy-handed ideological jargon. Whereas in the fifties, official documents exuded an air of confidence and generosity, they changed in the sixties to rigid and ritualistic declamations of ideological orthodoxy which insisted with numbing repetitiveness on the correctness of current policies toward minorities.

Although official pronouncements on the problem of minorities have been exceedingly scarce since then, the overall impression one gets from occasional remarks is that the policy shift initiated in 1957-58 has not yet been reversed. This impression is considerably strengthened by the observation that for the past seven years, no significant document has been issued. There have been quite a few reports from various minority areas¹⁰ and occasional statements concerning all minorities. However, the latter have been platitudinous and perfunctory.¹¹

When one applies some historical perspective, this phenomenon begins to look familiar. In times of internal stability and external security, Chinese rulers had usually been pragmatic and lenient in their relations with minorities. They were quite ready to admit that the Chinese were not superior in all respects and that they could indeed learn from others. Perhaps the most striking example is the early phase of the T'ang Dynasty during which Chinese avidly learned new art forms from the peoples of Central Asia and skillfully integrated these forms into the Chinese repertoire. At that time, minorities under Chinese control enjoyed relatively generous treatment from the central

¹⁰For example, see Tibet, 1950-1967 (Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1968) for reports from that minority area.

¹¹The revised draft of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, approved on September 6, 1970 by the second plenary session of the CCP Ninth Central Committee, devotes only one article (Article 24) out of thirty to minorities. See Issues and Studies, VII, 3 (December 1970), 89-93.

government. By contrast, at the end of the dynastic period when China was convulsed by internal and foreign aggression, the official policy toward minorities was marked by condescension, neglect, and repression.

But the similarities to past Chinese policies end here. Unlike its dynastic predecessors, the Communist leadership is burdened with two difficult tasks: to create a fully industrialized economy and to forge a sense of national solidarity. It is unrealistic to argue that as sovereign leaders of a country, the Communists need not have accepted these tasks if they had wished to. We have not yet understood all the reasons for it, but there is a global trend toward industrialization and national solidarity from which no major country is exempt. China's leaders have been energetically pursuing this trend which they consider as inevitable and inescapable.

Inasmuch as leaders of most other developing countries pursue the same trend, China's experiences in trying to integrate her minorities into a web of national solidarity are instructive. By the end of the fifties, China's leaders had learned that it is a difficult and slow undertaking to achieve either full industrialization or national solidarity. They also learned that the two goals may seem fully complementary in theory, but that in practice they can at times be mutually antagonistic. Of these lessons we can be reasonably certain, but others are more problematic because we still know too little about the extent to which China's minorities have in fact accepted the spirit of national solidarity. But we may perhaps conjecture that China's leaders are looking forward to the day when ancient animosities are forgotten and when the most serious problem facing them will be the demand for equal opportunity. On that day the leaders will know that the minorities have come to see themselves as part of the Chinese nation.

Table 1
CHINA'S MINORITIES
(according to Communist classification)

1. Chuang* 僮

Estimated Population: 7,785,414 (more than 7,000,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Animism

Location: Mountain areas of Western Kwangsi, Eastern Yunnan, and Southwestern Kwangtung

2. Hui* 回

Estimated Population: 3,934,335 (3,550,000)

Written Language: Chinese

Religion: Islam

Location: Concentrated in Ninghsia, others dispersed throughout China

3. Uighur* 维吾尔

Estimated Population: 3,901,205 (3,660,000)

Written Language: Uighur

Religion: Islam

Location: Sinkiang, especially the Southern part

4. I* 彝

Estimated Population: 3,264,432 (3,254,000)

Written Language: I (newly created)

Religion: Animism

Location: Mostly in the mountain area of all Southwestern provinces; some also in plains areas of Kwangsi

5. Tibetan* 藏

Estimated Population: 2,775,622 (2,770,000)

Written Language: Tibetan

Religion: Lamaism

5. Tibetan*, continued
Location: Mostly in Tibet and Chinghai; also in Kansu, Szechuan, and Yünnan
6. Miao* 苗
Estimated Population: 2,687,590 (2,510,000)
Written Language: Miao
Religion: Animism
Location: Southeastern Kweichow; also in Hunan, Kwangsi, Yünnan, and Kwangtung
7. Manchu 满
Estimated Population: 2,430,561 (2,410,000)
Written Language: Chinese
Religion: None
Location: Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang; also in Inner Mongolia, Hopei, and Peking
8. Mongol* 蒙古
Estimated Population: 1,645,695 (1,460,000)
Written Language: Mongolian
Religion: Lamaism
Location: Mostly in Inner Mongolia; also in Chahar, Kirin, Heilungkiang, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang
9. Puyi* 布衣
Estimated Population: 1,313,015 (1,240,000)
Written Language: None
Religion: Animism
Location: P'an River basin in Southwestern Kweichow
10. Korean* 朝鮮
Estimated Population: 1,255,551 (1,120,000)
Written Language: Korean
Religion: Buddhism and Christianity
Location: Mostly in Southeastern Kirin; others in Heilungkiang, Liaoning and Inner Mongolia

11. T'ung* 侗

Estimated Population: 825,323 (710,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Animism

Location: At the border of Kweichow, Hunan and Kwangsi

12. Yao* 瑶

Estimated Population: 747,985 (660,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Animism

Location: In mountain areas of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Hunan and Yünnan

13. Pai* 白

Estimated Population: 684,386 (680,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Animism and Christianity

Location: Mostly in Tali and Chienchou counties of Yünnan; some in Hsich'ang (Sikang) and Pichieh (Kweichow)

14. T'uchia* 土家

Estimated Population: 603,773 (540,000)

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: In Lungshan, Yungshun, and Paoching counties of Hunan and in Haofeng and Laifeng counties of Hupai

15. Hani* 哈尼

Estimated Population: 549,362 (480,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Animism

Location: Most in Hungho, Yüanyang and Chinp'ing counties of Yünnan

16. Kazakh* 哈萨克

Estimated Population: 533,160 (more than 500,000)

Written Language: Kazakh

16. Kazakh*, continued
Religion: Islam
Location: Most in Sinkiang; some in Kansu and Chinghai
17. T'ai* 傣
Estimated Population: 503,616 (470,000)
Written Language: T'ai
Religion: Hinayana Buddhism
Location: Most in Tehung county and in the Hsishuang-panna area of Western Yünnan
18. LI* 黎
Estimated Population: 395,556 (360,000)
Written Language: None
Religion: Animism
Location: In the Wuchih Mountain area on Hainan Island
19. Lisu* 傈僳
Estimated Population: 317,465 (310,000)
Written Language: Lisu
Religion: Christianity and Animism
Location: In Pichiang, Fukung, and Lushui counties in the basins of the Nu and Lants'ang Rivers and in Huap'ing, Ninglang, Yungsheng, and Lichiang counties of Yünnan
20. Wa* 佤
Estimated Population: 286,158 (280,000)
Written Language: Wa
Religion: Animism
Location: In Lants'ang, Ts'angyüan, Chenk'ang, Shuangchiang, and Kengma counties and in the Hsimeng mountain area on the Sino-Burmese border of Yünnan
21. She 畲
Estimated Population: 226,697 (210,000)
Written Language: ?

21. She, continued

Religion: ?

Location: Most in mountain areas of Fu-an (Fukien) and Wenchou (Chekiang); others scattered in Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsi, and Kwangtung

22. Lahu* 拉祜

Estimated Population: 183,103 (139,000)

Written Language: Lahu

Religion: Animism and Christianity

Location: In Lants'ang, Chingtung, and Shuangchiang counties of Yunnan

23. Shui* 水

Estimated Population: 160,313 (130,000)

Written Language: Shuichia

Religion: Animism

Location: Most in Santu, Lip'i, Tushan, Tuyün, and Jungchiang counties of Southeastern Kweichow

24. Tungshiang* 东乡

Estimated Population: 159,345 (160,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Islam

Location: Most in Linhsia county of Southern Kansu

25. Nahsi* 纳西

Estimated Population: 155,748 (143,000)

Written Language: Nahsi

Religion: Lamaism

Location: Mostly in Lichiang county of Yunnan and in mountain areas of neighboring counties

26. Chingp'o* 景颇

Estimated Population: 101,852 (100,000)

Written Language: Chingp'o

Religion: Christianity and Animism

Location: Most in Luhsi, Lungch'uan, Juili, Lienshan,

26. Chingp'o*, continued

Location, continued: and Liangho counties in the
Tehung area of Yünnan

27. Kirghiz* 柯尔克孜

Estimated Population: 68,862 (70,000)

Written Language: Kirghiz (newly created)

Religion: Islam

Location: In T'ien-shan mountains on the Sino-Soviet
border in Sinkiang

28. T'u* 土

Estimated Population: 63,259 (63,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Lamaism

Location: Most in Huchu, Minho, and Tat'ung counties
of Chinghai

29. Tahur* 达斡尔

Estimated Population: 50,121 (44,000)

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: Most in Molitawa area of Inner Mongolia and
in Ch'ich'ihar city (Heilungkiang); some in
T'ach'eng city (Sinkiang)

30. Mulao 仡佬

Estimated Population: 44,679 (43,000)

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: In Loch'eng, Ishan, Liuch'eng, Hsinch'eng,
and Nantan areas of Kwangsi

31. Ch'iang* 羌

Estimated Population: 42,955 (35,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Animism

Location: In Wench'uan, Lihsien, Maohsien, and Heishui

31. Ch'iang*, continued

Location, continued: areas of Northwestern Szechuan

32. Pulang 布朗

Estimated Population: 41,595 (35,000)

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: Most in Hsishuangpanna area of Yunnan

33. Salar* 撒拉

Estimated Population: 31,923 (30,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Islam

Location: In Hsünhua and Hualung counties of Chinghai

34. Maonan 毛难

Estimated Population: 24,239 (20,000)

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: In Huanchiang, Nantan, and Hoch'ih counties of Kwangsi

35. Kolao 仡佬

Estimated Population: 23,000# (20,000)

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: In Pichieh and Anshun areas of Western Kweichow and in the mountain areas of Hsilung in Kwangsi

36. Sibo* 锡伯

Estimated Population: 21,000# (32,000)

Written Language: Sibo

Religion: Shamanism

Location: Most in Ili River Valley in Sinkiang and in Liaoning and Kirin

37. Ach'ang 阿昌

Estimated Population: 17,741 (17,000)

37. Ach'ang, continued
Written Language: ?
Religion: ?
Location: In Yingchiang and Liangho counties of Yunnan
38. P'umi 普米
Estimated Population: 15,000 (15,000)
Written Language: ?
Religion: ?
Location: Most in foothills of Lanp'ing, Ninglang, Weihsi and Yungsheng counties of Northwestern Yunnan
39. Tajik* 塔吉克
Estimated Population: 15,014 (15,000)
Written Language: None
Religion: Islam
Location: Most in Pamir Mountains of Sinkiang
40. Nu* 怒
Estimated Population: 13,724 (12,000)
Written Language: ?
Religion: ?
Location: In Fukung, Pichiang, and Kungshan counties of Yunnan
41. Kuts'ung 苦聪
Estimated Population: (12,000)
Written Language: ?
Religion: ?
Location: In forests of Hsishuangpanna and Hungho areas of Yunnan
42. Uzbek 乌孜别克
Estimated Population: 11,557 (13,000)
Written Language: Uzbek
Religion: Islam

42. Uzbek, continued

Location: Most in Urumchi, Ining, and Kashgar cities of Sinkiang

43. Russians 俄罗斯

Estimated Population: 9,766 (22,000)

Written Language: Russian

Religion: Russian Orthodox

Location: In Urumchi and Ili areas of Sinkiang and in Heilungkiang

44. Owenk'o* 鄂温克

Estimated Population: 7,245 (6,800)

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: Most in Hulunbuir league of Inner Mongolia and in Naho and Fuyü counties of Heilungkiang

45. Penglung 崩龙

Estimated Population: 6,309 (2,900)

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: In Tehung and Lints'ang areas of Yunnan

46. Paoan 保安

Estimated Population: 5,519 (5,000)

Written Language: None

Religion: Islam

Location: Most in southern foothills of Shihchi Mountains, others in Linhsia area of Kansu

47. Yüku* 裕固

Estimated Population: 4,617 (3,800)

Written Language: None

Religion: Lamaism

Location: In northern foothills of Ch'illian Mountains

FAS

47. Yüku*, continued
Location, continued: on border of Kansu and Chinghai
48. Ching 京
Estimated Population: 4,444 (4,000)
Written Language: ?
Religion: ?
Location: In mountain area near Tunghsing town in the Hop'u area of Kwangtung
49. Tartar 塔塔尔
Estimated Population: 4,370 (6,900)
Written Language: Tartar
Religion: Islam
Location: Most in Ining city, others in III and T'ach'eng areas of Sinkiang
50. Tulung* 独龙
Estimated Population: 2,763 (2,400)
Written Language: ?
Religion: ?
Location: In the Tulung river basin of Yünnan
51. Olunch'un* 鄂伦春
Estimated Population: 2,459 (2,200)
Written Language: None
Religion: Shamanism
Location: In the forests of the Tahsing and Hsiaohsing Mountain ranges on the border of Inner Mongolia and Heilungkiang
52. Hoche 赫哲
Estimated Population: 575 (450)
Written Language: ?
Religion: ?
Location: Fuyüan, Jaoho, Fuhsi, and Hulin counties of Heilungkiang

53. Menpa 门巴

Estimated Population: 3,800 (?)

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: In Himalayas of Southern Tibet

54. Loyü 珞瑜

Estimated Population: ?

Written Language: ?

Religion: ?

Location: In Loyü area of Southern Sikang

- * Minorities with autonomous areas at county level and above.
See Table 2 for a list of all autonomous areas at county level and above.

The Chinese names of minorities are written according to the current official orthography.

Sources:

1. Population estimates (of about 1969) are taken from Chūgoku kenkyūjo 中国研究所 (ed.), Gendai Chūgoku Jiten 现代中国事典 (An Encyclopedia of Contemporary China) (Tokyo: Iwasaki Gakujutsu Shuppansha, 1969), 13, except those for the Kolao and Sibo (marked by #) which are taken from the 1965 Jenmin shouts'e 人民手册 (People's Handbook) (Peking: Ta Kung Pao She, 1965), 115. Readers should be warned that the precise figures in the Japanese source are not based on an accurate census but, in all probability, on an extrapolation from summary estimates such as those in the Jenmin shouts'e.
2. Population estimates in parentheses (of about 1958) and locations are taken from "Wo kuo shaoshu mintsu chien piao" 我国少数民族简表 ("A brief list of our country's minority nationalities"), in Kuangming Jihpao 光明日报, August 21, 1958, as cited in Chang Ch'i-yun 张其昀 et al. (eds.), Kungfei chiehchu-hsia ti

Chungkuo talu fen-sheng t'it'u 共匪竊據下的中國大陸分省地圖 (A Provincial Atlas of Mainland China) (Taipei: National Defense College, 1966), 126-7.

3. Information about languages and religions is taken from Shihshih shouts'e 時事手冊 (Handbook of Current Events), No. 17 (1956), as cited in Hsin-Hua tzutien 新華字典 (New China Dictionary) (Hong Kong, 1958), Appendix, 14-17.

Table 2
AUTONOMOUS AREAS

A. Autonomous Regions

Name	Titular Minority	Estimated Population	Date of Establishment
Inner Mongolia	Mongol	9,200,000	May 1, 1947
Sinkiang	Uighur	5,640,000	October 1, 1955
Kwangsi	Chuang	19,390,000	March 5, 1958
Ningsia	Hui	1,810,000	October 25, 1958
Tibet	Tibetan	1,321,500	September 9, 1965

B. Autonomous Chou

Name	Titular Minority	Province	Date of Establishment
Kantze	Tibetan	Szechuan	December 25, 1950
Yushu	Tibetan	Chinghai	February 12, 1952
Hainan	Li and Miao	Kwangtung	July 1, 1952
Yenpien	Korean	Kirin	September 3, 1952
Chingshan	I	Szechuan	October 10, 1952
Apa	Tibetan	Szechuan	January 1, 1953
Hsishuangpanna	T'ai	Yunnan	April 24, 1953
Tehung	T'ai and Chingp'o	Yunnan	July 21, 1953
Kannan	Tibetan	Kansu	October 1, 1953
Hainan	Tibetan	Chinghai	December 15, 1953
Huangnan	Tibetan	Chinghai	December 22, 1953
Halpel	Tibetan	Chinghai	December 31, 1953
Kuolo	Tibetan	Chinghai	January 1, 1954

Name	Titular Minority	Province	Date of Establishment
Halhsi	Mongol, Tibetan, and Kazakh	Chinghai	January 25, 1954
Paylnkuoleng	Mongol	Sinkiang	June 23, 1954
K'otzelosu	Kirghiz	Sinkiang	July 14, 1954
Poerht'ala	Mongol	Sinkiang	July 15, 1954
Ch'angchi	Hui	Sinkiang	July 15, 1954
Nuchiang	Lisu	Yunnan	August 23, 1954
III	Kazakh	Sinkiang	November 29, 1954
Ch'ientungnan	Miao and T'ung	Kweichow	July 23, 1956
Ch'ienan	Puyi and Miao	Kweichow	August 8, 1956
Tich'ing	Tibetan	Yunnan	September 13, 1956
Linhsia	Hui	Kansu	November 15, 1956
Tali	Pai	Yunnan	November 22, 1956
Hsianghsi	T'uchia and Miao	Hunan	September 20, 1957
Hungho	Hani and I	Yunnan	November 18, 1957
Wenshan	Chuang and Miao	Yunnan	April 1, 1958
Ch'uhs lung	I	Yunnan	April 15, 1958

C. Autonomous Counties (Banners (*))

T'ienchu	Tibetan	Kansu	May 6, 1950
Supai	Mongol	Kansu	July 20, 1950
Tungshiang	Tungshiang	Kansu	September 25, 1950
Woshan	I	Yunnan	May 12, 1951
Lungsheng	"several"	Kwangsi	August 1, 1951
Tayaoshan	Yao	Kwangsi	May 28, 1952
Olunch'un (*)	Olunch'un	Inner Mongolia	October 1, 1951
Tamiaoshan	Miao	Kwangsi	November 26, 1952
Sanchiang	T'ung	Kwangsi	December 3, 1952
Liennan	Yao	Kwangtung	January 1, 1953
Lunglin	"several"	Kwangsi	January 1, 1953

Name	Titular Minority	Province	Date of Establishment
Muli	Tibetan	Szechuan	April 1, 1953
Lants'ang	Lahu	Yunnan	April 7, 1953
Changchiachuan	Hui	Kansu	July 6, 1953
Menyuan	Hui	Chinghai	December 19, 1953
Huchu	T'u	Chinghai	February 17, 1954
Sunan	Yuku	Kansu	February 20, 1954
Hsunhua	Salar	Chinghai	February 24, 1954
Hualung	Hui	Chinghai	March 1, 1954
Yench'i	Hui	Sinkiang	March 15, 1954
Ch'apuch'aerh	Sibo	Sinkiang	March 25, 1954
Ak'osal	Kazakh	Kansu	April 27, 1954
T'ungtao	T'ung	Hunan	May 7, 1954
Chiangch'eng	Hani and I	Yunnan	May 18, 1954
Mulei	Kazakh	Sinkiang	July 17, 1954
Hopuk'osalerh	Mongol	Sinkiang	September 10, 1954
T'ashih K'uerhkan	Tajik	Sinkiang	September 17, 1954
Palik'un	Kazakh	Sinkiang	September 30, 1954
Menglien	T'ai, Lahu and Wa	Yunnan	October 16, 1954
Honan	Mongol	Chinghai	October 22, 1954
Tach'ang	Hui	Hopai	November 6, 1954
Weining	I, Hui and Miao	Kweichow	November 11, 1954
Mangshu	Hui	Hopai	December 29, 1954
Kengma	T'ai and Wa	Yunnan	October 16, 1955
Chianghua	Yao	Hunan	November 25, 1955
Tu-an	Yao	Kwangsi	December 15, 1955
Ch'ien Kuoerhlossu	Mongol	Kirin	January 1, 1956
Pama	Yao	Kwangsi	January 23, 1956
Ninglang	I	Yunnan	September 19, 1956
Kungshan	Tulung and Nu	Yunnan	October 1, 1956
Weishan	I and Hui	Yunnan	November 9, 1956

Name	Titular Minority	Province	Date of Establishment
Ch'engpu	Miao	Hunan	November 30, 1956
T'uerhpot'e	Mongol	Hellungklang	December 5, 1956
Hsinkuang	T'ung	Hunan	December 5, 1956
Sungt'ao	Miao	Kweichow	December 31, 1956
Santu	Shui	Kweichow	January 2, 1957
Lunan	I	Yunnan	March 26, 1957
Hok'ou	Yao	Yunnan	January 1, 1958
K'olach'in Left Wing	Mongol	Liaoning	April 1, 1958
Fouhsin	Mongol	Liaoning	April 7, 1958
Lienshan	Chuang and Yao	Kwangtung	May 1, 1958
Tungshing	"several"	Kwangsi	May 1, 1958
Maowen	Ch'iang	Szechuan	July 7, 1958
P'ingpien	Miao	Yunnan	July 10, 1958
Owenk'o (*)	Owenk'o	Inner Mongolia	August 1, 1958
Molitawa (*)	Tahur	Inner Mongolia	August 15, 1958
Ch'angpai	Korean	Kirin	September 17, 1958
Ts'angyuan	Wa	Yunnan	September 24, 1958
Lichiang	Nahsi	Yunnan	September 24, 1958
Chenning	Puyi and Miao	Kweichow	September 10, 1963
Juyuan	Yao	Kwangtung	October 1, 1963
Yenyuan	I	Szechuan	January 1, 1964
Hsimeng	Wa	Yunnan	March 1, 1965
Nanchien	I	Yunnan	November 27, 1965

Source: Chang Ch'i-yün et al. (eds.) op.cit., 129-138.

Table 3
MAJOR TYPES OF AUTONOMOUS AREAS

Administrative Level	Chinese Name	English Name	Equivalent Area
I	tzuchih ch'u	autonomous region	province
II	meng*	league (Mong:seim)	special district
II	tzuchih chou	autonomous <u>chou</u>	special district
III	ch'i*	banner (Mong:aimak)	county
III	tzuchih hsien	autonomous county	county
III	tzuchih ch'i	autonomous banner	county
IV	mintsu hsiang	minority township	township

* Leagues and banners are officially recognized only in Inner Mongolia.

Document 1

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS RELEVANT TO MINORITIES
DURING THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD, 1912-1949

1912¹

"Citizens of the Chinese Republic are all equal and there shall be no racial, class, or religious distinctions."

"The Provinces, Inner and Outer Mongolia, and Tibet shall each elect and depute five members to the Legislative Assembly, and Chinghai shall elect one member."

1914²

"Citizens of the Chinese Republic shall be equal before the law, irrespective of race, rank, or religion."

1923³

"Citizens of the Chinese Republic shall be equal before the law without distinction of race, class, or religion."

"Inner and Outer Mongolia, Tibet and Chinghai may, in compliance with the common wish of the people of the areas, be divided into two grades, the province and the districts, and be governed by the provisions of this chapter [entitled The Local System]; provided that, pending the establishment of the provinces and districts, their administrative systems shall be prescribed by law."

1931⁴

"All citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal before the law, irrespective of sex, race, religion or caste."

1946⁵

"There shall be equality among the various nationalities in the

Republic of China."

"All citizens of the Republic of China, irrespective of sex, religion, race, class or party affiliation, shall be equal before the law."

"The number of delegates [to the National Assembly] to be elected by various minorities in frontier regions shall be prescribed by law."

"Members of the Legislative Yuan shall be elected in accordance with the following provisions:

(1) those to be elected from the provinces and by the municipalities under the direct jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan shall be five for each province or municipality with a population of not more than three million; where the population exceeds three million, one additional Member shall be elected for each additional one million;

(2) those to be elected from Mongolian leagues and banners;

(3) those to be elected from Tibet;

(4) those to be elected by various minorities in frontier regions;

(5) those to be elected by Chinese citizens residing abroad;

(6) those to be elected by occupational groups.

The election of Members of the Legislative Yuan and the number of those to be elected in accordance with items (2) to (6) ... shall be prescribed by law."

"The Supervisory Yuan shall be composed of members who shall be elected by provincial and municipal councils, and local councils of Mongolia and Tibet, and Chinese citizens residing abroad."

"The state shall accord to the various minorities in the frontier regions legal protection of their status and shall give them special assistance in their local self-government undertakings."

"The state shall, in a positive manner, undertake and foster the development of education, culture, communication, water

conservation, public health, and other economic and social enterprises of the various minorities in the frontier regions. With respect to the utilization of land, the state shall, after taking into account the climatic conditions, the nature of the soil, and the life and habits of the people, adopt measures to protect the land and to assist in its development."

All quotations are from William L. Tung, The Political Institutions of Modern China (Nijhoff, 1964) and Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, The Government and Politics of China, 1912-1949 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).

¹ Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China, March 11, 1912 (Tung, 322-3).

² Constitutional Compact, May 1, 1914 (Tung, 326).

³ Constitution of the Republic of China, October 10, 1923 (Tung, 332 and 343; Ch'ien, 436 and 445).

⁴ Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China for the Period of Political Tutelage, June 30, 1931 (Tung, 344).

⁵ Constitution of the Republic of China, December 25, 1946 (Tung, 351, 355-8, 365; Ch'ien, 447, 449, 452, 454, and 460).

Document 2

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC (excerpts)*
(November 7, 1931)

Article 13. The Soviet government of China guarantees true religious freedom to the workers, peasants, and the toiling population. Adhering to the principle of the complete separation of church and state, the Soviet state neither favors nor grants any financial assistance to any religion whatsoever. All Soviet citizens shall enjoy the right to engage in anti-religious propaganda. No religious institutions of the imperialist shall be allowed to exist unless it shall comply with Soviet law.

Article 14. The Soviet government of China recognizes the right of self-determination of the minorities in China, their right to complete separation from China, and to the formation of an independent state for each minority. All mongolians, Tibetans, Miao, Yao, Koreans, and others living on the territory of China shall enjoy the full right to self-determination, i.e. they may either join the Union of Chinese Soviets or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer. The Soviet regime of China will do its utmost to assist the minorities in liberating themselves from the yoke of imperialists, the Kuomintang militarists, local chiefs, the princes, lamas, and others, and in achieving complete freedom and autonomy. The Soviet regime must encourage the development of the cultures and of the respective languages of these peoples.

*Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank, A Documentary History of Chinese Communism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 220-4.

Document 3

Mao Tse-tung,
THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES*
(April 24, 1945)

The Kuomintang's anti-popular clique denies the existence of many nationalities in China, and calls all minorities besides the Chinese "tribes" [chungtsu]. Following entirely the reactionary policy of the regimes of the Ch'ing dynasty and of the Northern warlords, it has brutally oppressed and exploited the minorities in every possible way. Clear cases are the massacre of the Mongols of the Ik'ochao League in 1943, the armed suppression of the minorities in Sinkiang since 1944 and the massacre of the Hui people in Kansu in recent years. These are manifestations of the erroneous ideology and policy of Chinese chauvinism.

In 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote in his Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang that "the Principle of Nationalism of the Kuomintang has a twofold meaning, first, the self-liberation of the Chinese nation, and second, the equality of all nationalities of China" and that "the Kuomintang solemnly declares that it recognizes the right to self-determination of all nationalities in China and that a free and united republic of China (a republic of China based on the free union of all nationalities) will be established after the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-warlord revolution."

The Chinese Communist Party fully agrees with Dr. Sun's

*"Lun Iiehho chengfu," Mao Tse-tung hsüanchi (Peking: Jen-min ch'upanshe, 1964), III, 1084-5; translated in "On coalition government," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), III, 305-6.

policy on nationalities as stated above. Communists most actively help the broad masses of all minorities to fight for it, and help them, including all their leaders who have ties with them, to fight for their political, economic, and cultural liberation and development and to build up their own armies to safeguard the interests of the masses. Their spoken and written languages, their customs, traditions and religious beliefs must be respected.

The Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia border region and the liberated areas in North China have for all these years adopted a correct attitude towards the Mongol and Hui nationalities, and the work among them has been fruitful.

FACT

Document 4

THE COMMON PROGRAM OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL
CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE (excerpts)*
(September 29, 1949)

Article 9. All nationalities in the People's Republic of China shall have equal rights and duties.

Article 50. All nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal. They shall establish unity and mutual aid among themselves, and shall oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the People's Republic of China will become a big fraternal and co-operative family composed of all its nationalities. Greater nationalism and chauvinism shall be opposed. Acts involving discrimination, oppression and splitting of the unity of the various nationalities shall be prohibited.

Article 51. Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomy organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of the respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power.

Article 52. All minorities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China shall have the right to join the

*Blaustein, Albert P., Fundamental Legal Documents of Communist China (South Hackensack, New Jersey: Fred B. Rothman & Co., 1962), 37, 51-52.

People's Liberation Army and to organize local people's public security forces in accordance with the unified military system of the state.

Article 53. All minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs. The People's Government shall assist the masses of the people of all minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational construction work.

Document 5

Chou En-lai,
RELATIONS AMONG NATIONALITIES (excerpts)*
(October 23, 1951)

In the course of the past year and more, the central government has dispatched visiting missions to areas populated by minorities, and delegates of minorities have also come to Peking for meetings and other purposes. These and other activities have served to strengthen further the ties between the central government and the various minorities, and stimulated the latter's understanding of their motherland. The growth of the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea has further added to the education in patriotism among our minorities whose overwhelming majority deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the central government. The long-standing disunity and antagonism of the past between the nationalities and within each one of them has now given way to unity and cooperation.

Regional autonomy for minorities and democratic-coalition governments of nationalities are now being established step by step. Excluding Inner Mongolia, altogether thirty governments of autonomous areas and fifty-one democratic-coalition governments of nationalities have been established, ranging from chuan-ch'ü to township level. These governments have, on the whole, achieved excellent results.

The state trading agencies are trying in various ways to extend their spheres of work in minority areas. As far as

*Policy Towards Nationalities of the People's Republic of China (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1953), 22-25.

possible they initiate a policy of trading at parity prices, or even at subsidized prices, to organize the exchange of goods. As a result, prices for local products have generally been raised three or four times and even as much as over ten times.

The Ministry of Public Health of the central government and the various local governments concerned have dispatched many medical and anti-epidemic teams to work in minority areas, or have helped the minorities to establish their own medical and health organizations. These teams have been enthusiastically welcomed by the minorities.

At the moment, we have only limited capacity to restore and develop cultural and educational work among minorities. Nevertheless, the central government and the various local governments concerned have all done their best to train cadres for minorities. We have now more than 50,000 cadres of minority origin who are withdrawn from production to engage in full-time work among the minorities in various parts of the country.

All this is only the beginning - a good one at that - of the fundamental solution of the nationality question in our country.

At present, we should pay attention to the following points in our work:

1. In accordance with the basic principles of democratic centralism and the system of representative conferences, we should everywhere effect the full application of the policy of regional autonomy for minorities and of the democratic system of governments of nationalities. The autonomous rights of autonomous areas should be appropriately defined. The forms of autonomous organs must suit the present stage of development of the respective minorities, and we must not simply transfer the system adopted in areas populated by the Chinese to areas populated by minorities.

2. We should make more efforts to extend trade and economic

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facilities in the minority areas.

3. We should in all areas populated by minorities spread and deepen their education in patriotism and the movement to resist U. S. aggression and aid Korea; we should rehabilitate and develop stage by stage their cultural and educational facilities, and especially establish and develop in a planned manner and on a selective basis, journalistic and publishing facilities.

4. Everywhere we should continue to carry out extensively the policy of training cadres from among minorities, strengthen their political and ideological education, and acquaint them with the policies of our government, so that they can competently deal with their day-to-day tasks and give proper leadership.

5. Appropriate reforms within a minority are a necessary stage through which it must pass, in order to develop and progress and reach the level of the more advanced nationalities. But these reforms must suit the characteristics of the present stage of development of the minority concerned. They must accord with the will of the majority of people of the minority concerned. To carry out these reforms, suitable measures must be adopted and the cadres of the minority concerned relied on.

6. We should continue to educate the Chinese, especially the Chinese cadres, to seriously respect in all ways the right to equality of minorities, the opinions of their people, and to eliminate Chinese chauvinist influences of various kinds. At the same time, the minorities themselves must constantly aim to overcome tendencies of local nationalism, secure the help of the Chinese and other more advanced minorities, study the experiences gained by these nationalities, and induce their own cadres to work for the good of their minority.

Document 6

DECISIONS ON MEASURES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LOCAL
DEMOCRATIC-COALITION GOVERNMENTS OF NATIONALITIES (excerpts)*
(February 22, 1952)

Democratic-coalition governments may be established in the following areas:

1. A province (or sub-province), municipality, chuan-ch'ü, country, district, township (or village) where the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority of the local population while the minorities make up ten percent or more of the population;
2. A province (or sub-province), municipality, chuan-ch'ü, county, district, township (or village) where the minorities constitute less than ten percent of the local population but where relations between the different nationalities are such as may affect the local administration in various aspects;
3. An area where the inhabitants belong to two or more minorities, but joint autonomy is not being practiced;
4. A locality within an autonomous area where the Chinese are exceptionally numerous;
5. Any other locality where for some special reason, the establishment of a democratic-coalition government of nationalities is deemed necessary and is approved by the government of a Greater Administrative Area or by the Government Administration Council of the central government.

The purpose of establishing democratic-coalition governments

*Policy Towards Nationalities of the People's Republic of China (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1953), 14-18.

is to safeguard the right of the minorities to equality in the local organs of state power. The name of the government need not thus be changed.

Each democratic-coalition government of nationalities is a form of state power at a local level. The general regulations, promulgated by the central government, governing the organization of the representative conferences and of the governments in provinces, municipalities, counties, districts, townships (or villages) shall, in general, apply to the organization of such bodies in areas where there are democratic-coalition governments, with the following supplementary provisions.

1. Regarding representative conferences.

1. The number of representatives from the different nationalities to the local representative conferences shall be appropriately determined and allotted through consultation, on the basis of the ratio in population of the different nationalities in the given area. Due consideration shall be given to any minorities with exceptionally small populations.

2. Representatives from the different nationalities to the local representative conferences may, according to actual relations between the nationalities in the areas, be elected or appointed either separately or jointly by the people of the different nationalities.

3. The number and choice of members of the consultative committees, or the standing committees of the representative conferences, shall be decided through full consultation, with due consideration given to minorities with relatively small populations.

4. Representatives from the different nationalities shall have the right to use their own languages, both spoken and written, at meetings.

5. The representative conferences shall attach the same

importance to proposals and opinions put forward by representatives from minorities as they do to those submitted by other representatives. Decisions on specific problems concerning a certain minority shall be made only after agreement has been reached through full consultation with representatives from that minority.

II. Regarding governments.

1. The number and choice of members of government councils shall be decided through full consultation, with due consideration given to minorities with relatively small populations.

2. Government councils shall respect the functions and powers of members from minorities and shall, in particular, consult with them fully on questions concerning minorities.

3. The various departments of governments shall endeavor to absorb personnel of minority origin into their work; they shall assist them in every manner, with proper consideration for their ways of life.

4. Governments shall, in the exercise of their functions and powers, adopt as far as possible the languages of local minorities.

5. Governments shall introduce regional autonomy for minorities to areas under their jurisdiction where people of minorities are concentrated, in accordance with the General Program of the People's Republic of China for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Minorities.

6. Governments shall fully guarantee the right to equality to the minorities in areas under their jurisdiction; inculcate in the people of each nationality respect for the customs, traditions and religious beliefs of other nationalities; promote unity and mutual assistance among the nationalities; and outlaw discrimination, oppression, or any act tending to provoke dissension between nationalities.

7. Within the limits of law and the decrees of the central government, as well as of the local governments of higher levels, local governments may draw up special regulations suited to the conditions among the nationalities in the areas under their jurisdiction. Such special regulations shall be submitted for approval to the governments of the two next higher levels and for registration through successive levels to the Government Administration Council of the central government.

Document 7

Ulanfu,

REPORT ON THE GENERAL PROGRAM FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR MINORITIES (excerpts)*

(August 8, 1952)

In implementing regional autonomy, we all felt that a law governing the process was needed, so that regional autonomy could gradually be established in accordance with such a law in minority areas and the policy towards minorities, as laid down in the Common Program, be carried out correctly in all autonomous areas. The enactment of such a law was an epoch-making event in our country. The directives issued by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the central government concerning various important questions of principle in the implementation of regional autonomy for minorities and the experiences gained in actual work provided the basis for the enactment of such a law.

The Nationalities Affairs Committee of the central government, in accordance with the decision of the Government Administration Council, was therefore able to call last December an enlarged meeting of the second session of the Committee which was in the nature of a representative conference of the country's minorities. This meeting summed up the experiences gained in the implementation of regional autonomy for minorities in all areas and achieved unity in views on the question of regional autonomy for minorities, with emphasis on certain important questions that require attention in its implementation. The most important fact of this meeting was that a Draft General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Minorities was put forward.

*Policy Towards Nationalities of the People's Republic of China (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1953), 50-52.

In order to obtain as many opinions as possible, the Government Administration Council circulated this draft among the Greater Administrative Areas and provinces concerned. On February 22 of this year, the draft was discussed and adopted by the Government Administration Council at its 125th administration meeting. A panel discussion on the draft was held on August 3 by the Political and Legal Affairs Section and the Nationalities Affairs Section of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Now it is before the central government for examination and approval.

Document 8

GENERAL PROGRAM OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA FOR
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR MINORITIES (excerpts)*
(August 9, 1952)

Chapter I: General Provisions

Article 1. This program is in accordance with Articles 9, 50, 51, 52, and 53 of the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Article 2. Each autonomous area is an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The autonomous organ of each autonomous area is a local government led by the government of the next higher level, under the unified leadership of the central government.

Chapter II: Autonomous Areas

Article 4. The following types may be established: (1) when inhabited by one minority; (2) when inhabited by one large minority including certain areas inhabited by other smaller minorities; (3) when jointly established by two or more areas, each inhabited by a different minority.

Article 5. According to economic, political, and other requirements of locality, and with due consideration of historical background, each autonomous area may include some districts, towns, or cities inhabited by Chinese. Where Chinese are concentrated, no regional autonomy is necessary; the organs are to be the same as in the rest of the country; but where they are exceptionally numerous, a democratic-coalition government shall be established.

* Policy Towards Nationalities of the People's Republic of China (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1953), 1-13.

Article 6. The boundaries of each autonomous area shall be properly demarcated, in accordance with the provisions of Articles 4 and 5 of this General Program. If it is not possible properly to demarcate the boundaries of an autonomous area at the time of its establishment, temporary arrangements may be made, pending future readjustments.

Article 7. The administrative status of an autonomous area shall correspond to that of a township (or village), district, county, chuan-ch'ü or a higher level, depending on the size of its population, its area and other factors.

Article 8. In designating an autonomous area, the name of the minority shall be prefixed with the geographical denomination. Exceptions are permitted in special cases.

Article 9. In demarcating and readjusting the boundaries of an autonomous area and in deciding its administrative status and its name, proposals shall be brought forward through consultation between the government of the next higher level and the representatives of the minority or minorities concerned. These proposals shall be submitted to the government of the next higher level for approval. In the case of an autonomous area of county level or above, these proposals shall be submitted to the Government Administration Council of the central government for ratification. All proposals, approved by the local governments of different levels, shall be submitted through successive levels to the Government Administration Council for registration.

Chapter III: Autonomous Organs

Article 10. Autonomous organs are the organs of state power of the people in autonomous areas:

Article 11. Autonomous organs shall be set up according to the basic principles of democratic centralism and of the system of congresses.

Article 12. Governments in autonomous areas shall be composed mainly of members from the minority or minorities exercising regional autonomy, with the participation of an appropriate number of members from other minorities and the Chinese inhabiting the same areas.

Chapter IV: Rights to Autonomy

Article 15. The autonomous organ of an autonomous area may adopt the language most commonly used in the area as the chief medium of intercourse in the exercise of its authority. But when the autonomous organ exercises its authority over a minority to whom this language is unfamiliar the language of the latter minority shall also be adopted.

Article 16. The autonomous organ of an autonomous area may adopt the spoken and written language of the minority or minorities of the area for developing their culture and education.

Article 17. The autonomous organ of an autonomous area may take necessary steps to train cadres from among the minorities in the area who have a highly developed sense of patriotism and close contact with the local population.

Article 18. Internal reforms shall be carried out in an autonomous area in accordance with the wishes of the majority of its people and of the local leaders who are associated with the people.

Article 19. The autonomous organ of an autonomous area may, subject to the unified financial control of the state, administer the area's finances within a sphere prescribed by the central government and the local governments above its level.

Article 20. Free development of the economy is to be in accordance with the unified economic system and plan for economic construction of the state.

Article 21. The autonomous organ of an autonomous area may

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take necessary and appropriate steps to develop the culture, education, arts, and health services of the various minorities inhabiting the area.

Article 22. The autonomous organ of an autonomous area may organize its own local security forces and militia within the unified military system of the state.

Article 23. In compliance with the provisions of the laws and decrees of the central government and the local governments of higher levels, and within the limits of its autonomous jurisdiction, the autonomous organ of an autonomous area may draw up special regulations for the area, which shall be submitted for approval to the governments of the two next higher levels. Such special regulations, when approved by the local governments of higher levels, shall be submitted through successive levels to the Government Administration Council of the central government for registration.

Article 24. The above-enumerated rights to autonomy shall in principle apply to all autonomous areas; the scope of their application shall depend on the administrative status of the autonomous area concerned.

Chapter V: Relations Between the Nationalities of an Autonomous Area

Article 26. The autonomous organ of an autonomous area shall guarantee to all people in the area, irrespective of nationality, freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly, association, correspondence, person, domicile, change of domicile, religious belief, and the freedom to hold processions and demonstrations, as stipulated in the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and the right to elect and to be elected according to law.

Article 29. The autonomous organ of an autonomous area

shall educate and guide the people living in the area towards unity and mutual assistance between all nationalities of the country, and towards love for the People's Republic of China in which all nationalities live together in a spirit of fraternity and cooperation like one big family.

Chapter VI: Principles of Leadership for Governments of Higher Levels

Article 31. Governments of higher levels shall make adequate appraisals of the special characteristics and actual conditions in the current stage of development of the various autonomous areas so that their directives and orders will conform both to the general line in the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and to those special characteristics and actual conditions.

Article 32. Governments of higher levels shall assist autonomous organs in the training of minority cadres, and assign suitable cadres for work in autonomous areas according to requirements.

Article 33. Governments of higher levels shall assist autonomous areas in their political, economic, cultural, and educational development.

Article 34. Governments of higher levels shall take appropriate measures to acquaint people of the autonomous areas with the advanced experiences and conditions about political, economic and cultural development.

Article 35. Governments of higher levels shall educate and assist the people in observing an attitude of equality, fraternity, unity, and mutual assistance among the nationalities.

Chapter VII: Supplementary Provisions

Article 36. Preparations for regional autonomy shall be made where minorities are concentrated, where the initial stage of

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revolutionary order has been established; and where regional autonomy is the common desire of all sections of the people. These preparations include the establishment of preparatory organizations, or utilization of existing organizations, for the convocation of representative conferences.

Article 38. Measures for the implementation of regional autonomy in districts inhabited by minorities within cities populated mainly by Chinese shall be separately drawn up by the Government Administration Council of the central government.

Article 39. This General Program proposed at the enlarged second session of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the central government becomes effective after adoption by the Government Administrative Council of the central government.

Article 40. The right of interpretation and of amendment of the General Program rests with the central government.

Document 9

SUMMARY OF BASIC EXPERIENCES IN PROMOTING REGIONAL
AUTONOMY AMONG MINORITIES*

(June 15, 1953)

During the past three years, much experience has been gained in promoting the work of regional autonomy among minorities. These are the most basic experiences:

(1) Full account must be taken of every aspect of work concerning the special traits and concrete conditions of the different nationalities. The minorities differ from the Chinese people in politics, economics, culture, religious convictions and customs. Differences exist, too, between the various minorities, and even between the tribes and religious sections within a minority and between the agricultural and nomadic areas. Therefore, work among the various minorities must start from their concrete conditions. The special characteristics of each minority must be fully considered and the concrete conditions of every tribe must be given special attention when the policy of regional autonomy is put into practice. The method and experience used and gained in the Chinese areas must not be mechanically applied to the minority areas. This we must bear in mind when work is contemplated in areas where autonomy is to be introduced or where it has already been introduced. Article 31 of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy of the Central People's Government stipulates: "Governments of higher levels shall make adequate appraisals of the special characteristics and

* Jenmin Jihpao, September 9, 1953; translated in U. S. Consulate-General, Hong Kong, Current Background, No. 264 (October 5, 1953), 12-23.

actual conditions in the current stage of development of the various autonomous areas, so that their directives and orders will conform both to the general line of the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee and to these special characteristics and actual conditions." [Document 8] Experience from various places proves that when work is done according to the principle stipulated above, the necessary results are achieved and support is received from the minorities. For instance, when the Tibetan autonomous district in Sikang Province and that in Yüshu in Chinghai Province were established, the principle followed was that the political, economic, cultural and religious characteristics of these districts were fully considered and unity was achieved with all leaders (including those in religious circles) who maintained good relations with the people. The result was that the broad masses of people rallied round the government of the autonomous districts and social order was quickly established and the work of setting up autonomy was well accomplished.

Conversely, due to the lack of sufficient knowledge about the social characteristics of the minorities and the erroneous application of the measures adopted for land reform in the Chinese areas, dissatisfaction was caused among certain minorities, resulting in confusion for a while and damage to the work of regional autonomy.

At present conditions show that disregard for the special characteristics and concrete conditions of the minorities and the mechanical application of the experience and methods gained and employed in the Chinese areas is a sign not just limited to a few minority districts but is rather widespread. Certain higher-level governments, irrespective of the local conditions existing in various places, have issued directives and orders common to all, thus damaging the work of regional autonomy. This state of affairs merits the attention of the localities concerned and steps

should be taken to prevent and rectify it.

On the other hand, It must be pointed out that the mechanical application of the experiences of the advanced nationalities and areas which disregard the actual and historical conditions is, of course, incorrect and must be opposed. But we have no objection if such experience is appropriately applied as local and historical conditions permit. As Article 34 of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy stipulates: "Governments of higher levels shall take appropriate measures to acquaint people of the autonomous areas with the advanced experiences and conditions about political, economic and cultural development."

[See Document 8.] Experience shows that to learn and apply properly, as local and historical conditions require, advanced experience is necessary for the smooth progress and development of the various autonomous areas. The idea and method of rejecting the advanced experiences and thus restricting one's own progress is harmful to the progress and development of the minorities and the autonomous areas and must be properly corrected through persuasion.

(2) Unity must be further strengthened and consolidated both between and within the various nationalities. This is a prerequisite for regional autonomy and one of the aims of regional autonomy.

With the abolition of oppressive rule and the implementation of the policy of national equality, China's various nationalities, over the past three years, have been living in a unity unknown in the country before. In some places, the misunderstandings created by history among the various nationalities have been virtually wiped out, but in some places such misunderstandings still exist or have not yet been completely removed. The remaining influences of local nationalism must not be overlooked. The same is true of the par-nationalism that exists among some minorities. Nationally, Chinese chauvinism poses the principal threat in present

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relationships among nationalities.

The effective method of overcoming the trend towards pan-nationalism and the trend towards local nationalism is for all minorities to follow the principle of Marxism-Leninism, to strengthen education concerning patriotism and internationalism and educational policy, and to practice self-criticism. At the moment, it is most essential to educate the Chinese cadres and people and lead them to carry out self-criticisms in order to overcome Chinese chauvinism and the remaining influences of Chinese chauvinism. Chinese chauvinism, in essence, is an expression of the bourgeois thought of nationality relations. The bourgeois thought, particularly Chinese chauvinism must first be overcome in our nationalities work before equality among nationalities can be truly realized and the various minorities effectively helped to overcome all sorts of local nationalism.

In Tibetan and other minority areas, credit is due to the initiative of Chinese cadres for thoroughly discussing and re-examining, in the form of self-criticism, the thought and work style of Chinese chauvinism; the minority cadres, deeply moved, voluntarily criticized their thoughts of local nationalism and asked the Chinese cadres to help them to find the way of progress. By so doing, mutual trust took a step forward among the nationalities, and their unity increased; this led to a new development in the work of regional autonomy. Such experience is worth learning.

In the course of setting up regional autonomy, disharmony between nationalities is particularly pronounced. In certain areas, some of the minorities thought that after the realization of regional autonomy, they could live separately from the Chinese and get along without the Chinese while the Chinese feared that they would be "bullied or become a minority" and some of them even planned to leave the areas. Other minorities had misgivings that after the enforcement of regional autonomy they would be

discriminated against and would be unfairly treated and they began to worry. The leadership organs and personnel of the areas concerned must foresee these conditions. During the preparatory stage of setting up an autonomous area, they should proceed from uniting with the various nationalities, fully respecting their rights of equality, educating them in patriotism and internationalism, taking the initiative to dispel their misunderstandings and misgivings, and consulting with them so as to obtain their consent to the various important projects concerning the establishment of the autonomous areas before work actually begins. In this way, the process of preparation becomes a process of strengthening and consolidating unity among all nationalities. Facts show that this has been done in the various autonomous areas and friendly cooperation achieved, making it possible for the work to be accomplished satisfactorily and for a foundation to be laid for the further solidarity of the various nationalities. Experience also shows that where this method has not been followed, the work is adversely affected.

Experience shows that a minority exercising regional autonomy very easily neglects the interests of other nationalities in the same area. It is essential that the people of such a minority should guard against these shortcomings, pay constant attention to the interests of other minorities and of the Chinese and help the other minorities in the area to establish their own autonomous areas.

This is the only possible way to win the trust of the people of other minorities in the area, to strengthen and consolidate the unity among the various nationalities and to derive benefit from the development of its construction undertakings. Any thought or work method leading to discrimination against other nationalities or disregard for the interests of other nationalities is erroneous and must be prevented and overcome.

As the work of regional autonomy is carried out, every

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effort should be made to strengthen and consolidate the internal unity of minorities. This is what should be energetically done among the various tribes, localities and religious sects of a minority, so that unity can be achieved among them, their disputes settled and their misunderstandings cleared up, before autonomous areas are established. All important questions concerning the establishment of such areas must be considered in the light of the interests of all sides as described above. They should be called upon to achieve unity through mutual respect and consultation under the guidance of an higher-level government.

Over the past several years, much has been done to settle the internal disputes arising among the various nationalities in different places and great success has been achieved in unity, resulting in the elimination and amelioration of antagonisms which had existed for a long period of time among the different nationalities. However, the further strengthening of unity in the various areas, tribes and religious sects of minorities is still a very important task in the promotion and solution of the nationalities problem and continued efforts must be made as required by different conditions existing in the various localities.

Experience shows that in order to successfully unify the different nationalities and among the tribes, districts and religious sects of minorities, attention must be given to work among those minority leaders in various fields who have close relations with the people. Since they are influential and enjoy a prestige among the people of their own nationality, this will facilitate the successful performance of the mass work providing they do this work well. Therefore, on all important questions relative to regional autonomy, they must be consulted and their agreement obtained. In the preparatory structure and in the autonomous organs and in other kinds of work, they must be given appropriate posts and helped to do their work and to seek progress. The leaders of the various minorities must respect the will of the people; the leadership of the higher-level governments must obtain the assistance of

Chinese cadres, and forge ahead with maximum effort.

With aggression as its basis, Imperialism has done all in its power to sabotage the unity of the different nationalities in China. Many instances have been exposed where imperialism and its lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek remnant bandits, have incited the minorities to riot. Ample proof has been found of such criminal acts showing that almost every rebellion in the minority areas has been instigated by secret agents and counter-revolutionaries and has resulted from senior individuals of the minority having been first duped by the enemy plots. This state of affairs demands a high degree of vigilance on the part of the people as well as their leaders of the minorities. Steps must be taken to expose the enemy, to penalize the counter-revolutionaries and to strengthen the education of the people towards patriotism in order to deal with these acts of sabotage on the part of the enemy.

(3) The autonomous governments should steadily become truly national [mintsu] in character. This is the key to the consolidation of national unity and to strengthening the ties between the government and the people.

This "nationalizing" of the local government includes, according to the General Program of the People's Republic of China for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities drawing the majority of the personnel in the government from the predominant minority in the autonomous area, taking a suitable number of government officials from the minorities and the Chinese within the area, adopting a form of self-government analogous to the will of the majority of the people and the leaders of the area, and adopting a national language common to the whole area. In exercising its power with regard to a particular nationality in the area which does not use the official language, the government should use the language of the particular nationality instead of the official language.

Following the establishment of autonomous areas, the training and growth of minority cadres have made much headway. The various autonomous areas already have a certain number of minority cadres who participate in the various kinds of work in the autonomous organs and some of them have assumed the powers of leadership. Most of them maintain close ties with the local people, know the local conditions well, have been tempered in the course of their work, and have raised their political and cultural levels and working ability to a definite level. This success is inseparable from the solicitude of higher-level governments and the assistance of the Chinese cadres. However, achievements in this work still lag far behind the progress of construction work in the autonomous areas, and greater efforts yet must be made by higher-level governments in this respect so that a proper number of cadres and personnel may be trained and chosen from among the patriotic intellectuals of the minorities, the activists among the masses, and those leaders who keep in close touch with the masses. It is necessary, therefore, to check up and summarize experiences, and, as local conditions permit, overcome the shortcomings which exist in training minority cadres.

The establishment of autonomous areas and the development of the various construction projects in such areas depends much upon the unity and cooperation between the Chinese cadres and the minority cadres. The Chinese cadres taking part in the work of the autonomous areas most wholeheartedly serve the minorities and play an important role in training cadres for the various autonomous areas with the support of the minority cadres. They deserve our praise. However, some Chinese cadres still retain the bad working style of not respecting the functions of the minority cadres and of tending to usurp their authority. This must be overcome and corrected so as to facilitate the training and growth of minority cadres.

Concerning minority languages and styles, higher-level governments must help those minorities which as yet have no written

language of their own to create their own languages; these will serve as instruments of communication and help them to develop their own culture. Where the official language is unsuitable for administering a particular minority, the language of that particular minority should be used. Where a spoken language already characterizes a minority but has not yet been codified as a written language, assistance should be given to committing that language to writing. This is both a very urgent and complex problem and requires careful investigation and study. A practical plan should be formulated and implemented step by step, so that the language may become a means of communication and also help in the development of the culture of that minority. At the moment, assistance should be given to those who wish to learn Chinese and other minority languages, but in no case should there be any compulsion. Those minorities which already have taken Chinese as their own language should be actively helped to learn Chinese. The traditional culture and art of the different minorities should be maintained and enriched by absorbing new ideas. Our work in this respect is far from sufficient and greater attention is called for. The customs and habits of the minorities should be respected. In other things, such as naming an administrative unit within the autonomous area, the minority style should be considered. In this connection, much has been done and great success has been achieved in many autonomous areas. Apart from the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the Yenpien autonomous area, the central government last year drew up plans for the development of a language for other places such as the Tibetan autonomous areas in Sikang. The various administrative organs and the finance-economic organs have all strengthened their personnel who are engaged in translations of the Tibetan language. The Chinese cadres in the area are studying the Tibetan language, and notices and propaganda materials are all prepared in both the Tibetan and Chinese languages. Beginning in February of

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this year, all documents are prepared in two languages, and the Tibetan language has become the principal instrument of the area government for administrative purposes. This is gratifying. However, there are also cases where the leadership organs in certain places have not paid or have not paid enough attention to the use of minority languages and styles. In other instances, individual cadres have even forced the minorities to speak Chinese and to wear Chinese-style clothes, and even to dance in Chinese rice-planting dances instead of their own folk dances. All this is quite incorrect. The question of minority style is one which relates to the rights and the development of a minority. This is very important. Much of our work cannot penetrate deep into the masses of the minorities unless it is done in the minority styles. The various minorities have the right to preserve or change their own habits and customs as well as their own characteristics in accordance with the will of the majority of the peoples and their leaders. Compulsion is neither correct nor permissible. However, respect for minority styles does not mean the preservation of such styles or forms which will hinder the progress and development of a minority or which the people and their leaders desire to reform. This point also merits our attention.

(4) Governments should assist the autonomous areas in exercising their autonomy. Under the unified system and plan of the country, the various autonomous areas have the right to establish their own political, economic, financial, cultural and educational systems and local armed forces. The exercise of these autonomous rights will arouse the initiative of the various minorities at their different stages of progress to a great degree and therefore provide an impetus to the political, economic and cultural development of the areas. The autonomous rights in the autonomous areas are the rights of the minority peoples to manage their own affairs; they are, therefore, matters of the highest importance. The proper exercise of such rights depends not only upon the necessary respect of the higher-level governments concerned but

also upon their guidance and assistance. As things stand now, it can be seen that most higher-level governments have made good efforts in this respect, but there are others which do not show enough respect for the autonomous rights of these areas. Still others consider the autonomous organ which is equal to the administrative district organ as the highest local organ, but orders are transmitted, not through the autonomous organ, but directly to its subordinate organs. This is incorrect. It jeopardizes the work of regional autonomy and causes dissatisfaction among the people of the autonomous areas, who complain that "things remain the same even after the establishment of the autonomous area." These mistaken ways of administration on the part of the relevant higher-level governments must be checked and rectified.

We lack experience in exercising the rights of autonomy by the autonomous areas. What experience we have already gained has not yet been put together and studied. Therefore, our concrete measures must be subject to further study. Work in this connection is underway, and it is hoped that everybody will make suggestions so that definite measures may be drawn up at an early date.

(5) As conditions permit, tremendous efforts should be made by the governments to help with the political, economic and cultural work of the areas, as this is one basic way of solving the nationalities problem. The application of regional autonomy in itself will not entirely solve the nationality problem. This can only be expected when the political, economic and cultural level of the minority peoples is so developed that they can catch up with the level of the advanced nationalities. Therefore, after the autonomous areas are first set up, importance must be attached to the question of political, economic and cultural development. In the preparatory stages for the autonomous areas and in handling their natural composition and boundaries, the conditions for the development of the people of the autonomous areas must be given

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special consideration.

Some minority areas which are linked with Chinese areas or in which several minorities co-exist, embraced some cities and townships and districts inhabited by Chinese when the autonomous areas were demarcated. This is due to economic, political and historical factors and is, therefore, permissible. These districts have already formed an inalienable part of the minority areas. Their inclusion in the autonomous areas is advantageous not only to the development of their own peoples but also to the Chinese people in those districts. However, this question concerns both the minority peoples and the Chinese people. It is necessary therefore to make full preparations in advance and nothing should be done in haste. On the other hand, in certain minority areas, due to limitations caused by geographical, economic, nationality and cadres factors, it is not advisable to establish, or to establish at this time, large autonomous areas. If autonomous areas are established while conditions are still not mature, it would be to the disadvantage of nationality relationships and the national development.

Higher-level governments must concern themselves with the hardships of the people of the minorities in the autonomous areas, particularly those living in the mountainous districts and those living in places where the natural conditions and production conditions are unfavorable. Since these people are already experiencing great difficulties in making a living, the governments should show them special concern and help them find their means of living and production. An attitude of indifference towards these people is extremely incorrect and must be rectified. Where possible, assistance should be given, as local conditions permit, to help them develop their economy and culture and so gradually to improve their material and cultural life. At the moment, every help possible should be given towards improving and developing their agricultural and pastoral production. As to national

defense and the future development of the various minorities, certain capital construction may be undertaken as the nation's financial conditions permit, but careful investigation and study must be carried out first to determine the necessity and possibility of such undertakings, and no general demand should be made for all places. In the field of political, economic and cultural development in the autonomous areas, the various higher-level governments have done a good deal in the way of training cadres, developing agricultural and pastoral production, developing trade, and developing medical and health work. This has received the warm support of the minorities. But in certain places, not enough has been done and greater efforts are still required. Any lack of attention to the cultural, economic and political life of the minorities is unjustifiable and must be corrected. Of course, if demands are made blindly and in disregard of concrete conditions, these would be without foundation and should not be put forward.

The economic and cultural development of the minorities is inseparable from their political and social reform. The autonomous organs in the various autonomous areas should, in accordance with the will of the people and their leaders, prudently carry out such reforms at places where conditions are already ripe; this is both permissible and necessary.

The above is a summary of the basic experience gained in the implementation of regional autonomy.

Document 10

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (excerpts)*
(September 20, 1954)

Preamble.

All the nationalities of our country are united in one great family of free and equal nationalities. This unity of China's nationalities will continue to gain in strength, founded as it is on ever-growing friendship and mutual aid, and on the struggle against imperialism, and against both Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism. In the course of economic and cultural development, the state will concern itself with the needs of the different nationalities, and, in the matter of socialist transformation, pay full attention to the special characteristics in the development of each.

Article 3.

The People's Republic of China is a unified state of many nationalities. All the nationalities are equal. Discrimination against or oppression of any nationality, or any act that undermines the unity of the nationalities, is prohibited. All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own customs or ways. Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas entirely or largely inhabited by minorities. Such autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

*Translated in Theodore H. E. Chen (ed.) The Chinese Communist Regime (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), 75-92.

Article 67.

The organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties are formed in accordance with the basic principles governing the organization of local organs of state as specified in Section 4 of Chapter II of this Constitution. The form of each organ of self-government may be determined in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people of the nationality or nationalities enjoying regional autonomy in a given area.

Article 68.

In all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation in the organs of self-government.

Article 69.

The organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties exercise the functions and powers of local organs of state, as specified in Section 4 of Chapter II of this Constitution.

Article 70.

The organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties exercise autonomy within the limits of the authority prescribed by the Constitution and by law. The organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties administer their own local finances within the limits of the authority prescribed by law. The organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties organize their local public security forces in accordance with the military system of the state. The organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties may draw up statutes

governing the exercise of autonomy and other special regulations suited to the political, economic, and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in a given area and submit any such statutes and regulations to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for approval.

Article 71.

In performing their duties, organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used by the nationality or nationalities in a given area.

Article 72.

The higher organs of state should fully safeguard the right of organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties to exercise autonomy, and should assist the various minorities in their political, economic and cultural development.

Article 77.

Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The people's courts are required to provide interpreters for any party unacquainted with the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality. In an area entirely or largely inhabited by a minority or where a number of nationalities live together, hearings in people's courts are conducted in the language commonly used in the locality, and judgments, notices, and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in that language.

Document 11

ORGANIC LAW OF LOCAL CONGRESSES AND LOCAL COUNCILS OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (excerpts)*

(September 21, 1954)

Article 1. Congresses and councils shall be established in provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties, municipalities, municipal districts, townships, autonomous townships, and towns.

Article 2. Congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties, municipalities divided into districts are to be elected by congresses of the next lower level; congresses of municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts, townships, autonomous townships, and towns shall be elected directly by the voters. Minorities in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to congresses of their administrative areas.

Article 5. Provincial congresses shall be elected for four years; all others for two years.

Article 6. [Lists twelve functions and powers of county congresses of which no. 12 reads:] to ensure equal rights of minorities.

Article 7. [Lists twelve functions and powers of congresses of townships, autonomous townships, and towns, of which No. 12 reads:] to ensure equal rights of minorities. In exercising their functions and powers, the congresses of autonomous townships may adopt concrete measures suited to their characteristics.

*Hsinhua, Peking, September 28, 1954; translated in U.S. Consulate-General, Hong Kong, Current Background, No. 302 (November 5, 1954), 6-14.

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Article 10. Congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties, municipalities, and municipal districts meet twice a year, or once a year in provinces with poor roads; townships, autonomous townships, and towns meet every three months.

Article 20. Deputies shall keep in close touch with the people and report on them to the congresses and councils.

Article 24. All local councils throughout the country are administrative organs of the state under the unified leadership of the State Council and are subordinate to the State Council.

Article 25. The size of the councils shall be as follows: provinces 25 to 55 members, counties 9 to 21 members, autonomous townships 3 to 13 members.

Article 26. Provincial councils shall be elected for four years; all others for two years.

Article 27. [Lists seventeen functions and powers of councils of counties and above, of which No. 16 reads:] to ensure the equal rights of minorities. The provincial councils shall help the minority areas in their provinces to enforce regional autonomy and help the minorities to develop political, economic, and cultural construction.

Article 28. [Lists seventeen functions and powers of councils of townships, autonomous townships and towns, of which No. 17 reads:] to ensure rights of minorities. In exercising their functions and powers, the councils of autonomous townships may adopt concrete measures suited to their characteristics.

Article 29. Councils of counties and above shall meet every two months; all others twice a month.

Document 12

Chou En-lai,

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT (excerpt)*

(September 23, 1954)

In the matter of improving the people's material well-being and cultural life, the Central People's Government has paid special attention to areas inhabited by minorities. We have consistently advocated and pursued a policy of helping the minorities develop their economy and culture so as to enable them gradually to attain a real equality. In the past few years, economic and financial departments have organized a number of trade fairs in minority areas, at which business was transacted at fair and reasonable prices, and have extended various kinds of loans in support of the agriculture, husbandry and herds of the minorities. All these measures have played an important part in improving their economic life. Public health departments have sent a large number of medical workers to help the minority areas prevent or reduce the spread of epidemics, and have also established medical or health centers there. Three hundred and nine county hospitals were opened in the minority areas in 1953; there were thirty-eight hospitals for minorities in the country as a whole and more than 2,700 senior and junior medical workers belonging to minorities. In the field of education, taking the country as a whole, in 1953 the enrollment of minority students was as follows: more than 2,546,000 primary school pupils, 163,000 secondary school students and 5,500 students in institutions of higher learning. More than 140,000 minority personnel of government and public bodies have been trained either in schools or by other methods of education.

*Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1954, 30-31.

These form an important force in the realization of regional autonomy for minorities.

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Document 13

CONSCRIPTION LAW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (excerpts)*
(February 7, 1955)

Article 2. It is the duty of all male citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of 18 to perform military service according to the provisions of this law, irrespective of nationality, race, occupation, social status, religious belief, or education.

Article 12. The State Council and the administrative organs of the state in provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Central People's Government, autonomous chou, hsien, autonomous hsien, and municipalities shall set up conscription committees to direct conscription work. The organization and duties of the conscription committees shall be determined by the State Council.

Article 13. Conscription bureaus shall be set up in all provinces, autonomous regions municipalities subordinate to provincial governments, autonomous chou, hsien, autonomous hsien, and municipalities. Conscription bureaus are military organs in charge of conscription work.

Article 16. All male citizens who have reached age 18 before June 30 of year of call-up should register for military service and take preliminary physical examinations before July 1 upon notification of the conscription bureaus of municipalities under

*NCNA, Peking, February 15, 1955; translated in Theodore H. E. Chen, The Chinese Communist Regime (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), 311-9.

Jurisdiction of the Central People's Government, hsien, autonomous hsien, and municipalities.

Article 17. The State Council shall determine the number of persons to be called up for active duty each year, measures of call-up and quotas for provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central People's Government. Quotas given by provinces and autonomous regions to hsien, autonomous hsien, and municipalities shall be determined by the people's councils of provinces, autonomous districts, and autonomous chou.

Article 18. A regular nation-wide call-up shall take place from November 1 to the end of February. Local dates are to be fixed by the conscription bureaus of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central People's Government.

Article 19. There shall be a certain number of call-up stations within each area.

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Document 14

Central Committee and State Council,
CONSOLIDATE GUIDANCE OVER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCER COOPERATIVES IN
MINORITY AREAS*

(September 12, 1956)

There are, in general, many differences in the economic conditions between minority areas and other inland localities. All have their own production and livelihood characteristics. Therefore, in carrying out the agricultural cooperativization movement and the work of establishing cooperatives, this work should be arranged in such a way that it will be in line with the principle of self-willingness and will also take into consideration the characteristics of different nationalities. If this is not done, it will affect production and solidarity among nationalities.

In areas where many nationalities reside, every different nationality should establish its own cooperative, so as to eliminate differences in production, in modes of living, and in the religions of different nationalities. Only when cooperative members of a nationality are incapable of establishing their own cooperatives or when it is absolutely necessary, will the formation of joint cooperatives of different nationalities be permitted.

Among the joint cooperatives of different nationalities, close attention must be paid to the further expansion of the special abilities of various kinds of production which they have mastered. Particular attention should be paid to safeguarding the interests

*"On strengthening production leadership and organizational construction of agricultural producer cooperatives," NCNA, September 12, 1956, translated in U.S. Consulate-General, Hong Kong, Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1382.

of cooperative members in minority areas, so as to insure a greater income for minority cooperative members.

In cases where minorities are unable to render mutual assistance due to certain difficulties, the abrupt merging of cooperatives so as to form joint cooperatives is not permissible.

Attention should also be paid to the training of leading cadres in minority areas. Joint cooperatives of different nationalities should be established on the basis of the stipulations prescribed in the program of cooperatives and absorb more outstanding persons from among different minorities to take part in guiding the cooperatives. Respect must also be paid to the customs and practices of different minorities.

In order to further develop animal husbandry cooperatives in pastoral areas, it is necessary to adopt a much more rigid and effective guiding principle. Under the principle of further developing the animal husbandry industry and other favorable conditions, leading organs at various levels of different minorities should conscientiously establish animal husbandry cooperatives on a trial basis, so as to draw experiences from this experiment, and gradually disseminate these experiences among the peasants of various minorities. Any haste in carrying this out should be completely eliminated.

Document 15

Liu Shao-ch'i,

POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (excerpts)*

(September 15, 1956)

It is an important task in the conduct of state affairs to deal correctly with questions concerning minorities. We must put still greater efforts into helping the minorities make economic and cultural progress so that they can fully play a positive part in the socialist construction of our country.

Very great changes have taken place in the conditions of the minorities in the past few years. In most areas a decisive victory has been won in democratic reform and socialist transformation within the minorities. Of the more than thirty-five million minority people in China, twenty-eight million inhabit areas where socialist transformation has been basically completed; 2.2 million inhabit areas where socialist transformation is being carried out; and nearly 2 million inhabit areas which are undertaking democratic reforms; thus only some 3 million still inhabit areas which have not yet carried out democratic reforms. In the future, in regions which still await democratic reform and socialist transformation, we must continue to pursue the prudent policy we have been pursuing all along. That is to say, all reforms must be deliberated in an unhurried manner and settled through consultation by the people and the public leaders of the minority concerned, the settlement being in accord with the wishes of the minority itself. In carrying out reform, peaceful means must be persisted in, and no violent struggle should be resorted to. In

*Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1956, 68-72.

regard to the members of the upper strata of the minorities, after they have given up exploiting and oppressing the working people, the state will take appropriate measures to see that they do not suffer as regards political treatment or in their standards of living, and will convince the people of the need for co-operation with them for a long time to come. In regard to religious beliefs in the areas of the minorities, we must continuously and persistently adhere to the policy of freedom of religious belief and must never interfere in that connection during social reform. We should help those who live by religion as a profession to find a proper solution of any difficulties of livelihood with which they are faced.

In order that the minorities may grow into modern nationalities, the most fundamental thing, the key, besides carrying out social reforms, is to develop modern industries in the areas they inhabit. During the First Five-Year Plan period, the state has established a number of new industrial bases in some minority areas and started a number of large-scale modern industries and transport services. It will continue to do so in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. This is in accord with the common and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in the country. The Chinese and all minority peoples should work hard together for the complete realization of this state plan. At the same time, to meet the special needs of the minorities, central ministries and departments and provincial governments and governments of the autonomous areas should step by step start up a number of local industries in areas inhabited by the minorities, observing the principle of keeping within the objective possibilities and not going beyond what is economically justified. In all industries in these areas, whether they are state-owned under the central authority or are run by local authorities, attention must be paid to helping the minorities to form their own working class and create their own scientific-technical and administrative personnel. Only thus can the minorities achieve modern levels in

their development in all fields at a relatively rapid rate.

Owing to actual conditions created by history, the minorities stand in need of large-scale aid by the Chinese people in carrying out social reform and in economic and cultural construction. Hence the continued improvement of relations between the Chinese and minority peoples and between Chinese and minority cadres assumes particular importance. At present, in order to improve these relations, the main thing is to overcome Chinese chauvinism.

In the past few years, a great many Chinese cadres have been working in areas inhabited by minorities. Most of them correctly followed the Party's policy towards minorities, fulfilled the tasks assigned them by the Party, and earned the appreciation of the minorities. But there have also been a section of Chinese cadres who did not respect the authority that goes with the posts of the minority cadres and their opinions and, instead of patiently helping the minorities run their own house, simply took everything into their own hands. These shortcomings and mistakes are attributable to the tendency of Chinese chauvinism existing in the minds of some comrades, a tendency to look down upon the minorities.

As all the nationalities in China have worked side by side to give the country her history and her culture, so too in the future they will certainly work side by side to build our great socialist motherland. While the levels attained by China's minorities in their development vary, it is absolutely not true that all of them are backward in all aspects. Some of them have attained the same or roughly the same level as the Chinese people, others have attained a higher level in one or another respect, and it is worthwhile for the Chinese people to learn from them. Each nationality has its own strong points. The idea that the minorities are good at nothing and are inferior to the Chinese people in everything is a viewpoint characteristic of Chinese chauvinism.

To overlook the important part played by the minorities in the Socialist construction of our country is another manifestation

of Chinese chauvinism. Although the minority peoples constitute only six percent of the country's total population, the areas inhabited by them roughly amount to sixty percent of the country's total area. Many of these areas are rich in various kinds of industrial resources. It is clearly wrong to think that our country can be built into a great socialist country through the efforts of the Chinese people alone, without the concerted efforts and active participation of the minorities.

All such tendencies and viewpoints of Chinese chauvinism as mentioned above must be effectively corrected. Only by overcoming even the slightest manifestation of Chinese chauvinism will it be possible to successfully overcome the sentiments of local nationalism among the minorities and to enable all the fraternal nationalities to unite all the more closely in our big family of the people's democracy.

Document 16

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (excerpts)*
(September 26, 1956)

[Goals and Functions.]

Our country is a state with many nationalities. Because of historical reasons, the development of many minorities has been hindered. The Communist Party of China must make special efforts to raise the status of the minorities, help them to attain self-government, endeavour to train cadres from among the minorities, accelerate their economic and cultural advance, bring about complete equality between all the nationalities and strengthen the unity and fraternal relations among them. Social reforms among the nationalities must be carried out by the respective nationalities themselves in accordance with their own wishes, and by taking steps in conformity with their special characteristics. The Party opposes all tendencies to Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism, both of which hamper the unity of nationalities. Special attention must be paid to the prevention and correction of tendencies of Chinese chauvinism on the part of Party members and government workers of Chinese nationality.

[Organizational Principle.]

The organizational principle of the Communist Party of China is democratic centralism, which means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. The

* Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1956), 11-12, 14-15, 26-27.

Party must take effective measures to promote inner-Party democracy, encourage the initiative and creative ability of all Party members and of all local and primary Party organizations and strengthen the lively contact between the higher and lower Party organizations. Only in this way can the Party effectively extend and strengthen its ties with the masses of the people, give correct and timely leadership and adapt itself flexibly to various concrete conditions and local characteristics. And only in this way can Party life be invigorated and the cause of the Party advance on an ever wider scale and at an ever greater pace. Only on this basis, furthermore, can centralism and unity of the Party be consolidated and its discipline be voluntarily, not mechanically observed. Democratic centralism demands that every Party organization should strictly abide by the principles of collective leadership coupled with individual responsibility and that every Party member and Party organization should be subject to Party supervision from above and from below.

Democracy within the Party must not be divorced from centralism. The party is a united militant organization, welded together by a discipline which is obligatory on all its members. Without discipline it would be impossible for the Party to lead the state and the people to overcome their powerful enemies and bring about socialism and communism. As the highest form of class organization, the Party must strive to play a correct role as the leader and core in every aspect of the country's life and must combat any tendency to departmentalism which reduces the Party's role and weakens its unity. Solidarity and unity are the very life of the Party, the source of its strength. It is the sacred duty of every Party member to pay constant attention to the safe-guarding of the solidarity of the Party and the consolidation of its unity. Within the Party, no action which violates the Party's political line or organizational principles is permissible nor is it permissible to carry on activities aimed at

splitting the Party or factional activities, to act independently of the Party, or to place the individual above the collective body of the Party.

Document 17

PROPOSALS OF THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY FOR THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, 1958-62 (excerpt)*

(September 27, 1956)

To promote economic and cultural development in the minority areas, we must improve the work of construction there and by degrees bring about a change in the backward state of these areas.

In our minority areas we should develop industry in a planned and well-prepared way and according to the actual needs and possibilities. We should pay attention to helping expand agriculture, forestry and stockbreeding. We should help improve their transport, postal, tele-communication, trading, banking and credit facilities step by step. At the same time, we should also devote attention to development of their cultural and educational work; make vigorous efforts to train cadres and scientific and technological workers from among them; help them to create or reform their own written languages, set up public health organizations, organize mobile cinema teams; and improve and extend the distribution of publications in minority languages.

Social reforms in the minority areas should, in accordance with the wishes of the people and leading public personages of the different minorities and the specific conditions of the time in each area, be carried out gradually and in a well-prepared way so as to meet the requirements of economic and cultural development in the areas concerned.

* Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1956), I, 229-260.

Document 18

Mao Tse-tung,
THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES*
(February 27, 1957)

The people of the minorities in our country number more than thirty million. Although they constitute only six percent of China's total population, they inhabit areas which altogether comprise fifty to sixty percent of the country's total area. It is therefore imperative to foster good relations between the Chinese people and the minorities. The key to the solution of this problem lies in overcoming Chinese chauvinism. At the same time, where local nationalism exists among minorities, measures should be taken to overcome it. Neither Chinese chauvinism nor local nationalism can do any good to unity among the nationalities, and they should both be overcome as contradictions among the people. We have already done some work in this sphere. In most areas inhabited by minorities, there has been a big improvement in relations among the nationalities, but a number of problems remain to be solved. In certain places, both Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism still exist in a serious degree, and this calls for our close attention. As a result of the efforts of the people of all nationalities over the past few years, democratic reforms and socialist transformation have in the main been completed in most of the minority areas. Because conditions in Tibet are not ripe, democratic reforms have not yet been

* Mao Tse-tung, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1958), 44-46.

carried out there. According to the seventeen-point agreement reached between the central government and the local government of Tibet, reform of the social system must eventually be carried out. But we should not be impatient; when this will be done can only be decided when the great majority of the people of Tibet and their leading public figures consider it practicable. It has now been decided not to carry out reforms in the period of the second five-year plan. Whether or not reforms will be carried out during the third five-year plan period will be decided in the light of the situation obtaining at that time.

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Document 19

Teng Hsiao-p'ing,
ON MINORITIES*
(September 23, 1957)

In all minority areas and among all minority populations where the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production has basically been completed, socialist education should also be carried out and an appropriate struggle waged against the rightists.

Social education and anti-rightist struggles among the minorities have the same content as in the Chinese areas, but stress should also be laid on opposition to tendencies of local nationalism. Among the masses of the people, the method is to compare the new society and the old to bring out the benefits and necessity of national solidarity and unity within the big family of nationalities under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the central government, and to expose the subversive activities of bad elements against national unity. It should be pointed out to the officials and members of the upper strata of the minorities that the tendencies of local nationalism and Chinese ^{dom} chauvinism are both bourgeois, anti-socialist tendencies and a danger to the solidarity and unity of the various nationalities of the socialist motherland. We laid absolutely necessary emphasis in the past on opposition to Chinese chauvinism among Chinese officials and we will continue to

*Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Report on the Rectification Campaign, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1957), 41-3.

stand firmly opposed to it. But it is now similarly necessary to emphasize opposition to local nationalism among minority officials.

It should be clearly recognized that all those who make use of local nationalist sentiments and the estrangement between nationalities left over from the past in order to divide national unity and undermine the unification of the motherland act contrary to China's constitution and jeopardize the socialist cause of our country. They are all anti-socialist rightists. As regards those extremely bad elements who openly instigate national divisions, they should be resolutely exposed and repudiated in order to keep them completely isolated, to educate the masses and the functionaries.

In carrying out socialist education against local nationalism among the minorities, the key lies with the Party organizations in the minority areas. Bourgeois nationalism among the people of a minority can be overcome and solidarity and unity among various nationalities can be consolidated only when a really proletarian-minded Communist nucleus is formed in each of them. Party members of all nationalities must understand that local nationalism is an important aspect of bourgeois ideology which is fundamentally irreconcilable with the world outlook of the proletariat; that it is an ideology opposed to Marxism-Leninism and Communism and that such a bourgeois ideology cannot be tolerated within the Communist Party.

Therefore, the Communist Party organizations in the minority areas must work out plans to carry out education against bourgeois nationalism and, in accordance with specific conditions, make necessary criticism of the local nationalist tendencies conspicuous among some Party members of the minorities.

In the schools training minority officials, the policy for political education there should be changed. In the future,

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stress should be put on class education in the Marxist-Leninist position on the nation, so that the students can acquire a Communist outlook regarding the world and man.

It takes a long time to reach a complete settlement of the nationality question. Therefore criticism of local nationalist tendencies must not be made too hastily, but should be conducted carefully from top to bottom under leadership. Such criticism must have the support of the majority of the Party functionaries and non-Party activists of the minorities. Chinese functionaries should continue to pay attention to examining into and criticizing the tendency of Chinese chauvinism, while local minority functionaries should lay stress on examining into and criticizing local nationalism. Only when constant attention is paid to oppose bourgeois nationalism (including Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism) will it be possible steadily to raise the ideological level of the Communist Party members and the masses of people of various nationalities and consolidate and strengthen the solidarity and unity of the nationalities.

In the minority areas where democratic reforms have been completed but socialist transformation is not yet carried out, the struggle against rightists must not be waged among the general public. But socialist education can be conducted within certain sections and in an appropriate way.

Document 20

Wang Feng,

ON THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN AND SOCIALIST EDUCATION
AMONG MINORITIES*

(February 9, 1958)

I

Since the forum on work among minorities held in Tsingtao in 1957 under the joint auspices of the Nationalities Committee (of the National People's Congress) and the Nationalities Affairs Commission (of the State Council), Chinese Communist Party committees and governments in relevant areas, under the leadership of the central authorities and in accordance with the directive of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, have one after another developed among the minorities the rectification campaign and socialist education movement, centered on opposition to nationalism. In these minority areas where the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production has been basically realized, inside and outside the Party, among the cadres and the people, there is being developed on a large scale the great debate over the two roads of capitalism and socialism, and in combination with the criticism of local nationalism, there is being debated the great right and wrong concerning the roads of capitalism and socialism, the nationalist stand and the socialist stand, and there has also been promoted the anti-rightist struggle. In those minority areas where

* Hsinhua, February 28, 1958; translated in U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong, Current Background, No. 495, 4-20.

democratic reform has been basically accomplished and socialist transformation has been started, forms appropriate to local conditions are being adopted to educate the cadres and the people on socialism and patriotism. In those minority areas where democratic reform has not been carried out and the people are proceeding directly to the stage of socialism, propaganda and education are also being developed among the cadres and the people on socialism and patriotism.

During the past few years, under the leadership of the Party and the government, with the efforts exerted by the people of all nationalities and the cadres of various nationalities, gigantic achievements have been reported in the work among minorities. Regional autonomy has been set up covering over 90 percent of minority people who live in compact communities. Socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production has been basically completed among more than 85 percent of the minority people. More than 400 modern industrial enterprises have been established in the minority areas. An army of minority workers, already numbering some 200,000, is being built up. The minorities have registered varying degrees of growth in agriculture, animal husbandry, afforestation, culture and education. Their living standards have shown a certain advance. There are now more than 400,000 minority cadres working in various posts. 450,000 minority workers and intellectuals have become members of the Communist Party.

These achievements have brought about a fundamental change. The unity among the nationalities has been strengthened on a new basis and to a degree never seen before.

There is clear evidence of a surging development among the various minorities. Particularly, those where not even a handicraft workshop had existed, let alone big factories, now have modern industries. Written languages have been or are being

created where these have not existed before. Many schools, hospitals and shops have been set up where previously there had not been even a single primary school, hospital or shop. Railways and motor roads have been extended to out-of-the-way areas. New cities have arisen where there never have been any economic or cultural centres. The fall in the population of a number of minorities has been arrested and their numbers are now increasing.

These achievements and changes testify to the correctness of the policy towards minorities of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Without any doubt, they have laid a good foundation for a leap forward among all the nationalities.

However, on the road of the victorious march of the people, of all nationalities, we cannot say that no difficulties have been encountered, but we must rather say that there have been numerous difficulties. It is worth pointing out that after the basic realization of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production in the absolute majority of minority areas, local nationalism has seen a new growth. From data exposed during the current rectification campaign, such ideology has found growth not only among a few minorities, but rather among many minorities. It is not only reflected clearly among certain people outside the Party, but also seriously reflected within the Party. Some high ranking cadres among certain minorities also have such ideological trends. Among certain people, local nationalism has even developed to a very serious and alarming stage.

Local nationalism is sharply projected in the following three ways:

(1) Over the issue of regional autonomy for minorities, it finds expression in the disregard for historical development and actual conditions, and the unprincipled demand by leaders of autonomous areas for larger administrative areas and higher

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administrative positions. In certain areas, there even exists to a grave extent separatist tendencies, the tendency toward secession from the big family of the motherland.

(2) Over the issue of relations among the nationalities, it finds expression in the reservedness toward other nationalities, the opposition to unity and cooperation among the nationalities, the ousting of Chinese cadres and people especially, the rejection of the Chinese people's help, and the refusal to learn from the advanced nationalities.

(3) Over the issue of Communist Party construction, it finds expression in the opposition to Party unity and solidarity, the contravention of Party principles, the attempt to split the Party with bourgeois nationalist principles, the idea that no Party members other than those of one's own minority can seek happiness for this minority, the demand to divide Party organizations according to their component ratios of nationalities, the attitude of rejection toward the participation in local Party organizations by Party members of other nationalities from other areas, and especially the opposition to the assumption of leading posts in local Party organizations by Party members of other nationalities from other areas.

How is it that, while most minority areas in China have virtually realized socialist transformation in the system of ownership of the means of production, local nationalism has grown instead of diminished? Of course, this is not accidental. In the nation as a whole, the change in the system of ownership of the means of production has basically solved the problems in the socialist revolution on the economic front. However, it has not solved and cannot solve the problems in the socialist revolution on the political and the ideological fronts. The reason is that, despite the change in the system of ownership of the means of production, the issue is not yet clear in the struggle between

the socialist and the capitalist roads. This struggle still constitutes the principal contradiction during the period of transition. This contradiction is most conspicuously manifested in the fact that the bourgeoisie and its intellectuals are not yet convinced, or not yet fully convinced of the justness of the change in the system of ownership of the means of production or the leading position of the proletariat. Part of them even attempt to seize the leadership of the Communist Party and to restore the capitalistic system. And the minorities are not exempted from this state of affairs. The growth of local nationalism reflects the antagonism and opposition to socialism by the bourgeois elements and elements of other exploiting classes among the minorities who do not accept transformation.

It is evident that among the minorities, too, there must be carried out a political and ideological socialist revolution in the wake of the victory in the socialist revolution on the economic front. And the struggle against local nationalism is an important fact of this revolution. Should it be socialism, or should it be nationalism? This is a basic question involving the destiny of the various minorities. It is also an important question concerned with the unity and solidarity of the great motherland. Unless this question is solved, it will be impossible to win the victory in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, to consolidate the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among the various nationalities, or to strengthen the socialist system in the minority areas. Unless this question is solved, the prosperity and progress of the various minorities will also be impeded.

Since the opposition to local nationalism is a component part of the struggle between the two roads, the contradictions in this connection must necessarily be classified as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves in certain respects and as

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contradictions within the ranks of the people in all other respects. Local nationalists are bourgeois rightists wearing a nationalist overcoat. They are reactionaries who oppose socialism and the Communist Party leadership and sabotage the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among the various nationalities. They are remnants of the feudal society who do not accept transformation. They are mostly part of the bourgeoisie, bourgeois intellectuals and elements of other exploiting classes. They form only a very small portion either in their minorities or in their classes. The contradictions between them and ourselves are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. We must thoroughly expose and criticize them and completely isolate them. Under the present circumstances in our country, though as a rule the handling of the contradictions between the nationalists and ourselves may be by means of laying down facts and giving reasons without resorting to pressure and coercion, the contradictions between them and us are nevertheless contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. People with nationalist tendencies are different from nationalists. The former, though they have certain ideological mistakes and cherish some erroneous views on the socialist system, the Communist Party leadership, the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among nationalities, and though some of them have more or less expressed sympathy with and accepted certain views of the nationalists, are yet, as a rule, able to accept the Communist Party leadership and to support the socialist system, the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among nationalities. Their chief characteristic is that they waver between socialism and nationalism. They are evolved from the bourgeoisie, bourgeois intellectuals and other exploiting classes of the minorities. They form the great majority of the people cooperating with us. The contradictions between them and ourselves are contradictions within the ranks of the people. We must deal with them according to the principle "unity - criticism -

unity," adopt the method of cool reasoning, sincerely point out their shortcomings and mistakes, gently lead them to overcome these shortcomings and mistakes, and persuade them to go ever onward and to take an active part in the struggle against local nationalism. It must be pointed out that it is an extremely important task to win over people cherishing the middle-of-the-road attitude. Only by winning them over, can we make the movement develop more healthily and win the perfect victory. In this connection, particular attention should be paid to strictly distinguishing between the two kinds of contradictions in the course of the struggle against local nationalism. While we must not ignore the existence of the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and must not classify the contradictions between the nationalists and ourselves as contradictions within the ranks of the people, we must also not exaggerate the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and must not handle the contradictions between people with nationalist tendencies and us as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves.

Both local nationalism and Chinese chauvinism are bourgeois ideas which are incompatible with socialism in principle and should be firmly opposed. For several years the Party has emphatically opposed Chinese chauvinism among the Chinese people. During the two nation-wide inspections of the implementation of the nationalities policies in 1952 and 1956, emphasis was laid on criticizing Chinese chauvinism. This was absolutely necessary. Of course, tendencies of Chinese chauvinism still exist today. In certain areas, they even exist to a grave extent. Hence, Chinese chauvinism must continue to be opposed in the future. However, now that local nationalism has become so conspicuous among many minorities as to form a dangerous tendency against which we must be vigilant, emphasis is called for on opposing local nationalism among the minorities.

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In the course of the present movement, great efforts must be exerted to lead the majority of minority cadres and people to distinguish clearly between the socialist stand and the nationalist stand over the major issues of right and wrong, so that they may generally heighten their socialist and patriotic consciousness, so that the reactionary nationalists may be completely isolated, so that the objectives of consolidating the socialist system, strengthening the Party leadership and further consolidate the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among nationalities may be achieved. What, then are the basic differences between the socialist stand and the nationalist stand over the major issues of right and wrong?

First of all, with respect to the attitude toward the big united family of the motherland and the relations among the various nationalities of China, the socialist stand supports the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among nationalities, while the nationalist stand impairs or even splits the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among nationalities. This, then, is the first basic difference between these two stands. The unity of the motherland and the solidarity among nationalities are the basic guarantee to socialist construction. Among China's population of over 600 million people, the Chinese account for more than 94 percent. They are also more developed politically, economically and culturally. But they are scattered over places with a total area less than one-half of the area of the country. Though the minorities account for only six percent of the country's population and are less developed politically, economically and culturally, yet they are scattered over places with a total area more than one-half of the country's area. These places are also rich in natural resources.

As a result of historical development, most nationalities are mingled with each other in the areas where they live. Moreover, the nationalities have close economic links and together

instigated the warmonger Ma Pu-feng, an exile of the Hui minority to carry on intrigues for a so-called Taiwan-on-the-mainland in the area of Northwest China inhabited by the Hui minority.

Of course these intrigues of the imperialists are resolutely opposed by the people of all nationalities and are doomed to come to nothing. The people of all nationalities of China believe in close unity as the only way that will give them strength enough to protect themselves from imperialist aggression. Any nationality, if it succeeds in secession, will not only lose for certain the great achievements of liberation and equality which have already been effected, but will also fall for certain under the yoke of imperialism once more.

Third, the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among nationalities are the basic requirements of the historical development of our country. In remote days, China was already a country of many nationalities practicing the system of centralism. In the long history of co-existence, the various nationalities developed economic ties and cultural exchanges among themselves. On numerous occasions, they joined forces against foreign aggression. In common, they protected and developed the territory of the motherland and created the history and culture of the motherland. Notwithstanding the existence in history of systems of oppression which created estrangement among the nationalities, the connections among the people of various nationalities still saw uninterrupted development. In the past 100 years, the imperialist invasion of China caused the destinies of the various nationalities to be closely united with one another. In the past 30 years or so, especially, in the people's great revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party, the friendship among the people of the various nationalities was further strengthened. Such a long course of the historical development of our country led to the formation of an irresistible and inevitable trend, namely, the trend toward a united people's China built in common by all

nationalities. On such a historical foundation, the various nationalities of China set up in 1949 the united People's Republic of China. Any nationality attempting secession is acting contrary to the trend of the long historical development and its basic requirement.

The above-mentioned conditions have adequately explained this truth: Only by uniting themselves in the big united family of the motherland can the various nationalities of China construct socialism and resist imperialism. Any nationality, if it attempts to secede from the big family of the motherland, is bound to leave the socialist road and follow the imperialist and colonial road. Either it follows the socialist road which is a road to prosperity, or it follows the imperialist and colonial road, which is a road to extinction. There is no middle course.

The above-mentioned conditions have also adequately explained that separation, or the so-called independent construction of nationalities, can be only of advantage to imperialism, not to the people of the various nationalities. Under many circumstances, this separatism is like a stick, one end of which is found in the country while the other end is found outside the country. The "independence" movement of Tibet is a good illustration of this point.

Among the various separatist ideas is that of setting up in China federal republics and autonomous republics. This is quite wrong.

Historical development has provided an economic and political foundation for the setting up of autonomy minorities inside the united country, but has not provided any conditions for the setting up of federal republics. Let us ask ourselves: How can the Chinese who account for 94 percent of the country's population, and the people of several dozen minorities who account for only 6 percent of the same, set up their separate federal republics and

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autonomous republics? Under the circumstances of mingled and dispersed populations of most minorities, these circumstances being the result of historical development, how are we to lay the boundary lines separating these minority republics from one another? How are we to sever the united social and economic integrity formed by the development of history? Obviously, the federal system is not suited to the conditions in our country and is against the interests of the various nationalities of China in making progress.

The facts show that our policy of regional autonomy under the unified state system and not the federal system can solve China's nationality problems satisfactorily. Regional autonomy makes it possible for the minorities to exercise their rights as masters of their country, to develop the minorities and promote their well-being in line with the situation in the country as a whole and in their own areas. This policy also unites all the fraternal nationalities of the great unified country on the basis of equal political status and equal right, leads them to help and coordinate with each other and to manage and build their country together. And this creates still more favorable conditions for the development of the various minorities themselves. The work of implementing regional autonomy is still continuing. The Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region will be set up in the first half of this year; these will be great events in China's political life and great victories for our country's nationalities policy.

Over the issue of regional autonomy, there existed an erroneous state of affairs at the beginning of the rectification campaign, namely, the disregard for the unified leadership of the country, disregard for actual and historical conditions, unprincipled demand for larger autonomous areas and greater autonomous administrative positions. The various autonomous areas are inseparable parts of the motherland and must respect the united

law governing social development. However, the fusion of the nationalities will certainly not be accomplished within a short time but will need a long historical process. In the process of constructing socialism in common, as a result of the various nationalities approaching one another and influencing one another, certain signs of fusion have appeared among the nationalities. This is not undesirable; on the contrary, it is desirable. We have all along opposed the assimilation of the minorities by force, because that is oppression. But we will never oppose the natural fusion among the nationalities, because this is the progressive trend of historical development. Closely related to this is the question of understanding the customs and traditions of the minorities and the attitude toward them. We think that the customs and traditions of the minorities are the result of peculiar conditions of social life, that they cannot remain unchanged as the conditions of social life change. Besides, some of these customs and traditions are good while others are not. To preserve and promote the good traditions is both desirable and necessary. But to lay indiscriminate emphasis on preserving and promoting all the customs and traditions of the minorities or to do so regardless of their compatibility with socialism, is very wrong.

Another basic difference between the socialist stand and the nationalist stand is that, while the former supports the leadership of the Party, the latter opposes it.

The Chinese Communist Party is the leadership core in the socialist construction of China. In his political report delivered to the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i said, "The socialist undertakings of China cannot dispense with the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the dictatorship of the proletariat is realized as a result of the leadership of the political party of the proletariat, namely, the Communist Party. As the Chinese Communist Party is ideologically armed with

Marxism-Leninism, possesses a correct political line and organizational line, and is rich in experiences of struggles and work, its leadership is good at gathering up the wisdom of all the people in the country and translating this wisdom into a united will and disciplined action. In order that China may efficiently deal with the complicated affairs at home as well as abroad, we must have the leadership of such a Party. We needed this leadership before. We will need it again." [See Document 15.]

This adequately shows that it is absolutely impossible for the various minorities to build socialism without the leadership of the Communist Party. For reasons of historical development, the minorities in China are not advanced politically, economically or culturally. Some were still at the stage of a slave-owning and serf systems even in the early years after liberation. If the Chinese Communist Party did not lead the country along the socialist road, how could all the minorities register within the short period of eight years what is universally recognized as marked growth politically, economically and culturally? And how could the minorities in their various stages of development come to build socialism, by passing one or several stages of social development? All this would be obviously impossible.

It must be pointed out that the Chinese Communist Party genuinely represents and protects the interests of all nationalities in China. It always persists in the principle of absolute equality of all nationalities and resolutely opposes discrimination and oppression between nationalities. The Communist Manifesto says, "In the struggles of the proletariat of different nations, they (the Communists) propound and maintain the interests of the entire proletariat as up and above the nationalist interests." Lenin said, "In order to be an internationalist social democrat, one must do more than thinking in terms of one's own nation, but should regard the interests of all nations and the common liberty and equality of all nations as up and above those of one's own

nation." The glorious nationalities policy of our Party and its principle and spirit in dealing with the nationalities problem adequately demonstrate this characteristic of the Party. For long years, the various minorities of China suffered from oppression. The system of oppression was abolished only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The policy of equality among all nationalities has been practiced. We are heading for the magnificent target of prosperity. But for the Communist Party it would have been impossible to achieve the liberation of the minorities on the equality among nationalities, or to have prosperity. It is evident that only the Chinese Communist Party genuinely stands for and supports the interests of the various nationalities of China. Is this not obvious?

The people of the various minorities of China must truthfully and sincerely support the leadership of the Party and resolutely oppose any words or acts tending to weaken or oppose the leadership of the Party. In the course of the present rectification campaign, certain nationalists attacked the leadership of the Party without reserve. Among their utterances were "The Communist Party is the party of the Chinese people and cannot stand for the interests of minorities" and "We can achieve prosperity even without the Communist Party." All such utterances are extremely reactionary. The leadership of the Communist Party is the decisive factor in socialist construction. The nationalists attacked the Party in order to overthrow its leadership and restore capitalism. But the majority of the people of the various minorities firmly believe in the Communist Party. The conspiracy of the nationalists is but "a moth that tries to shake a tree," and, like it, will be shattered to pieces.

The strength of Party leadership lies in the unity and solidarity of the Party. Lenin once said, "The proletariat can become, and will inevitably become, an invincible force simply because it is consolidated by the ideological unity brought about

by the Marxist principles, and the organic material unity. This organization unites millions of laborers into a grand army of the working class." It was also pointed out in the resolution on strengthening the Party's solidarity adopted by the Fourth Plenum of the seventh CCP Central Committee, "The unity of the Party is the life of the Party, and the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism."

Just because the solidarity and unity of the Party are of so great a significance, certain nationalists with hidden intentions tried to weaken the leadership of the Party by splitting its unity and solidarity. They said that Party members other than those of one's own minority could not seek happiness for this minority. This, of course, is very wrong. We have all along been of the opinion that only a selfless Communist, regardless of his nationality, can closely unite with the majority of the people, can genuinely stand for the interests of the various minorities. If a cadre even though of one's own minority, acts contrary to the Communist principles and sabotages the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among the nationalities, he cannot stand for the interests of that minority but will even impair them. Since liberation, many Chinese Party members have settled down and worked among the minorities, and have whole-heartedly served the local people, mingling with the cadres and people of the minorities, promoting the social progress and prosperity there, and thus winning the welcome and support of the people of minorities. Does this not exactly demonstrate this point? On the other hand, those local nationalists among the minorities who claim to stand for the interests of the minorities have been exposed in the course of the present rectification campaign and found to be adventurers who impair the interests of the minorities from beginning to end. Does this not demonstrate the point from another angle?

Certain nationalists advocated the division of Party organizations according to their component ratios of nationalities.

This is even more reactionary. The unity and solidarity of Party organizations and the bolshevization of cadres constitute the supreme principle of the Party's organizational line. In the past, the Party proposed that cadres should assume a nationality character, the chief purpose being to foster and utilize the minority cadres. All cadres, including the Chinese cadres, were called upon to penetrate into the midst of reality to understand the actual local conditions, to note the characteristics of the minorities adequately, to unite in one with the local masses. In this respect, the minority cadres have created numerous favorable conditions. As a result, the Party has all along paid attention to fostering minority cadres, to recruiting Party members from people of the minorities, and, as far as possible, to promoting minority cadres to posts in local leadership organs. This is entirely necessary and correct. And the achievements in this connection are great. Hence, we will not allow the sabotaging of the Party principle of unity and solidarity under the excuse of nationality character, much less the division of Party organizations according to their component ratios of nationalities.

It was pointed out in the resolution on strengthening the Party's solidarity adopted by the Fourth Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee, "To sabotage the Party's solidarity is to act contrary to the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, is to help the enemy endanger the life of the Party." Separatism over the issue of the Party is not only one of the most dangerous ideas tending to sabotage the solidarity and unity of the Party, but also a necessarily reactionary idea tending to split the unity of the motherland and the solidarity among nationalities. It must be resolutely opposed.

Summing up the above, the basic difference between the socialist stand and the nationalist stand is also the basic difference between the socialist road and the capitalist road. We must conquer the nationalist stand with the socialist stand. We

must conquer the capitalist road with the socialist road. This, then, is the great task of the people of the various minorities in the current political and ideological revolution.

III

The rectification and socialist education campaign is gaining momentum among the minorities. Our task is to continue to deepen this campaign among the minorities, persist in carrying through to the end the struggle against local nationalism and strive for complete victory in the campaign. In the course of the campaign, attention should be continually paid to the following questions:

(1) Leadership must be strengthened over the campaign. Inasmuch as the campaign is a thorough socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, the leading bodies of the Party and government in the districts concerned are required to carry on the campaign with their greatest determination before it can achieve a complete victory. On the other hand, the rectification and criticism of local nationalism is a complicated work. Because of this and also the different conditions of different nationalities and different districts as well as the fact that the Party foundation is still weak among many minorities and Communist hard-core elements of local minorities are still few among some minorities, the leading bodies are required to take a careful attitude and proper steps to advance steadily while guarding against any simple and rash approach. At the same time, care should be taken not to equate minority feelings with nationalism, nor to take and criticize those epistemological errors in actual work and certain unconscious muddled thoughts as manifestations of nationalism.

(2) The majority of functionaries and people should be given a profound socialist education. The present campaign must

start first among Party members and cadres, with emphasis placed on the Party. It should be brought home to all Party members and cadres that the nationalist standpoint, be it the standpoint of Chinese chauvinism or the standpoint of local nationalism, is incompatible with socialism, with the proletarian outlook of nationalities and with Marxism-Leninism and is opposite to the road of uniting all nationalities to build socialism in common and to the fundamental principle of Party-building and that they should consciously examine and correct the nationalist standpoint. Where conditions are present, the campaign should be extended in time to schools, factories and the countryside so that the broad masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals and clergy can receive a widespread and penetrating socialist education concerning the nationalities problem. In factories, the workers and office employees of all nationalities should be further impressed with the important significance of strengthening the unity of nationalities and the unity of the working class and with their interrelations. In the countryside, the peasants of all nationalities should be guided to combine their love for nationalities with love for the motherland and to combine the prosperity of nationalities with the socialist road; the cooperatives built by members of several nationalities should take special care to improve the relations between members of various nationalities. The intellectuals should be enlightened on the proletarian outlook of nationalities and helped to overcome their bourgeois outlook of nationalities. In religious circles, education in loving the country, abiding by law and opposing bad men and bad things should be conducted so as to strengthen the patriotic and law-abiding conception. At the same time, minority people, who live in scattered parts of town and country, should be organized by the departments concerned to receive general socialist education together with the local people and, in addition, should be called by the nationalities affairs departments or the united

front work departments of the Party to forums at which they can receive socialist education concerning the nationalities problem.

(3) Place reliance on the minority hardcore cadres. In the present campaign, the communist backbone elements among the minority people must be firmly relied upon. At the same time, the vast majority of the people must be trusted. In the process of work, care should generally be taken to thrash out the questions and achieve identity of understanding among the minority hardcore elements first and to rely on them for mobilizing the people of their minorities. This is the way to ensure smooth progress of the campaign. It has been proved that the majority of cadres and people among the minorities earnestly support the Party call and have actively thrown themselves into the struggle against nationalism. This is an important guarantee of complete victory in the campaign.

(4) Pay attention to administrative improvement. Our work among minorities shows some drawbacks and mistakes and, in some cases, serious ones. Such drawbacks and mistakes must be checked up and rectified by the Party committees and government organs of the districts concerned from time to time. Moreover, at a certain time the campaign should enter the stage of administrative improvement in the spirit of the Party directives. At the stage of administrative improvement, the way the nationalities policy is carried out should be seriously checked up and drawbacks and mistakes in work must be rectified resolutely and thoroughly with special attention paid to solving some problems whose solution is possible and is urgently demanded by the local people. On no account may we slacken rectification of drawbacks and mistakes because of criticism of local nationalism and of other circumstances. Only thus can we go a step further to win over and unite with those middle-of-the-roaders among the minority people, completely isolate the local nationalists and raise our work among minorities a step forward. Any attempt to cover up mistakes and

evade rectification must be strictly guarded against and corrected.

(5) Chinese Party members and cadres must seriously criticize Chinese chauvinism. The rectification and socialist education campaign among the Chinese, Chinese Party members and Chinese cadres in the autonomous areas must be conducted in the same way as the Party Center expects it to be conducted in the Chinese areas. Chinese Party members and cadres should all the more seriously examine and criticize their Chinese chauvinism which is serious in some cases. The growth of local nationalism must not be taken as an excuse for slackening check-up and criticism of Chinese chauvinism. It appears that some Chinese cadres do not check up their Chinese chauvinism and some even take the opportunity to resist the Party's nationalities policy of equality. They are wrong and must be resolutely rectified. Only thus can the Chinese be helped to imbibe the idea of equality of nationalities and can the minority people be helped to overcome local nationalism. In the rectification campaign, Chinese Party members and cadres and minority and cadres and minority Party members and cadres may and should criticize each other but must lay stress on criticism of nationalism among their own nationalities and must avoid mutual antagonism between nationalities so as to achieve the objective of distinguishing right and wrong and strengthening unity.

It must be mentioned here that some people, in view of the growth of local nationalism among minority people, cast doubt on the correctness of the Party's nationalities policy and even take the view that from now on the policy of regional autonomy may be discontinued, the characteristics, customs and habits of nationalities will no longer be taken into consideration and minority cadres will no longer be fostered. Certainly this view is wrong in the extreme. The Party's nationalities policy is formulated on the basis of integration of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on

nationalities problem with the practice of our country, and the correctness of this policy has been fully borne out by the great success in our work among minorities over the past years. Even if one pays only slight attention to the victory already scored in the unification of the motherland and the unity of all nationalities and to the political, economic and cultural development gained among the minority people in the short span of a few years, one will not cast the slightest doubt on the correctness of the Party's policy towards minorities. The growth of local nationalism is a phenomenon that is bound to show itself in the struggle of socialism against capitalism. Even if one pays only slight attention to the class change that is taking place in our country, one will not cast the slightest doubt on the Party's policy. The Party's policy of equality of all nationalities, a policy that also combats nationalism, is a long-term policy which must be implemented at all times. Any failure to implement this policy seriously is not to be permitted.

There are still some people who, in view of the anti-socialist activities carried on by some reactionary strata and clergy of the minorities, doubt the necessity for implementing the Party's united front policy and the policy of freedom in religious belief among the upper strata. This view is also wrong. During the present rectification campaign, some upper strata of minorities and some upper strata of religious circles have launched vicious attacks on the Party and the people. Their anti-Party and anti-socialist activities that undermine the unification of the motherland and the unity of nationalities aroused the indignation of the people of all nationalities and a stern struggle against the rightists. This firm struggle is completely justified. The bourgeoisie rightists among all nationalities are enemies of the people and, if they are not resolutely combatted and completely isolated among the people, the building of nationalism among all nationalities and the development and prosperity

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of all nationalities will be put at a great disadvantage. Any rightist thinking in this respect must be firmly opposed. But it must be realized that such reactionaries constitute after all only a small portion among the upper strata and among the clergy of the minorities of the whole country and that the majority of the upper strata of the minorities and religious circles have made progress in varying degrees under Party and government education. Many of them have done much work at different posts and become state functionaries. While quite a number of persons in the upper strata of minorities and religious circles object to socialism in varying degrees and make erroneous utterances and commit erroneous acts--which must be subjected to criticism and education--their problems are still problems within the ranks of the people and they are fundamentally different from the rightists. Thus, there is no ground to doubt the necessity for continuing the Party's united front policy. The Party will continue to carry out the united front policy and continue to unite with and reform all those that can be united with and reformed among the upper strata, taking Chairman Mao's six criteria as its political basis. The upper strata of the minorities must support the leadership of the Communist Party, support Socialism, safeguard the unification and unity of the motherland and strengthen their own reform. Whether the upper strata of public functionaries perform labor and receive training may be determined on a voluntary basis and according to their physical conditions and other conditions. To cast doubt on the Party policy of freedom in religious belief is all the more groundless. The Communists can only enforce this policy and no other policy concerning the people's religious beliefs. Besides, the policy of freedom in religious belief is a long-term policy and, as long as the people believe in religion, we will enforce this policy. But religious circles must love the country and abide by laws; on no account are they allowed to exploit the freedom of religious belief in carrying on anti-

socialist activities. It should be pointed out in particular that instances of bad men and bad things are considerable where the religious circles of minorities violate the rule of loving the country and abiding by law. It is therefore necessary during the present campaign to teach the religious circles to love the country, abide by law and oppose bad men and bad things. Otherwise, not only the socialist system and the unity and unification of all nationalities but also the policy of freedom in religious belief and the religious circles themselves will be put at a great disadvantage.

IV

Judging by the progress of the present rectification campaign, we can see that the vast majority of minority Party members and cadres are good but also that many Party members and cadres are imbued with nationalist and other bourgeois thinking and that still some cannot distinguish the socialist standpoint from the capitalist standpoint. This is because most of the minority Party members and cadres have joined the Party and taken part in government work only after liberation and many of them have come from families of exploiting classes. In general, they still lack Marxist-Leninist class education and have not been steeled in class struggle; they also lack the proletariat outlook of nationalities and have not been steeled in the struggle against local nationalism. Because of this, quite a few members and cadres have many ideological and even political problems to be solved. This state of affairs presents us with a serious political problem, that is, how to intensify training of Communist cadres coming from minorities. Chairman Mao instructed us in 1949: "Without large numbers of Communist cadres coming from minorities, it is impossible to solve thoroughly the nationalities policy and isolate completely the minority reactionaries." Comrade Teng

Hsiao-p'ing also pointed out in his report delivered in 1957 on the rectification campaign: "Only when a Communist core with proletarian awakening is formed among the minorities can the bourgeois nationalist tendencies be overcome and can the unity and unification of all nationalities be consolidated." [See Document 19.] Thus, to foster the Communist cadres among the minorities is a key to the minorities problem, and to overlook this problem is bound to do considerable damage to our work. The Party has done much to foster Communist cadres among the minorities and has achieved certain results over the past years. But the work in this respect is still far behind the development of the situation. Communist cadres of minorities are inadequate in number and their quality still needs to be bettered. In order to consolidate further the unification of the motherland and unity of nationalities and to carry through the socialist revolution to the end, it is necessary to strengthen the fostering of Communist cadres of minorities so that all minorities will have adequate numbers of Communist cadres capable of weathering any storm and stress. To this end, we must resolutely overcome all drawbacks that were found in our political and ideological work among the cadres in the past and must conduct Marxist-Leninist class education among the majority of cadres of the minorities so that they can understand the great historical significance of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and can understand the law governing the class struggle during the transition period. They are required to establish the proletarian standpoint, hold the class viewpoint of the proletariat and learn the proletarian methods of analysis. Only thus can they, under all complex conditions, persistently struggle for the revolutionary cause to the end without losing their bearings.

In order to communize cadres, it is also necessary to enlighten the minority cadres on the proletarian outlook of nationalities in coordination with the present struggle against local

nationalism. It should be brought home to them that, as the proletariat does not exploit anybody but struggles for building a social system free from exploitation, it firmly opposes oppression and stands for complete equality of all nationalities, that it firmly opposes bourgeois attempts to split the working class and the working people of all nationalities, and that it resolutely opposes bourgeois obstruction to approach of the people of all nationalities and stands for constant increases of friendship between the people of all nationalities, taking the view that all nationalities will gradually head towards universal harmony. The minority cadres must establish the above proletarian outlook of nationalities and resolutely oppose any manifestations of nationalism. Only thus can they firmly struggle for unity and unification of all nationalities.

In order to communize cadres, it is also necessary to intensify education in the mass viewpoint and labor viewpoint among the minority cadres. It should be brought home to them that to serve the people wholeheartedly, believe in the masses, rely on the masses and learn from the masses is a quality that must animate all revolutionaries. They are required to strengthen their ties with the masses and overcome any thinking and working style that belittle the masses and estrange them from the masses. It should also be brought home to them that labor creates the world, labor is a matter of honor and every revolutionary cadre must temper himself in productive labor. Only when they have established a mass viewpoint and a labor viewpoint and give expressions to such viewpoints in their work and life can they truly form a compact with the masses.

In order to communize cadres, it is also necessary to intensify education designed to heighten revolutionary vigor. The great target of struggle set by the whole nation today is to build our country in the next fifteen years into a powerful socialist country with modern industry, agriculture, science and

culture and to catch up with or surpass Great Britain in the production of iron and steel and other major industrial products. In the next fifteen years, the minorities are to be helped to gain a tremendous development. Not only are all minorities to pass over to socialist society but, economically and culturally, those minorities which are not far behind the Chinese are to attain or approach the level of the Chinese and those minorities which are far behind the Chinese are to gain a marked development. In order to complete such heroic and grand work, the people and cadres of all nationalities must, with a revolutionary will and vigor and full of labor enthusiasm, overcome all difficulties and devote themselves to production and work. It should be brought home to the minority cadres that every revolutionary cadre must be a promoter, forging ahead on each front and backing and promoting the development of all kinds of new things, and that every cadre should oppose those retreaters who lack vitality, stress difficulties and peculiar conditions and adopt a passive attitude towards new things. Only thus can socialist construction gain a thriving development in the minority areas.

It should be recognized that the proletarian outlook of nationalities is the foundation of Marxist-Leninist thinking and that only when this foundation is basically laid can other problems be solved. Education is Marxist-Leninist outlook of nationalities, mass viewpoint, labor viewpoint and revolutionary heroism and is essential to the establishment of the proletarian class viewpoint. To educate the minority cadres in the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint is aimed at the eventual establishment of the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the world and outlook of life by the minority cadres and at their struggle for the Communist cause to the end.

The present rectification and criticism of local nationalism give the cadres of all minorities a most impressive proletarian education concerning classes and proletarian outlook of nationalities.

ties. It must be pointed out that the bourgeois nationalism is incompatible with the proletarian world outlook. Persons imbued with nationalist thinking will not only show defects in class viewpoint, mass viewpoint and labor viewpoint but also lack revolutionary vigor. They are often characterized not only in individualism but also sectarianism. It is remarkable how one is likely to degenerate into a revisionist if he takes a nationalist view of the revolutionary problems. Thus, persons imbued with serious nationalist thinking cannot pass the test of socialism if they do not thoroughly examine and correct their mistakes and do not establish the Marxist-Leninist view of classes and outlook of nationalities but adhere to the nationalist standpoint during the present campaign. Even those persons, particularly the leading cadres, who are imbued with slight nationalist thinking, should also be courageous enough to 'kindle fire to burn themselves' and criticize themselves so as to temper themselves. Criticism and self-criticism are sharp weapons with which the Communists and all revolutionary cadres reform themselves. All comrades of minorities should bravely and properly apply this weapon.

V

The rectification campaign and socialist education over the past months and the preliminary criticism of local nationalism have achieved marked results in many minority areas. The class awakening minority cadres and people has been heightened and the friendship between all nationalities has been promoted. With thinking and understanding corrected, a new outlook of unprecedented activity appears in work and production.

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, for example, planned to expand its irrigated area by 134,000 hectares this year, 70% more than last year. But this was soon overfulfilled. Now over 40,000 more hectares of land, it is estimated, will be brought under irrigation this year.

The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region has also made an upward revision in its water conservancy plans for this year, to benefit 200,000 hectares of land instead of the original 136,000 hectares.

In Kwangsi, where the Chuang Autonomous Region is being set up, water conservancy projects already built since the beginning of winter can irrigate 734,000 hectares of formerly dry land. This is far more than the total area brought under irrigation in the past eight years.

Many other areas in which the autonomy of minorities has been established have worked out programs for a forward drive in agriculture and animal husbandry, and set about putting those programs into operation by giving active leadership to the people in an effort to stimulate an upsurge in production.

All this confirms how absolutely necessary and correct it was to start the rectification campaign and the socialist education movement against nationalism among the minorities. The movement is bringing about a profound political and ideological change in people and is greatly altering the production situation in all its aspects.

The rectification and socialist education campaign is spreading to all sections of the minorities. We are firmly convinced that as a result of this great campaign the unification and unity of all nationalities and the cause of building socialism will certainly take a leap forward.

Let us hold aloft the brilliant banner of invincible Marxism-Leninism and forge ahead on the high tide of socialist construction.

Document 21

Chou En-lai,

REPORT OF THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT (excerpt)*

(April 18, 1959)

In the work concerning minorities, the government has had great success in the past four years in further promoting regional autonomy on the principle of insuring the unity of the country and equality in accordance with the stipulations of the Constitution. In addition to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region have been successively established. A Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region has also been established. Moreover, twenty-nine autonomous ^{infectious} chou and ^{counties} fifty-four autonomous hsien have been established in Ch'inghai, Kansu, Sinkiang, Yunnan, Szechwan, Kweichow and other provinces and autonomous regions. These autonomous areas comprise more than thirty minorities.

In the minority areas, with the exception of Tibet and a very few other places, democratic reforms have been carried out and socialist transformation has been accomplished in the main, and on this basis the switch to the people's communes has been realized. Many minorities who only yesterday were still fettered by the feudal or even slave system have today taken the bright road of socialism. They are truly forging ahead in seven-league boots.

* Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1959, 48-51.

In 1958, a tremendous leap forward took place also in the economy and culture of the minorities. Statistics show that in the four autonomous regions of Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kwangsi and Ninghsia, the total value of industrial output increased 88 percent in 1958 compared with the previous year, while the output of food crops shot up by 83 percent. There has been a rapid increase in the number of minority students throughout the country. In the first half of 1958, the enrollment of national minority primary school pupils reached 3,190,000; middle school students, 310,000; and students in higher educational institutions, 16,000. Of the country's minority population of thirty-six million, the number of students totalled 3,510,000. Compared with pre-liberation days, the number of primary school pupils has increased over six times; middle school students, seventy-nine times; and students in higher educational institutions, twenty-seven times. Written language schemes have been devised for many minorities who had no written language in the past, and they now have books and newspapers published in their own languages.

Because of the correct implementation of our policy on minorities, the friendship and solidarity between the Chinese people and the brother minorities and between the different minorities have been greatly strengthened. In the past few years, a continuous struggle has been waged among Chinese cadres against the tendency toward Chinese chauvinism. During the rectification campaign, struggles were also waged in many minority areas against local nationalism of different forms and degree. The broad masses of minority cadres and people, after tempering themselves in the rectification campaign and through practical work in economic and cultural construction, have steadily enhanced their political consciousness and large numbers of advanced elements are coming to the fore from among them. These constitute a reliable force for the further rapid advance of the socialist cause in the minority areas.

The unity of our motherland is the paramount interest of all the minorities in China. China as a united, multi-nationality country is the product of a long process of historical development. Ever since they began their invasions against China the imperialists have consistently tried to disrupt the unity of China and undermine the solidarity among its nationalities, but they have failed. On the contrary, imperialist aggression awoke the overwhelming majority of the people of China's many nationalities to the fact of their common destiny and the value of a united country. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China brought all nationalities in the country closer together. The patriotic people of all the nationalities have realized, from the lessons taught by historical facts, that the nationalities can achieve prosperity only in the big united family of the motherland which has cast off imperialist oppression and taken the socialist path. They realize that the people's democratic state led by the Communist Party has uprooted oppression and is striving to get rid of the last vestiges of ways of thinking connected with discrimination which were inherited from the past. Under the capitalist system, a relatively developed and powerful nationality invariably does its best to keep other nationalities in a backward state so as to oppress and exploit them. But it is quite the reverse under the socialist system. In our country not only do all nationalities enjoy political equality but those nationalities which have bigger populations and are more advanced economically, politically, and culturally have the duty to help the other nationalities which are smaller and relatively backward so that all may progress and develop together.

Document 22

Wang Feng,

THE GREAT VICTORY IN OUR NATIONALITIES POLICY*

(September 27, 1959)

Ten years ago today, the people of the various nationalities in China, led by the Chinese Communist Party and their great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, scored a decisive victory in the people's democratic revolution and brought forth the Chinese People's Republic.

The debut of the People's Republic ended the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, terminated the oppression of the minorities, and ushered in a new age of equality, unity, cooperation and friendship among the people of China in the common cause of building socialism.

On the day of birth of the People's Republic, the country entered into a period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The principal mission confronting the country during that transitional period was to realize socialist industrialization and carry out gradually the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft trade and capitalist industry and commerce. As far as the question of the domestic nationalities was concerned, the policy of the Party and the People's Republic was: "To strengthen the unification of the motherland and the unity of the nationalities in order to build the country into a large family where there

* Jenmin Jihpao, September 27, 1959, translated in Harvard University, Communist China 1955-1959: Policy Documents with Analysis (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), 562-571.

will be complete equality and regional autonomy for the minorities, and the minority peoples will be aided in undertaking social reforms and developing their economies, politics and cultures so that the backward may catch up with the advanced in the transition to socialism." This was a colossal historical mission and its realization would bring complete political, economic and cultural equality to the minorities of China and lead them onto a higher stage of development--the stage of communism--thereby fundamentally solving the problem of minorities.

Unification of the country, unity of the nationalities, complete equality, mutual assistance and common development are the fundamental principle on the basis of which we handle the relationship of our domestic nationalities. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has just pointed out, the unification of the country, the unity of the people, and the unity of the nationalities are the fundamental guarantee of success in our cause.

Equality is the political basis for the unification of the country and the unity of the nationalities and is also the fundamental principle the Party has followed in handling the minorities problem. The Constitution of the People's Republic provides that citizens of China, regardless of their nationality, shall have equal rights and that oppression of or discrimination against any nationality be strictly banned. In other words, it makes oppression or discrimination illegal and any nationality of the country, regardless of its size and its state of development, will enjoy equal rights in the life of our country and society and will have the freedom of development as a master of the nation. In order to safeguard the rights of equality and autonomy for the minorities of our country, the Party and the government have thoroughly carried out in the past ten years the policy of according full equality of all nationalities, educated people of the country in the significance of that policy and have

promulgated a series of laws and decrees in that respect. They have seen to it that special provisions are written in the election law of the country for the minorities to participate in the congresses at different levels, with special arrangements made for them to have a voice in the running of the government. The central government sent a total of six delegations to the Northwest, the Southwest, the Middle South, the Northeast, Inner Mongolia and Tibet to sound the opinions of the minorities as well as to convey the concern of the government and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. All this has done much to insure the full implementation of the Party's policy providing equality for all nationalities of the country, and in strengthening their unification and unity.

Regional autonomy for minorities is the Party's basic measure for solving the minorities question of the country.

The Constitution of the People's Republic provides for autonomy to be instituted in minority areas, setting them down as inseparable parts of the Chinese People's Republic. On the basis of that provision, the minority areas (autonomous regions, autonomous chou, autonomous counties), aside from functioning as local government organizations under the unified leadership of the central government, have various rights of autonomy.

Autonomy for the minorities means that each of the areas big enough to be a first-grade administrative autonomous unit has the right to administer its own local affairs in the big family of the motherland. It is intended to safeguard the equality of the minorities, increase their activism in the country's political life and socialist construction and increase the mutual trust and friendly cooperation among the various nationalities of the country.

The provision of regional autonomy as a basic means of solving the nationalities problem of China is based on the relevant theoretical principle of Marxism-Leninism with due regard

for the historical background and the present situation of the various nationalities in China.

Lenin, in commenting on the question of autonomous rights for minorities, said: "Marxism absolutely demands that in analyzing any question, we must bring it up with a certain historical scope, and then extend it to the country concerned (such as its nationalities principle), and in this connection, its concrete characteristics and the characteristics of the other countries in that historical period must be taken into full account...since the countries are different from one another in the speed of development and in the composition and the distribution of their nationalities, failure to pay due attention to those historical factors and the concrete conditions will prevent the formulation of a nationalities principle of the Marxist order."

China is a country composed of many nationalities with the Chinese people as the main constituent. It has a large population and vast land and has been existing in the world for a long time as a country of many unified nationalities. The following points are conspicuous in respect to the composition, distribution and relationship of its nationalities:

(1) The Chinese people account for ninety-four percent of the national population with over fifty minorities including the Mongol, Hui, Tibetan, Manchu, Chuang, Uighur, Miao, I, Puyi, Korean and other people making up the remaining six percent. These minorities are, nevertheless, widely distributed in the country, occupying from fifty to sixty percent of its land. (2) The situation of commingling is most conspicuous. Most of the minorities mingle with the Chinese people in large or small communities where the latter serve as the main constituent with whom close economic, political and cultural ties are established. (3) In the long period of historical development, economic relations and cultural intercourse were developed among the people, forming

a country of centralized power composed of various nationalities with the Chinese people acting as the main constituent. Under the feudal centralized power system, although there were wars between the nationalities resulting from oppression and discrimination with the Chinese rulers riding roughshod over the minorities or the latter treading the Chinese people underfoot, the economic and cultural relationships of the nationalities however developed unimpeded. This was the main current in the history of the relations of our nationalities. (4) When the imperialists invaded China about one hundred years ago, turning her into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, the existence of our minorities was, without exception, seriously threatened. Brought closer together by the common destiny, our people waged a long struggle against the domestic and foreign enemies, especially in the past thirty years in which the revolutionary struggle, led by the Chinese Communist Party, has forged an unbreakable relationship among our nationalities. (5) As a result of the historical development, the Chinese people have not only become the main constituents of our country, but have led the other nationalities in economic, political and cultural development. (6) For a long period of time, the imperialists have launched sabotaging activities in an attempt to alienate the relationship of our nationalities, and to instigate the so-called "national independence" designed to enslave the people of China through the policy of "divide and rule."

Following the victorious conclusion of the people's democratic revolution, it was found necessary to rally the various nationalities of the country closer together to fight imperialist aggression and begin socialist construction under a unified government. The provision of regional autonomy for the minorities came as a true representation of the interests of the nationalities and a reflection of the natural tendency of our historical development. It

therefore received the warm support of the people in general and the minorities in particular.

There are now in our country the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region, and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, twenty-nine autonomous chou, and fifty-four autonomous counties. With the establishment of these autonomous areas has ended the relevant mission of the Party and the government. Minority cadres have grown up rapidly. Up to the end of 1958, there were in the country over 480,000 such cadres, being forty times the number in 1949. In every minority autonomous organization, there is now a large number of such cadres, many of whom have assumed posts of responsibility and leadership.

Socialism is the common goal of the nationalities of our country and is also the road to prosperity. Only socialism can furnish the minorities with a high degree of development and prosperity. And only socialism can solve our minorities problem.

In a class society, the minorities problem is invariably connected with the class problem. The minorities problem is, in essence, though not in all its complexities, a class problem. The exploiting class and exploitation built on the system of private ownership of means of production is the social cause for oppression, discrimination and disputes between nationalities. Hence China's task is to prosecute the socialist revolution among her minorities to a successful finish, complete their democratic reform and socialist transformation, and eradicate the exploitative class and private ownership of means of production to solve her nationalities problem. Marx and Engels said in the Communist Manifesto: "With the elimination of exploitation of man by man, the exploitation of one nationality by another will be abolished. And with the elimination of class antagonism among the

nationalities, the hostile relations will vanish." Lenin also pointed out: "It is not possible to eliminate the oppression of nationalities under the capitalist system. In order to eliminate that oppression, we must eliminate the capitalist system and realize socialism."

There is no doubt that all nationalities must undergo social reform and take the socialist road, this being the universal law governing the development of human society. In our country, the social reform of the minority areas is divided into two stages--the stage of democratic reform and the stage of socialist transformation. The aim of democratic reform is to redistribute the land and abolish the oppression and exploitation which took shape before the commencement of the capitalist system. The aim of socialist transformation is to eliminate the exploitation existing under capitalism, change the system of private ownership of means of production and establish the system of socialist collective ownership and eventually the system of ownership by the whole people.

Social reform is an internal matter of the minorities, and since their historical conditions are different, it must be carried out with due regard for the wishes of the people and the desire of the leaders who have strong ties with the people. In other words, there must be differences in the time, method, and speed of the reform for the various minorities. As early as the time before the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out: "It is inevitable that all nationalities must take the socialist road. But they will differ in the method to be adopted. Each of them will have its own characteristic reflected in one way of democracy or another and in one method of dictatorship of the proletariat or another as well as in its social life and the speed of its socialist transformation."

Before our minorities were reformed, the feudal landlord

economy persisted in areas of close to 30,000,000 inhabitants among whom there were some who contained a high proportion of capitalist economic elements. Over thirty minority areas such as the Hui, Manchu, Chuang, Uighur areas and a large part of Inner Mongolia were the homes of the great part of our minority population. In addition, there were a number of minority areas with a total population of 4,000,000 which retained the system of serfdom; in the Taliangshan and Hsiaoliangshan area on the borders of Szechwan and Yünnan provinces where the I minority people lived, the peasants were bound to the soil, and in the Lisu, Kawa [now called Wa], Chingpo, Tulung, Nu and Pulang minority areas on the frontiers of Yünnan, in the Olunch'un and Owenk'o areas of Inner Mongolia, in the Hoche minority area of Heilungkiang, and among a small number of the Li minority people on Hainan Island, vestiges of the primitive commune system which caused production to be low could still be found among the 600,000 inhabitants there.

The political and economic conditions of the minority areas are complicated. Not only the stages of social development but also the inter-area social-economic structures of several minorities are different. For example, while one part of the I minority is in the feudal state, another part who live in the Taliangshan and Hsiaoliangshan area is still in a slave society. In the Mongol, Tibetan, and Kazakh minority areas, the whole population of 2,200,000 is still engaged in backward animal husbandry and is widely different from the people of the agricultural areas in both production and livelihood. At the same time, the minorities are highly religious and practically all of them are followers of Lamaism and Islam. The upper strata of the minorities and the religious personages have a strong influence over the broad masses. Rooted in the policy of oppression and alienation carried out by the reactionary ruling class, certain misunderstandings

persist among the minorities. In many areas, contradictions exist and disputes are frequent between the sects and the tribes. The imperialists and the remnants of domestic counter-revolutionaries are sparing no effort to make use of these religious relations to sabotage our country.

In view of the foregoing situation, the Party and the people have mapped out active but cautious reform measures for the minority areas in the light of their different conditions. In the socialist transformation of the areas, the Party and the government have taken into full consideration the prevailing conditions and characteristics, respecting the popular wishes and withholding any decision until full discussions have been held with the public leaders who are connected with the broad masses. The social reform of the minorities areas has been carried out with the cadres and activists of the minorities concerned as the hard core through whom the broad masses are mobilized. Chinese Party members and cadres are placed under the unified leadership of the local Party committees, and instead of command or compulsion, cooperation and help is given to the minorities in their reform.

In accordance with the foregoing policy, the Party and the government have adopted for the grazing areas of the minorities measures different from those applied to the agriculture areas. The social revolution for the agricultural areas generally starts with a land reform in which the lands of feudal lords and slave owners are seized and redistributed to the poor peasants who have little or no land, the privileges of the feudal lords and slave owners are abolished, and the toiling masses are liberated. Then on the basis of the successful land reform, the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production is carried out to eliminate capitalist exploitation and ownership of means of production in order that the system of socialist collective ownership and ownership by the whole people may be established. However, in the social reform of the pastoral areas,

cattle and sheep are not redistributed, but in its first step, the democratic reform, feudal privileges and exploitation are eliminated, and ranches are placed under public control, permitting however, private grazing as a measure of mutual benefit to the herdowners and hired hands in order to establish a system of socialist collective ownership and ownership by the whole people. As regards those minority areas where class distinction is not very clear, production is low and the remnants of the primitive commune system still persist, the Party and the government have helped them go gradually but directly on the socialist road through the institution of cooperativization and the necessary socialist transformation and social reform. As far as the method of reform is concerned, the peaceful way has been used not only in the socialist transformation of the minority areas but also in the democratic reform of the minority areas of Sinkiang, Tibet, the pastoral area of Inner Mongolia, the frontier areas of Yunnan, Szechwan, Kansu and Chinghai as has been used for the Chinese areas. In other words, with the full support of the masses, discussions are held from top to bottom measures of reform best suited to local conditions. So long as the upper strata of the minority areas give up exploitation and accept reformation, the government sees to it that they have the same political position and living standard after the reform and that the masses wage no intense struggles against them. For example, in the democratic reform of Tibet, we seized or confiscated no land or means of production of all those upper strata elements who refrained from participating in armed rebellion or in any other recalcitrant action; we pursued a policy similar to the buy-out measure adopted for capitalists in the Chinese areas, allowing them to retain their civil rights and negotiating with their representatives on the time, steps and measures for reform. Though its concrete measures vary in the different areas, the essence of the peaceful way of "buying out" the upper strata of

the minorities politically and economically is abided by. The peaceful reform is a revolution without bloodshed and is a special form of class struggle under specific conditions.

The success of the peaceful reform in many of our minority areas can be attributed to the powerful support which the proletarian class has given to the minorities after seizing the reins of government, establishing the people's democratic dictatorship and completing the social changes in the majority of the areas of the country (principally the Chinese areas). The comprehensive united front which our Party has established in the minority areas with the participation also of the upper strata there has created conditions favorable to the realization of democratic reform in a peaceful way.

The Party has closely pursued the policy of a comprehensive united front with the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation and with the participation of the reformed upper strata of the minorities. It works and cooperates with any person who is against imperialism and is willing to cooperate and support social reform. As long as he does not change his mind, the Party will cooperate with him to the end. By relying on this united front, we have strengthened the forces in the minority areas who are opposed to imperialism and support democracy and socialism, have successfully crushed and isolated the reactionary cliques of the minorities, and have smoothly developed our nationalities work. Its existence has facilitated the education of the upper strata of the minorities and the realization of reform through peaceful negotiations. But a word of caution is necessary. Whether or not peaceful reform can be successfully carried out can not be decided by the policy of the Party and the government and the desire of the toiling masses alone. It depends much on the attitude which the upper strata of the exploitative class in the minority areas adopt toward the reform. If elements of these strata follow

the wishes of the people and accept the Party policy, then complete success will be possible. If they disregard the will of the people and the policy of the Party to such an extent as to put up resistance, then it will not be possible to continue the peaceful form and the alternative will be to crush this resistance in order that reform may go on. In either way (by force or through peaceful means), the masses must be fully mobilized and relied upon, and the Party's class line must be fully carried out to insure the successful realization of the reform. This is supported by the experience gained in the social reform of minority areas.

In our many minority areas, the upper strata of religious circles and the temples enjoy a wide range of feudal privileges, brutally exploiting and oppressing the people, and seriously obstructing development. The policy of the Party and the government in this connection is to abolish the privileges and stop the exploitation. But where religious problems which the Party and the government frequently meet in carrying out the reform are concerned, they are handled with caution and treated separately; clear lines of demarcation are drawn between the feudal privileges of the temples and religious habits, between normal religious activities and extortions and cruel treatment of followers, and between patriotic law-abiding religious workers and counter-revolutionaries operating under the cloak of religion. Hence, on the one hand, determined efforts are made to eradicate the feudal oppression and exploitation and suppress the counter-revolutionaries under the guide of religious workers, and on the other, care is taken that freedom of religion is fully safeguarded, religious documents and structures are protected, and patriotic religious people are won over. The principle is to avoid any interference in the normal religious activities and to implement the Party's policy of freedom of religion.

In the past ten years, the Party and the government have led the minorities in carrying out the complicated and arduous tasks of democratic reform and socialist transformation. Now, except for Tibet and some other areas with a small population, all the minority areas of the country have completed their democratic reform and socialist transformation, their means of production being placed under collective ownership. The successful rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle carried out in 1957 and 1958 enabling a decisive victory to be won in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological front did much in freeing the greater number of our minorities from the feudal system, the slave system and the primitive commune system and bringing into being the socialist system, thereby paving the way for the all-around development of China's minorities.

In the second half of 1958, on the foundation of the rapid development of our socialist revolution and socialist construction and under the illumination of the Party's general line for building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economic results, minority areas which had completed the democratic reform and socialist transformation went together with the Chinese area on the road of the people's communes which combined the roles of worker, trader, student, peasant and soldier into one administration with business management. The people's commune is the basic-level organizational unit of our social structure. Since its universal establishment, it had demonstrated its great superiority in promoting the economic and cultural development of the people and in cementing their unity and cooperation.

The completion of the democratic reform and the victory of socialist transformation have opened the way to the prosperous development of China's minorities. But the economic and cultural inequalities existing between the various nationalities resulting from their zigzag developments before the liberation cannot be

removed simply by the change of the ownership of means of production. And as long as the backward state of the minorities and the inequalities remain, our minorities problem will stop short of complete solution.

For several mainly historical reasons--sparse population, backward economy and culture, the absence of industrial workers and a shortage of cadres and intellectuals--our minority areas, even after they have completed the socialist revolution in the system of ownership of means of production, cannot change their backward state by their own efforts. They must have regular and effective help from the state and the advanced people--the Chinese--to solve this problem. Obviously, the state's help to the minority areas can only be gradual, very much a subject to its current capacity. But that there has been and will continue to be help for them is beyond any doubt.

Since the liberation, the state, despite the colossal work it has had to do in its economic rehabilitation, in the war to aid Korea against the United States, and in national construction, has given as much aid as it can to the minority areas. This has been reflected in the following fields: (1) in accordance with the principle of the "nation operating as a coordinated chess game" concerning economic and cultural construction, the state has given the minority areas special consideration in investing money in capital construction projects. The rate of growth of state investments in the capital construction projects of the minority areas has been faster than the national average in the past ten years, enabling them to develop at a pace faster than that of the other areas of the nation. (2) Financially, the state has provided the minority areas with substantial subsidies each year in the form of loans, relief funds, production subventions, and subsidies for the establishment of educational institutions and medical organizations, in addition to granting tax exemption

to the small number of areas which are extremely backward and to providing farm tools free of charge to those areas which are short of the basic means of production. As early as the initial stage of the liberation, the Party and the government made arrangements for trade with the minority areas to develop by pursuing a rational price policy and adjusting the price differential between industrial and agricultural products, thereby increasing the income of the people and spurring on the development of the areas. (3) The state has also provided the minority areas with large quantities of materials including industrial agricultural products and machinery and equipment. Take the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region for example. In the years 1949-1957, the state gave Sinkiang 2,000,000 tons of material but received only 50,000 tons. (4) The Party and the government have sent in past years large numbers of cadres (including technical cadres) to the minority areas and mobilized cadres and workers in other areas for work in the frontier areas. In addition, they had the troops of the Liberation Army stationed in the minority areas participate in local industrial and agricultural production and transportation work. (5) Effective aid has been given in the development of the education and culture of the minority areas. In past years, the state has given written languages to over ten minorities including the Chuang, Puyi, I, and Lisu minorities.

Thanks to the leadership and help of the Party and the government as a result of the close cooperation extended by the other areas, the economic and cultural aspects of the minority areas have been markedly changed. The pace of improvement has been particularly rapid since 1958 when under the illumination of the Party's general line for socialist construction and with the sky-rocketing zeal of the people, a high tide in the general leap forward of socialist construction came into being. The economic and cultural inequalities between nationalities are being gradually but steadily driven into oblivion. A comparison of the

production level and value in 1957, the last year in the first Five Year Plan with those in 1949, the year marking the foundation of the Chinese People's Republic, shows that the grain production of the minority areas rose by over sixty percent and the gross industrial value product increased by over four times. Again in the Leap Forward year of 1958, grain production rose by forty-one percent and the gross industrial production value product by eighty-four percent over the respective figures of 1957. The number of livestock in the pastoral areas more than doubled itself in the ten years up to 1958. Many of the areas previously short of grain have now surplus grain, industries, built from scratch, are steadily growing, and in some of the minority areas, large modern industries have been built such as the Paotow iron and steel base in Inner Mongolia and the Karamai petroleum base in Sinkiang. The number of minority workers increased in 1958 to 800,000 and over 2,000,000 herdsmen gave up their nomadic life and settled in fixed locations. Transportation and communications also developed fast. The aggregate length of highways opened to traffic reached 94,000 kilometers in 1958, being over eight times the total length in 1949, and that of railways reached 6,300 kilometers, being eighty percent over the length in 1949. Aviation lines were set up over the years in seventeen important cities of four autonomous regions, in Hsining and Yüshu of Chinghai, Kunming and Paoshan of Yünnan, and Lhasa of Tibet.

There was also a marked development in trade. State-owned and cooperative enterprises were established in all minority areas and usurious private merchants were driven out of sight. With the rapid development of production, the material and cultural life of the minorities was markedly improved, and the purchasing power of the urban and rural inhabitants rose to a conspicuous degree. The total sales value of the state-owned and

cooperative-operated commercial enterprises rose in 1958 by four and a half times that in 1952. In the cultural and educational aspect, the number of school students increased to 4,650,000 which represented twelve percent of the total minority population. Compared with the number of students in the pre-liberation year of 1948, primary school students increased by eight times, secondary school students by 110 times, and college students by 35 times. In most of the minority areas, universal primary education was carried out. It may be recalled that before liberation, the population of the minorities had steadily declined owing to the rampancy of disease. After liberation, the Party and the government immediately took steps to remedy this situation. Up to 1958, they had established in the minority areas a large number of health and medical organizations including 750 hospitals and 25 sanitariums with a total of 34,285 sick beds which was over nine times the number available in 1949. As a result of the betterment of livelihood and the rapid development of health and medical work, the minority population has increased. Take for example the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. In the years since its establishment in 1947 up to 1958, its population increased over 300,000 or thirty-six percent. All this bespeaks the superiority of our state and social system and the greatness and correctness of the Party's nationalities policy.

As early as forty years ago, Lenin said that with the help of the advanced countries, people and proletariat, backward countries and people could obviate the stage of capitalist development and go directly on the road of socialism for ultimate transition to the communist state. The rapid development of our minorities since the liberation has once again proved the brilliance and correctness of this judgment.

In the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, mutual help is necessary between the minorities and

the Chinese in ensuring a rapid advance to prosperity. On the road to socialism, help has to be mutual. It is because the Chinese are relatively numerous and ahead of the minorities in economic, political and cultural development that they play the guiding role in the national life and have therefore the responsibility of giving more help than they can get in return.

The Party and the government are opposed to Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism detrimental to the unity of our people, and make sure that Chinese cadres show no tendency toward Chinese chauvinism. Hence, since the liberation, they have carried out broad education of the cadres and people in patriotism and socialism as well as in proletarian internationalism. They made a check each in 1953 and 1956 on the situation of the implementation of the nationalities policy, criticizing the tendency toward Chinese chauvinism then existing among some of the Chinese cadres. Throughout the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle in 1957, they, while keeping up the fight against Chinese chauvinism, also emphatically criticized tendencies toward local nationalism, dealing a heavy blow to a small bunch of bourgeois nationalists who had attempted to sabotage the unification of the nation and the unity of the people. Education greatly raised the socialist consciousness of the minorities and won for us a decisive victory in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological front. Experience proves that the minorities problem, like other social problems, must be radically solved, and that in order to achieve that, the socialist revolution on the economic front alone is not sufficient; there must be a simultaneous revolution on the political and ideological front to criticize and overcome bourgeois nationalist tendencies. We feel that only by unflaggingly fighting the vestigial thought of bourgeois nationalism can we consolidate the unity of our big national family, strengthen the cooperation among its members, and ensure the successful development of our socialist construction.

With the rapid development of the socialist revolution and construction, the relationship of the socialist-nationalist [Shehui-mintsu] order featuring unity, cooperation, concerted action and joint development have come to be established in areas where socialist transformation has been completed. It has been immeasurably consolidated since the victorious conclusion of the whole people's rectification campaign and anti-rightist struggle in 1957-1958, the appearance of the Great Leap Forward in socialist construction and the institution of the commune system in 1958. All this has contributed to the consolidation of the big family of the Chinese People's Republic replete with freedom, equality, mutual help and friendship built in the past years on the solid foundation of socialism. Attempts of domestic and foreign reactionary forces to sabotage the socialist cause of our motherland are bound to fail in the face of the united might of China's nationalities.

The task confronting China's minorities at the present age is: On the basis of the Party's general line for socialist construction, and through the social organizational form of the people's commune develop our social productive forces at high speed in order to build our country into a socialist nation complete with highly developed modern industry, agriculture, and culture within a period of fifteen to twenty years or even slightly longer. During that period, the task of the Party and the government in respect to the domestic minorities will be to diffuse the patriotic and socialist education, strengthen the unity of the motherland and the cooperation of the nationalities, develop the technical and cultural revolutions while helping the minorities complete their democratic reform and socialist construction thereby enabling the minorities to catch up with the advanced Chinese in the march toward socialism.

Encouraged by the great call of the Eighth Plenary Session

of the Eighth Central Committee, led by the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and holding aloft the banner of the general line and the commune system, the people of all nationalities in China are working in close cooperation for production increase and economy in an effort to fulfill the principal production targets of the second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of time.

The Chinese Communist Party is the organizer of the successful revolution of our people and the nucleus of leadership of our nationalities, and comrade Mao Tse-tung is the great leader of all our people. Only by following the instructions of the Party and proceeding in the direction which Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, can the people of China obtain true, thorough social and national emancipation.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the Party over the minorities, we must enlarge its organization and step up its ideological education in the areas, strengthening the political and ideological ties between the Party organs and the people, and preventing the spread of the baneful bourgeois nationalist thought within the Party. Unity is the Party's life where its strength lies. It is the sacred responsibility of every Party member to strengthen the Party's unity. Only when they can resist the encroachment of bourgeois nationalism, are the Party organs in the minority areas worth the name of strong fighting units.

In the past ten years, the Party has accomplished outstanding achievements in broadening its basis in the minority areas. There are now over 500,000 minority Party members and over 900,000 minority [Communist Youth] League members. Generally, there are Party and League basic-level organs in all minority areas. Minority Party and League members, led by the local Party organs and in close touch with the masses, have played the role of hard core in leading the masses forward whether in the production field

or in class struggle. Especially since the conclusion of the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle in which local nationalism was severely criticized, the consciousness of the minority Party and League members and cadres has been markedly raised. They are now the invincible forces in the struggle for the advancement of the socialist cause of the minorities.

With the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and our great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and with the unity of all China's nationalities, we shall certainly be successful in our cause.

Document 23

Chang Chih-i,

A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARTY
POLICY CONCERNING FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF*

(April 1962)

All principal religions in our country, Catholicism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Taoism have numerous followers and exert extensive and far-reaching influence over the masses of the various nationalities. Among many minorities, Lamaism, Hinayana Buddhism and Islam are the main religions. These five religions not only have a long history but will exist for a long period after the socialist society or even a Communist society has been achieved. Catholicism, Christianity, Islam and Buddhism are religions of the world and have a tremendous influence and effect in many countries. The problem of religion in our country involves mass relations, nationality relations, class relations and international relations and is very complicated. From this it can be seen that whether in the past and the present or in the indefinite future, the problem of religion has been, is and will be an important social problem to our country. The correct handling of this social problem has an important significance in strengthening the unity among the various nationalities and building our great socialist motherland.

The basic policy adopted by our Party and state towards

*Mintsu T'uanchieh, April 1962, 2-5; translated in U.S. Consulate-General, Hong Kong, Selections from China Mainland Magazines, No. 318- 1-6.

religious belief is a policy of the freedom of religious belief. Since liberation, the Party and the state have consistently adhered to this policy and gained results. The belief or religious followers are being respected; their proper religious activities and the places necessary for such activities are being protected. Among the citizens, religious believers and non-believers enjoy equal political rights. At the same time, the state also appropriates funds for the maintenance and repair of temples and churches of historical and cultural value and shows its consideration by exempting from property tax and land tax all places for religious activities and the buildings used as living quarters and offices by professional men of religion. All the religions have set up their own patriotic organizations, published and circulated religious classics, books and magazines and, with the exception of Taoism, run their own schools. All these have produced good political effects at home and abroad.

Of course, in some places some cadres have erred in carrying out Party policy towards religion; in the main, they are a little inclined to ignore the characteristics of religious believers and seldom give them the necessary consideration for their religious life. This is because under the present conditions in our country religion is an old superstructure left over from the old society and is, therefore, contradictory to the new socialist economic foundation; this contradiction finds its expression in the relations among men and classes; there is contradiction among the people and there is also contradiction between ourselves and the enemy when the enemy takes advantage of it and the two types of contradictions, different in nature, are always knitted together. The problem of religion is very complicated. While our revolutionary and construction enterprises have been rapidly developed and new cadres have been raised, educational work among cadres has lagged behind this development. Some cadres have had inadequate experience and, therefore, in handling the problem of

religion, some shortcomings are unavoidably noticed. To raise the cadres' political level, further implementation of Party policy towards religion and strengthening of the unity among the religious believers of all nationalities is necessary for us in order to re-expound the several important questions in the Party policy of freedom of religious belief.

The policy of freedom of religious belief is a long-term and basic policy of the Party towards people's religious beliefs. Chairman Mao said: "The Communist Party adopts a policy of protecting religion; it protects all believers and non-believers in religion no matter what that religion is, and respects their religious faith. Today it adopts the policy of protecting religion and in the future it will go on adopting the same policy." ["Talk by Chairman Mao in his interview with the homage delegation from Tibet on October 8, 1952," Jenmin Jihpao, November 22, 1952.]

This policy takes its legal form in the constitution of our country. To protect people's freedom of religious belief and to protect the people's freedom not to believe in religion are two inseparable aspects of this policy; emphasizing either aspect and denying the other aspect will invariably disagree with the principle of freedom of religious belief. A full interpretation of the policy towards the freedom of religious belief should be that one is free to believe or not believe in religion, to believe in this or that religion, to believe in one school or another school of teaching in a religion, to believe in religion in the past but not to believe in it now, not to believe in religion now but to believe in it in the future or to believe in religion now but not to believe in it in the future. This is to say, speaking on behalf of the state, whether the people believe in religion or not or whatever religion they believe in is their own business, the state should not interfere with them. Chairman Mao said this long ago in his article "On Coalition Government" published in 1945: "Everybody is free to believe or

not to believe in religion; neither compulsion nor discrimination is allowed." [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), III, 313.]

Some people ask: Communists are Marxists-Leninists and, therefore, complete atheists, so why should they adopt the policy of freedom of religious belief?

There is no need to deny that we Communists are complete atheists and do not believe in any religion. Our world outlook is materialism and historical materialism and from this we understand the world and reform it. However, that Communists advocate to deal with other people's religious belief is another thing. These two things cannot be mixed up. If one proceeds from the point that the Communists do not believe in religions and draws one's conclusion that the Communist Party must forbid or interfere with other people's religious beliefs, then this is not the correct point of view.

Our Party adopts a policy of freedom in religious belief because only this policy can agree with the laws of religion and their natural characteristics. Religion is a necessary product of a certain stage of development of human society. In the primitive Communist society, as production at that time was on a very low level, man to a very great extent was controlled by the forces of nature. Man's failure to understand the forces of nature and his fears originated his belief in a supernatural and mysterious power and this was the natural cause for religion coming into being. When the primitive Communist society developed to a certain stage, that is, after class divisions occurred in society, the exploiting class made use of this simple religious idea, then systematic religion gradually took its form. In a class society, the oppressed laboring masses apart from being oppressed by the forces of nature, are also being oppressed by the social forces. People who fail to understand and resist the

social forces seek relief from a supernatural and mysterious power and this is the social cause for religion coming into being. It can be seen from this that although the simple religious idea was produced long ago in the primitive Communist society, it was shaped into a systematic religion and greatly developed only by a class society as a result of being used and nurtured by the exploiting classes. Therefore, one may say that the so-called modern religions have been produced principally from social causes. At the root of the genesis and existence of religion is man being oppressed by the forces of nature and society, therefore, only when class exploitation has been eliminated from human society, man's power to control nature has been greatly developed and on this basis man's consciousness and scientific and cultural level have been greatly raised, may religion gradually die out. From this it can be seen that religion has its own laws governing its birth, development and extinction which are not determined by the subjective will of any man. Therefore, it is radically impossible to use compulsory methods as the solution when dealing with people's religious beliefs; only by adopting a policy of freedom in religious belief can we agree with the law within religion. Meanwhile, religion is an ideology existing in man's brain. The gradual change in ideology only follows the change in the conditions of the social material life upon which ideology depends and is possible only through man's self-consciousness. Religion as an ideology is largely conservative and stubborn; throughout its long historical development, it has become the habit of thousands and millions of people; by no means can this problem be solved through administrative orders or simple and harsh methods. Meanwhile, contradictions among the people arising from religious beliefs between believers and non-believers are generally an ideological problem. Chairman Mao said: "It is not only futile but very harmful to use crude and summary methods to deal with ideological questions among the

people, with questions relating to the spiritual life of man." [On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1958), 53.] The policy for freedom in religious belief is stipulated by our Party on its scientific analysis of the law and its original characteristics within religion and therefore is entirely correct.

Our Party adopts the policy of freedom in religious beliefs because this policy is completely in agreement with the basic interests of the Party and of various nationalities in our country. The basic task at the present stage of our nation is to build our country into a great socialist nation with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture under Party leadership and the guidance of the three red banners. To materialize this task, it is necessary to unite all the forces that can be united and mobilize all possible factors to serve the socialist enterprise. Thousands and millions of religious believers (a majority of them being laboring people) are an important social force. The interests of the Party and of the people require unity among them as far as possible around the Party and the government and the full development of their positive role to serve the revolutionary cause and the construction enterprise; it is also the central task of religious work at the present stage to raise their consciousness continuously through the practice of revolution and construction. To achieve this, the key rests on having a correct policy for dealing with their religious beliefs. This correct policy, as mentioned above, can only be a policy of freedom in religious belief. Only a thorough enforcement of this policy enables a correct handling of the relationship between religious believers and non-believers, between believers in different religions or between believers in different schools of religious teaching; promotes the unity among the various nationalities and between the religious believers and non-believers among the people; brings into play the activism of the religious believers

In our motherland's construction enterprise and in cause of opposing imperialism in defense of world peace; enables the masses of religious believers to be educated towards patriotism, socialism and science and culture; and makes it possible to unite, educate and remodel the majority of religious followers, to isolate and disintegrate the rightists and to expose and strike down the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries.

From the above analysis it can be seen that the policy of freedom in religious belief is the only correct policy possible for the Party to deal with people's religious beliefs; it is a long-term policy and at the same time a positive and revolutionary policy and therefore it must be seriously implemented. In dealing with people's religious beliefs whether in implementing the Party policy of freedom in religious belief or to enforce other contrary policies involves the questions of whether things should be done in accordance with objective laws and of whether the thousands and millions of religious believers should be united to take part in revolution and construction. This Party policy must be solemnly viewed from the highest principles.

Freedom in religious belief should not be confused with the use of religion for counter-revolutionary activities. In our country, the citizens' freedom in religious belief is protected by law but there is absolutely no freedom to carry out counter-revolutionary activities. Just as Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i pointed out in his "Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China": "...safeguarding freedom in religious belief is quite a different matter from safeguarding freedom in counter-revolutionary activities; these two just cannot be mixed up. Nor, similarly, will our Constitution and laws ever provide the slightest facility for those elements who engage in counter-revolutionary activities under the cloak of religion." [Documents of The First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China,

p. 49.) In the past, the government punished, in accordance with the law, a group of imperialists and traitors who were engaged in counter-revolutionary activities under the cloak of religion; this is entirely an act of safeguarding the interests of the state and the people and enforcing the state laws and is by no means a question concerning religious beliefs. Hereafter, the government will, on the one hand, still resolutely implement the policy of freedom in religious belief and on the other hand still rely on the masses (including the masses of religious believers) in the resolute suppression of these elements who make use of religion for their counter-revolutionary or other illegal activities.

Again, freedom in religious belief should not be confused with the use of religion for feudal oppression and exploitation. Some of our minority leaders exploit and oppress the people to such a degree of cruelty that shocks whoever hears of it. Feudal oppression and exploitation, whether conducted under the cloak of religion or not, is not a question of religious belief but is entirely a question of a social system of men oppressing men and men exploiting men. To build up a socialist society is the common aim of all nationalities in our country. It is stated in Article 4 of the Constitution that: "The People's Republic of China, by relying on the organs of state and the social forces and by means of socialist industrialization and socialist transformation, ensures the gradual abolition of the system of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." A socialist society means the obliteration of all phenomena of oppression and exploitation. If the systems of feudal oppression and exploitation in religion are not abolished among the minorities, the laboring people then will fail to obtain genuine liberation. Politics, the economy and culture will fail to develop and these minorities will fail to become socialist minorities. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for the Party and the government, on the one hand, to resolutely implement the policy of freedom in religious belief

while, on the other hand, relying on the masses to abolish the systems of feudal oppression and exploitation in religion through democratic reform.

Religious faith and religious systems are associated with each other and can be separated from each other. Any religion has a definite form of expression which is often determined by the rules and systems of that religion; however, it is not always the case that religious belief makes every religious system essential and unalterable. In a class society religion bears the class stamp. The different religious rules and systems left over from the old society generally can be analyzed politically into three categories. The first category includes systems which interfere with personal freedom, disturb social order, gravely obstruct production and are radically against the Constitution; the second category includes systems which, though not fully agreeing with the basic spirit of state laws, do little harm to the public interest of the state and society; the third category includes systems which do not go against state laws in any way and are pure expressions of proper religious activities. In the eyes of the Party and the state, the first category must be reformed by relying on the masses and through the religious believers. Systems in this category are systems of feudal oppression and exploitation carried on under the cover of religion and their abolition will not impair the religious faith of the believers. The third category needs no reform; the religious believers are free either to retain or to reform systems in this category. Reformation may or may not be carried out if most of the religious believers do not demand it.

As the reform of the systems of feudal oppression and exploitation in the religion of some minorities excludes the abolition of the religious systems expressing the proper religious activities of the believers, it does not conflict in the

slightest degree with the policy of freedom in religious belief. Furthermore, only the abolition of the systems of feudal oppression and exploitation in religion enables the laboring people to gain the real right to free religious belief. Before the democratic reform, the feudal masters and slave masters among some minorities not only interfered with the religious belief of their own people but also exercised religious privileges to interfere with the various aspects of their life. They forced the laboring people into believing in a religion, putting religion like an invisible cangue round their necks. He who abandoned his religious faith on his own will or changed his belief to another religion met with cruel punishment. It is beyond imagination that under these circumstances the masses of minorities were able to enjoy freedom in religious belief. At the same time, resolute implementation of the policy of freedom in religious belief makes it possible to unite the broad laboring believers in religion, win the hearts of all people in the religious circles that can be won, thoroughly abolish the systems of feudal oppression and exploitation in religion and consolidate the fruits of victory in this struggle. It may be seen from this that the reformation of the systems of feudal oppression and exploitation in religion is not contradictory to the implementation of the policy of freedom in religious belief; they promote each other. Therefore, it is wrong to think that the abolition of the systems of feudal oppression and exploitation in religion is out of line with the policy of freedom in religious belief; it is also wrong to think that it is permissible not to implement the policy of freedom in religious belief during the reformation of the systems of feudal oppression and exploitation or after the victory is won in this reformation. Thorough implementation of the Party policy of freedom in religious belief is a regular task. Hereafter only if there are people believing in religion will the Party and the state still adhere to this policy. The party policy of freedom

In religious belief on the one hand requires us to safeguard people's freedom not to believe in religion; no one is allowed to force others into believing in a religion, nor to discriminate, hinder or attack those believers who out of their wish to abandon their religious faith and those professional men of religion who wish to return to the laity. On the other hand, it requires us, by adopting concrete measures, practically to safeguard the religious beliefs of the believers. Religious belief must necessarily express itself in a definite form of religious activity. All proper religious activities of the believers, professional men of religion performing proper religious duties and churches or temples accepting people who are willing to become followers or monks should be permitted. Religious believers permitted to perform proper religious activities must be allowed to have fixed places for such activities. In places where religious believers are numerous and grounds for religious activities are difficult to provide, a suitable solution should be sought in accordance with the actual conditions. Contradictions, to a greater or lesser degree, occur between the religious activities of the believers and production. Suitable solutions should be sought by means of patient education among the believers and full consultation with them to enable them to make rational arrangements for production and religious activities.

We believe that under the intelligent leadership of the Party Central and Chairman Mao and the guidance of the three red banners, if we seriously implement the Party policy of freedom in religious belief and actively do our work properly, we will be able to go on rallying the thousands and millions of religious believers around the Party and the government and arouse their activism in serving the socialist enterprise of our motherland.

Document 24

Liu Ch'un,

THE CURRENT NATIONALITY QUESTION AND CLASS STRUGGLE*

(June 30, 1964)

The nationality question is related to the class question. The nationality question is in essence a class question. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "In the final analysis, a nationality struggle is a question of class struggle." ("Statement Appealing to World Peoples to Unite in Opposition to the Racial Discrimination of U.S. Imperialism, and in Support of the Struggle of American Negroes Against Racial Discrimination" (August 8, 1963). See Jenmin Jihpao, August 9, 1963). This is a Marxist-Leninist principle. When observing and dealing with the nationality question, we must firmly keep in mind this Marxist-Leninist principle, no matter whether we are dealing with the question of national colonies in the international sphere or the nationality question in our own country, with the nationality question of the time of our democratic revolution or that of the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

I.

Nationality is an historical category of a certain age, formed during the ascending period of capitalism. The root cause of the nationality question is the system of exploitation built on the foundation of the system of private ownership of means of

*Hung Ch'i, No. 12 (1964); translated in U.S. Consulate-General, Hong Kong, Selections from China Mainland Magazines, No. 428 (August 4, 1964), 8-18.

production. Marx said, "The existing relations of the system of ownership are the cause that makes some nations exploit other nations." ("On Poland." Complete Works of Marx and Engels, People's Publishing House, Vol. 4, p. 409.) The bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes of an oppressor nation, while oppressing and exploiting the working people of their own nation, will always oppress and exploit other nations in their country and fight for markets, raw material producing areas, and markets for capital investment in other countries in order to expand the sphere of their exploitation. They will strive hard to establish a system of national oppression and a colonial system, carry out brutal national aggression and national oppression, and place other nations under their exploitation. So long as imperialism, the capitalist system, and exploiting classes and the system of exploitation exist, national oppression and national exploitation will not be eliminated.

National oppression is certainly not an antagonism and struggle between all the people of one nation and all the people of another nation, as bourgeois nationalists and other exploiting classes say it is, but is oppression by the ruling class of an oppressor nation over the overwhelming majority of the people of an oppressed nation, principally workers, peasants, and the working people. The oppressors are in the minority, while the oppressed are in the great majority. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles among the whites who are oppressing the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists, headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are practicing oppression and aggression and making threats against the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in

the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they are less than ten percent of the three billion people of the world. ("Statement Appealing to World Peoples to Unite in Opposition to the Racial Discrimination of U.S. Imperialism, and in Support of the Struggle of American Negroes Against Racial Discrimination" (August 8, 1963). See Jenmin Jihpao of August 9, 1963).

When carrying out aggression and oppression against other nations, the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes always do so under the national banner and declare that what they do is in the interests of all the people of their own nation. That is a shameful trick of deception. Their aggression against and oppression of other nations not only absolutely does not conform to the interests of the proletariat and other working people of their own nation, but is exactly contrary to these interests and is basically opposed to them. Engels pointed out long ago: "No nation can be a free nation when it still oppresses other nations." ("On Poland." Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 4, People's Publishing House, p. 410). In his letter to S. Meyer and A. Vogt, Marx pointed out that, by taking a hostile attitude against the Irish worker, the English worker "turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their discrimination over himself." ("Letter from Marx to S. Meyer and A. Vogt" (April 9, 1870). Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels, People's Publishing House, 1962 edition, pp. 255-256). Lenin said, "The oppression of 'subject peoples' is a double-edged weapon. It cuts both ways--against the 'subject peoples' and against the Russian people." ("National Equality." Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 20, People's Publishing House, p. 233). It is exactly for this reason that the proletariat and the working people of all nations must see through this trick of deception of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, oppose all national aggression and

national oppression, and support the oppressed nations in their struggle for emancipation.

Marx held that the development of national liberation movements was a decisive blow to the ruling class of capitalist countries and essential to the struggle of the proletariat for its own liberation. In his letter to S. Meyer and A. Vogt, Marx wrote that the national emancipation of the Irish was for the English working class "no question of abstract justice of humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own [the English workers'] social emancipation." ("Letter from Marx to S. Meyer and A. Vogt" (April 9, 1870). Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels, People's Publishing House, 1962 ed., pp. 255-256). Lenin developed the thesis of Marx and Engels. He maintained that the oppressor nation must be distinguished from the oppressed nation, and put forward the slogan, "proletarians and oppressed nations of the world, unite!" He pointed out: "If in their anti-capitalist struggle the workers of Europe and America do not unite as closely as possible with the millions of 'colonial' slaves under the oppression of Capital, then the revolutionary movement in the advanced countries will in effect merely be a deception." ("Second Congress of the Communist International," Collected Works of Lenin, People's Publishing House, Vol. 31, p. 238.) Under contemporary historical conditions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has further developed the Marxist-Leninist principle concerning the mutual relations between national liberation movements and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and made a very high estimation of the significance and role of the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In his statement in support of American Negroes in their opposition against racial discrimination, which he made in August last year, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out emphatically: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, it will surely come to its

end with the thorough emancipation of the black people." ("Statement Appealing to World Peoples to Unite in Opposition to the Racial Discrimination of U.S. Imperialism, and in Support of the Struggle of American Negroes Against Racial Discrimination." (August 8, 1963). See Jenmin Jihpao, August 9, 1963.) Comrade Mao Tse-tung says that in their just struggle, the people of all countries in the world have and will continue to have the resolute support of the 650,000,000 Chinese people. He says that the life of imperialism will not be too long and that since [the imperialists] have done all conceivable bad things, the oppressed peoples of the world will certainly not forgive them. He also says that in order to overcome the reactionary rules of imperialism, it is necessary to form an extensive united front and bring together all forces, excluding the enemy, that can be brought together, so as to continue carrying out the gigantic and difficult struggle. (Statement to foreign visitors from Iraq, Iran, and Cyprus during an interview on May 9, 1960. See Jenmin Jihpao, May 10, 1960.)

With the oppressed nations, those who really suffer national oppression are principally the oppressed and exploited classes, that is the working class and the broad masses of laboring people, the overwhelming majority of whom being peasants. When the interests of the national bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations, including even some patriotic princes and members of the nobility, are encroached upon through imperialist national oppression, they very often side with the broad masses of laboring people of their own nation to oppose imperialist national oppression. In its struggle against imperialist national oppression, the proletariat should unite with them. However, it should be seen that their attitude toward imperialist national oppression is based on the final analysis on their own class interests. As for the reactionaries of the oppressed nations who collaborate with imperialism, they will not only not resist national oppression, but will unite with the ruling class of the oppressor nations, act as their

running dog, and together with them oppress and exploit the laboring people of their own nation.

It may thus be seen that national oppression is in essence class oppression, and that the struggle against national oppression is in essence a struggle against the oppressor classes of the oppressor nations, and very often also a struggle against the reactionaries and traitors of the oppressed nations themselves.

For this very reason, Marxist-Leninists have never regarded the nationality question as an isolated question. They hold that solution of the nationality question is a revolutionary question and part of the overall question of revolution. At different stages of the revolution, the proletarian party has different tasks with regard to the nationality question. In the age of imperialism, the nationality question is part of the overall question of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. To win national equality and thorough emancipation, the people of oppressed nations must resolutely carry out national democratic revolution, overthrow imperialist national oppression and the rule of the running dogs of imperialism, and then go on to carry out socialist revolution and eliminate all exploiting classes and the system of exploitation. Marx and Engels said, "Once exploitation of man by man is eliminated, exploitation of one nation by another will also be eliminated. Once class antagonism within a nation disappears, antagonism between nations will also disappear." (The Communist Manifesto, Complete Works of Marx and Engels, People's Publishing House, Vol. 4, p. 488).

II.

The nationality question in our own country is part of the overall question of revolution in our country, and the Party's task in respect of this nationality question is part of the overall task of our revolution. The handling of this partial question

--the nationality question in our country--must conform to the interests of the Chinese revolution as a whole. It is only in the development of the cause of our revolution that it is possible to settle the nationality question of our country.

Before the liberation, our country was a colonial, semi-colonial, feudal country, and all nationalities within the country suffered alike from the national oppression of foreign imperialism. In addition, the minorities in the country also suffered from the national oppression of Chinese chauvinism. In his political report at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed: "The Kuomintang's anti-popular clique denies the existence of many nationalities in China, and calls all minorities besides the Chinese 'tribes.' With regard to these minorities, they have completely inherited the reactionary policy of the Manchu government and the government of the Northern warlords, doing everything conceivable to oppress and exploit them." [See Document 3] The national oppression from foreign imperialism was in reality oppression from foreign monopoly bourgeoisie, while the national oppression from Chinese chauvinism in the country was in reality oppression from the Chinese feudal classes and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The great masses of the Chinese laboring people also suffered from oppression by the Chinese feudal classes and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, there also existed within the minorities themselves feudal classes and the class of slave owners who, in collaboration with imperialism and the Chinese feudal classes and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, in turn oppressed and exploited the broad masses of laboring people. That is the content of the nationality question in the period of democratic revolution in our country and the basis of its class essence. Imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism were the three major enemies of the people of all nationalities of our country. Of these three enemies, imperialism is the most important, most vicious enemy of all nationalities of

our country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, "The contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation and those between feudalism and the popular masses are the basic contradiction in modern Chinese society....The contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation are the principal one." ["The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), II, 313.] During the period of democratic revolution in our country, the serious task of opposition to imperialism required the various nationalities of our country to effect the closest possible unity and solidarity. History has proved that in order to win national equality and emancipation, the minorities of our country must solidly unite themselves with the Chinese and together oppose the three major enemies, particularly the imperialist aggression against and oppression of our country.

In the period of the democratic revolution, the Central Committee of our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and in accordance with the conditions of the time of our revolution and the actual circumstances of relations within the country, the following basic guideline for settlement of the nationality question in our country. It is this: To put in effect national equality and lead and rally all nationalities to wage a revolutionary struggle against the three major enemies; in the unified country--the People's Republic of China--set up after the victory of the revolution, to abolish the system of oppression, and in the big family of the motherland in which all nationalities are united on the basis of equality and cooperate with one another amicably, to put into effect regional autonomy and bring about common development and common prosperity for all nationalities. With this guideline as a basis, the Party also formulated a series of policies for the nationalities, led the people of the minorities and the Chinese people to unite themselves solidly and to wage courageously revolutionary

struggles for many years.

With the victory of the revolution of the Chinese people, the rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism as represented by the reactionary ruling clique of the Kuomintang was overthrown. A people's democratic dictatorship was established with the working class in the lead and the worker-peasant alliance forming the foundation. Thus the task of the Chinese nation of striving for independence and emancipation internationally and realizing unification of the motherland was successfully fulfilled. Meanwhile, the system of national oppression within the country was also thoroughly abolished, and equality among the nationalists and regional autonomy were realized.

The putting into effect of regional autonomy for all minorities in the big family of the unified motherland is the basic policy of our Party toward the settlement of the nationality question. This policy has already produced great results in our country. The system of regional autonomy is part of the system of people's democratic dictatorship of our country. It not only safeguards the unity of the motherland and the solidarity of the nationalities, safeguards the rights of equality and autonomy of the minorities, and unites the laboring people of various nationalities and other people who can be united in the autonomous areas, but is also a system with which the laboring people of the minorities carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is also a weapon with which the laboring people of the minorities carry out struggle against the enemy and class struggle.

However, after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the nationality question in our country has not been completely settled as a result. That is because in many minorities there still exists the rule of the feudal classes and of the class of slave owners. For the sake of maintaining their position as exploiter-rulers, they always try every conceivable means to foment trouble among the nationalities by exploiting the barriers

left over from history. They would even start revolts to split the unity of the motherland and sabotage the revolutionary cause of the people of all nationalities of our country, so as to attain the criminal object of maintaining and developing the private class interests of a handful of people. Under their oppressive rule, the broad masses of laboring people of the minorities also suffer cruel exploitation and live an extraordinarily miserable life. Under such circumstances, the oppressed and exploited people of the minorities can by no means enjoy or fully enjoy the rights of national equality given them by the state. Moreover, the backward productive forces of these minorities cannot be changed and developed. They have not yet achieved complete emancipation--class emancipation. Without the class emancipation of the broad masses of laboring people of the minorities, there can be no complete national emancipation.

With regard to the solving of the nationality question in our own country, two basic cognitional questions must be made clear.

First, there are classes in any nationality. That being the case, what sort of people, or to be exact, what class, forms the main body of a nationality? Whose interests are the national interests? Who should be emancipated in a national emancipation? Whose equality and development is meant by national equality and development? The way these questions are answered forms a dividing line between the national view of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes.

The bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes always place their own class interests above those of the people of the whole nationality. They want to monopolize the name of "nation" and declare themselves to be the representative of their own nationality and the guardian of its interests. From their point of view, they themselves--the exploiting classes--form the main body of the nationality, and their class interests are the interests

of the nationality. So far as they are concerned, "national equality" and "national emancipation" are realized and the "nationality question" is solved so long as their private class interests are satisfied. Unlike the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, Marxists-Leninists hold that the main body of a nationality can only be the oppressed and exploited laboring people who constitute the overwhelming majority of that nationality. With regard to the minorities of our country, the main body of a minority is the peasants (herdsmen), serfs, and slaves, the majority of whom are the poor and most heavily oppressed peasants (herdsmen), serfs, and slaves. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, "Our government represents not only the workers and peasants, but the whole nation. This has been implicit in our slogan of a workers' and peasants' democratic republic, because the workers and peasants constitute 80 to 90 percent of the population." [*On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism*, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), I, 168.] National interests are in the final analysis the interests of the proletariat and other working people who form the overwhelming majority, and no true national interests are possible without the class interest of the proletariat. National emancipation must be emancipation of the laboring people who form the overwhelming majority of the nation. National equality and development, too, can be interpreted only as the equality and development of the laboring people who form the overwhelming majority of the nation. The most important content of the nationality question is the question of emancipation of the great masses of oppressed and exploited laboring people of all nationalities. Without the equality and emancipation of the laboring people who form the overwhelming majority of all nationalities, there can be no equality and emancipation for the whole nation, and there can be no solution of the nationality question.

Second, who are to be relied on for the solution of the nationality question? The exploiting classes of the minorities

hold that a small number of the upper strata elements of the exploiting classes only need be relied on, and that through their adoption of some reform measures and execution of some reforms, or through dependence on a certain imperialist power or on the charity of the reactionary ruling class in the country, "national equality" and "national emancipation" will be realized and the "nationality question" will be solved. Being fundamentally opposed to the masses and to revolution, they naturally cannot be expected to take the road of carrying out revolution by relying on the masses. However, from the point of view of Marxist-Leninists, revolutionary struggle by the great popular masses of the exploited classes of the oppressed nations is necessary if the nationality question is to be solved. In order to solve the nationality question thoroughly, the proletarian party must carry out revolutionary struggle and resolutely carry revolution through to the end by leading and mobilizing the oppressed and exploited broad masses of laboring people of the national minorities and by winning over and rallying all those who can be rallied. All ideas of reformism and dependence on charity are basically erroneous and must be resolutely opposed. This is another dividing line between the national view of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie.

Questions of revolution are the most fundamental questions to any nation, and the nationality question will never be solved if revolution and class struggle are set aside. It is for the purpose of solving the nationality question that the proletarian party leads the people of the minorities in carrying out revolution. The more thoroughly the revolution is carried out, the more thorough will be the solution of the nationality question. The view that the nationality question can be solved without class struggle and revolution within the minorities amounts in effect to rejection and opposition to a solution of the nationality question. Such a view is merely a manifestation of the national view of the bourgeoisie.

It may be seen clearly from the analysis above that, whether

with regard to the relations among the various nationalities or with regard to the minorities themselves, the nationality question in our country after its liberation has its root in the fact that class oppression and class exploitation exist within the minorities themselves. Therefore, the only way to solve the nationality question thoroughly is by mobilizing the laboring people fully within the minorities for carrying out revolution. Not only must a democratic revolution be carried out and completed, but a socialist revolution must also be carried out and completed. In short, the laboring people must be mobilized to destroy, by stages, all systems of exploitation and oppression, all exploiting and oppressor classes, and the system of private ownership that gives rise to exploitation.

Under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people of the minorities of our country have thoroughly implemented the Party's guidelines and policy in respect of the nationality question. First, democratic reform has been carried out, in which they overthrew the rule of feudal lords and the class of slave owners with their own hands. Then socialist transformation has been put in effect in the overwhelming majority of areas inhabited by our brother nationalities, as a result of which the broad masses of peasants (and herdsmen) have actively joined people's communes and embarked on the road of collectivization. Meanwhile, socialist construction is being vigorously developed in all minority areas as all other parts of the country. In this way, the social and economic aspects of all minority areas in our country have undergone changes of a fundamental nature, and the spiritual aspect of the popular masses assumes a brand new look. In recent years, guided by the Party's general line for socialist construction, the minority areas have overcome various difficulties besetting the way to socialist construction, and the economic situation has taken an all-around turn for the better. In all minority areas, from the cities to the countryside, from

agricultural to pastoral areas, and from China Proper to the frontier regions, there is an air of vigorous prosperity everywhere. With growing prosperity in the social economy and steady improvement of the people's livelihood year after year, the population also grows steadily year after year. Rallying closely round the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people of the minorities of our country are increasingly united year after year and march forward resolutely along the road of socialism. The unity of our motherland is increasingly consolidated year after year.

In the period of transition, our Party must accomplish its great historical mission regarding the nationality question within the country, that is, it must consolidate the unity of the motherland, consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, consolidate the national defenses, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, strengthen the solidarity of the nationalities, protect national equality, put in effect regional autonomy, lead the minorities in fulfilling the democratic revolution, realize socialist revolution and socialist construction, help the minorities to develop into modern minorities, carry out the socialist revolution to the end, thoroughly solve the nationality question of our country, and enable all the nationalities to proceed together to communism. At present, the work of socialist revolution and socialist construction in the minority areas in our country is still at the initial stage. In order to carry out thoroughly the democratic revolution (including reforms of the feudal system in religion) in the minority areas of our country and thoroughly fulfill the task of socialist revolution and socialist construction, our Party must rally the broad masses of laboring people of the minorities and all other people who can be rallied, and carry out protracted, difficult work. We must earnestly implement the Party's class line in the rural areas, organize and rely on the class army of poor and lower middle peasants, and firmly rely on this class army in doing all kinds of work. We must foster cadres of the

minorities and foster and strengthen the proletarian army (including intellectuals of the working class). We must resolutely follow the Party's general line for socialist construction, operate people's communes and producers cooperatives successfully, consolidate the socialist economic system, and develop socialist economy and culture. We must give the cadres and broad masses of laboring people of the minorities proletarian class education, education in patriotism, socialism and the future of communism, and education in internationalism, organize them for studying Marxism-Leninism and the thought so as to turn them into revolutionaries. We must strengthen the close ties between the central authority and the popular masses of the minorities, strengthen the equality, solidarity, and friendly mutual-aid among all minorities of the motherland in their common labor, common struggle, and common life, oppose Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism, implement the united front policy toward the patriotic upper strata elements of the minorities, implement the policy of freedom of religious belief, and wage a resolute struggle against the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries, the modern revisionists, and the counter-revolutionary sabotage activities of the minorities within the country.

Our Party works on the upper strata elements of the minorities and induces them to join the anti-imperialist, patriotic united front because we want to rally all forces that can be rallied to oppose our main enemies, first of all imperialism. Meanwhile, we also want to unite, educate, and reform them through the united front, so that they may, in accordance with the six political criteria and under the leadership of the Party, oppose imperialism, love their country, and follow the road of socialism. It must be seen that the united front which our Party forms with the upper strata elements of the minorities serves the revolutionary cause of the workers, peasants and other laboring people as well as the cause of socialist revolution and socialist

construction. We must make our work in this respect more favorable than ever to the revolutionary cause of the broad masses of laboring people of the minorities.

III.

With democratic reforms accomplished in all minority areas in our country and with a decisive victory won in socialist transformation in most of these areas, is there still a nationality question in our country? Is the nationality question still essentially a class question? Our answer to both these questions is yes. The Party pointed out at the 10th Plenary Session of its 8th Central Committee that throughout the whole historical period of transition from capitalism to communism, a class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat would exist as well as a struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. That is a universal law that has no exception in any nationality. The class struggle and struggle between the two roads in the minorities will in turn be inevitably reflected in the nationality question. That is also determined by the objective law of class struggle. Unwilling to admit defeat, the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries, the modern revisionists, the bandit clique of Chiang Kai-shek, and the counter-revolutionary elements in various nationalities would deliberately incite contradictions among our various nationalities in a vain effort to sabotage our national unity and the solidarity of our nationalities as well as our socialist cause, so as to restore the feudal system and even the slave system in minority areas. Unwilling to make their exit from the stage of history, the overthrown reactionary and exploiting classes among the minorities would try to foment trouble among the minorities by all conceivable means, carry out various sabotage activities, and scheme for their own restoration to power. The unreformed national and religious upper strata elements of the minorities, remaining on their old stand of the

exploiting classes, would try to incite contradictions in order to protect or rehabilitate their class interests. A bourgeoisie still exists in some minorities, and the bourgeoisie and the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie are the root sources that gives rise to local nationalism. Then there are among the peasants of the various minorities some rich middle peasants who have spontaneous capitalist tendencies and who are easily influenced by bourgeois nationalism. The fact that this or that question still arises with regard to relations between nationalities among the minorities can in the final analysis be attributable to the causes mentioned above. It is quite clear that the nationality question in our country at present is still essentially a class question and that its root cause is still class, class contradictions, class struggle, and the struggle between the two roads.

Both Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism belong to bourgeois thought and are basically incompatible with socialism and the national view of the proletariat. Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism are an internal contradiction of the people which must be overcome. They are a class contradiction among the people. In recent years, however, local nationalist elements have been very audacious in many minority areas. Working in league with imperialists, foreign reactionaries, modern revisionists, and counterrevolutionaries inside the country, they are trying by all conceivable means to cause contradictions to arise in a vain effort to attain their objective of splitting the unity of the motherland and restoring the system of exploitation and oppression. The spearhead of their attack is directed against the unity of the motherland, national solidarity, the Party's leadership, and the socialist cause, and their slogan is "Anti-Chinese, independence, and no reform forever." Therefore, the contradiction between these local nationalists and the people of all nationalities in our country is a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. Practical life after the liberation shows that all those who

carry out activities under the banner of local nationalism against the motherland, the Communist Party, the people, and socialism are the common enemy of the people of all nationalities.

All reactionaries of any nationality would often disguise themselves as defenders of their own nationality interests. Actually they betray their nationality interests. What they are concerned about is not the interests of the laboring people who form more than 90 percent of the population of their own nationality, but the private interests of a handful of those of the exploiting classes. For these they would not hesitate to betray their own nationality, rebel against their own motherland, and ally themselves to imperialism and foreign reactionaries. They deceive the laboring people of their own nationality under the pretext of protecting their nationality interests, but as a matter of fact are prepared to carry out the fiercest persecution and the most cruel exploitation against the broad masses of laboring people. Before the liberation, under the dark rule of these reactionaries, social productivity in many minorities in our country was greatly impaired, the people suffered all kinds of oppression and exploitation, they lived in extreme poverty, the population was declining and on the verge of extinction. One of the living examples of this situation was the situation of the laboring people of Tibet on the eve of the liberation. What the reactionaries of the minorities mean today by "defense of nationality interests" is defense of the "interests" that would lead the minorities toward poverty, decline, and even extinction. The people of the minorities must resolutely smash these sabotage activities of the reactionaries.

Nationalism is properly a bourgeois thought, but the overthrown feudal lords and the class of serf owners and slave owners now also use it as an instrument with which to wage a struggle against us. The imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries, and the modern revisionists were afraid of and hostile to the

solidarity of the nationalities and the unity of our country in the past, are still so today and will remain so in the future. So long as imperialism exists, it will not cease to try to disrupt and sabotage the unity and solidarity of the nationalities of our country. The criminal activities of the handful of local nationalists to split the motherland are conducted exactly in response to the schemings and under the direct direction of the imperialists, reactionaries of various countries, and modern revisionists, or are conducted exactly in accordance with their needs. Thus these local nationalists are really traitors who respond from within the country to the subversive and sabotage activities of the imperialists, etc. We must recognize profoundly this reactionary character of the local nationalists.

A new, outstanding situation has arisen in the minority areas of certain frontier regions of our country. There modern revisionists are frantically fomenting trouble in the nationality relations of our country, carrying out subversive activities on a large scale, and inciting and compelling large numbers of residents of the minorities in these frontier regions to flee the country. Such criminal activities of the modern revisionists, which betray Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, have roused the incomparable wrath of the people of all nationalities of our country. They are resolutely opposed to, and are determined to smash thoroughly, these criminal activities of the modern revisionists.

IV.

After the liberation of the whole country, the nationalities of our country have achieved unprecedented unity and solidarity. However, the barriers between different nationalities, which are left over from history, have not yet been completely removed. Meanwhile, inequalities in economic development and cultural development still actually exist among different nationalities of

our country, and different nationality characteristics.

When dealing with the nationality question, we should regularly pay attention to these factors and analyze them, and regard their solution as an important task in the handling of the nationality question.

Our Party has always attached adequate importance to the effects that could be produced by the barriers left over from history. However, our Party has never regarded these barriers as things that can never be changed. Our Party holds that the root source that gave rise to the barriers lay in the imperialist aggression against our country, in the imperialist policy of splitting the unity of the oppressed country and its national solidarity, in the policy of national oppression implemented by the exploiting classes of the oppressed country itself, and also in the incessant disruption and deception practiced by the ruling class of the oppressed nation on the broad masses of laboring people of the nationality. With the abolition of national oppression and through the efforts of our Party, the barriers between the minorities and the Chinese will certainly disappear gradually. This is because under the leadership of our Party and particularly under the system of socialism, the great masses of poor peasants and lower middle peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the minorities, have a high degree of revolutionary ardor. They are the enemy of all systems of exploitation and exploiting classes, and the most active supporter of the socialist road and the collective economy. They actively support national equality and uphold the unity of the motherland and the solidarity of the nationalities. Their interests are identical with those of the Chinese laboring people. This identity of interests is the most solid foundation for national solidarity. That is exactly the fact. Under the leadership of the Party in the past decade and more, the laboring people of the various nationalities have shown concern for one another,

the great masses of the Chinese people have given fraternal aid to all minorities in the political, economic, and cultural spheres, and the people of the minorities, too, have given aid to the Chinese people. As a result of the prolonged common revolutionary struggle, common labor, and common life among the laboring people of all nationalities, a completely new type of fraternal relationship of equality, solidarity, amity, and mutual-aid is being formed and is developing. This shows that, with exploitation and oppression by the exploiting classes abolished, there is no foundation for the prolonged existence of the barriers left over from history among the laboring people of the nationalities who have the same class interests.

Of course, the remains of the barriers left over from history still exert a certain influence on certain people. Moreover, as the imperialists, modern revisionists, the reactionaries both inside and outside the country, and the exploiting classes of the minorities are still trying to foment trouble among the nationalities by utilizing this influence, this question should all the more command our attention. Lenin said, "How can this distrust be dispelled? How can this distrust be overcome and mutual trust established instead? To do that, the best way would be to oppose with one heart and concerted effort the landlords and capitalists of all countries as well as their attempts to restore themselves to power, and to defend the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet regime." ("Letter of Ukrainian Workers and Peasants on the Victory Against Denikin." Collected Works of Lenin, People's Publishing House, Vol. 30, p. 263.) Therefore, in order to eliminate this influence thoroughly and strengthen the close solidarity among the nationalities, the only way is to strengthen class education among the minorities, continue to wage class struggle, develop a struggle against the enemy, thoroughly smash all counter-revolutionary sabotage activities, and carry out socialist revolution deeply.

The actual inequality between different nationalities of our country in economic and cultural development is part of the important content of the nationality question in the period of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Party and the state must lead and help the minorities to carry out socialist construction and develop their socialist economy and culture, so that these minorities of our country may all attain the level attained by the advanced nationality. In the past ten years and more, the Party and the state have shown the greatest possible concern over this question and have adopted various effective measures in this connection. As a result, the social economic aspects of the minorities have undergone radical changes in the short space of ten years and more. Industrial, agricultural, and pastoral production has doubled or increased many times as compared with pre-liberation days. Motor highways are built everywhere. Railways are built in many areas. Schools and hospitals are established everywhere. The population of all minorities has increased. Large numbers of revolutionary cadres and intellectuals of the minorities and the Chinese in economic and cultural development has been greatly narrowed.

But we must see that the actual inequality among various nationalities in economic and cultural development is a question left over from class society and formed as a result of the prolonged oppression in history and the prolonged class exploitation and oppression within these nationalities, and that it cannot be eliminated completely within a short space of time. After the abolition of oppression, it is necessary to go one step further and lead the laboring people of the minorities to destroy the feudal system and the slave system, to destroy the system of private ownership, to liberate social productive forces thoroughly, and to develop at high speed social economic and cultural enterprises, in order to eliminate at last the actual inequality among the nationalities. Meanwhile, it is only in this way that

the broad masses of laboring people of the minorities can fully utilize the aid from the advanced nationality, so that such aid may really prove helpful to the development of their own economy and culture. In the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction, after the economy and culture of the minorities are developed, the actual inequalities among the nationalities will certainly disappear gradually. In other words, the elimination of the actual inequality among the nationalities is certainly not purely a question of developing the economy and culture of certain nationalities. Fundamentally speaking, it is still a revolutionary question.

Each of the nationalities has its own characteristics, its own historical conditions and concrete characteristics of social development. These characteristics form at the same time the differences between the different nationalities. With the continual intensification and development of our socialist revolution and socialist construction, the economic and cultural interflow among the nationalities of our country is being strengthened every day, and in their common struggle, common labor, and common life, the laboring people of the nationalities are having their class consciousness and politico-ideological consciousness incessantly raised to higher levels. On the basis of the development of the common socialist enterprise of the nationalities of our country, the common character of the nationalities will surely grow steadily, while the difference between the nationalities will surely decrease gradually. This is an inevitable law of social development and a sign of progress. However, differences will continue to exist throughout the long period of socialist society. It is only after communism is realized and class [distinctions] are eliminated, and only with the gradual vanishing of national [boundaries] and the realization of fusion of the nationalities, that differences will vanish.

While solving the nationality question, we must take into

full consideration the differences, because that will help the better solution of questions of democratic revolution, socialist revolution, and socialist construction in the minorities and promote their prosperity and development. Differences may give rise to certain questions among the nationalities. Such questions should be solved in [administrative] work or through the necessary education. None of these questions are national contradictions. So-called national contradictions are a reflection of class contradictions and contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. It is wrong to confuse differences with national contradictions. On the other hand, it will also be basically wrong to exaggerate the nationality characteristics, manufacture differences, and advocate so-called special circumstances of nationalities.

In a word, in the socialist period, neither the actual inequalities between different nationalities nor the differences are the fundamental cause that gives rise to the nationality question. The fundamental cause that gives rise to the nationality question is the existence in the nationalities of classes, class contradictions, class struggle, and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. The principal reason of the emergence of various improper and erroneous views respecting the fundamental cause of the genesis of the nationality question in the socialist period is ignorance of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the essence of the nationality question is a class question and ignorance of the fact that classes, class contradictions, and class struggle will continue to exist for a long time in the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction. As a result, the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint and method of class analysis are set aside when observing the nationality question. In view of this situation, we must earnestly study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories concerning classes, class contradictions, and class struggle, earnestly study the relation between the

nationality question and the class question, and recognize clearly the class essence of the nationality question.

Document 25

Chou En-lai,

A SUMMARY OF THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE
GOVERNMENT (excerpts)*

(December 21-22, 1964)

The consolidation and strengthening of the great unity of all our nationalities is a policy of great importance for guaranteeing the successful development of the socialist cause in our country. In the past fifteen years we have achieved great successes in applying the policy for various minorities, in carrying out the democratic and socialist revolutions in the regions inhabited by minorities and in developing their economy and culture.

The Premier quoted Chairman Mao as follows: "In the final analysis, nationality struggle is a matter of class struggle." It is in the light of this Marxist-Leninist tenet that we have examined and handled the nationality question. To depart from the viewpoint of class and class struggle in examining and handling it would only foster separatism to the detriment of the unity of the nationalities and of our country.

The Premier pointed out that the broad masses of the working people of the minorities have staunchly supported and actively taken part in the democratic and socialist revolutions. Many figures from among the upper strata of the minorities have also expressed their support for social reforms and their willingness

* NCNA-English, Peking, December 30, 1964; reprinted in U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong, Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 3370, 12-13.

to accept remolding, and they have been given due consideration by the government and the people. However, a few members of the upper strata have obstinately opposed social reforms. They have tried in a thousand and one ways to provoke conflicts and undermine the unity of the nationalities; they have gone so far as to gang up with the imperialists, foreign reactionaries, modern revisionists and domestic counter-revolutionaries to engage in criminal activities and even to launch armed rebellion in their attempts to wreck the revolutionary cause of the people of all nationalities and split our motherland, the great family of nationalities. These criminal activities of theirs have been completely shattered by the firm counter-blows of the people of the various nationalities.

In 1962, under the instigation and direct direction of external forces, a group of the most reactionary protagonists of local nationalism staged a traitorous counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in Ining, Sinkiang, and incited and organized the flight to foreign territory of a large number of people near the frontier. Under the leadership of the Party the people of all the fraternal nationalities in Sinkiang resolutely crushed these subversive and traitorous activities....

Premier Chou said that to gain complete liberation the people of all the minorities in our country must rise in revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party. They must conduct and accomplish not only the democratic revolution, but also the socialist revolution, and carry them through to the end. In these revolutionary movements it is imperative to go a step further in boldly mobilizing the poverty-stricken peasants, herdsmen, serfs and slaves who were subject to the worst oppression and exploitation, and earnestly to train revolutionary cadres from among the formerly impoverished laboring people of the minorities.

The Premier said that in applying the Party's nationality

policy we must continue to combat Chinese chauvinism and local nationalism. As for the figures from the upper strata of the minorities who are patriotic and are in favor of social reforms, we shall, as in the past, unite with them, educate them and remold them in adherence to the Party's united front policy. They have a bright future, as long as they make an effort to remold themselves.

The Premier added that we shall continue to pursue the policy of freedom of religious belief correctly and to uphold the integrity of state power and the separation of religion from the state. We must prohibit all illegal activities. We hope that people in religious circles will continue to take a patriotic stand against imperialism, persist in the principle of the independence and self-administration of their churches, abide by government laws and decrees, intensify their own remolding and actively take part in the socialist construction of our motherland.

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