

Building a New Revolutionary Sinkiang

In Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the
Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region

by SAIFUDIN*

OCTOBER 1 marks the 16th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China; it is also the 10th anniversary of the birth of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. People of the different nationalities in Sinkiang,** together with the rest of the people throughout the country, are marking this glorious day with great rejoicing.

The past 16 years saw Sinkiang making steady progress in all fields of work. As we celebrate this double festival, it is of practical significance to look back along the road we have triumphantly travelled.

Major Achievements in Economic and Cultural Construction

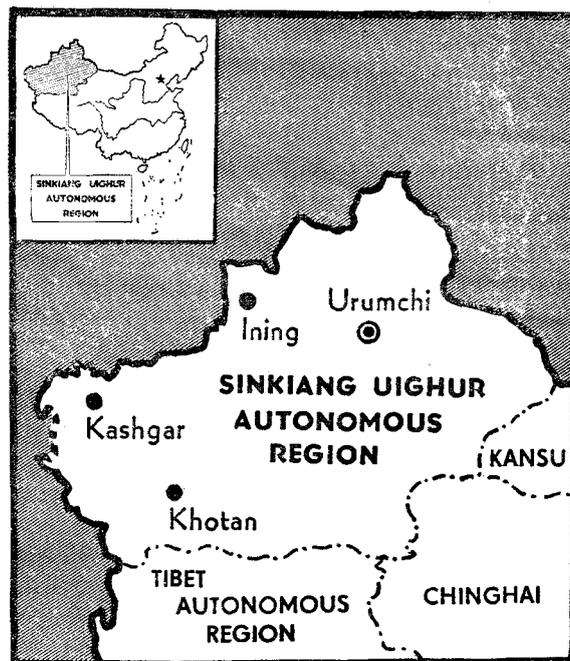
Before liberation, modern industry was practically non-existent in Sinkiang. The dozen or so small plants that did exist were in such wretched condition that they were unable to maintain regular production. Now, more than 550 modern industrial enterprises have sprung up both north and south of the Tianshan Mountains. Modern industry's share in the total industrial output by value has risen from 2.9 per cent in 1949 to more than 78 per cent at present; the number of industrial products has increased from 11 to some two thousand. Pre-liberation Sinkiang had not a single yard of railway to boast of, and its communications and transportation were extremely backward. Its several highways were constantly in a bad state of repair. Now the highway mileage is several times the early post-liberation figure. Vehicles for passenger services and for freight have increased more than eight times and the amount of freight carried is scores of times greater. The Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway has reached Urumchi, the region's capital. With Urumchi at the centre, Sinkiang now has a transport network, mainly made up of highways, railways and civil aviation lines, which links cities and the countryside.

Agriculture has also recorded big advances in Sinkiang in the past 16 years. The area of land newly opened up since liberation is much more than all the

land reclaimed generation after generation from times long ago. Water conservancy work has progressed rapidly with the result that the area of land under effective irrigation has increased several times. Compared with 1949, total output of grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops has increased many fold with cotton leading the way. Cotton output has made it possible, besides satisfying the needs of the local textile industry, to supply huge quantities to the state.

Animal husbandry occupies an important position in the region's economy. Before liberation, it was extremely backward. Increases in stockbreeding have now been recorded for 16 years in succession. The number of cattle in 1964 was more than double what it was in 1949.

Following the development of industrial, agricultural and stockbreeding production, the purchasing power of the people of all the region's nationalities has also grown greatly. The average money income per head in 1964 nearly tripled that of the early post-liberation days. Banking deposits in urban and rural areas towards the end of July, 1965, were 280 times as much as at end of 1950. The supply of cotton textiles, meat, tea, sugar, corduroy, silk fabrics, kerchiefs, boots, and embroidered skull-caps, all goods well-liked by the



Sketch map by Wei Ning

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** Sinkiang in northwest China has a vast territory of 1,648,800 sq. km. Its 13 nationalities are: Uighurs, the most numerous, Kazakhs, Huis, Mongolians, Khalkhas, Sibos, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Tartars, Russians, Tahurs, Manchus and Hans.

minority peoples, has registered sharp increase both in quantity and variety.

Culture, education and public health work were all very backward in pre-liberation Sinkiang. Now, counting the part-work (or part-farming) part-study schools, there are nine institutions of higher learning, several hundred middle schools and several thousand primary schools. The total enrolment of these schools is several times that of the early post-liberation period. Compared with 1949, the number of hospitals and other public health organizations, hospital beds, medical personnel and other trained public health workers has increased scores of times. Improvements in the people's livelihood and public health services in the past 16 years have brought about an increase in the population of all the minority nationalities in Sinkiang. Their total population is more than 20 per cent higher than in the pre-liberation days.

The great success achieved in Sinkiang's socialist construction is due to the fact that we have persistently carried out the general line of going all out, aiming high, and getting greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Sinkiang's experience proves that this general line of the Party is entirely suited to the minority nationality region of Sinkiang, and is completely in keeping with the desire of all its nationalities to do away with their poverty and backwardness and, together with other fraternal nationalities, to build China into a big socialist power in the shortest possible time. It is possible for socialist construction to proceed at greater speed in economically and culturally backward areas because the people there are even more determined to get work done and accordingly give fuller play to their potentialities.

In the last few years, guided by the general line, people of different nationalities in Sinkiang, with great revolutionary enthusiasm have built with their own hands large numbers of water conservancy projects and planted trees over vast areas, thus forcing deserts to retreat, wresting more farmlands from nature, and scoring many victories in the fight against drought. As a result, they have changed the face of the land, improved the people's livelihood and together set out along the road of common prosperity. Examples are legion. After seven years of tireless effort, the local inhabitants in Pishan County have finally put an end to drought. Battling against windstorms, the people of Turfan County have increased grain output every year for eight years. Members of the Red Flag People's Commune, Maikaiti County, have reaped a record *per-mu* yield of 100 *jin** of cotton from 10,000 *mu*** of sandy, saline or alkaline land. The Sinkiang construction corps of the People's Liberation Army is widely praised for bringing large-scale modernized agriculture to the wasteland of the Gobi desert. All these are outstanding examples of hard work and self-reliance.

The tremendous achievements in Sinkiang's socialist construction are inseparable from the assistance

offered by the state and the Han people. In each one of the last 16 years, the state has helped the region financially. For the first few years, the state provided all the capital for construction projects and even partly subsidized administrative expenses. Fine sons and daughters of the Hans came to Sinkiang in a constant flow to take part in our socialist construction, thus greatly easing the shortage of manpower and technical forces. Our inland provinces, regions and cities did their best to meet our needs in economic construction, be it for equipment or for raw materials. The construction corps of the People's Liberation Army, in the finest P.L.A. tradition of hard work and with rifles in one hand and hoes in the other, has unfolded a large-scale production movement and given great support to the socialist construction in our region. Looking back on the achievements of the past 16 years, we cannot but express our grateful thanks to the Han and other fraternal nationalities, and to all the men and commanders of the P.L.A. construction corps.

Like many other national minority regions in our country, Sinkiang has developed its economy and culture in the last 16 years, and especially since the establishment of the autonomous region in 1955, with a speed which was quite unheard of in the history of the development of human society. Many undertakings were started almost from nothing. Now, rapid progress in these fields has helped to narrow the gap between Sinkiang and the more advanced regions of the country. Sinkiang has basically eliminated the economic and cultural inequalities among different nationalities, which were inherited from the past, thus laying a solid foundation for socialist construction. All these achievements have come as a result of the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They represent a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

National Solidarity Is the Basic Guarantee for Victory

Sinkiang is a multi-national region where the Uighurs are the most numerous nationality. Success in any field in Sinkiang is therefore impossible without unity among the different nationalities. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us: "Unification of the country, unity of the people and unity among our various nationalities — these are the basic guarantees for the sure triumph of our cause." Acting upon this directive of Chairman Mao, we have firmly put into effect a whole series of Party policies on nationalities, established national regional autonomy and conducted irreconcilable struggle against all kinds of ideas and actions detrimental to unity among the nationalities. As a result, national solidarity has been continuously consolidated and developed. Before liberation, the labouring masses of the minority nationalities in this region suffered a dual oppression — the national oppression imposed by the reactionary Han ruling class with the Kuomintang as its representative and the class oppression imposed by their own feudal ruling class. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the entry of the Peo-

*1 *jin* = 0.5 kilogramme = 1.1023 pounds

**1 *mu* = 0.0666 hectare = 0.1647 acre

ple's Liberation Army into Sinkiang put an end to the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. A historic, fundamental change has taken place in the relations among Sinkiang's various nationalities, with national unity replacing national oppression and national antagonism. After 16 years of waging revolutionary struggles together, working and living together, all the nationalities in Sinkiang have witnessed the emergence of a completely new type of national relationship, characterized by equality, unity, mutual help and fraternity, and this is now being constantly promoted.

Revolution and construction in Sinkiang have brought home this truth: Without unity among our nationalities, there would be no victory in the democratic and socialist revolutions, no victory in the struggle against revisionism and the reactionaries of India, no victory in our socialist construction and no prosperity, progress and development of the different nationalities. Our great national solidarity represents the fundamental interests of the people of all the region's nationalities.

Hindrance to unity among nationalities comes from the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes. National unity is impossible when national and class oppression exists. To bring about unity among the various nationalities and further develop it, the fundamental thing is, therefore, to eradicate the system of exploitation, a system which engenders national oppression, to overthrow the exploiting classes, and to establish a social system without exploitation of one individual by another. Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end." Since the emergence of social classes the socialist system is the first social system in the history of mankind in which there is no exploitation of one individual by another. It is essentially opposed to national oppression and class exploitation, and it is paving a broad path for the common prosperity and progress of all nationalities. Consequently, the firm establishment of the socialist system in Sinkiang has laid a most solid foundation for unity among all its nationalities.

The unity of the nationalities must have the unity of their labouring people and their class unity as its nucleus. The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism teach us that every nationality is invariably divided into classes. The exploiting classes are always in the



Urumchi today

minority and the exploited classes in the majority. Labouring masses form the main body of a nationality. Therefore, the unity among the nationalities is, in the last analysis, unity among the labouring people (who account for the overwhelming majority of the population of these nationalities) and class unity. Without the unity of the labouring people, there can be no national unity. Abstract, supra-class national unity never exists.

Before liberation, the historical status of the labouring people of the national minorities in Sinkiang was the same as that of the labouring people of the Han nationality. Today, they are also identical in their class interests. Their common goal now is to build socialism. In the future, it will be the advance to communism. In Sinkiang, the construction of a number of modern industrial enterprises has brought into being the first generation of the working class of the minority peoples. This working class has grown up in the cradle of socialism and is the backbone force of national unity. In the people's communes, the people of the different nationalities work and live together on a much bigger scale than before, greatly promoting friendship among these nationalities and enhancing their collective spirit. The labouring people of all the nationalities in Sinkiang are rallied closely together by their common class interests and their common life of struggle.

It should be admitted, however, that the negative effects of the lack of understanding among nationalities inherited from the past are not something to be overlooked. Great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism have particularly been detrimental to national unity. These are all reflections of bourgeois ideology and are utterly incompatible with the proletarian viewpoint on the national question. Generally speaking, they are contradictions among the people and are manifestations of class struggle. They must, therefore, be dealt with by the method used to resolve contradictions among the people and in accordance with the formula of "unity — criticism — unity." Since liberation, we have time

and again conducted ideological education among the people and cadres of all the nationalities, advocating our policies on nationalities and the importance of national unity. We have made great efforts to publicize the historically close economic and cultural contacts and friendly intercourse between the various nationalities and particularly those between the Han people and the national minorities in Sinkiang. We have also given publicity to the common endeavour of all nationalities and their mutual support in the great cause of building socialism and to the many moving examples of national unity. At the same time, when the ideologies of great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism had grown to such an extent as to seriously undermine national unity, we waged timely struggles against these ideologies, and prevented them from impairing national unity. Before 1957, we directed our main efforts to repudiating great-nation chauvinism, which was basically overcome. In 1958, we struggled against local nationalism, and refuted many mistaken statements that impaired the unity of the motherland and of the nationalities and opposed the leadership of the Communist Party and the cause of socialism. A decisive victory was won against local nationalism. The struggles against great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism have given our broad masses of cadres and people of various nationalities a most profound, practical and vivid education in the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on the national question and in national unity. Great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism are all reflections of class struggle in the national question. They will exist for a long period. The contradiction between ourselves and a handful of diehard protagonists of local nationalism is a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. They represent the interests of the exploiting classes. Colluding with the landlords, rich peasants and counter-revolutionaries at home and entering into the service of the revisionists abroad, they malevolently undermined the unity of the nationalities and of the motherland, opposed socialism and attempted to restore the rule of the reactionary classes. Our struggle against them was a serious struggle in defence of the unity of the nationalities and of the motherland and the cause of socialism.

National regional autonomy is the only correct, fundamental policy for the solution of the national question in our country. Such autonomy is part of our people's democratic dictatorship. The implementation of national regional autonomy has safeguarded the unification of our motherland and the unity among the nationalities and protected their rights to equality and self-government. It has helped to unite the labouring people of the various nationalities and all those who can be united, brought into full play the initiative of the people of these nationalities and given great impetus to the socialist revolution and socialist construction in Sinkiang.

Only Thoroughgoing Revolution Can Effect Thorough Solution of the National Question

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us that "national struggle is, in the last analysis, a matter of class strug-

gle." This is a Marxist-Leninist principle that guides one in studying and handling the national question. In Sinkiang, over the 16 years since liberation, we have followed this principle and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings on uninterrupted revolution and launched a series of revolutionary movements in accordance with the general lines and policies of the Party in the various periods. We have thus won victories in the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, brought about rapid advances in the various undertakings in Sinkiang, and created the basic conditions for the solution of the national question.

In the course of the continuous advance of the various revolutionary undertakings in Sinkiang over the last 16 years, we have been able to see more clearly that there have been acute and complicated class struggles in the area, that the principal contradiction in the national minority areas is also class contradiction and the principal struggle in such areas is also class struggle and that the fundamental way to the solution of the national question is to persist in class struggle and carry out thoroughgoing revolution. The labouring people of the various nationalities in Sinkiang were subjected to bitter exploitation and oppression in the past, and it is in line with the fundamental interests of the people of these nationalities to lead them in eliminating the system of exploitation and oppression and gradually eradicating the social basis that gives rise to exploitation and oppression. Any extravagant talk about the solution of the national question without considering these fundamental interests is nothing but a hoax. Before liberation, the exploiting classes of the national minorities in Sinkiang collaborated with the Han rulers to exploit and oppress the labouring people of the national minorities. This was the essence of national oppression in Sinkiang. With the liberation of Sinkiang and the immediate abolition of national oppression, the continued existence of the system of exploitation within the various nationalities became the fundamental obstacle to the economic and cultural development of the area and to the realization of actual equality of the nationalities. In view of this, the Party led the labouring people of the various nationalities in eliminating the feudal system of exploitation, transforming the capitalist relations of production and establishing the socialist relations of production on an extensive scale. This has brought a new phase in the solution of the national question in Sinkiang and in the development of its nationalities. But the victory of the socialist revolution in the economic field does not mean the end of class struggle, the resistance of the capitalist and feudal forces is still quite obstinate, the question of "who will win" in the struggle between socialism and capitalism is not yet finally solved. What is more, as Sinkiang is a multi-national area and frontier region, the class struggle there is inevitably interwoven with the questions of religion of the various nationalities and with the worldwide class struggle. This adds to the gravity and complexity of the class struggle in Sinkiang. After the basic completion of socialist transformation in 1957, the class enemies more than once launched their frenzied attacks on the

Party and socialism and engaged in all sorts of sabotage against the cause of socialism. If we had not smashed their attacks and triumphed in the class struggle, the people of the various nationalities would not have been able to maintain the socialist positions they had already gained, there would have been the danger of losing the fruits of revolution, and it would, of course, have been out of the question to push ahead with economic construction and strengthen the unity of the motherland and of the nationalities. Adhering to the directives of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, we have held aloft the red banner of revolution and scored one victory after another. After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September 1962, we launched in the cities and countryside throughout Sinkiang the socialist education movement in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction that we should never forget about classes and class struggle. In the course of the movement, we have effectively repulsed the attack of the capitalist and feudal forces and further raised the socialist consciousness of the people of the various nationalities. We will make untiring efforts to carry through this revolutionary movement until the final victory of the socialist revolution is achieved. Only in this way, will it be possible to solve the national question in Sinkiang in a thoroughgoing manner and ensure victory in the building of socialism.

Building the Ranks of the Party With Mao Tse-tung's Thinking

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "A great revolution requires a great party and many first-rate cadres to guide it." On another occasion, he said: "Without a large number of communist cadres from minority nationalities, it is impossible to thoroughly solve the national question and to utterly isolate the national reactionaries."

Following the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Party organizations in Sinkiang have done a great deal of work and carried out unremitting struggle since Sinkiang's liberation to raise an army of Marxist-Leninist Party members and to train communist cadres of different nationalities. Now, we already have a strong force of Party members and cadres—people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, capable of weathering storms, of leading and uniting with the people of all nationalities in successfully unfolding the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

At the time of liberation, Sinkiang had only some 3,000 cadres from its minority nationalities; Party membership was also small. Now, the region has more than 13,000 basic Party organizations with more than 220,000 members, of whom over 106,000 come from minority nationalities. This is more than 12 times the figure we had when this Autonomous Region was established. Sinkiang has more than 190,000 cadres at different levels, including 106,000 minority people, an increase of 34.5 times compared with the early post-lib-

eration period, and of 1.5 times compared with the figure at the time of the establishment of the Autonomous Region. Cadres of minority nationalities are holding leading positions in offices at all levels—Party committees, government organizations, and economic and cultural departments. In Party committees at all levels, 67 per cent of the members are from minority nationalities. Moreover, the Party has trained a technical force of 7,600 from among the region's minority peoples. These Party members and cadres have been steeled and tested in many ways in the last 16 years: in the democratic revolution, in socialist revolution and construction, in the struggle against local nationalism and modern revisionism and in the struggle for consolidating national unity and unification of our motherland. They have proved to be a staunch army capable of giving effect to the lines, policies and directives of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and of leading and rallying the people of the different nationalities in Sinkiang in their advance from victory to victory.

The highest principle guiding our Party's policy on cadres is to place equal stress on both integrity and ability and to educate them in communist ideas. That is to say, we pick our cadres of different nationalities from people of the working class, from the poor and lower-middle peasants, the working herdsmen, and other labouring people as well as revolutionary intellectuals. They are fine men and women who have acquired a high level of political consciousness, who are firm in taking the socialist road, loyal to the Party and our motherland, and imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm, and who maintain close links with the masses of all nationalities.

The fundamental question in building up the ranks of a Marxist-Leninist party is to study Chairman Mao's writings on a wide scale and to arm the Party members and cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This thinking is creatively developed Marxism-Leninism in the era when imperialism is heading towards collapse and socialism is gaining the victory; it is a guide for the Chinese people in their cause of revolution and construction, a powerful ideological weapon in combating imperialism and all reactionaries as well as modern revisionism and modern dogmatism. Our Party members and cadres, once armed with this weapon, will be able to reform their non-proletarian world outlook, build up a proletarian world outlook and keep a correct political orientation in the cause of revolution and construction; they will be imbued with the spirit of thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and soaring revolutionary enthusiasm; they will be able to master the dialectical materialist method of thinking and avoid metaphysical views. In a word, an effective study of Chairman Mao's works and a grasp of Mao Tse-tung's thinking will enable our Party to raise greatly its Marxist-Leninist level and make our cause ever successful. Here in Sinkiang, it is precisely by relying on Mao Tse-tung's thinking that we combated and overcame the influence of bourgeois nationalism, modern revisionism, capitalism and different types of anti-

Marxist ideas, that we achieved successes in Party building and in the cause of socialism.

No Vilification by Khrushchov Revisionists Can Dim The Great Light of Our Party's National Policy

The tremendous successes scored in revolution and construction in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the close unity among the people of all nationalities and the unprecedented consolidation of the unification of our motherland have inspired the people of all nationalities. However, the Khrushchov revisionists, renegades from communism and lackeys of imperialism, harbouring a deep-seated hatred, are carrying out constant subversive and sabotage activities, unceasingly spreading rumours and slanders and making virulent attacks on us. Passing themselves off unabashedly as "defenders" of the interests of the people of different nationalities in Sinkiang, they spare no effort to slander and attack the Chinese Communist Party for its national policy.

In accordance with Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, we have carried out in Sinkiang democratic and socialist revolutions, which have eliminated for good the system of class exploitation and the social basis for national oppression and have built up a socialist system and liberated the productive forces. This is the fundamental desire of the people of all nationalities and represents their highest interests. The Khrushchov revisionists, however, slander our revolution as "alien to Marxism-Leninism," a "chauvinistic movement" and a "movement at the expense of the minority nationalities," in an attempt to undermine our revolutionary movements and prevent us from continuously pushing forward our revolution.

In meeting the demands of the people of different nationalities, we have exerted great efforts to push ahead with socialist construction in Sinkiang, bringing about an earth-shaking change in the region's backward economy and culture as well as a genuinely happy life to the people of all nationalities. The Khrushchov revisionists, however, slanderously charge that Sinkiang saw "no development in industry" after liberation, that its "agriculture has gone bankrupt" and that "the people's livelihood there is in a state of poverty," and so on and so forth, in an attempt to deny the great achievements we have scored in our socialist construction and to confuse the people of the world.

In accordance with the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle for the solution of the national question and with our Party's national policy, we have given reality to national equality, implemented regional autonomy and established for the people of the different nationalities the right to be masters in their own house, thus unprecedentedly consolidating and strengthening the unity among the people of the different nationalities in Sinkiang. The Khrushchov revisionists, however, slanderously allege that Sinkiang is China's "colony," that a policy of "deception and national discrimination" was practised, etc., in an attempt to undermine and disrupt our national unity.

The purpose of the Khrushchov revisionists in doing all this is to sow discord in the brotherly relations between the minority peoples and the Han people in Sinkiang and undermine the close unity between different nationalities; to disrupt the unification of our great motherland by separating Sinkiang from it; and to subvert our Party's leadership in Sinkiang by instigating people of different nationalities in Sinkiang to oppose the Chinese Communist Party. However, the various nationalities in Sinkiang have a deep understanding, acquired through more than ten years of experience in life, of the truth that it is the Party and Chairman Mao that have freed them from dire misery and led them to a happy life. They firmly believe that only by following in their advance the direction shown by the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, by upholding national unity and safeguarding the unification of our motherland, can they achieve a more beautiful future. In the eyes of these peoples, the Party and Chairman Mao represent their lives and everything they possess. Just as "the fly's wings cannot shut out the sun" so the vilifications of the Khrushchov revisionists cannot in the least besmirch the high prestige the Party and Chairman Mao enjoy among all the Sinkiang peoples or dim the great light of our Party's Marxist-Leninist national policy. All they do is to expose more clearly their vicious schemes and own ugly features. As Marx stated, truth is best compared with a flint — the harder it is struck, the brighter are its sparks.

Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, we have in the past smashed the subversions and sabotage of the Khrushchov revisionists by relying on the people of our different nationalities. Whatever subversion and sabotage the Khrushchov revisionists may attempt in the future they will not succeed and will only meet with still more shameful defeats.

The current situation is excellent both at home and abroad. Our motherland has never been so strong, the unity among different nationalities has never been so consolidated, and their revolutionary enthusiasm has never been so high as it is today. So long as we correctly carry out the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, resolutely implement the Party's lines, principles and policies and unite as one man, we will certainly be able to advance from victory to greater victory.

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is a fortified frontier and a great wall in defence of our motherland. In the storm of struggle, it will for ever stand majestically on the western frontier of our motherland.

Raising still higher the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, let us forge valiantly ahead for the defence of our motherland and for the construction of a new, revolutionary Sinkiang.

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