

EIR Feature

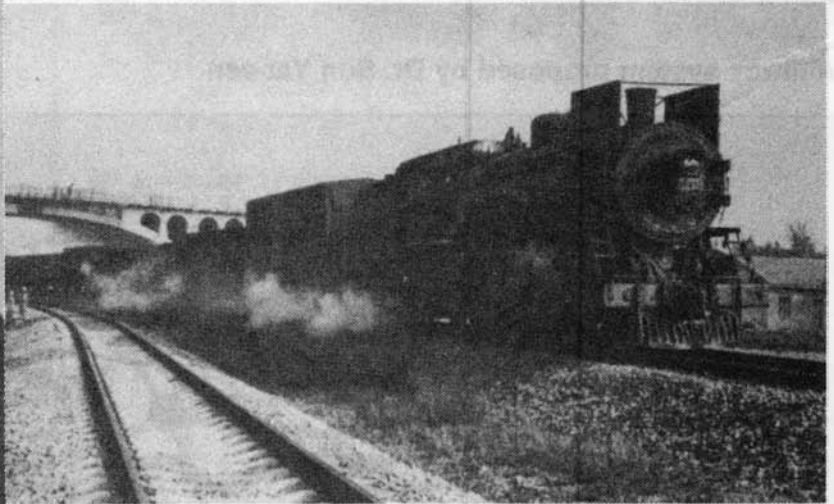
The Sun Yat-sen program and China's development today

by Ramtanu Maitra

China's "economic boom," a much-heralded event during the last decade, has turned out to be nothing more than a sleight of hand, not qualitatively different from Mao Zedong's infamous Great Leap Forward of the 1950s. Recent events indicate that the Chinese leadership, unable to cover up the rickety structure of the nation's economy, is now launching the modern-day equivalent of the Cultural Revolution, the decade of brainwashing and mindless destruction that followed exposure of the "Great Leap's" catastrophic failure.

Mao's Great Leap Forward was to bring the Chinese economy at par with the Western nations. What it did, in fact, was push China into deeper economic backwardness. The Great Helmsman, as Mao was called by his adulators, instead of rectifying what was wrong with the economy, thought better to brainwash the people and make believe the problem was the treacherous anti-Marxist, revisionist tendencies of people. Mao unleashed the so-called Cultural Revolution, with its murderous Red Guards, in particular to eliminate physically those who realized and were coming forward to criticize the total folly of the Great Leap Forward. The death of millions of Chinese, including some of the important Communist party members who had challenged Mao, paved the way for Mao and his cronies to stay in power.

The economic boom of the 1980s saw Mao replaced by Deng Xiaoping, and the party slogan changed from "self-sufficiency" to "free market." While Mao tried to mobilize Marxist dogma to build the economy, Deng and his cronies mobilized Western financiers to fill pockets, most of which belonged to the extended families of senior party members. But the fantasy of economic growth, loaded as it was with fathomless corruption, had to end, and it did with the gunfire from rolling tanks at Tiananmen Square in early June. Whether the new "cultural revolution" dictated by the Deng Xiaoping-Yang Shangkun-Li Peng triumvirate will succeed in silencing dissent and reestablishing the stranglehold of Communist power or not, remains to be seen.



Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), the founding father of modern China. His program for the development of the country emphasized construction of ports, extensive railroads, and waterways that would link up hundreds of China's rivers.

What is evident, however, is that behind all the political drama neither Mao Zedong nor Deng Xiaoping ever showed any inclination to tackle the real problems in China's economy—the country's terribly weak and undeveloped infrastructure. They were not alone. Western economists like to look back over the past several decades with satisfaction that China has managed its economy well, and have consistently opined that if it remains stable for a few more decades, China may turn out to be a world economic power. This kind of self-deception rests on an obvious distortion of facts. It also rests on the unwillingness to probe the question, why does a nation of one billion people, with a single-party system ruling with an iron hand, have to go through periodic traumas which lead to the killing of millions of people? The answer lies in the fact that China's economy has remained extremely vulnerable due to its poor infrastructure, and cannot absorb any kind of pronounced distortion for any substantial period.

That China's single most crucial problem is its infrastructural inadequacies is not a recent finding. Almost seven decades ago, Dr. Sun Yat-sen—whom the Chinese Communists include in their pantheon of important historical figures while clearly dismissing his thought and writings—brought out a report in book form that outlined a ten-point program for “the international development of China” based on infrastructure projects.* Dr. Sun's 1922 book dealt explicitly and at length with the issues which still continue to bog China down. While

some infrastructural work has been done in the intervening 67 years, it is also to be kept in mind that the population has grown threefold since Dr. Sun made his proposals and the fundamental infrastructural requirements for economic growth remain unfulfilled. Though his most detailed proposals were concentrated in the area of transportation, the competence and visionary insight of Dr. Sun's approach to China's development make his work a useful yardstick by which to measure China's actual accomplishments and evaluate the challenges facing China today.

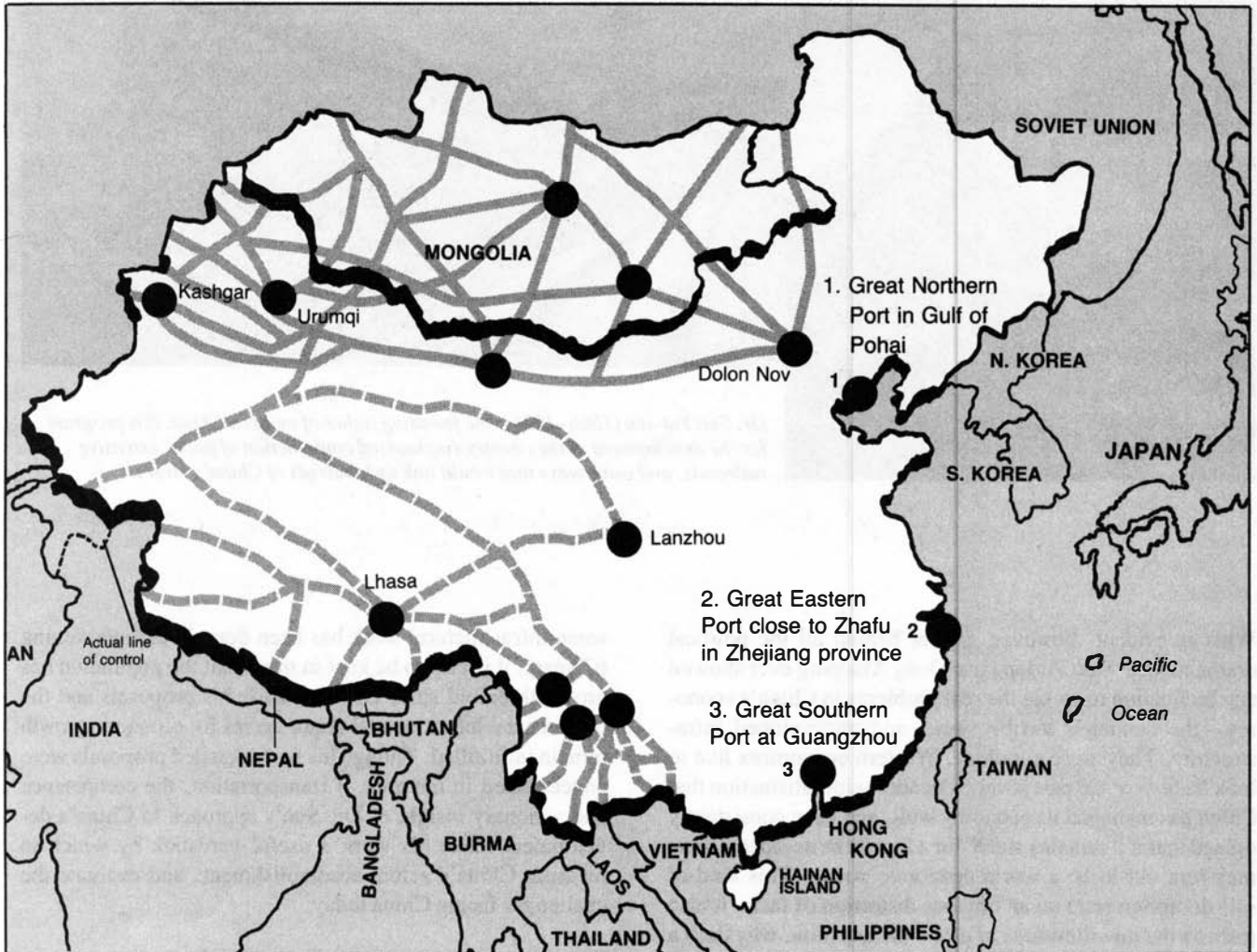
The imperative to open new lands

The most important problem that has troubled China's basic economy, which is centered on agriculture and the related activities, is its limited arable land. Since more than 80% of China's labor force is still involved in agricultural work, arable land and habitable land are synonymous. In other words, in China wherever agricultural potential does not exist, the land remains fallow and uninhabited.


China has a land mass of 9.56 million square kilometers (km²)—slightly larger than that of the United States, and almost three times that of India. Out of this area, 1.0 million km² is presently under the plough. In comparison, India, endowed with about 3.33 million km², has available about 1.6 million km² for agricultural activities. As a result, massive land areas of Xizang (Tibet), Qinghai, Ningxia, Inner Mongolia (Nei Mongol) and Xinjiang provinces, which constitute together about one-half of China, at present support less than 50 million people, while the other half, blessed with a much


* *The International Development of China*, by Dr. Sun Yat-sen: G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1929.

Railway system proposed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen



Key:

 Part of the Northwestern Railway System suggested by Dr. Sun Yat-sen to open up virgin lands of Xinjiang and Mongolia

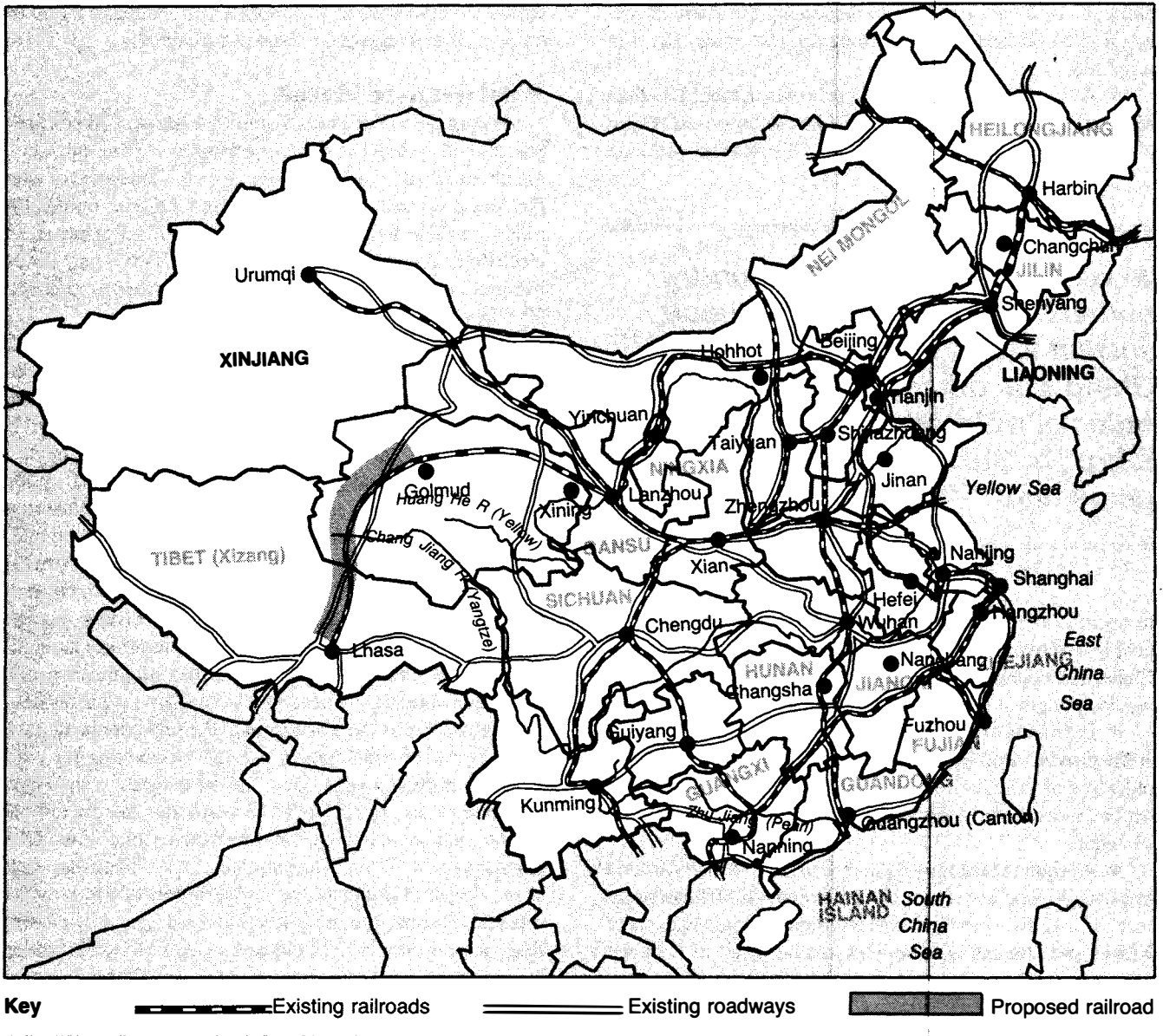
 Part of the Southwestern Railway System suggested by Dr. Sun Yat-sen to integrate Xizang (Tibet) and southern Xinjiang with the southern part of China

greater share of agricultural land, supports more than 1 billion people.

Back in 1922, Dr. Sun Yat-sen considered the opening up of new lands, in particular the colonization of Mongolia (at that time, Outer Mongolia was also part of China) and Xinjiang, as a prime necessity. To do that he suggested an extensive railroad network which at one end would be connected to a world-class port and at the other end would reach

deep into the interiors of sparsely populated Xinjiang and Mongolia (see **Map 1**). Citing the success of the opening of Manchuria, a program which took shape in the earlier part of this century, Dr. Sun pointed out: "The colonization of Mongolia and Xinjiang is a complement of the railway scheme. Each is dependent upon the other for its prosperity. The colonization scheme, besides benefitting the railway, is in itself a greatly profitable undertaking. The results of the United

Existing and proposed transport system for the People's Republic of China



States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina are ample proof of this. In the case of our project, it is simply a matter of applying wasted Chinese labor and foreign machinery to a fertile land for production for which remuneration is sure.”

Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) was an ardent nationalist and an avowed follower of Abraham Lincoln. He is considered by the Chinese as the founding father of modern China. His concept of Three Principles—Nationalism, Democracy, and Socialism—as the bedrock of a prosperous sovereign nation-state, came from Abraham Lincoln’s famous Gettysburg ad-

dress, where Lincoln said: “. . . a government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from this earth.” Like Lincoln, Dr. Sun realized that in order to build a nation, the country’s infrastructure—its land, water, education, and transportation systems—had to be built up in such a way that people could settle wherever they desire. In other words, infrastructural development would allow people to exploit their creative and productive potential in any part of the country. He believed that only under such conditions could China become a great economic and cultural power.

In his program for development of China, it is for this reason Dr. Sun Yat-sen emphasized in detail the necessity for building major sea and river ports, extensive railroads and waterways through interlinking and making navigable hundreds of China's rivers. In discussing the railroad networks with the purpose of opening up new lands, Dr. Sun proposed:

- A Northwestern Railway System which would connect Mongolia and Xinjiang provinces with the proposed "Great Northern Port" in the Gulf of Pohai. This railroad will help

In contrast to Dr. Sun's visionary outlook, China's present railroad system is a sham. At present, China has about 33,000 route-miles of railroads—one-third of what Dr. Sun proposed almost 70 years ago!

to open up the sparsely populated provinces and allow the people to move out of the densely populated coastal areas of China. The process would create an economic potential which would strengthen China's economy multifold.

- Extension of the Northwestern Railway System to cover the provinces of Gansu, Xinjiang, and Mongolia with the objective of bringing into the productive process the uninhabited pasture lands where huge herds of sheep and beef can be raised.

- A Highland Railway System centering partially around Lhasa in Xizang and also around Chengdu in Sichuan province. This railway network will interlink the high plateaus of Xizang and Qinghai with both the southern part of Xinjiang province and the southern plains of China.

Besides these three systems, Dr. Sun laid out a detailed railway network throughout China. According to his plan, China will require 100,000 miles of railroads. Of all different railway systems, Dr. Sun Yat-sen emphasized most the building of a Northwestern Railway System. He argued that this railroad will be most productive since it will open the vast plains of the Xinjiang province; and since it will traverse flatlands, the cost of construction of railroads will be significantly less.

The other interesting aspect of Dr. Sun's railroad program is his conception of the hub-and-spoke method of building networks. Such a method, often used more recently in both railroad and port constructions, provides for the optimal use of tracks and highly centralized control. Dr. Sun also

linked most of the railroads to major sea ports. This way the railroads would become highly remunerative by hauling most of the construction and industrial goods, as well as agricultural produce, from one center to the other. Such a railroad network would open up the productive potential of the country as well as integrate the country horizontally.

What was done instead

In contrast to Dr. Sun's visionary outlook, China's present railroad system is a sham (see **Map 2**). At present, China has about 33,000 route-miles of railroads—one-third of what Dr. Sun proposed almost 70 years ago! Of that, only 6,300 miles is double-tracked, and less than 1,200 miles have been electrified. As many as 75% of the locomotives are steam-powered, and the rail freight service is estimated to meet only 50-70% of demand.

Besides the paucity of railroads, China's rail network has remained haphazard, causing serious bottlenecks along the way. In 1988, when the Chinese leadership called for the "cooling down of the overheated economy," one of the problems cited was transport logjams. Instead of developing a centralized, hub-and-spoke network, as suggested by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, China's railway network has been built around connecting major cities, paying little or no attention to making the rural areas accessible. Along the coast between Guangzhou and Shanghai, for example, where more than 90 million people live in a congested coastal corridor, no railroad exists. Similarly, in north central China almost the entire provinces of Shaanxi—where more than 30 million people live—and Ningxia—where only 4.5 million people reside—are without railroads. Even in such densely populated provinces as Anhui and Jiangsu, together accounting for more than 115 million people, there are areas where people have to travel as far as 100 miles to reach the nearest railroad station. So it is in Sichuan province where China's two present strongmen, Deng Xiaoping and Yang Shangkun, were born. People residing in the northern part of the province must travel some 400 miles to get to a railroad. Anyone who lives in Inner Mongolia, close to the Outer Mongolia border, is similarly left with no choice but to travel 300 miles to get to a railroad station.

Unlike in most countries, the Chinese living in those areas not reached by rail lines have no way to get to the railroads. Although China has built some 620,000 miles of highways—as opposed to Dr. Sun's recommendation in 1922 to build 1 million miles—only 4%, or 25,000 miles, fall into first and second grade. The first and second grade consist of two lanes and are distinguished by the capability to carry heavy traffic. The rest of the roads are single lane and more than 50% are unusable for heavy trucks and buses. Expressways of international standard, except a few in major cities to impress foreign visitors, do not exist at all and are only now being built. These are not expected to be completed until the middle of the next decade.

But the greater problem is that the Chinese have very little access to these roads because until recently all vehicles were owned by the state. High-level party cadres were the only ones who had access to private cars. Since the early 1980s, some relaxation was made and rural peasants were allowed to operate a number of buses and trucks. As a result, most of the tractors, which are allotted to the peasants for agricultural work, can be seen on the rural roads hauling freight. One estimate shows that more than 2 million tractors—almost 50% of the total—are on the road serving as

The present Chinese regime, under the free market worshipper Deng Xiaoping, conceived seaports as inlets and outlets for various manufactured and assembled goods . . . for earning foreign exchange. . . . By contrast, Dr. Sun conceived these ports to be “doorways” to overall development of land and industries.

pick-up trucks and are never used for agricultural work.

In comparing the present road and railway network of China with that envisioned by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, it is evident that very little effort has been made so far to open up new lands. In lieu of the Northwestern Railway System, as recommended by Dr. Sun, a single-track goes from Hohhot, Inner Mongolia (Nei Mongol), about 250 miles west of Beijing, to Urumqi in Xinjiang—about 250 miles east of the Soviet border. Unlike Dr. Sun’s plans, the railroad stops at Urumqi and the entire western border with the Soviet Union remains inaccessible. Inside Xinjiang, virtually no railroad exists and the prospect of opening up new lands remains as distant as ever. Similarly, the entire Xizang and Qinghai plateaus remain without railroads except one rickety single-track railroad from Lanzhou in Ningxia to Golmud in Qinghai; its continuation to Lhasa in Xizang province is still in the proposal stage. Most of these railroads, furthermore, are used for troop movements and have very little use for regular passenger or freight traffic.

The underdevelopment of railway networks in the western provinces and the top-down control by the state over automobile ownership have curbed free movement of people. These western provinces remain virtually untapped, without water distribution and power. The Chinese Communists’ purpose in building whatever roads and railways they did in these

sparsely populated provinces differed totally from Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s way of thinking. While Dr. Sun wanted new lands to be made available for settling the growing population and exploiting the virgin lands, the point of departure for the totalitarian regime of China was the need to move troops.

Ports and waterways

In contrast to the railroad development, China has done considerably better with ports and waterways. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had suggested building three major ports, which he designated world-ports, whose capabilities would rival the largest ports in the world such as New York and Rotterdam.

The first such port, the Great Northern Port, was to be located a little north of the present port of Qinghuangdao on the Gulf of Pohai. The second major port was to be located a little south of Shanghai—away from the silting mouth of the Chang Jiang (Yangtze) river. Dr. Sun’s argument, which has since been vindicated though not heeded, was that the Chang Jiang brings in too much silt and that Shanghai cannot become a world-port because of the large accumulation of silt. In lieu of Shanghai, Dr. Sun had suggested that the Great Eastern Port be built near Zhafu, which is located a few miles south of Shanghai and away from the mouth of the Chang Jiang. The other world-port, Dr. Sun suggested, should be located at Guangzhou, and it would serve as the Great Southern Port.

During the 67 years since Dr. Sun’s proposals appeared in print, China has developed 18 ports, most of which existed earlier as small ports, but none in the way Dr. Sun had recommended. Shanghai, the largest of them all by far, can handle 80 million tons of cargo annually—a minuscule amount compared to what large ports such as Rotterdam handle. Instead of a Great Northern Port, a number of smaller ports such as Qinghuangdao, Tianjin, Dalian, and Yantai—all located in the gulf that opens up the Yellow Sea—have been developed. These ports together handle less than 75 million tons of cargo. Guangzhou has been developed as the major port in the south, but handles a meager 12 million tons of cargo annually.

Lack of large ports, on the scale Dr. Sun advised, has caused problems particularly since Deng Xiaoping’s decision that China will develop a free market economy. There are reports that ports are already overloaded and that things are getting worse every succeeding year. There are fewer than 200 deep-water berths in China suitable for 10,000 dwt (deadweight tons) vessels—tiny compared to the large oil tankers which average more than 100,000 dwt—and all of China’s ports are seriously congested due to the expansion of foreign trade since the mid-1970s. Total cargo handling in ports is about 280 million tons; China’s ports have been swamped as ship arrivals mounted to three times the planned handling capacity of the major harbors. As far back as in 1980, ships waited for berths at the ports of Shanghai, Tianjin, and Guangzhou, in particular, on an average of 2-4 days—which

A vision betrayed

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's program calls for a real economic development which would place China as one of the most economically powerful nations in the world. With a land-mass as large as that of the United States and a population four times larger, China will become a mighty power. Perhaps, this thought forced the so-called "friends of China" to throw the book away.

Following the completion of his book, Dr. Sun had sent out copies to the legation of the United States of America based in Shanghai, the U.S. secretary of commerce in Washington, the Italian defense minister in Rome, and also to some professionals. Replies from the bureaucrats, ostensibly representing their respective governments, have been published as an appendix to Dr. Sun's book, and they are most revealing.

For example, William C. Redfield, secretary, Department of Commerce, U.S. government, was simply overwhelmed by the extensive detail that Dr. Sun had worked out. Nonetheless, being a good accountant, Redfield reminded Dr. Sun that "it would take billions of dollars to carry out even a small portion of your proposals," and that "most of them would not be able to pay interest charges and expenses of operation for some years. The first question to be decided, therefore, is how the interest charges on the necessary loans could be met."

Redfield's response is not much different from what the practical Chinese Communists would say. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's method of developing China was completely torpedoed by the Communists, as a comparison of recent policy with the vision of Dr. Sun makes clear. Dr. Sun was committed to the opening up of China, but he warned strenuously that this could not be done under the "corrupting influence of the mandarins." He would not tolerate the looting of the country. In his memoirs,* Dr. Sun put it this way:

"The commercial countries of the whole world look on China as a 'dumping ground' for their surplus production. Pre-war trade conditions were unfavorable for China. The excess of imports over exports amounted to about 100 million dollars (gold) yearly. The Chinese market could not extend very much in these conditions, since this would have led to the pumping of gold out of China, and would have been profitable only for the foreign countries trading with China. Fortunately, the natural wealth of China is very great, its opening up would create an unlimited mar-

ket for the whole world, and it could usefully absorb a great part, if not all, of the millions of dollars remaining in wartime industry.

"China is a country in which hand labor still prevails, and which has not yet entered the first stage of industrial evolution, while Europe and America have already reached the second. Therefore China has to begin both periods of industrial evolution at the same time, applying machinery simultaneously with the principle of the nationalization of industry. In this event China will require machinery for her widespread agriculture, technical equipment for her rich mines, machinery for her innumerable undertakings of all kinds, for her extensive transport systems, and for all her social needs. . . . The Chinese people will welcome the opening up of the riches of our country, providing China is protected against the corrupting influence of the mandarins and will have a guarantee of normal intercourse with foreign states."

Dr. Sun's words were strikingly prophetic; they were proved true in the breach by his Communist successors. Today China's industries are suffering from acute shortages of raw materials, not because the "natural wealth of China" that Dr. Sun referred to has been exhausted, but because the Chinese government did not develop the necessary mining and transport infrastructure to sustain industrial growth.

At the end of 1988 China's foreign debt has grown to above \$40 billion—not a danger per se yet, but the rate at which China's trade deficit is growing indicates that the economy will soon be under the control of foreign bankers. What is the Deng government doing about it? To export more and reduce the deficit, the government has set up free trade zones where the nation's wealth is packaged and shipped abroad. Even this will stop soon, though, because the rapid export growth has worsened the energy and raw materials shortages and made domestic prices skyrocket. As long as it lasted, the trading corporations—with senior Communist leaders and their close relatives at the helm—reaped a ripe harvest. The game was to buy raw materials from the domestic market at extremely low prices pre-set by the government, and sell them at the much higher price available in the international market.

As Dr. Sun predicted, the Chinese people warmly welcomed the opening up of their country. But their optimism has been cruelly betrayed by high inflation caused by the indiscriminate looting of the country and rampant corruption of the Communist officials. The "corrupting mandarins" against whom Dr. Sun had warned found their perfect match in the Western bankers.

* *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary*, by Sun Yat-sen, New York: AMS Press, 1970.

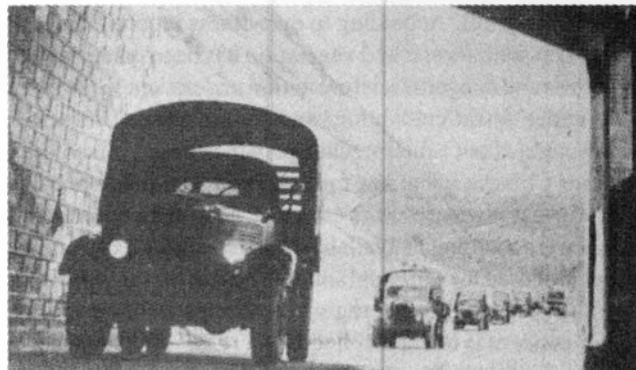
constitutes about 30% of their total stop-over time. The situation since then, according to available reports, has gotten worse.

In addition to the logjam at the major ports, perpetuated primarily by the lack of adequate infrastructural facilities at the ports themselves, the Chinese authorities have so far shown very little intention to exploit the vast potential of coastal shipping. Meanwhile, the silting problem in the ports of Shanghai, Tianjin, and Guangzhou has become serious. The need for continuous dredging, which involves moving more than 100 million tons of silt annually, has made the ports inefficient and highly expensive to maintain.

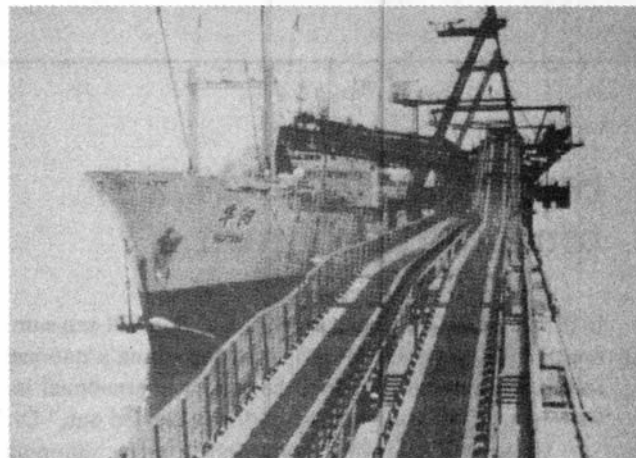
In order to understand why the Chinese authorities ignored in principle Dr. Sun Yat-sen's concept of building world-ports, one must clearly understand the difference in thinking between Dr. Sun and the Chinese Communists regarding what these ports are meant for. The present Chinese regime, under the free market worshipper Deng Xiaoping, conceived these ports as inlets and outlets for various manufactured and assembled goods. Their concept was to develop these ports for earning foreign exchange and carrying out a brisk trade with foreign nations.

By contrast, Dr. Sun conceived these ports to be "doorways" to overall development of land and industries. In describing the need for the Great Northern Port, Dr. Sun said: "The need for such a port in this part of China goes without saying. For the provinces of Chili, Shanxi, Western Shandong, Northern Henan, a part of Fengtien, and the greater part of Shanxi and Gansu with a population of 100 millions [about 250 million now—RM] are lacking of a seaport of this kind. Mongolia and Xinjiang as well as the rich coal fields of Shanxi will also have to depend on the Chili [Pohai] coast as their only outlet to the sea. And the millions of congested population of the coast and the Yangtze Valley need an entrance to the virgin soil of the Mongolian Prairie and the Tianshan Valley. The port will be the shortest doorway and the cheapest passage to these regions."

To understand Dr. Sun's motivation and what Deng Xiaoping and his gang consider as "development," one has to look only at the state of affairs in China. It is not that investments could not be made. On paper these investments exist, but the greed to loot has completely destroyed the moral fabric of the leadership. While Dr. Sun, who has been often pushed into the back shelf as an "idealist," was committed for a long-term development of China built around opening up of new lands, access of people to every corner of the country, controlling the major rivers so that they can be used as waterways, the present regime, eager to make fast bucks, pocketed large sums of investment. In 1986 the Chinese government declared that a 40% increase in agricultural capital construction such as irrigation, water conservancy and grain centers had been earmarked. However, the official press, which is directed to cover up more than it is allowed to expose, reported many cases where the benefits never came



China's Communist governments have shown no desire to seriously tackle the most crippling problem facing the national economy: underdeveloped infrastructure.



through, due to non-implementation or corruption by local officials.

Land and water management critical

For China's long-term security in foodgrain production, water management will have to play a key role. China's rivers are getting silted—a process which has made the rivers highly flood-prone during the high-water seasons. During the dry season, which constitutes on average five months of the year, on the other hand, water flow diminishes considerably, making available water a scarce commodity.

The principal reason behind this growing rate of siltation is the extensive deforestation, which began much earlier and continues to date, which has made the soil crusty and loose. Huge amounts of this loose soil get transported every year to the rivers, canals, reservoirs, and natural lakes along with the rainwater and airborne by stiff gales. The north central plateau, which is hilly and barren, is the biggest culprit. Millions of tons of silt get transported from this region into the Chang Jiang, Huang He, and other river basins. Although the present regime claims that efforts have been made to stem the rot, nothing has been verified on the ground.

In the north, in Manchuria, ecological devastation has

taken a nasty toll. According to eyewitness reports, this lush green area with forests and vegetation has been made barren. Pointless and dangerous deforestation undertaken to put more land under wheat cultivation, and for timber and firewood, has brought about a distinct change in the climate. According to some Chinese scientists, rainfall in the region has become half of what it was 50 years earlier. One of the major rivers, Songhua, according to available reports, carries half as much water as it used to carry, and siltation has increased multifold.

The present Chinese regime's policies indicate that its major concern is to control floods—a *result* of the extensive silting of rivers—by erecting large dams and reservoirs in the upstream of tributaries leading to major rivers. This method has curbed the perennial floods in the Huai He. Similar

efforts have been made to control the Huang He. A number of dams on its tributaries—Fen ho, Wei ho, Sanggan He, etc.—have been erected to control annual floods and also to store water. In the Chang Jiang river system, the Gezhouba, Bailien ho, and Tingtzukon dams have been built for the same purpose. The second phase of the Gezhouba dam is now under construction, and two more dams, Three Gorges and Gehe-Ai, are in the initial stages of construction.

Besides controlling floods, the dams, of course, store water for the dry season and generate hydropower. Over the last 40 years, some 90,000 small, medium, and large reservoirs have been built which can hold about 500 billion cubic meters of water—about 20% of the country's total run-off.

While these developments have surely helped China to

Sun Yat-sen's 1927 ten-point program

In his memoirs, published in 1927, Dr. Sun Yat-sen summarized the program he proposed for China's national reconstruction and for which he sought international investment. "If the program is gradually carried out," Dr. Sun wrote, "China will become, not a mere 'dumping ground' for foreign goods, but a real 'economic ocean,' capable of absorbing all the surplus capital of the world as rapidly as the industrial countries can produce, the coming era of the second industrial revolution based on nationalized machine industry."

The program is as follows:

1. The development of systems of communication:
 - a) 100,000 miles of railways.
 - b) 1,000,000 miles of roads.
 - c) Improvement of existing canals:
 - i) Hangchow-Tientsin.*
 - ii) Sinkiang-Yangtze.
 - d) Construction of new canals:
 - i) Liaoyang-Shanghai-kwan.
 - ii) Canals to be planned.
 - e) Organization of China's river system:
 - ii) Clearing and deepening the bed of the Yangtze, from Hankow to the sea, in order to permit ocean-going vessels to reach Hankow.
 - ii) Clearing and deepening the bed of the river Hwangho, to prevent flooding.
 - iii) Clearing the Hsikiang.
 - iv) Clearing the Hwaiho.
 - v) Clearing other rivers.

f) Construction of long-distance telegraph and telephone lines, and also organization of wireless telegraph stations.

2. The organization and development of commercial harbors:

- a) The organization of three large-scale ocean ports, capable of equaling New York in the future, in the north, center, and south of China.
- b) Construction of commercial and fishing harbors along the entire coast.
- c) Construction of commercial docks along all navigable rivers.

3. The building of modern cities, with social conveniences of all kinds, near all railway centers, principal stations, and harbors.

4. Utilization of China's waterways.

5. Erection of iron and steel works on the largest scale, and also of cement works to meet building requirements.

6. Development of China's mineral wealth.

7. Development of agriculture.

8. Irrigation work in Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan.

9. Forestry work in central and northern China.

10. The colonization of Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, Koko-nor, and Tibet.

* Names of towns, provinces and rivers as appeared in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's memoirs printed in 1927.

grow more food in the recent past, the long-term effect of such a myopic flood-control policy may invite disasters. The high level of siltation is going to fill up a large number of these reservoirs, making some of the dams useless in the long run. One report shows that the Sanmenxia dam, located on one of the tributaries of Huai He in Henan province, is soon going to be useless. Its reservoir's storage capacity has been cut to 30% due to intense silting. There exist many such reports which indicate that China's water conservancy program may turn out to be a headache in the future.

In place of exclusive dependence on damming the rivers, Dr. Sun Yat-sen had suggested that the meandering rivers, a major source of siltation, simply needed to be straightened out. In the case of the Chang Jiang, a huge river that originates in the high plateaus of Xizang and Qinghai, and comes crashing down the slopes, the central course between Yibin—where the Min Jiang meets the Chang Jiang in Sichuan province—and Wuhan, a major industrial town, needs to be made as straight as possible. His suggestion was to build canals which will carry most of Chang Jiang's water, skirting the sharp loops, allowing it to flow quickly and without causing embankment erosion. These canals could be used as waterways carrying freight and passengers and, in the process, pay for the initial capital expenditure.

In order to slow down the flow of water which causes

enormous embankment erosion between Quanjiao and Zhenjiang, Dr. Sun's suggestion was to dam up the river to form locks to enable craft to ascend the river as well as to generate hydropower. He said: "Obstructions should be blasted and boulders removed. Thus, a ten-foot channel right along from Hankow [Wuhan] to Chungking [Chongqing] could be obtained so that through inland water transportation could be established from Chungking to Peking (Beijing) in the north and to Canton (Guangzhou) in the South."

In addition Dr. Sun Yat-sen paid a great deal of attention to regulating the Huang He and the Huai He. In dealing with the Huai He, Dr. Sun suggested dividing the Huai He water, before it enters the Hangze lake in Jiangsu province, into two channels—one going southward to meet the Chang Jiang, and the other going north to merge with the Huang He. He said that these dividing channels should be built in such a way as to enable year-round inland water navigation. He also made similar suggestions to make parts of the Huang He navigable in the Shanxi province.

One other interesting aspect of Dr. Sun's program is his suggestion to use parts of the major lakes such as Dongtinghu, Poyang Hu, and Hangze as the deep channels through which major rivers can be diverted. He also suggested that most parts of these shallow sprawling lakes could be reclaimed and used as highly fertile arable land.

The old monetary system is dead. Put it in the closet, and open the closet to horrify children on Halloween. The question is, how do we build the new monetary system?

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