

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Zhao: Independent Diplomacy
- First KMT-CCP Co-operation Marked





A dancer from the Chinese Opera and Ballet Theatre is performing for the minority peoples in Yunnan Province.

SPOTLIGHT

A new village in southern Anhui Province.



Amateur peasant-photographers in the suburbs of Shanghai are taking pictures in a greenhouse.

The Beijing Refrigerator Plant turns out more and better products to meet the growing needs of the people.



A medical worker in Shifang County of Sichuan Province is examining a baby.

A flower fair in Chengdu, Sichuan Province.

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CONTENTS

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS	4-5
More on China's Independent Diplomacy	
LETTERS	5
EVENTS & TRENDS	6-11
Zhao's Visit Cements Sino-Canadian Ties	
First KMT Congress Commemorated	
Administrative Reforms Continued	
Firm Attack on Economic Crimes	
Counties Double Output Value	
Foreign Trade: Results, Outlook	
Need Reaffirmed for Disarmament	
INTERNATIONAL	12-15
Islamic Summit: Solidarity Strong on Major Issues	
Israel: Shamir Government on the Brink	
Denmark: Conservatives to Remain in Power	
Chad: National Reconciliation Hindered	
Premier Zhao on China's Foreign Policy	16
Report From Vancouver: Premier Zhao's Fruitful Visit to Canada	19
History of Bi-Party Co-operation Reviewed	21
Reunification: The Trend of the Times	24
Taiwan Natives on the Mainland: Their Lives and Hopes	29
Western Influence and National Style in Modern Chinese Literature	32
Ancient Philosopher: Modern Studies About Lao Zi	35
FROM THE CHINESE PRESS	38-39
CULTURE & SCIENCE	40-41
BOOKS	42
COVER: Peasants in Daixian County, Shanxi Province, celebrating Spring Festival, new year's day in the traditional lunar calendar, which falls on February 2 this year. Photo by Wang Guanmin	
BACK COVER: White birches in the Da Hinggan Ling (Greater Khingan Mountain). Photo by He Chongyun	

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

China's Foreign Policy Again Elaborated

In his speech at the Canadian Parliament, Premier Zhao Ziyang once again expounded the fundamental principle and major objective of China's independent foreign policy, the prospects of future relations with all countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as its open policy towards the outside world (p. 16).

Our special correspondent's report from Vancouver rounded up the Premier's fruitful visit to Canada (p. 19).

KMT Urged to Co-operate for Reunification

Deng Yingchao, Chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, reviewed the history and significance of co-operation between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang (KMT). She expressed the hope that the KMT would enter a third round of co-operation to accomplish the reunification of China (p. 21)

Reunification — Popular Demand

Members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, one of China's democratic parties, talk about the need for and benefits of reunification, and urge their friends and former colleagues in Taiwan to contribute to this great cause (p. 24).

Western Traces and National Characteristics

While assimilating and adapting Western trends and forms to the tastes and interest of the Chinese readers, Chinese writers have formed their own distinctive national style. Professor Tang Tao traces the Western influence in modern Chinese literature from the 1920s (p. 32).



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More on China's Independent Diplomacy

by MU YOULIN
International Editor

Premier Zhao Ziyang's recent visits to the United States and Canada and General Secretary Hu Yaobang's visit to Japan last November were all major events which attracted world attention. One may glean a comprehensive understanding of China's foreign policy from what these leaders said and did, and draw one's own conclusions. At the beginning of last year, I took stock of China's foreign diplomacy (No. 4, 1985), and following the recent state visits, I make a further analysis of this question.

The basic principles of China's foreign policy formulated by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai after the founding of New China have been vigorously followed and developed in certain areas in recent years, forming China's unique style of independent foreign diplomacy. This independent policy has five main aspects.

First, China will never attach itself to any big power or bloc of countries, nor will it succumb to pressure from any big nation. We determine our position according to the rights and wrongs of each international event, and will not allow ourselves to be instigated and provoked. The fundamental interests of our people, and all the people of the world, come first when judging an issue. We are both patriots and internationalists. China's national interest and dignity are inviolable. However, we also believe that national interests and the obligation of safeguarding world peace and promoting the progress of mankind

are consistent, and should be considered equally.

Second, China wishes to develop relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. When we say "all countries," we mean socialist countries and countries with different social systems, third

The basic principles formed by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai have been followed and developed in recent years, resulting in the unique style of China's foreign policy.

world and second world countries and the US and Soviet superpowers. In light of the current grim international situation, this policy is well suited to the general interest of safeguarding world peace.

Premier Zhao's visit to the United States during a critical time in Sino-US relations has helped improve and develop the ties between the two countries. China made this effort because the development of Sino-US relationship is not only in the interests of the people of the two countries, but is also conducive to maintaining Asian and world peace.

During his visit to Canada, the Premier said in Ottawa that China supports Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's appeal "for more political leaders in the world to participate in the cause of safeguarding world peace."

The friendly, good-neighbour ties between China and Japan have

been brought to a new stage by Hu Yaobang's visit to Japan. This visit was also important for maintaining Asian and world peace, a fact which has already been recognized throughout the world.

Third, one of the most important points of our independent foreign policy is to oppose hegemony. China will never seek hegemony. We are against any country which seeks hegemony, be it a big or a small one. We are against some of the Soviet policies. We are also critical of some American policies. This stand of ours is known to all.

Of course, opposing hegemony does not mean rejecting dialogue. Premier Zhao visited the United States, and the Chinese and Soviet Governments have conducted three rounds of consultations. These have helped enhance mutual understanding and ease international tensions.

The fourth important aspect of China's foreign policy is to strengthen unity with other third world countries and support their struggle to safeguard national independence, develop their economies and eliminate foreign interference.

As many people have seen, the Chinese never forget their poor or old friends. China belongs to the third world, and is also a poor country. Because China has had similar experiences and faces common tasks for development, it has a deeper sympathy for and gives firmer support to other third world countries. We are willing to promote economic co-operation (or South-South co-operation) with other third world



countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, practical and varied forms, and seeking common development. Such co-operation will help correct the existing unequal international economic relationship and set up a new world economic order.

We will never forget our old friends, both living and dead, who have promoted friendship with China. General Secretary Hu and Premier Zhao met many such old friends in Japan, the United States and Canada.

Fifth, the policy of opening to the rest of the world is a component of China's foreign diplomacy. This basic national policy will remain unchanged. General Secretary Hu and Premier Zhao pledged that the door which has been opened will never be closed. With the gradual development of China's modernization programme, economic, scientific, technological and cultural contacts with other countries will also be developed. China acts according to established international practices. Enterprises using foreign investment will not be discriminated against. Efforts are also being made to improve our economic and technological co-operation with foreign countries. In recent years, China has adopted a series of laws and regulations regarding its foreign economic relations, and these will be further improved and perfected in the future.

Our foreign policy has enhanced our country's prestige abroad and brought it more friends. This policy will continue to be followed in our struggle to safeguard world peace and promote the progress of humanity.

Superb Colour Cover

I have received your first issue of 1984 and I was surprised to see its marvellous colour cover. I couldn't believe it was the *Beijing Review*. But on second thought, I was worried about the increased production cost. Maybe I need not worry at all.

Aside from the colour cover, the article "The Best Way to Remember Mao Zedong" is excellent. It makes me realize how great Chairman Mao was.

China's socialist construction, especially in the area of socialist ethics, is notable. Japan can boast a wealth of commodities, but rotten things spread everywhere.

Maesuno Kyoko
Hyogo, Japan

The colour cover and the addition of more pictures was a good move. Realize your magazine is serious and not picture oriented. However, the more pictures the better.

Kelly Robinson
Anchorage, Alaska, USA

Don't Make Rash Changes

Your weekly news and views are well written and very accurate. I like everything about your publication, including the paper it is printed on. Please don't "improve" anything. When you have a good thing, don't change it.

My compliments to your news reporters and analysts too. Their perceptions and perspectives have helped me develop my own.

Dale Ridgeway
Chicago, USA

Interesting Columns

I like the columns "Notes From the Editors," "Culture and Science" and "Facts and Figures" in your magazine. As for the articles, I find some of them are interesting, such as the series "Chinese-Type Modernization" and "The Police and the People" (issue No. 21, 1983).

LETTERS

Although I've only read the column about Africa once, I find it very important. And "From the Chinese Press" is not only important but also accurate.

Documents are really useful.

However, it is a pity that your magazine reaches my local bookstore a month after the publication date. For instance, I bought the August 1 issue on September 7. Quite a few issues never make their appearance here. How can I get the magazines which didn't arrive?

Zahoua Abdelkader
Ech-Cheliff, Algeria

If you want recent back issues of our magazine which you can't buy at your local bookstore, please write us the issue numbers. We will try our best to meet your needs.
— Ed.

Simple and Clear Views

I am very glad to read your weekly magazine. It gives a view of things in a simple and clear way. I think that your people are very interested in science and agriculture.

I would like to suggest that if you could publish your magazine in Bengali language, it will be much more interesting to us. Many devoted readers here want to know about the Chinese people, but there is no way for them.

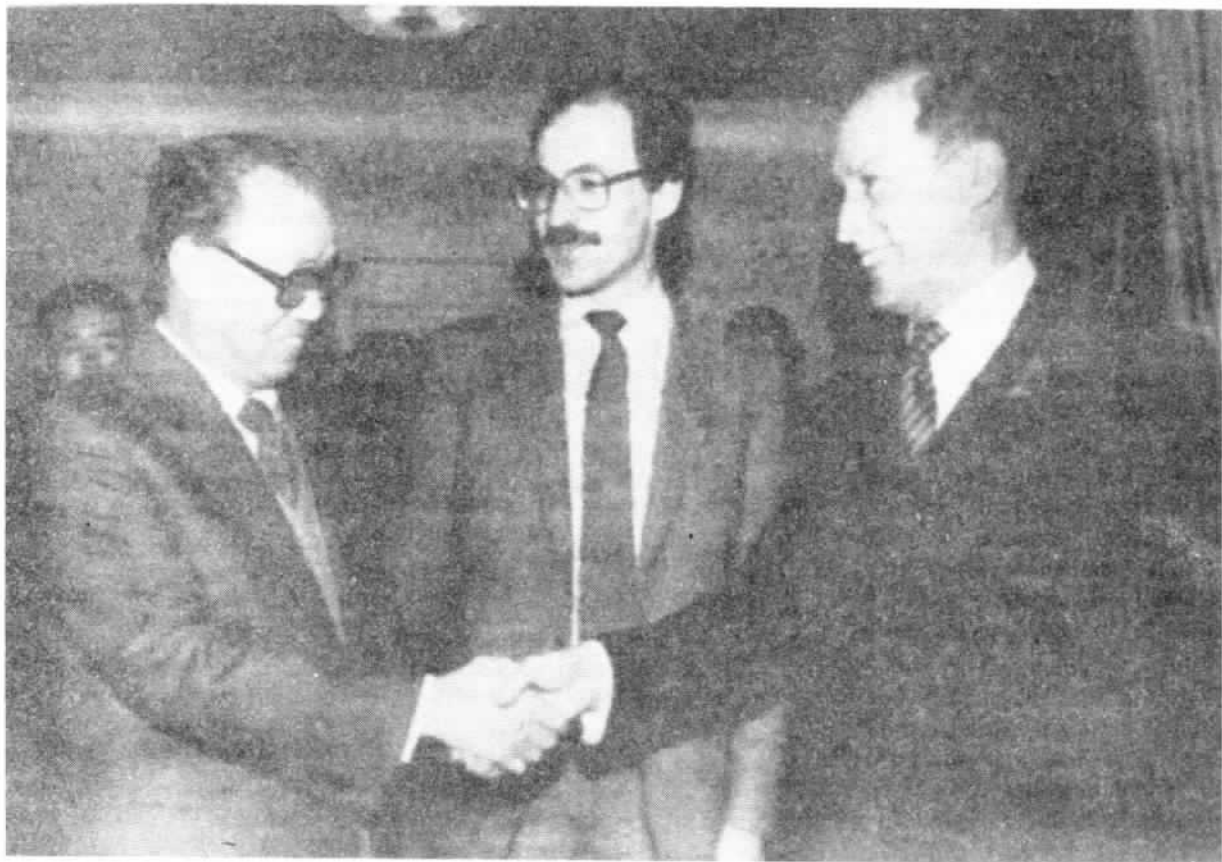
Hasina Begum
Dhaka, Bangladesh

Realistic Analyses

I like *Beijing Review* issue No. 16, 1983 and others for their honesty. They take a scientific and realistic approach which enables your readers to understand the truth about your socio-economic development.

Your magazine has a new and revolutionary approach which gives a scientific vision of the reality.

Mario Rueda Martinez
Sucre, Bolivia



Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau meets with Premier Zhao Ziyang.

Zhao's Visit Cements Sino-Canadian Ties

Premier Zhao Ziyang has declared his week-long official visit to Canada "a complete success."

In a sense, Zhao, as the first Chinese premier to visit Canada, realized the unfulfilled wish of the late Premier Zhou Enlai, who had accepted an invitation from Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau but died before he could make the trip.

Zhao's visit, which covered four cities and lasted from Jan. 16 to 23, is seen as further strengthening the existing friendship and co-operation between China and Canada. The Premier held talks with Trudeau and other Canadian leaders and met Canadians from

every walk of life. Through his visit, China has come to better understand the wide achievements and experiences of the Canadian people.

In Ottawa, his first stop, Zhao spoke before a joint session of the House of Commons and the Senate as well as holding two rounds of talks with Trudeau. He also met separately with the Governor-General, leaders of two political parties, several cabinet ministers, and the leaders of the House of Commons and the Senate.

He also attended a party given for him by Trudeau and a reception given by the city's Chinese community. He held a press con-

ference and hosted a reception in return.

On the talks between Trudeau and him, Zhao said: "Both sides have expressed a readiness to take further measures to develop friendly Sino-Canadian relations and co-operation and to make efforts for the relaxation of international tension and the preservation of world peace."

He said the talks were constructive, fruitful and satisfactory to both sides.

Zhao said that China hopes the two superpowers will change their policy of escalating the arms race under the guise of seeking disarmament.

All peace-loving countries and people, he said, should act to make the two superpowers stop their arms race, resume disarmament talks, negotiate in earnest, and take a lead in seeking an agreement on a large-scale reduction in nuclear weapons, so as to create the necessary conditions for nuclear disarmament by all nuclear countries.

Speaking at his Jan. 18 press conference about Trudeau's peace initiative, Zhao said: "During our talks, Prime Minister Trudeau informed me of the progress made in connection with his peace initiative after contacting the leaders of other countries since his visit to Beijing. He also told me some of his new ideas."

"We discussed these new ideas," he said. "Our discussions are very useful and we will keep in contact and co-operate closely in this matter."

"China," he said, "has all along appreciated Prime Minister Trudeau's efforts to ease international tension and preserve world peace."

Asked in what areas China will take specific joint moves with Canada, Zhao replied, "We view the escalation of the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers as the root cause of tension in the world today. Therefore, it is imperative to press the two superpowers to drastically reduce their armaments. I think I am in agreement with Prime Minister Trudeau on this point. We will continue our co-operation in this respect."

Trudeau, in his toast at a state dinner in honour of Zhao, said that he has been encouraged by China's understanding of his efforts to promote world peace.

"We must work not just for ourselves but for our children," he said.

Introducing Zhao to the joint session of the House of Commons and the Senate, Trudeau said that

"the primary responsibility for nuclear disarmament lies with the superpowers."

"We cannot wait until the United States and the Soviet Union, pursuing some internal superpower logic, are ready to reach agreement," he said. "We must demonstrate our stake in their deliberations and force their attention to the threat to which they subject the rest of mankind."

"All nations and all political leaders," he continued, "have the duty to do what they can to stop the nuclear arms race and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons."

During their talks, the two leaders discussed relations between their countries. Zhao said that although the two countries have different social systems they have been on good terms, and he hopes that Sino-Canadian co-operation will set a good example of relations between countries with different social systems.

Canada, he pointed out, is developed, with advanced experience in technology, science and economic development, while China is developing, with a great market potential. As China's economy grows, he said, its market capacity will expand almost daily, and it is

possible for the two countries to complement each other economically on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and to make remarkable progress in the next few years in co-operation.

The total volume of trade between the two countries has increased almost eight times since 1970, and Canada now stands fifth among China's trading partners.

On Jan. 18, the two sides signed a foreign investment insurance agreement, which is intended to foster increased trade and investment to the mutual benefit of both countries. Under the agreement, Canada and China will provide reliable protection for the legitimate interests of investors from both countries.

A Chinese official said the agreement is another sign that the Chinese Government is firmly pursuing its policy of opening to the world.

Asked at his Ottawa press conference whether China would still be a long-term market for Canadian grain after the current Sino-Canadian wheat agreement ends next year, Zhao said China would. "I think it will be beneficial to both sides if we conclude another agreement on long-term wheat

Premier Zhao Ziyang holds talks with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.



trade after the current one expires."

On Jan. 19 in Montreal, the two countries reached five contractual agreements on the sale of 26 satellite earth stations to China and on the transfer of related technology.

While in Quebec, Zhao met with the provincial premier, businessmen, members of the Chinese community and others.

In Toronto, he met with four ministers in the Ontario provincial cabinet to exchange views on the development of economic, trade and cultural exchanges between the province and China. He told them that the Chinese Government has decided that according to the agreement reached in 1980 between China and Canada, China will set up its Consulate General in Toronto this year.

In Vancouver, he met with the Premier of British Columbia and others, visited the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, and was interviewed by the Canadian Television Network.

Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, who accompanied Zhao to Canada, visited the University of Victoria and met 72-year-old Jean Ewin, who had worked as a nurse with Dr. Norman Bethune in China.

After seeing Niagara Falls, Zhao said the falls had inspired the Chinese with the potential in friendly Sino-Canadian relations for generating much energy.

On the subject of Xianggang (Hongkong), Zhao said at the Jan. 18 press conference that there are grounds for him to be optimistic about a solution to the question.

"I can tell you there is progress in the second phase of the negotiations between China and Britain," he said. "But the two sides have agreed not to tell the details of the negotiations to outsiders."



Premier Zhao Ziyang visits Niagara Falls.

Asked whether China's Xianggang policy will also be applied to Taiwan, Zhao said: "I'd like to say first of all that all policies that we are going to adopt towards Xianggang can also be applied to Taiwan. And Taiwan would receive even more favourable terms."

He also talked at the press conference about China's policy of opening to the outside world. He said that China welcomes the Western technology, culture, education and art it needs, "but we will not introduce things from the West which the Chinese people don't like."

"We don't import the cultures of violence, crime or pornography, which are opposed not only in China but in many other countries, including developed countries," he said. "The Chinese Government cannot impose on its people what they don't like."

He said that allegations of the arrest of a bishop near Beijing, the harassment of Tibetans and other reports are purely rumours.

On the matter of freedoms, he said: "Naturally there is no freedom of murder, rape or homicidal explosion. These criminal acts are to be punished, some severely punished."

"There is freedom of discussion with regard to theoretical and ideological issues," he said. "There is no such thing as persecution of intellectuals. Different views can be discussed at certain forums or in the press. Through discussion, those whose views are found incorrect can either give up or reserve their opinion. In a word, the time of the 'cultural revolution' or its like is gone for good."

Asked how China reconciles tourism, which is gaining in importance, with its anti-West campaign, Zhao said: "In the first place, I must tell you there is not an anti-West campaign in China. When tourists come to China, they bring with them certain things which the Chinese would like to learn. For instance, many Chinese girls like your hairdos and your fashions and they have started to imitate them. If you go to Beijing now, you'll find it is quite colourful and quite different from the past. We are glad to see this happen."

"Of course, not all things coming along with the tourists are welcome in China. But to say that there is an anti-West campaign in China now is not true. There is nothing of the sort."



The forum on the First National Congress of the Kuomintang and on the establishment of the Sun Yat-sen Society.

First KMT Congress Commemorated

On January 20 sixty years ago, the First National Congress of the Kuomintang was opened. Chaired by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the convention brought about the first round of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation.

To mark this historically significant day, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang (RCCK) gave a tea party in the Taiwan hall of the Great Hall of the People. The Chinese Society of Historians also held a three-day forum to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the First Kuomintang National Congress. The Sun Yat-sen Society was set up at the forum, with renowned historian Hu Sheng as its president.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the forerunner of the modern Chinese democratic revolution. He led the Revolution of 1911, which ended 2,500 years of feudal autocracy.

The second round of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation was effected during the War of Resis-

tance Against Japan (1937-45). These first two rounds of co-operation greatly promoted democracy in China and helped the Chinese people defeat foreign invaders.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen devoted his life to national liberation and people's democracy. He died in March 1925, leaving behind his famous words: "The revolution is not yet completed, all my comrades must struggle on."

Some prominent leaders of the Chinese Communist Party were elected leading members of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. Eighty-year-old Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference National Committee, Deng Yingchao, had been a member of a provincial Kuomintang headquarters. Speaking at the forum, she called for the third Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, in order to reunite China at an early date (for the full text see p. 21).

Vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the RCCK, Qu Wu,

who was a witness of the previous two rounds of co-operation, cited his personal experience to explain that with co-operation, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party will both benefit while without co-operation, both will suffer.

It was the first time a forum on the First Kuomintang National Congress has been held. Seventy specialists and scholars attended the forum, at which 33 papers were read.

Administrative Reforms Continued

China will reform its county administrations in 1984, while continuing to separate commune organizations from rural township government, Vice-Premier Tian Jiyun said.

The number of county government institutions will be reduced by 30 per cent, while the number of officials will be cut by 20 per cent when the reforms are completed, Tian said.

Township governments will be established in all rural communes this year, he added. As collective economic organizations, communes will play a more effective role in developing China's rural socialist economy.

The Vice-Premier pointed out that State Council, provincial, municipal and autonomous regional administrative reforms have been completed. They will now concentrate efforts on perfecting rules and regulations, improving their work style and training cadres in rotation to raise work efficiency.

In line with a general streamlining programme throughout China's mainland in 1983, Tian said that about 30 provincial government departments had been simplified.

The number of government institutions at prefectural, city and autonomous prefectural levels were also reduced.

Many specialists, professors and young professionals have been promoted to leading posts. It is estimated that the number of provincial leaders has been almost halved, and their average age lowered by 7.7 years. There were also 26.6 per cent more college-educated provincial leaders in 1983.

Firm Attack on Economic Crimes

The trial of a serious bribery case involving foreign trade was just completed, and the chief culprit, Zhang Ying, former deputy director of a cigarette factory in Guangzhou, was executed. His accessories, Xianggang (Hongkong) businessman He Jingwen and Chen Bin, of the Guangdong Provincial Local Products Import and Export Company, were sentenced to life and 16-year imprisonment, respectively.

From 1980 to May 1982, Zhang Ying solicited bribes from eight visiting merchants. He pocketed about 84,000 yuan, while the state lost millions in US dollars. Although many people had exposed his crimes during this period, he slipped away because some bureaucratic leaders allowed him to bypass standard procedures and others who had taken bribes defended him.

The struggle waged in early 1982 against serious economic crimes is intensifying, and Zhang's case is not the only one to be exposed. In another case recently cleared up in Zhengzhou, capital of Henan Province, coal and wagon quotas (available space on

The nationwide drive to streamline China's government organizations began in 1982. This is an important, long-term task set out by the Chinese Government. The streamlining is aimed at simplifying administration, reducing the number of officials, raising work efficiency, overcoming bureaucracy, replacing aging leaders and promoting well-educated, capable people to leading posts. In this way, China's modernization drive can be more effectively conducted, Vice-Premier Tian said.

trains allotted to work units) were being illegally sold.

Wu Zhongtang, the principal criminal, was a purchasing agent with a brewery on a county farm. Using false receipts and bribes, he and his accomplices sold 904 available spaces in wagons and about 48,477 tons of coal in less than a year, making a profit of 1.06 million yuan. More than 50 people and 20 units under the railway and coal departments were involved in the case, either by taking bribes or relaxing procedures for the criminals.

Criminal activities in the grain departments are also rampant. Among those cases which have been exposed, more than 680 deal with serious embezzlement or theft of more than 5,000 kilogrammes of grain and edible oil or more than 10,000 yuan. Yet some newly discovered cases are even more shocking.

To deal with this situation, the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection published a circular, calling upon discipline inspection commissions at all levels to strengthen their work and expose "dead corners" in their units, to

promote the struggle against economic crimes. The circular stresses that those who adopt a bureaucratic attitude towards illegal activities and have thus allowed criminals to go scot-free will be sternly dealt with.

Counties Double Output Value

Eight prefectures (cities) and 112 counties have doubled their agricultural output value and grain production since 1978, according to figures released at a recent national forum held by the State Economic Commission.

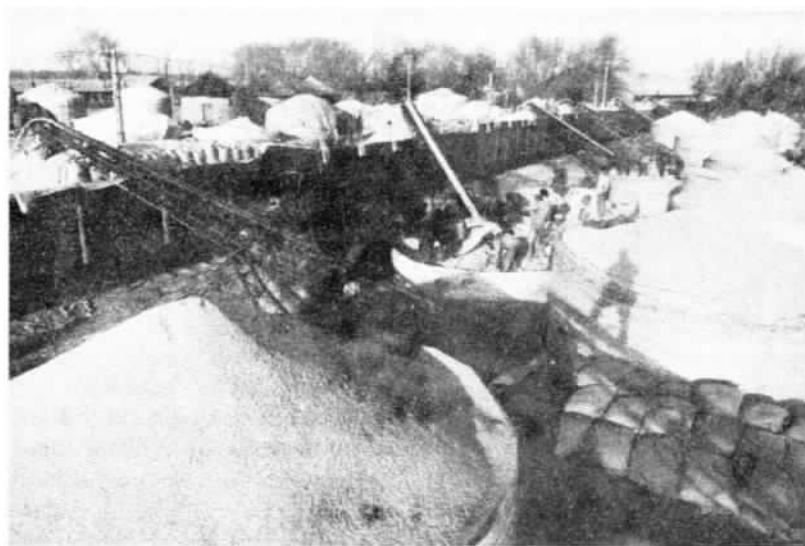
These latest figures compare favourably with similar ones released last October. (See "47 Counties Double Annual Output Value" in issue No. 41, 1983.)

At the national forum, the counties discussed their experiences in improving agricultural production. This exchange of information is expected to help them fully exploit local advantages and develop commodity production.

These prefectures and counties (out of more than 2,000 in China) represent 19 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. They include a number of traditionally poor areas in northwestern Shandong Province, northwestern Shanxi Province and northern Anhui Province; a number of areas where grain output is already high in Guangdong Province, Zhejiang Province and the Songliao Plain in northeast China; and some minority and remote mountain areas.

These areas have set a good example of the economic performance needed to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of the century.

Formerly poor counties in northwestern Shandong and Shanxi



Grain trucks are loaded in Huaide County in Jilin Province which led the country in selling grain to the state in 1983.

have eliminated local poverty by developing cotton production, mining, forestry and animal husbandry. Dezhou and Liaocheng prefectures in Shandong produced 602,500 tons of cotton in 1983. They also increased their grain output by 34 per cent, giving them a large surplus.

Efforts in another poor area, Youyu County in Shanxi, to improve livestock breeding and forestry led to an 80 per cent increase in animal husbandry in 1983 and a 3.6-fold increase in its forestry output value over the 1980 figures.

In the counties where output value has been doubled, the figures showed that 20 per cent of all households had specialized or engaged mainly in the production of grain, animal husbandry, poultry and eggs. Production of these commodities was 10 times higher in the 18,000 specialized and key households in Fengyang of Anhui than it was in ordinary households. In Shenyang of Liaoning, more than half the fresh eggs sold to the city by peasants are supplied by the 240,000 specialized and key households on the city's outskirts.

This latest economic success has been attributed to the responsibili-

ty system and the popularization of advanced science and technology.

Foreign Trade: Results, Outlook

China's foreign trade registered steady gains in 1983 and the trend is expected to continue in 1984, according to Chen Muhua, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade.

Chen said that in 1983 exports were up by 0.4 per cent and imports by 6.6 per cent, for an overall increase of 3.1 per cent over 1982. The rises came despite economic crises in the West, which held international commerce well below previous levels.

In the past year, she added, China absorbed more foreign investment and signed 30 new joint venture agreements with foreign countries, bringing the total to 112. The Regulations for the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Joint Ventures Using Chinese and Foreign Investment published last September gave joint ventures preferential treatment in sales, taxation and foreign exchange.

Further progress was also made in contracting for engineering projects and labour services abroad, the minister added. China's 42 contracting corporations that undertake projects abroad signed agreements with more than 40 countries in 1983 to build power stations, highways, bridges and housing. These contracts are effective in promoting economic exchanges with other countries, Chen said.

Looking into 1984, Chen said the country would focus attention on importing advanced technology and equipment to continue key projects and revamp existing industries, and on absorbing more foreign investment, improving the quality and increasing the variety of export products as well as developing new products catered to the needs of international markets.

Need Reaffirmed For Disarmament

A Foreign Ministry official, in response to US President Ronald Reagan's recent speech on US-Soviet relations, says that China has always stood for the easing of international tension and the maintenance of world peace.

"We hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will stop their arms race and take concrete actions to reach, through earnest negotiations, a disarmament agreement which will not be detrimental to the interests of other countries, so as to reduce the threat of war and particularly the threat of a nuclear war," he said at the weekly news briefing on Jan. 18.

In a televised speech on Jan. 16, Reagan had reiterated the US stand of pursuing peace through strength and expressed the United States' desire to continue to negotiate with the Soviet Union while concurrently building up its deterrent military strength.



Yasser Arafat smiles with confidence at the 4th Islamic summit.

Islamic Summit

Solidarity Strong on Major Issues

by LIU KAICHEN

THE fourth summit of the Islamic Conference Organization (ICO), held in Casablanca and attended by the leaders of 42 African and Asian countries, has achieved a number of positive results, attained in the spirit of seeking common ground on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones. The four-day summit, which ended on Jan. 19, issued a Charter of Casablanca and adopted a final declaration and a series of resolutions on political, economic and cultural issues.

The leaders also made contacts outside the conference hall that increased their mutual understanding.

There were a number of conspicuous signs of the conference's solidarity.

The delegates unanimously denounced Israel's policy of aggression and expansion in the Middle East and expressed their support for the just struggle of the Palestinians and other Arab peoples.

Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who was elected vice-chairman of the conference, attended as the representative of the Palestinian people. King Hassan II of Morocco, in his speech at the final session, congratulated Arafat for meeting with other Islamic leaders in Casablanca.

The Islamic leaders again demanded the "immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan." Berhan Eddine Rabani, representative of the Afghan resistance fighters, who attended as an observer, briefed the delegates on

the internal situation in his country and on the struggle of the Afghan people against the Soviet occupation troops.

The summit opposed the power politics of the two superpowers, noting that the United States collaborates with and supports Israel's policy of aggression and that the Soviet Union has invaded and occupied Afghanistan.

The leaders pledged their support for the people of Namibia in their struggle for independence and expressed support for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

The summit decided to give aid to the drought-stricken countries on the southern edge of the Sahara—Senegal, Mali, Chad, Niger and Mauritania—and agreed to increase its assistance to the poorer Islamic countries.

Probably the most noticeable result was the decision—adopted by 32 countries for, seven against and three abstentions—to invite Egypt back into the ICO. The restoration of Egypt's membership would undoubtedly be conducive to the strengthening of solidarity of the Islamic states.

There are still serious differences between Islamic countries, the four-year-old Iran-Iraq war being the biggest at present. Iran boycotted the summit, charging that a resolution adopted last December at the 14th conference of Islamic foreign ministers favours Iraq.

However, as the Charter of Casablanca points out, the Islamic countries should spare no efforts to settle their differences by peaceful means and to promote cooperation. Only thus can they meet the serious challenges facing them.

Shamir Government on the Brink

by YU CHENGXIU and
AN GUOZHANG

WITH the economic and political situation in Israel deteriorating almost daily, the ruling coalition under Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, which took office merely four months ago, finds itself in a precarious position. Yosef Burg, Minister of the Interior, has admitted that the government will probably collapse under the weight of the country's economic woes, and even Deputy Prime Minister David Levi foresees the likelihood of an early election.

The economic facts are grim. Last year, the inflation rate was reported to be 190.7 per cent on average. The national debt stands at over US\$23,000 million. The foreign trade deficit for 1983 was US\$4,000 million. And the prices for staple foods, according to statistics released at the beginning of January, have increased four times since 1982, putting a heavy burden on the people.

This daily diet of economic disaster has engendered widespread discontent throughout the Israeli public. On Jan. 2, about 40,000 government employees staged strikes and slowdowns to protest against rising prices and to demand wage increases. On Jan. 8, a joint statement issued by 26 economics professors declared that Israel is at a crossroads — if the country does not take fundamental measures to cure its ills, it will rapidly slide into chaos.

To save the crumbling economy, the Shamir government worked out a comprehensive austerity programme last fall to discourage spending by raising the prices of goods. Then, at the end of last year, to cut government expendi-

tures even further, it announced that it was ready to freeze the establishment of any further settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

The economic crisis is the inevitable outcome of the ruling clique's stubborn pursuit of an expansionist policy. Israel, with limited resources and a population of only 4 million, has a standing army of more than 160,000 and reserve forces of more than 400,000. Massive military expenditures have seriously affected an already shaky economy. Last year the total budget was US\$36,000 million, of which military spending accounted for US\$12,000 million. This military spending, together with

expenditures on new settlements in the occupied territories and on internal security, makes up 70 per cent of the total budget — a higher percentage than any other country spends on similar items.

Yoram Aridor, former Minister of Finance and Communications, has admitted that the invasion of Lebanon, which so far has cost Israel nearly US\$2,000 million, is the cause of the current economic mess. In recent months, the Israeli public has called loudly on the authorities to withdraw the troops from Lebanon — to no avail.

Despite its internal and external problems, the government obstinately persists in its expansionist policy. Even after a poll on Jan. 3 showed that 72 per cent of Israelis believe the budget for establishing new settlements in the occupied territories should be re-

Mail piles up in Tel Aviv during a strike to protest against government policy.



duced immediately, Shamir recently said the business of new settlements is still at the top of the cabinet agenda. Another poll showed that most Israelis now oppose the establishment of new settlements — a trend never before reported in that country.

Meanwhile, disputes within the ruling clique have intensified, with minority members of the coalition expressing dissatisfaction with the Shamir bloc. And in the Knesset, the Labour Party (the largest op-

position faction) is exploiting the Likud coalition's difficulties in an attempt to topple it. Polls show that if early elections were held the Labour Party would win 57 seats in the 120-member parliament and the Likud bloc would win only 41. The Shamir government is threatened with imminent collapse. Yet no matter who ends up as the top decision-maker, a rocky road lies ahead if he does not fundamentally change the country's expansionist policy.

world economy currently in crisis, it is finding it difficult both to borrow abroad and to pay the interest on existing foreign debt.

When the Conservative government took power in 1982, the budget deficit accounted for 9.2 per cent of gross domestic product, and unemployment stood at 10 per cent. To tackle these problems it presented a package of public spending cuts and restrictions on wage increases. It also adopted measures to stabilize the krona and to lower interest rates, thereby discouraging the outflow of capital and promoting domestic investment.

These measures partially relieved the financial difficulties resulting from the country's welfare policy and promoted an economic recovery. Estimates for 1983 show that the economy did better than expected, with the gross national product increasing 2 per cent and industrial investment increasing 5 per cent. The deficit in international payments dropped to 11,000 million kroner from 19,000 million kroner in 1982. For the first time since 1959 Denmark had a surplus in foreign trade. Also, inflation dropped to about 5 per cent from 10 per cent in 1982, and both private and public spending increased steadily.

But this economic recovery was achieved by cutting welfare spending, which the opposition Social Democratic Party used as a springboard for attacking the Government's economic policy. Conversely, another opposition party, the Progress Party, argued that the austerity programme was not strict enough and urged that spending be cut by a further 10,000 million kroner. It was the combined attack of these two parties that led to the collapse of the government and the necessity of calling an early election.

The outcome of the voting shows that more Danes accept the

Denmark

Conservatives to Remain in Power

by JIANG JIANGUO

THE recent Danish general election has ended with the incumbent four-party coalition, under the leadership of Poul Schluter and his Conservative Party, winning 76 seats, up 11 from previously but still short of the 90 needed to control the 179-seat parliament. Despite a lack of a majority in the Jan. 10 voting, the coalition intends to remain on as the government.

The early election was called in December after the parliament rejected the coalition government's proposed austerity budget for 1984. It was the second election in little more than two years — a period of political instability and frequent cabinet shuffles in the wake of the world economic crisis.

Schluter's coalition came to power in September 1982, when the previous coalition government, made up of the Social Democratic Party and two smaller parties, fell apart and resigned only nine months after winning the last election. For the first time since 1901 the Danish Government was in the hands of the Conservative Party.

Since then, the Conservative coalition has met with frequent difficulties. Despite Denmark's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the government, under pressure from the parliamentary opposition, has had to go against NATO's basic policy regarding the deployment of new US medium-range missiles in Europe. In December 1982, the parliament ruled that funds for the deployment of new NATO missiles be frozen. Then last year it demanded that the government oppose further deployment of missiles in Europe and proposed that British and French missiles be included in the Geneva arms talks. In its minority position, the Government had to bow to the pressure.

Although the missile issue could lead to the collapse of the government, it is actually only a secondary issue. The government has given priority to resolving the country's urgent economic problems and plans to press ahead with its austerity programme.

The need for this austerity programme is obvious. For years Denmark has relied on foreign loans to maintain its comprehensive welfare system. But with the

realistic economic policy presented by Schluter's Conservative government. They are hoping that economic growth will stabilize; the old welfare system, which re-

lies on foreign loans, no longer seem attractive. As the Western economy recovers, the new Danish Government may change its economic direction for the better.

Habre and his followers fleeing into the eastern mountains bordering the Sudan.

In November 1981, Gaddafi was forced to withdraw his troops, under pressure from various quarters. Shortly afterwards, Habre's troops launched counter offensives, and recaptured the capital in June 1982. Habre became the President of the Chadian Republic that October. His government is recognized by most African countries, the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and other international organizations.

But Goukouni did not give in. Last June his troops staged counterattacks, plunging the country into war again.

Chad is strategically important, since it links northern, eastern and western Africa and lies between the Arab world and the rest of Africa. War there naturally aroused concern in the OAU and its neighbours. Despite their varied attitudes towards different factions in Chad, most African nations favour negotiations instead of force to solve the Chadian impasse without outside intervention. They favour an OAU mediation between the opposing forces, in hope of leaving no chances for the superpowers to infiltrate that country. France goes along with this, as does Libya.

Last August, when both sides reached a stalemate, the OAU and other African countries began negotiating with France, Libya, the Habre government and Goukouni's faction. However, President Habre and Goukouni did not budge from their original positions, thus cancelling the planned national reconciliation conference.

It is generally accepted that the problems in Chad can only be solved if it is free from foreign intervention. Under the auspices of the OAU, negotiations must be conducted on the basis of respecting Chad's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Chad

National Reconciliation Hindered

by XIN SHUFAN and
WU WENBIN

THE Chad national reconciliation conference proposed by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) never materialized because the Chadian Government and anti-government leader Goukouni Oueddei have not been able to iron out their differences.

The meeting was scheduled for Jan. 9-13 in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia.

President Hissene Habre insists on a Libyan withdrawal, and Goukouni demands that the French pull out. But this is a problem that can only be resolved in future talks. The real obstacle to negotiation is recognizing the status of both sides. Goukouni denies that Habre is the legal President, while Habre insists that Goukouni enter the talks merely as a factional leader.

Last June, with disputes between the two parties growing sharper, a civil war erupted. After two months of fierce fighting, Goukouni's opposition forces seized 500,000 square kilometres in the north—almost half the country.

In order to check the anti-government forces' southward advance, France, after a period of silence, stepped in to help the Chadian Government troops hold their positions in the central part of the country and set up a defence line stretching east to west across the country. Since then, despite their continued preparations for war,

there have been no big conflicts between the two opposing forces. However, Chad is now divided in two.

Since it won independence from France in 1960s, Chad, made up of more than 140 tribes, has been torn by tribal, religious and regional conflicts. Beginning in 1965, these, coupled with foreign interference, have plunged the country into one civil war after another.

Habre and Goukouni emerged as two leaders of the former National Liberation Front in the 1960s. But in 1968, the front fell apart, with Habre and Goukouni each followed by their own supporters.

In August 1978, Habre and then President Felix Malloum reached an agreement under which Habre was appointed Prime Minister of the national unity government. Six months later, armed clashes between Habre and Malloum forces in Ndjamena enabled Goukouni factions in the north to push southward and expand their influence.

In August 1979, 11 factions in Chad reached an agreement of reconciliation through the mediation of the OAU. In November, a transitional national government of unity was formed. Goukouni became Chairman and Habre assumed the post of Defence Minister. But this did not settle the discord between them.

In March 1980, their disputes escalated into another full-scale armed conflict. Backed by Libyan troops, Goukouni's forces sent



Premier Zhao Ziyang addresses the Canadian Parliament.

Premier Zhao on China's Foreign Policy

With independence as its distinctive feature, China's foreign policy has been determined in line with its judgment on international affairs according to the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and the world people

The following is Premier Zhao Ziyang's speech at the Canadian Parliament. — Ed.

I HAVE come to visit your country at the kind invitation of Prime Minister Trudeau, bringing with me the deep friendship of the one billion Chinese people for the Canadian people. I feel greatly honoured to have this opportunity of speaking to this august gathering.

Contacts between the Chinese and Canadian peoples began over 250 years ago. At that time tens of thousands of Chinese came to Canada and joined the Canadian people in developing this country. Many Canadian friends also went to China to live and work there. When the Chinese people were in times of difficulty, Dr. Norman

Bethune gave up his life for Chinese people's cause of liberation. In October 1970, the People's Republic of China and Canada formally established diplomatic relations, thus ushering in a new stage in the friendship between our two peoples. Sino-Canadian friendship has since then developed steadily, contacts have increased, and exchanges and co-operation have expanded. Many members of the Canadian Parliament and friends from all walks of life have worked unremittingly for and made valuable contributions to all this. Reviewing the past and looking into the future, we are fully confident of the bright prospects for the expansion of Sino-Canadian friendly relations and co-operation.

Now I would like to take this

opportunity to speak about China's foreign policy and some related questions.

Fundamental Principle

What is the fundamental principle of China's foreign policy? To answer this question briefly, it is independence. We do not attach ourselves to any big power and are not subject to any big power's will. We have determined our foreign policy in line with our judgment on international affairs formed according to the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and those of the world people. It includes the following points: (1) to develop relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence; (2) to strengthen solidarity with the other third world countries and

friendship with the people of all countries; and (3) to oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace.

You all know that in modern history China was badly bullied and oppressed by foreign powers, and the Chinese people waged long and bitter struggles and ultimately won national independence at tremendous causes. Therefore, we are jealous of our own independence and at the same time highly respect the independence of other countries. Back in the early 1950s China initiated the five principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence as norms guiding international relations. It is on these principles that we have handled our relations with other countries. We will never contravene these principles; nor do we want to see them violated by other countries in their mutual relations.

Foreign Policy

It is gratifying that the above-mentioned principles have been adhered to by both China and Canada in their mutual relations. The state of Sino-Canadian relations shows that countries with different social systems should and can live together in amity and cooperation for mutual benefit. We will work with Canada for the sustained development of our friendly relations and co-operation in the interest of the well-being of our peoples and the prosperity of our countries.

China is seeking to develop relations on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence with all countries which include the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. China has all along valued Sino-US relations. The Five Principles of Peaceful

Coexistence are acknowledged as norms guiding Sino-US relations in the 1979 communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The United States recognizes that there is but one China, that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China and that Taiwan is a part of China. It has stated that it has no intention to infringe upon China's sovereignty and interfere in China's internal affairs. Relations between China and the United States have made fairly big progress since the establishment of Sino-US diplomatic relations. However, there have also been ups and downs, and twists and turns. The main obstacle is the question of Taiwan. During my visit to the United States, I held friendly, candid and serious talks with President Reagan and other leaders of the US Government. The American side once again affirmed the above principles. We hope that the two sides will work together, strictly abide by the mutually agreed principles in their action and truly fulfil commitments already made so that Sino-US relations may take the path of steady development.

We also sincerely wish to see normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. The present state of Sino-Soviet relations is not to the benefit of world peace. We are trying to maintain normal relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This requires the removal of the three obstacles to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations: first, the Soviet Union must stop supporting Viet Nam in its aggression against Kampuchea; second, it must withdraw its troops from Afghanistan; and third, it must withdraw its forces from the Sino-Soviet border and Mongolia. China and the Soviet Union have already held three rounds of consultations. However,

the Soviet side has thus far evaded discussing these three questions which threaten China's security. Although Sino-Soviet relations have somewhat improved in recent years, greater efforts by the two sides are called for if Sino-Soviet relations are to be really normalized.

I also want to say a few words about Sino-British relations. Negotiations are going on between the two sides to resolve the Xianggang (Hongkong) question which is left over from history. Xianggang was occupied by Britain after the Opium War. China has decided to resume exercise of its sovereignty over Xianggang in 1997. We have adopted the following policies which we believe are reasonable: Xianggang will become a special administrative region of China to be administered by the Xianggang people themselves; the current social and economic systems and life style will remain unchanged; Xianggang will maintain its financial independence and its status as a free port and an international financial centre; Xianggang will maintain and develop its economic and cultural relations with foreign countries; the interests of the residents and foreign investors in Xianggang will be fully protected. Xianggang's prosperity and stability will not be affected. All these will be guaranteed by a basic law concerning Xianggang to be enacted by the National People's Congress, the supreme organ of power in China, which will take into full account of the opinions of people of all walks of life in Xianggang. I believe the question of Xianggang can be resolved through negotiations between China and Britain.

China is a developing socialist country. We share similar historical experiences and face the same task of economic development with the other third world countries. We firmly support them in their just cause of safeguarding na-

tional independence and developing their national economies. We are in favour of increased South-South co-operation, improving North-South relations and establishing a new international economic order through global negotiations. The Chinese Government appreciates the efforts made by the Canadian Government for pushing North-South dialogue forward and improving North-South relations. China will persist in its policy of opening to the outside world, strengthen economic co-operation of equality and mutual benefit with both developing and developed countries and do its part in promoting world economic prosperity. We hope Sino-Canadian economic co-operation may set an example of co-operation between developing and developed countries.

Safeguarding World Peace

We believe that only when the principles of peaceful coexistence are universally respected, can our planet enjoy genuine and lasting peace. Unfortunately, not every country is willing to observe these principles. Hegemonist acts of strong countries humiliating the weak, rich countries oppressing the poor and big countries bullying the small keep occurring from time to time. Therefore, we firmly oppose hegemonism. We are against hegemonist actions no matter where and by whom they are committed. China will never seek hegemony. We have declared many times that if China ever pursues hegemonism, other countries should also take it to task. Without opposing hegemonism, international justice cannot possibly be upheld, nor world peace be maintained.

The present international situation is indeed disturbing. There are so-called "hot-spots" in many areas in the world. The nuclear arms race between the two super-

powers is becoming white-hot. The struggle over the deployment of intermediate missiles has aggravated the situation in Europe where two military blocs confront each other. Under these circumstances, the people of various countries strongly demand for stopping the nuclear arms race and realizing disarmament. This is entirely justified. We appreciate the efforts made by Prime Minister Trudeau

China's policy of opening to the outside world is not an expedient measure but a long-term national policy. While adhering to self-reliance, it also pays attention to importing advanced technology and equipment and making use of foreign funds.

to safeguard world peace, relax international tension and promote nuclear disarmament. We support his appeal for the participation of more political leaders in the world in the cause of safeguarding world peace. We would like to continue consultations with Canadian leaders on these issues. We hope that all peace-loving countries and people go into action and urge the two nuclear powers which possess over 90 per cent of the world's nuclear weapons to stop their nuclear arms race, resume disarmament talks, hold discussion in earnest and take the lead in agreeing on measures of drastically reducing nuclear arms so as to create the condition for joint nuclear disarmament by all the nuclear countries.

China takes the maintenance of world peace as a major objective in its foreign policy not only be-

cause we need a peaceful international environment to modernize our country but also because we are fully aware that the people of the world cannot afford to undergo the scourge of another world war. World peace and stability are the common desire of the people of all countries. So long as the people all over the world get united in defending peace, a new world war can be prevented.

I wish to take this opportunity to point out that a strong and prosperous China not only is in the interest of the Chinese people, but also contributes to world peace and stability. Now, more and more countries and regions hope to develop trade and economic co-operation with China and are highly interested in China's economic policy. China's policy of opening to the outside world is not an expedient measure but a long-term national policy. While adhering to self-reliance, we also pay attention to importing advanced foreign technology and equipment and making use of foreign funds. In the next 10 years, we will give priority to energy, transportation, communication, import key equipment and technology for upgrading about 400,000 enterprises. In all these areas, Canada has its strong points and experience. On our part, we also have many products which Canada needs. I am convinced, as time goes on, our areas of co-operation will become broader. Let us make further efforts to this end.

Peng Zhen, Chairman of the Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress, has invited the Canadian Parliament to send a delegation to visit China at an appropriate time. I am sure you will be warmly welcomed by the Chinese National People's Congress, the Chinese Government and people.

(Subheads are ours. — Ed.)

Premier Zhao's Fruitful Visit to Canada

The adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence by both countries has brought about good relations between China and Canada without any major issues or obstacles to hinder their development

by **WANG YOUFEN**
Our Special Correspondent

DURING their week-long stay in Canada—a land of icy skies and snowy ground—Premier Zhao Ziyang and his party received an extremely warm welcome and were surrounded by “a genuine friendship,” which he said he would never forget.

The Canadian media gave full coverage to the Premier's day-to-day activities, with prominent headlines and big pictures on the front pages of major newspapers.

Apart from covering the visit itself, one Canadian television network broadcast one-hour shows of interviews and on-the-spot reports about China every morning for three consecutive days, their subjects ranging from China's foreign policy to everyday life in China—shopping in department stores and free markets, youths waiting for jobs, birth control, etc. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) showed eight of China's best films on a late-night television programme.

Music lovers could hear Chinese music over the radio, and sports fans were attracted by a newspaper story about Mu Tiezhu—the famous Chinese 7.5-foot giant basketball player. In short, China was on the lips of many Canadians and in the air.

On the day after his arrival, Zhao was invited to address a

joint session of the House of Commons and the Senate, which Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau described as “a unique and momentous occasion.” The event was televised live over CBC. It was widely noted that this was the first time a Communist leader had been given such an honour.

In his speech, the Chinese Premier praised Trudeau's peace efforts and expressed support for his appeal for the participation of more political leaders in the cause of safeguarding world peace.

However, Zhao contended that the two superpowers, which possess more than 90 per cent of the nuclear weapons in the world, should take the lead in reaching an

agreement on nuclear arms reductions. This will “create conditions for joint nuclear disarmament by all the nuclear countries,” he said.

Nevertheless, Zhao indicated that China will continue its consultations with Canada on this issue.

During his stay, Zhao time and again emphasized that China and Canada share many common concerns and hold identical or similar views on many major issues: the hegemonic rivalry by the two superpowers, North-South dialogue, Kampuchea and Central America.

But it is both countries' adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, said the Chi-

Zhao Ziyang after a special gala performance in Ottawa given in his honour by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.



nese Premier, that has brought about good relations between China and Canada, without any major issues or obstacles to hinder their development.

People in China have often expressed appreciation of the fact that since 1970, when the two countries established diplomatic relations, the Canadian Government has remained faithful to its commitments on the question of Taiwan. For example, it refused to allow athletes from Taiwan to compete in the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal as representatives of the "republic of China." It has also repeatedly turned down proposals to set up an official Canadian agency in Taipei.

With good political relations, China and Canada have been able to build increasingly closer ties in the economic and other fields. In the past 10 years and more, two-way trade has increased eight-fold. Other forms of economic co-operation have also emerged. For example, two Canadian companies are jointly exploring for oil with British Petroleum in the South China Sea. For several years a plant in Xian has been working under a joint programme to produce aircraft parts for Canadair Ltd. of Montreal.

The signing of a foreign investment insurance agreement in Ottawa will certainly facilitate mutual investment. And the sale of 26 Canadian satellite earth stations to China is a sure sign of more trade and closer co-operation in the field of high technology.

Discussing how to tap this potential, *The Citizen* in Ottawa wrote in its editorial page: "To enable this to happen, we must also buy more from China. Restricting Chinese imports through government controls should be a last resort, never a first one." This shows that the heavy imbalance in

Canada's favour in the two-way trade over the years has caused the concern not only of the Chinese.

Scientific, educational and other cultural exchanges have also increased remarkably in recent years. There is a great diversity in the channels of such exchanges and in the forms of co-operation.

According to incomplete Chinese statistics, 24 agreements and memorandums of understanding have been signed on scientific and

With good political relations, China and Canada have been able to build increasingly closer ties in the economic and other fields. In the last 10 years and more, the two-way trade has increased eight-fold, and other forms of economic co-operation have also emerged.

technological co-operation between governmental as well as non-governmental agencies of the two countries.

Since 1979, some 1,100 Chinese scholars and students have come to Canada to study and work in more than 50 universities and colleges. In the same period, 75 young Canadians have left for China to study Chinese and the Chinese culture there, not counting a much greater number who have taken summer courses in Beijing and other Chinese cities.

Lolan Grady, a China liaison officer working for the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, said that her post had been created only recently in order to co-ordinate information on

rapidly expanding academic exchanges in all fields between Canada and China.

Besides meeting prominent politicians, government officials and businessmen, Premier Zhao and his party also met representatives from the Chinese communities in Ottawa and three other cities, ranging from 300 to 800 at a time. It was very moving to watch the spontaneous warmth and enthusiasm with which they welcomed the Premier and his party. I personally encountered four young new immigrants from Guangdong Province where the Premier had worked for years. Serving in a restaurant or hotel at Niagara Falls, they were waiting in severe cold for the Premier's arrival.

"I am so glad to have the opportunity to see him here," one of them told me. All four looked very much excited.

Chinese-Canadians account for more than 1 per cent of Canada's population of 25 million. They serve as a natural link giving additional strength to Sino-Canadian ties.

As the Chinese Premier's visit drew to a close in Vancouver, I asked for comments from Mr. Michel Gauvin, the Canadian Ambassador to China. He said that Canada-China relations are more than "friendly," they have now reached the stage of concrete co-operation.

Gauvin stressed that Zhao's visit was "very valuable" from the long-term point of view of Sino-Canadian relations. He compared the Premier's visit to an exploratory expedition for their future co-operation.

"It is important," he assured me, "for the Premier, who is the top man making decisions in the government, to see Canada for himself. There is nothing to replace that." □

History of Bi-Party Co-operation Reviewed

During his later years, Dr. Sun Yat-sen let it be known that he was a friend of socialism; today, socialism is not only an ideal in China, but a reality.

Deng Yingchao, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, gave the following speech at the forum marking the 60th anniversary of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang and celebrating the establishment of the Sun Yat-sen Society. — Ed.

by **DENG YINGCHAO**

SIXTY years ago, on Jan. 20, 1924, the Kuomintang (KMT) held its First National Congress sponsored by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and adopted the Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party of China (CPC) and assistance to the peasants and workers, thus realizing the first round of co-operation between the KMT and the CPC. It is a day worth commemorating. On this occasion, as numerous scholars come across the country to open the academic forum and inaugurate the Sun Yat-sen Society, I extend my greetings to all of you.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a prominent forerunner of China's modern democratic revolution. He dedicated his entire life to liberating the nation from the miseries of imperialist and feudal rule and transforming China. He led the Revolution of 1911, victoriously overthrowing the autocratic monarchy which had lasted for thousands of years. However, this revolution did not change the nature of China as a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. An adverse reactionary current was restored, and with each passing day, the country's situation deteriorated. During these dark and difficult years, Dr. Sun Yat-sen did not lose confidence, nor



did he retreat. Unyielding, he continued the struggle. But at the same time, he was gnawed by the bitterness of finding no way out.

Three Principles

About this time, the Russian October Revolution led by Lenin broke out and the Communist Party of China, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat, was founded soon after. For the first time in China's history, the Communists presented the Chinese people with a programme for thoroughgoing revolution against imperialism and feudalism, and led the vigorous worker-peasant movement. Meanwhile, with warmth and friendship, the Com-

munist Party offered its help to the revolutionary democrats represented by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, proposing that they jointly establish a democratic united front to fight against the imperialist powers and feudal warlords. At this historic juncture, Dr. Sun Yat-sen courageously reorganized the Kuomintang, reinterpreted the Three People's Principles and introduced KMT-CPC co-operation.

Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a great man not only because he led the great Revolution of 1911 (although it was only a democratic revolution of the old period), but also because, 'adapting himself to the trends of the world and meeting the needs of the masses,' he had the capacity to bring forward the revolutionary Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers, 'give new meaning to the Three People's Principles and thus institute the new Three People's Principles with their Three Great Policies.'"

It was not easy to adopt all these important measures. It needed great foresight and strong determination. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a worthy and great revolutionary. Once he clearly saw the road, he took it resolutely and fearlessly. Supported by Liao Zhongkai, Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning and many other genuine revolutionaries in the Kuomintang, he withstood the powerful pressure from imperialism and surmounted

obstruction from those diehards who could not follow the trend of the times. At last, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party joined hands and co-operated for the common goal of the national revolution on the basis of seeking independence, democracy, unification and prosperity for China.

The First National Congress of the Kuomintang was presided over by Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself, towards which he poured out all his enthusiasm. It unanimously adopted the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang of China, the Constitution of the Kuomintang, On the Necessity to Organize a National Government and other important programmes.

In the congress manifesto, Dr. Sun Yat-sen gave new interpretation to the Three People's Principles to adapt them to the current situation. The manifesto declared clearly: "The Kuomintang Principle of Nationalism has two meanings: One is the self-emancipation of the Chinese nation; the other is the full equality for all nationalities within China."

"The Principle of Democracy of the Kuomintang belongs to all the common people; it is not a privilege of a few number of people," it continued. "The key points of the Kuomintang Principle of People's Livelihood are: first, the equalization of land ownership; and second, the regulation of capital."

Dr. Sun Yat-sen stressed in the manifesto that "these are the definitions of the Kuomintang Three Principles of the People." It is clear that these are the real Three Principles of the People. The basic principles defined by the new Three People's Principles met the demand of the Chinese revolution and agreed with certain basic principles of the Chinese

Communist Party's political programme during the democratic revolution. Therefore, they became the common programme of the first-round co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

First-Round Co-operation

What came about in the wake of the success of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang and the realization of the Kuomintang-Communist co-operation? All of us old-timers vividly remember that what ensued was the consolidation and development of the Guangdong revolutionary base area and the rapid rise of the worker-peasant movement in the country, especially in the southern provinces. A brand-new revolutionary armed force was founded, with the cadets of the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy, set up through the joint efforts of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China, as its core and mainstay. In addition, the idea of national revolution was being disseminated on an unprecedented, nationwide scale. At that time, a mighty revolutionary torrent grew throughout the country, pounding at the imperialist and warlord forces.

Reviewing the history of this period, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Ever since 1924, the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party has played a decisive role in the Chinese revolution. The revolution of 1924-27 took place as a result of the co-operation of the two parties on the basis of a definite programme. In a mere two or three years, tremendous successes were achieved in the national revolution to which Dr. Sun Yat-sen had devoted 40 years and which he had left unaccomplished; these

successes were the establishment of the revolutionary base in Guangdong (Kwangtung) and the victory of the Northern Expedition. They were the products of the formation of the united front of the two parties."

On his deathbed, Dr. Sun Yat-sen earnestly enjoined: "The work of the Revolution is not yet done. Let all our comrades follow my Plans for National Reconstruction, Fundamentals of National Reconstruction, Three Principles of the People, and the Manifesto issued by the First National Convention of our Party, and strive on earnestly for their consummation."

But unfortunately, some members of the Kuomintang abandoned Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Will in 1927 and deviated from the path charted by the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, disrupting the first round of co-operation and reverting China to the state of darkness and separation. Nonetheless, the mark of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang on the minds of the people can never be blotted out.

Sun's Ideals Come True

Sixty years have elapsed. During this period of more than a half century, our motherland has taken on a completely different appearance. Dr. Sun Yat-sen devoted his entire life to striving for national liberation and people's democracy. His goals were achieved when the Chinese revolution succeeded in 1949. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had declared before the Revolution of 1911: To save China from sinking into the rut of Europe and America, avoid taking the capitalist road. During his later years, he made it publicly known that he was a friend of socialism. Today, socialism is not only an ideal in China, but a reality. Every nationality in the

country is going all out to strive for building China into a powerful socialist country with modern industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology, a country which is highly democratic and culturally advanced. Every patriot, every loyal member of the Kuomintang, can see clearly that what Dr. Sun Yat-sen enthusiastically pursued all his life has come true and is being carried on.

On occasions like this, we naturally think more of our kindred compatriots in Taiwan. The separation of our motherland should no longer be allowed to continue. Dr. Sun Yat-sen emphasized many times that China had always been an inseparable entity and that national unification was the main current of historical development reflecting the will of the people. He repeatedly expounded the inter-relationship of national unification, independence, democracy and prosperity. Dr. Sun said: "Unification is the hope cherished by the whole people. If it is realized, people will enjoy happiness; if it is not, people will suffer."

In the past, the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party carried out two rounds of co-operation, through which we succeeded in the Northern Expedition and the War of Resistance Against Japan, took back Taiwan and greatly promoted the national progress. Today, our great nation and country are faced with the problems of how to strive for prosperity and stand on our own feet in the galaxy of nations and how to make greater contributions to mankind. Why can't we join hands to build our country as we had done in our previous two rounds of co-operation, to give first place to our noble national cause and national interests, to eliminate the separation of the Chinese nation caused by the

split of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China?

In recent years, our Party and state leaders have repeatedly made public the principles and policies on the peaceful reunification of our motherland. Last June, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward some proposals on reunification when he met with Dr. Winston L.Y. Yang. He said that the core

A review of Chinese history attests to the fact that national unification has been the dominant trend whereas separation is only transient. Isolated on an island and controlled by others — this state of affairs, after all, would be difficult for the Taiwan authorities to maintain for a long time to come.

of the matter was reunification of the motherland, and peaceful reunification had come to be common language for both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. But reunification does not mean the mainland swallowing up Taiwan, or vice versa. He said we hoped that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party would work together for national reunification and contribute to the Chinese nation. The Chinese Communists are always true in word and resolute in deed. If the Kuomintang friends in Taiwan have some apprehensions arising from the long separation, this is understandable. But I hope that this worry and delay will not continue for long. So long as we all start on the premise of national unification, hold heart-to-heart discussions and ex-

change views, the problem is sure to be solved reasonably.

I am already in my eighties. And I have witnessed the things that happened before and after the First National Congress of the Kuomintang. At that time, I was a member of a provincial headquarters of the Kuomintang, and worked at the headquarters. I attended the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1926. At that convention, Li Dazhao, Lin Zuhao (Boqu), Wu Yuzhang, Yang Paoan, Yun Daiying and Tan Pingshan were elected members of the Central Executive Committee of the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang, while Mao Zedong, Xia Xi, Xu Suhun, Dong Yongwei (Biwu) and I were elected alternate members of the committee. Scenes of the victorious anti-Japanese war waged through the second Kuomintang-Communist co-operation still remain fresh in my mind. The respected image of Dr. Sun Yat-sen resolutely overcoming all reproaches prevailing in those days impels us on all the time. I hope the Kuomintang members in Taiwan would review the history of this period seriously, follow the example of Dr. Sun, and pluck enough courage and resolution to rid themselves of all interference and make the correct decision opportunely after clearly understanding the inexorable trend of history. A review of Chinese history attests to the fact that national unification has been the dominant trend whereas separation is only transient. Isolated on an island and controlled by others — this state of affairs, after all, would be difficult to maintain for a long time to come. It's crystal clear about what is right and what is wrong and what are the gains and what are the losses. Which direction to take is not hard to decide. I believe that the great cause of our national reunification will be realized at an early date. □

Reunification: The Trend of the Times

In a recent interview with "Beijing Review," delegates to the Sixth National Congress of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang talked about the possible third round of KMT-CCP co-operation and other issues related to the future of China

Early Reunification Serves the People

by JIA YIBIN

I AM 70 this year. I had served in the Kuomintang army for 20 years, from 1929 when I was 16, to 1949, when I, to oppose imperialists' flagrant interference in our country's internal affairs, determinedly led the men under my command to revolt and crossed over to the Communist Party's side. On the eve of national liberation I entered Shanghai along with the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Since 1957, I have been working in the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

From my personal experience and Chiang Ching-kuo's present plight as far as I know, I deeply feel that the peaceful reunification of the motherland is in the fundamental interests of our nation and our people, and is in the vital interests of the Taiwan authorities as well. The appeal made by the Chinese Communist Party's leaders for the third round of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation is sincere, and proceeds from the interests of the whole.

As early as 1954, Premier Zhou Enlai stated that given certain conditions, the Chinese Communist Party would like to solve the Taiwan question by peaceful means.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) sent a message to compatriots on

Jia Yibin is Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT.



Taiwan on January 1, 1979, outlining China's policies for the reunification of the motherland. Soon afterwards, it proposed an early exchange of mail, air and shipping services and trade, and economic, scientific and cultural exchanges between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.

On September 30, 1981, Chairman Ye Jianying of the NPC Standing Committee put forward a nine-point proposal, suggesting the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party hold talks on a reciprocal basis so as to realize the co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party for the third time.

Speaking at a rally to mark the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, Hu Yaobang, on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, invited Chiang Ching-kuo

and others to visit the mainland and discuss matters concerning the co-operation between the two parties.

In July 1982, Liao Chengzhi wrote to Chiang Ching-kuo, urging him to make up his mind quickly and contribute to reunifying the motherland.

In June 1983, Deng Yingchao said at the First Session of the Sixth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, "In full consideration of the wishes of the people of all nationalities on Taiwan and the state of the Taiwan authorities, we suggest, after the reunification of the motherland, that the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang co-operate and coexist with, and supervise each other for a long time to come."

In his government work report to the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress held in the same month, Zhao Ziyang said, "We must continue our efforts to remove as soon as possible the artificial barrier that separates the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait."

Soon afterwards, meeting with Dr. Winston L.Y. Yang from the United States, Deng Xiaoping said, "After China is reunified, Taiwan may retain its independent nature as a special administrative region and practise a system different from that on the mainland. The political party, government and armed forces in Taiwan will all be administered by Taiwan itself."

On New Year's Day, 1984, Deng Yingchao once again urged Chiang Ching-kuo and his colleagues to see how foreigners were interfering in China's internal affairs. She pointed out: "As for relations between Taiwan and the mainland, unity brings stability, while division causes danger."

All these proposals have won the increasingly enthusiastic support of the Chinese people at home and abroad. Today, I am very optimistic about the prospect of reunification, as I believe ending the division is in the interests of the nation and the people and is also the common desire of the 1,000 million people on the mainland and the 18 million people on Taiwan Island. China's reunification will take place independently of any single person's will.

I also know that Chiang Ching-kuo performed well during the two previous rounds of Kuo-

mintang-Communist co-operation. During the first co-operation between the two parties, he was arrested by the warlords for participating in an anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist demonstration. When the two parties co-operated for the second time, he returned specially to China from the Soviet Union to take part in the War of Resistance Against Japan. At the place where his mother was killed during a Japanese air raid, he wrote on her tombstone, "Blood-for-blood." Today, the tombstone is still standing in Xikou, Chiang's hometown. The third round of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation is proposed to foil the imperialists' scheme of "independence for Taiwan," aimed at creating "two Chinas" and obstructing the peaceful reunification of our motherland. I think it is both practical and possible for Chiang to accept this suggestion for co-operation offered by the Communist Party of China.

sist Japanese aggression and vowed to avenge the country.

The two previous rounds of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation were not accidental. They resulted from the common demands of the two parties to develop the Chinese revolution during those times.

China in the 1920s had both foreign and domestic troubles, and was plagued by battles among the warlords. It was not only the desire of the Chinese people, but also the immediate task of the revolutionary forces in the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party to oppose imperialism and feudalism and establish a democratic republic. The revolutionary forces in the Kuomintang, headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, realized that the Republic of China existed only in name but not in substance. They advanced the correct policies of "alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers." At the same time, the Chinese Communist Party decided to "eliminate internal disorder, down with warlords and overthrow imperialist oppression." On the basis of identical revolutionary objectives, the two parties co-operated for the first time.

In the early 1930s, the Japanese imperialists launched large-scale invasion of China, and the national contradiction became the principal contradiction. To urge the Kuomintang to resist Japanese aggression, Generals Zhang Xue-liang and Yang Hucheng detained Chiang Kai-shek on December 12, 1936 when Chiang visited Xian (this is known as the "Xian Incident"). The Chinese Communist Party, putting national interests first, helped solve this problem peacefully and promoted co-operation between the two parties for the second time.

History proves that unity between the two parties inevitably

KMT-CPC Co-operation Is Inevitable

by LI XIAGONG

BORN in the last century, I have witnessed the last two rounds of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation. I had close contacts with Chiang Kai-shek when I was working at the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy and was quite familiar with Chiang Ching-kuo when both of us were studying in the Soviet Union. I remember that during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) Chiang Ching-kuo and I came back to China separately and met in



Li Xiagong is Vice-Chairman of the CPPCC Guizhou Provincial Committee and Chairman of the Guizhou Provincial Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT.

Wuhan. Chiang, who was then young and full of vigour, proposed the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party unite to re-

brings about an upsurge in the revolution. During the first round of co-operation between the two parties, we successfully overthrew the Northern Warlords and took back concessions seized by imperialist powers. When the two parties worked in co-operation for the second time, we eventually defeated the Japanese imperialists, although the road had twists and turns.

Today, in the 1980s, there are

a handful of people in the United States who are plotting the independence of Taiwan, in an attempt to fish in troubled waters. Given this, we must proceed from the fundamental interests of all the Chinese people, and encourage the two parties to co-operate for the third time as soon as possible. Only in this way can we foil these people's schemes. I deeply believe the trend towards China's reunification is irresistible, and its realization is only a matter of time.

of the Communist Party, we are not at all sceptical about the prospect of Taiwan's return to the motherland. This is because the reunification of our motherland goes along with the trend of the times and the wishes of the people.

The fact that both the mainland and Taiwan are parts of China is beyond dispute, and the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait are all descendants of the Chinese nation. Several thousand years of Chinese history have time and again proved that only reunification is in the interests of the nation, while division inevitably courts disaster. Taiwan had been under the rule of Spain and the Netherlands, and after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 (launched by Japanese imperialists to annex Korea and invade China), Japan controlled the island for 50 years. It was only after people throughout the country united and won the War of Resistance Against Japan that Taiwan was able to return to the embrace of the motherland. The unnatural separation of Taiwan from the mainland is not in keeping with the aspirations of the Chinese people. Not only those who have gone to Taiwan from the mainland want to see Taiwan's return to the motherland, but also the majority of the Taiwanese hope to see the territorial integrity and prosperity of the country.

It is not strange that there are divergent views on how to achieve reunification, because of differing political views. However, we would like to send word to the Taiwan authorities that they should go along with the tide of history, and respect the aspirations of the people, putting the people's interests above everything else. They should not be slavishly dependent on foreigners, but should abandon their earlier antagonism as soon as possible and join hands with the Communist Party of China to rejuvenate the Chinese nation.

Trend of the Times and People's Wishes

by ZHENG TINGJI and WEN QIANG



Zheng Tingji (left) and Wen Qiang.

BOTH of us were graduates from the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy and lieutenant generals. We were taken prisoner in the Liaoxi-Shenyang Campaign (September 12 to November 2, 1948) and the Huai-Hai Campaign (November 6, 1948 to January 10, 1949) respectively,

Zheng Tingji and Wen Qiang are members of the Historical Materials Commission of the CPPCC National Committee.

during the War of Liberation (1946-49). After study and reform through labour in the administrative detention centre for war criminals, we were successively granted a special amnesty and last year became members of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

Looking back on our three decades of experience under the Kuomintang government and our three decades under the leadership

For Taiwan's Return to the Motherland

by KUANG LIUXING

MY purpose in returning from Taiwan to the mainland three years ago was to contribute my share to the reunification of the motherland. I worked for some time at a broadcasting station in Taiwan. I often listened to broadcasts from the mainland, and my thoughts turned to the changes and developments of my homeland and my birthplace. I made up my mind to return.

Although people in Taiwan are forbidden to listen to broadcasts from the mainland, many still do so. Some people think of their hometowns, and are concerned with the development of their motherland. Some are dissatisfied with the Kuomintang authorities and want to know the policy on reunification. Still others doubt the propaganda of the Kuomintang authorities, and want to know truth about the politics, economics and well-being of the people on the mainland.

Many aspects of life on the mainland are more favourable than those on Taiwan. Commodity prices are stable, and people deposit their money in the banks. In Taiwan, people rush out to buy everything they need as soon as they got paid. Otherwise, they suffer losses because of currency devaluation. Prices go up every month in Taiwan. The rents are low on the mainland, accounting only for 5 per cent of a person's wages, while in Taiwan they are expensive, usually accounting for one-third of one's wages. On the mainland, food prices are cheap, life is secure, and medicine and health care are easily accessible.

Kuang Liuxing is a cadre with the Guangxi Railway Sub-Bureau and delegate by special invitation to the Sixth National Congress of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT.



In Taiwan a family would go broke in the event of a serious illness.

Policies Give Hope for Reunification

by WEI DAWEI



I FLEW my airplane from Taiwan to the mainland in 1956. Over the past 37 years, 101 Kuomintang air force pilots in 43 airplanes have crossed over. The

Nevertheless, there are also some advantages on Taiwan. For instance, it is more advanced than the mainland in certain industrial technologies.

The People's Government has proposed that the two sides make arrangements to facilitate the exchange of mails, trade, air and shipping services, and has called upon the Communist Party and the Kuomintang to co-operate for the third time. The people on the mainland regard the Taiwanese as their own flesh and blood. I sincerely hope the Taiwan authorities and citizens respond to this call and put forward suggestions on how to reunify our motherland.

May the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait join hands as soon as possible, support each other, help supply each other's needs and build our motherland into a modern country.

first was Liu Shanben who "opposed the civil war" and flew to Yanan in June 1946. The latest was Li Dawei, who longed for an early reunification of the motherland and came in April 1983.

Our patriotic actions at different times have been praised by the people. The People's Government has shown great concern for our lives and arranged appropriate jobs for us following the policy that "whether they rally to the common cause early or late, treat them equally without discrimination and assign jobs to them according to their abilities." Shortly after my return to the mainland, I worked in a training unit of CAAC

Wei Dawei is deputy head of the CAAC training corps and alternate member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

and was put in charge of flight training.

During the 10 chaotic years of the "cultural revolution," many pilots, including myself, who had crossed over to the mainland were wrongly charged. But since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978, incorrect ways of doing things have been quickly done away with. I resumed my flying work, and I was paid retroactively. The government has now restored its policy towards those air force pilots who have crossed over. Among the 28 pilots who are still working in the air force, 23 hold posts above the division rank. Those who are working in local departments have had their rank readjusted, and some have been promoted. Ten of these pilots are now deputies to the National People's Congress or

members of the CPPCC National Committee, and 25 are deputies to provincial or municipal people's congresses and members of CPPCC local committees. The relatives of pilots who have passed away have been taken good care of by the government. It is clear that the Party and people will not forget their past deeds.

At the meeting held not long ago in Beijing to award certificates to Kuomintang pilots who have crossed over, many said the state's policy on reunification is correct, and there is hope it will be achieved. They returned to the mainland for the reunification of the motherland, and said they hoped their old friends, colleagues and schoolmates would contribute their share to national reunification and join them in making our country prosperous and strong.

come a republic. Later, Cai E escaped Yuan's supervision and also returned to Yunnan Province. Cai E, Tang Jiyao and my father formed the Military Government to Protect the Republic and sent forces to fight against Yuan's troops. They were respectively the commanders-in-chief of the First, Third and Second Army. Yuari Shikai was forced to step down from the throne under the guns of these armies.

After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), my father withdrew from political life because of illness. But he had consistently appealed for unity and resistance to Japanese aggression. He devoted all his life to the democratic revolution and national reunification, until his death in Chongqing in 1946.

As the younger generation, we must complete his unfinished task. To begin, we should devote ourselves to the reunification of the motherland and the rejuvenation of China. This is also what Dr. Sun Yat-sen yearned for.

Because of our family history and social connections, we have been active in working for Taiwan's return to the motherland. In our frequent contacts with our relatives and friends, and other people both at home and abroad, we find we all have the same opinion on the unity of the motherland. We are confident the third round of co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party will take place. We should carry forward the ideal of the revolutionary predecessors and do our best for the prosperity and reunification of our motherland. □

Li Ganliu is Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT, and Li Ganju is Vice-Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of RCK.

Carry Forward Predecessors' Ideals

by LI GANLIU and LI GANJU



Li Ganliu (left) and Li Ganju at the 6th National Congress of RCK.

OUR father, Li Liejun, was a general who followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen to take punitive actions against Yuan Shikai. Under orders from Dr. Sun in 1915, he

left Japan for China and encouraged Tang Jiyao in Yunnan Province to send troops to overthrow Yuan Shikai who declared himself emperor after China had be-

Taiwan Natives on the Mainland: Their Lives and Hopes

The Chinese people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait will eventually come together so long as they respect each other and act in good faith in their growing contacts

by **ZHANG ZHIYE**
Our Correspondent

THREE decades of separation have created a growing wish for reunification of the motherland on both sides of the 80-nautical-mile Taiwan Strait. This desire is perhaps most strongly felt among Taiwan natives living on the mainland, torn as they are by a deep yearning for their relatives across the water. Such feelings have not been ignored by the Chinese Government, which shows great concern in caring for the Taiwan compatriots on the mainland. And those from Taiwan, on their part, are working creatively for the socialist construction and the reunification of their nation.

Preferential Provisions

There are about 22,000 Taiwan compatriots living on the main-

land. They are scattered all over the country, but most live in the coastal provinces and municipalities of Fujian, Guangdong, Shanghai and Tianjin. Some migrated from the island, while others were born on the mainland.

They have been brought closer to each other through the varied activities of the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots. Set up in 1981, the federation now has branches in 23 of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and is planning them for the remaining five provinces and autonomous regions (excluding Tibet) on the mainland. Grass-roots organizations will be set up in Fujian, Guangdong and Shanghai, where the largest communities of Taiwan compatriots live.

In the past, many Taiwan people living on the mainland suffered

injustices because of "Left" influences. Now that is history.

In fact, their lives today are often better than those around them, because the state policy does not discriminate against any Taiwan compatriots and gives them preference in such matters as housing, wages and the education and employment of their children. For example, 1,700 youths of Taiwan origin were awaiting jobs a few years ago, but by the end of last year, 1,100 had been given work.

The Taiwan natives are active in politics. Take the 1983 situation for instance. Twenty-five were deputies to the Sixth National People's Congress (NPC), and one was on the NPC Standing Committee. Thirty-one were members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), five being on its Standing Committee. Of the 13 Taiwan compatriots who attended the 10th National Trade Union Congress, four were elected members of the presidium or the executive committee. Fourteen attended the Fifth National Women's Congress, at which one was elected Vice-Chairman of the All-China Women's Federation and three others became members of the federation's executive committee.

Taiwan compatriots can also be seen among leaders of the All-China Federation of Overseas Chinese, the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, the All-China Youth Federation and the CPPCC provincial and municipal committees. Their representation has also been increased in city and county people's con-

The opening ceremony at Beijing University of a special philosophy class for students of Taiwan origin.



gresses, local CPPCC committees and mass organizations.

The state has made special arrangements for the education of young Taiwan natives. The Beijing Teachers' University, for example, runs a two-year philosophy class exclusively for these students. When it first opened, 71 were enrolled. Jinan University in Guangzhou enrolled 19 Taiwan youths in its preparatory school. Huaqiao (Overseas Chinese) University and the Central-South Institute for Nationalities also train young students from Taiwan.

Eighty-five Taiwan youths from 18 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions attended a summer camp last year in Dalian, Liaoning Province, which provided an excellent opportunity for them to meet and make friends.

The state helps Taiwan compatriots living on the mainland resume contacts with their long-separated families on Taiwan, and encourages those already in touch with their kith and kin to help others find their relations.

Contributing to Their Nation

Taiwan's sons and daughters have contributed their wisdom and

strength to making China what it is today for more than 300 years since the second half of the 16th century. They fought valiantly to defend their nation's territorial integrity and sovereignty against imperialist and colonial occupations and invasions.

Taiwan compatriots on the mainland have contributed to the strength and prosperity of China after liberation. At a conference held not long ago in Beijing, 600 Taiwan compatriots in different trades and professions swapped their experiences in socialist construction. Many of the participants are national model workers and some performed heroic deeds in war.

A fine example is Professor Fang Duo of Hunan Province's University of National Defence Science and Technology. Together with his colleagues, this Taipei native helped overcome a problem in China's computer technology, and won a prize for this at the National Science and Technology Conference held a few years ago. He devised programming for the central computers on ships when China successfully launched a carrier rocket in the Pacific in 1982.

Another example is Ye Qingyao,

son of a big hospital owner in Taiwan's Pingdong. Dismayed by the decadent administration of the Taiwan authorities, he joined the February 28 patriotic movement of 1947, but was arrested and exiled on a small island as a political prisoner.

In 1955, on his way to penal servitude on Jinmen Island, Ye escaped to the mainland, where he was warmly received and given work as an engineer with the industrial department of Fujian Province. He became an associate research fellow of the provincial institute of aquatic products seven years later. In 1979, he invented a machine to round up fish, acclaimed as the most advanced tool of its kind produced in China. He received a provincial science and technology conference prize for his invention, and his essay on this subject has been included in a publication by the China Aquatic Society.

The contributions of Taiwan natives can also be seen in popular sports. When the Chinese team captured the title at the second international women's softball competition in Xianggang (Hongkong) last July, it was thanks, in part, to the hard work of their head coach Li Minkuan, a native of Taibei.

Li returned from Japan to the mainland in 1958, when he was 16. After graduating from the Beijing Iron and Steel Institute in 1963, he worked as a technician at the Beijing Mining and Metallurgical Research Institute. In 1970, he gave up his job to serve as head coach of the municipal baseball team, determined to raise this sport to the world level. He worked tirelessly, often translating foreign reference materials and revising plans for training the athletes far into the night. He was cited as a model coach several times. At a national symposium in 1982, he passed a rigid examina-

Fang Duo (middle) visiting the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company.



tion and won the title "Senior Coach."

A number of Taiwan natives on the mainland are accomplished scholars and experts, and some are teachers. They are well respected for their devotion to their jobs. Hu Qiujin, a professor at the Xian Highway Engineering College in Shaanxi Province, is one of them.

He was born in Taoxian County, Taiwan. After finishing junior middle school in 1941, he moved to Japan with his father. He graduated from the Nagoya Communications College in Japan in 1950 and went to the mainland in 1951 to be a college teacher. He wrote his teaching materials and distributed the mimeographed copies to his students. Although Hu studied motor vehicle engineering, he has a good knowledge of Japanese and English. Seeing the need to improve the students' basic knowledge, he volunteered to teach the two foreign languages. His was a packed timetable, giving lectures at daytime and burying himself in foreign literature in search of useful materials when night fell. His duties also included teaching foreign languages to people being sent to study abroad, a task assigned by the Ministry of Communications and the local authorities. Together with others he compiled a Japanese-Chinese dictionary of science and technology. The *Japanese-Chinese Dictionary of Highway Engineering*, on which Hu was chief editor, won a second prize of science and technology in Shaanxi Province. He has also translated four science films into Chinese. Not long ago he became a member of the CPPCC National Committee.

The second and third generations born on the mainland to Taiwan natives are also doing their share. Liu Zongmeng, an engineer with Liaoning Province's Benxi Iron and Steel Company research institute, was born to Taiwan natives. After seven years of hard work, he invented China's first device



Softball coach Li Minkuan works with one of his players.

for measuring gas permeability resistance in blast furnace. This invention proved invaluable to workers who previously had to get their samples directly from the furnaces—a dangerous practice. Today they can obtain all the data simply by reading a meter fixed to the outside of the furnace.

Reunification: A Cherished Hope

The Taiwan authorities are still clinging tenaciously to their policy of no contact, no negotiation and no compromise with the mainland. But this has not kept the people on both sides of the Strait from establishing more and more contacts with each other. At the above-mentioned conference attended by Taiwan compatriots in Beijing, many proposed even wider liaisons among all people of Taiwan origin, and suggested every convenience be provided for Taiwan people who wish to visit the mainland.

In Longxi Prefecture, Fujian Province, 205 of the 556 families of Taiwan compatriots have been able to send mail to relatives on Taiwan, and four of them have even made phone calls to the island.

Since 1977, a reception centre in Fujian's Dongshan County has hosted 2,078 people on board 235 fishing boats from Penghu, Jinmen, Tainan, Pingdong, Gaoxiong, Jilong and Taibei on Taiwan. Many of them came to see doctors, believing the mainland has efficacious medicine and skilful doctors. Chen Chunzhang, the reception centre's head, is himself a native of Zhanghua County, Taiwan. He attends to every need of visiting compatriots, and does his best to make them feel at home.

Wang Guozhu moved to Dongshan County from Taiwan in 1981 and he has delivered 150 letters from both sides of the Strait in the last two years. At 63, he said as a voluntary postman he wanted to do everything he could for the reunion of his fellow compatriots.

Li Mingren, 33, graduated from Furen University of Taiwan in 1973, received his Ph. D. degree in the United States in 1980 and returned to the mainland in June of the same year. He now works at the Shandong Oceanology College. His job sometimes requires him to visit foreign countries, and he uses these opportunities to acquaint his

Taiwan friends overseas with what's happening on the mainland. He even convinced one of his Taiwan friends to give lectures on the mainland, and a classmate of his in Hawaii has established a close working partnership with him in scientific research.

Many Taiwan compatriots living on the mainland enjoy reuniting visiting natives with their families.

Wu Yuanliang, a member of the standing committee of the CPPCC Shanghai committee who returned from Taiwan in 1980, received 57 Taiwan guests at his home and helped a dozen other Taiwan people on the mainland find their families and friends on that island in the last three years.

Through their own efforts, the Taiwan compatriots on the main-

land have helped expand exchanges between the people of both sides of the Taiwan Strait. They all believe that the Chinese people on both sides of the Strait will eventually come together, so long as they respect each other and act in good faith in their contacts. The reunification of the country will be completed the day they come together. □

Western Influence and National Style in Modern Chinese Literature

Modern Chinese literary works are all influenced by Western culture to some degree. Chinese writers have used it to enrich their own traditions, forming a distinctive national style

by TANG TAO

BEGINNING in the middle of the 18th century, many people in China advocated opening to the outside world so as to have a look at other countries and seek truth from the West. A lot of Western literature began to be translated at that time, and the most weighty of them were ascribed to Lin Shu.

Although he did not read foreign languages, Lin used his own literary talents and the help of those with thorough knowledge of foreign languages to interpret those books. After studying the synopsis of a work, he would let loose his artistic imagination and spin the threads of the story into a yarn in eloquent Chinese. Lin Shu "translated" 185 books in this way. One hundred and thirty-eight of them were published, and more than 40 of these are world-famous. The best of Lin's translations include *La Dame aux camelias*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Nicholas*

Nickleby, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, *Oliver Twist*, *Ivanhoe* and *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent*.

Introductory articles written by people who had toured foreign countries were published with the translations. These travel notes, comments, poems and bits of information shed some light on the politics, religions, habits and customs of people in the West. They had considerable influence on the young people of the day.

The translation of Western literary works and the introduction and dissemination of Western ideas loudly heralded the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal May 4th Movement in 1919. It was also under the influence of the ideological and cultural revolutions of that period that modern Chinese literature came into being, with unique features of its own.

The ideological emancipation and freedom in academic discussions during the May 4th Movement can be likened to the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), when different schools of thought contended, or to the European Renais-

sance of the 14th to 16th centuries. Before and after this movement, almost all the revolutionary writers and societies translated foreign literature, and most claimed one or two particular foreign writers had deeply influenced their style. Of the foreign writers introduced at the time, most of the influential ones belonged to the realistic school, such as Maupassant, Gogol, Turgenev and Tolstoy.

According to *The Catalogue of Chinese Translations of Occidental and Oriental Literary Works* (1929), China had translated works by 299 Western authors and 50 by Japanese authors by the spring of 1929, excluding commonplace writers. The work continued, up to and after liberation in 1949. The Chinese people can now read the works of some 520 world famous foreign writers in their own language.

The influence of these foreign writers on China is clearly widespread.

The first literary master in modern Chinese history, Lu Xun (1881-1936), attributed his first novel *The Madman's Diary* to the

The author is a professor and senior research fellow at the Research Institute of Literature under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

one hundred or so foreign literary works he had read, and his smattering of medical knowledge. "No other preparation whatsoever on top of that," he said.

Lu Xun's humorous style of depicting daily life resembled that of Gogol's satires, and his few characters and plain scenes were reminiscent of Chekhov. Lu Xun had digested and absorbed other foreign effects, to evolve a plain yet deep and reserved style. He opened the path of realism for modern Chinese literature.

Another master, Mao Dun (1892-1978), also said that he drew mainly on foreign novels when he first started writing his own stories. The influence of Zola and Tolstoy is evident in his work.

Other renowned Chinese writers were just as influenced by their foreign counterparts. Guo Moruo reminds one of Goethe and Whitman; Ye Shaojun sounds like Maupassant and Chekhov; Bing Xin is suggestive of Tagore; Ba Jin smacks of Turgenev; Lao She writes as Dickens and Conrad while one can make out Shakespeare and O'Neil in Cao Yu. Even Rousseau, Wilde, Maeterlinck, Eluard, Valery have their influence on Chinese writers.

While literary and art trends and creative methods emerged one after another in Europe over several centuries, they all appeared in China within about a dozen years. This shows how abrupt the social transformation was in China; how violently the Western trends struck Chinese writers and how unstable the new literature was. It was manifested not only in differences between individual writers but more in the divergence between the artistic styles and appeals of the various schools and societies.

Beginning in the late 1930s, war altered the Chinese way of life. Literature and art could not hold their own in the ensuing turmoil.

Nevertheless, it was during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and War of Liberation (1946-49) that many famous Western works were translated, including different editions of *La Comedie humaine*, a 27-volume *Collection of Chekhov*, an 8-volume *Collection of Zola* and 31 plays by Shakespeare. The trans-

The translation of Western literary works and the introduction and dissemination of Western ideas loudly heralded the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal May 4th Movement in 1919.

lations of these realistic and naturalistic works ushered along the advent of militant writings about the social life and objective reality in China. They also helped reawaken China's native realistic tradition. This tradition was substantiated and carried forward during the great wars of national revolution.

As the national consciousness resuscitated in the 1940s, the national spirit and style in Chinese literature also developed. Veteran writers such as Lao She, Mao Dun, Ba Jin and Ding Ling, and novices like Zhao Shuli and Sun Li, all made important contributions with their distinctive, artistic writing. In their works depicting contemporary life and characters, readers find the traditions of Chinese literary style, including how the plot is woven, presentation, characterization and the use of language. These writers have adapted Western ideological trends and forms to the tastes of the Chinese people.

Many writers realize the significance of artistic forms through their own creative experience.

What's more, they know form is a far cry from national style, which is more complicated in its evolution. They also realize that style is not merely superficial, but must be interwoven with intrinsic thought and emotion. This is not only the way of the high-brow classics, but something shared by the common people. The life-style, habits, customs and morals of the people all play a role in forming a national style. Writers pursue and explore these ways of living, and conclude that they must go to live the life. This became one of the most important mottoes of the modern Chinese writers.

But what is the national style which was formed over the long years, and which the modern Chinese literature should inherit and carry on?

Let's begin with Lu Xun, the great literary master who was the first to write vernacular fiction under foreign influence, as well as the first to incorporate foreign influence in promoting the development of the Chinese literary style. As a founder of modern Chinese literature, Lu Xun, while accepting foreign influence, had already begun to use this influence to form a new national style. Recalling his early works, he said, "There were still shadows of Gogol and Nietzsche" in his *A Madman's Diary*, and *Medicine* "obviously ended with Andreyev's chill." Referring to his later works, he said he had broken from foreign influence, his writing skill became more mature and the descriptions were deeper, or, in other words, they were more nationalized.

Here I offer my own opinions on the characteristics of Chinese national style.

As I see it, the first characteristic of national style is the portrayal of **China's social life, morality and local customs**. In depicting social life Lu Xun's fiction has set an excellent example.

Lao She (1899-1966) was also among the most prominent writers depicting China's conditions and customs. His first full-length novel, *Lao Zhang's Philosophy*, is full of local colour. Lao She, who himself said he had been influenced by Dickens and Conrad, specialized in portraying lower class people living in Beijing. Most of his heroes and heroines are either local opera singers, policemen, rickshaw boys, people connected with the toppled court or those who have no work and nothing to do. Lao She was familiar with them and their style of living. Both *Camel Xiangzi* (about a rickshaw boy) and *My Life* (about a policeman) are vivid reflections of Chinese-style city life among the lower classes.

Lao She depicted not only people's lives and habits, but also their moods and psychology. He provided a complete picture of the society he lived in. One example is *Four Generations Under One Roof* (a trilogy consisting of *Apprehension*, *Ignoble Existence* and *Famine*), written in the 40s. In the first part, the old head of the Qi family wants to renovate his house on the occasion of his first grandson's marriage. It says:

"When he first bought this house, he had to rent out the eastern and southern rooms so that the courtyard would not be too empty. But today, the house is hardly enough for his own sons and grandsons. Seeing all his own offspring living in the same house, the old man felt pleasant and content. He is like an old tree whose branches have grown all over the courtyard; on every branch there are flowers and leaves growing from him — the old root."

Planting flowers and fruit trees in their courtyards is a hobby of Beijing residents, especially those of Manchu origins. The description using this custom fills the novel with local flavour. What

is even more admirable is the author's skill in touching the readers' hearts. Using flowers as a symbol, he conveys the happiness not only of the old head of the Qi family, but of all the old Chinese people to see their houses full of sons and grandsons living together with them. The author wrote not only of a Chinese custom, but of the psychology of a nation. Many writers of the 40s

The rendition of realistic and naturalistic works in particular, ushered in the advent of militant writings about the social life and objective reality in China.

captured this striking aspect of national style, but none exceeded Lao She.

The second characteristic of Chinese literature's national style is **reserve** — using metaphors to provoke readers to think. This is one of the key points of Chinese aesthetics. Every reader uses his or her own imagination, according to different personal experiences. The writer's duty is not to force a conclusion quickly upon the readers, but to initiate their imagination. Many contemporary writers have successfully continued this tradition of the classical novels, adopting the skills of dropping hints, expressing meanings beyond words and leaving their readers with much to think about.

This characteristic of Chinese literature was extensively developed in the 40s. Using simple language, many writers expressed profound and significant meanings. Sun Li (1913-) is the most successful in displaying the Chinese national style. His novels are generally simple, but the lives they portray are as fresh as newly-

picked flowers with dewdrops on them. His style is expressed not just in the description of details, but in the whole creative concept. He is especially talented in depicting chat between old people, dialogues between married couples, quarrels and teasing among children. Sun Li's writing is elegant and full of love and tenderness, but not over-polished. He always presents his readers with a fresh approach. But behind all these poetic images, through many characters, and especially women, the honest, staunch, unyielding nature of the Chinese people — unchanged for thousands of years — is faintly seen but strongly felt.

The third characteristic of the Chinese national style is its **vividness**, using precise language and concentrated description. Through outside activities, the characters' inner world is vividly sketched with just a few strokes.

The Chinese aesthetics emphasizes this vivid touch, and Chinese writers in the 40s applied it in their works. Zhao Shuli (1906-70) was particularly prominent among them. Zhao drew on folk ballads, writing in an oral storytelling style popular in northern China. He did not search for strange colloquial expressions, but used the language of the common people and did his best to make his works read well aloud. In this respect, Zhao Shuli was similar to Lu Xun. Using vivid expressions and puns, his stories are all easy to follow.

Scores of new writers from Zhao's native Shanxi Province have mastered this literary language, using the national characteristic of vividness.

Of course, space does not permit me to describe every detail of Chinese national style in contemporary literature. But, I think, these three points are of major significance in the Chinese writings since the May 4th Movement, and particularly after the 40s. □

Modern Studies About Lao Zi

Since we published "Reassessment of Confucius" in issue No. 22, 1983, many readers have written to tell us that, deeply impressed by it, they hope to read more about the philosophers of ancient China. In response to their requests, we offer the following article. The author is a member of the Institute of History, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. — Ed.

by JIANG GUANGHUI

DAO DE JING (*Tao Te Ching*), or *Classic of the Way and Power*, figures prominently in the wealth of ancient Chinese literature. It is traditionally believed that this 5,000-word book was written by Lao Zi (Lao Tzu or Lao Tse), so the book is also known as *Lao Zi*.

The Man

There is little solid information remaining on the life of Lao Zi, also known as Lao Dan. According to *Shi Ji* (*Historical Records*) written by Sima Qian in about 100 B.C., Lao Zi was a native of the State of Chu in the late Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 B.C.). His family name was Li and his proper name Er. He had worked at the Zhou Dynasty's imperial archives and was an older contemporary of Confucius (551-479 B.C.), who had once called upon Lao Zi and sought his instructions concerning rites. Impressed by that meeting, Confucius likened him to a dragon hidden in the skies, whose whereabouts were shrouded in mystery.

Lao Zi lived in the domain of Zhou for a long time. But, seeing the decline of the imperial household of Zhou, he

eventually left travelling to Hangguan Pass in what is today's Henan Province. He was stopped by Yin Xi, the guardian of the pass, who begged Lao Zi to write a book for him. The philosopher wrote his famous treatise before continuing his journey. There are no records of what had happened to him afterwards. It was said that Lao Zi lived for more than 160 years — some said more than 200 years — because he knew how to keep himself in good health. The biography of Lao Zi in *Shi Ji* left many questions unanswered.

The Book

Written in rhymes, *Lao Zi* was originally in two parts. People of later generations divided it into 81 chapters, grouped according to its ideas.

The core of the book is the concept of *dao* (*tao*), which literally means "road." However, Lao Zi used it in the sense of "law and pattern of development." In *Lao Zi*, *dao* is idealized and becomes a separate entity — the creator and fountainhead of universe. "There is a being, one and indivisible," says the book, "which came into existence long before heaven and earth. How calm and incorporeal it is! For ever it runs in an endless cycle, never counting on any external



force. It should be the origin of universe. Not knowing its name, I call it *dao*."

Dao is that by which all things come to be, but it does not form everything with a will or purpose. "Dao invariably does nothing," according to *Lao Zi*, "and yet everything is done by it . . . Dao has given everything its being, but does not occupy being as its own. It has activated everything, but does not consider it its own doing. It is at the head of all things, but never tries to manipulate them." This is the concept of *dao*'s natural non-action.

Lao Zi encourages people to model themselves after the non-action of *dao*. It says every intentional behaviour violates the principle of *dao*. This concept permeates the book's theories of knowledge and political practice as well.

Concerning the theory of knowledge, *Lao Zi* says *dao* is different from learning. He who is engaged in learning should constantly increase his knowledge, but he who follows the pattern of *dao* should gradually reduce his knowledge, until at long last he reaches the state of non-action. The book advocates the intuitional

method of knowing things by examining the inner thoughts and feelings. It holds that as long as one keeps peaceful and quiet, one will perceive *dao*. "Without going out of the door he may recognize the world's course, and without peeping through the window he may know *dao*. In fact, the further one goes, the less one knows. Therefore, the sage knows not by undergoing any experience; he understands things not by seeing them himself."

In politics, *Lao Zi* believes that rulers should govern by doing nothing. It is opposed to any type of active politics, such as following benevolence and righteousness, observing rites or respecting virtuous individuals. It admonishes the ruling class not to manipulate the people, but to let them do as they like. It says, "I refrain from doing anything, and the people of themselves obey me; I love peace and quiet, and the people of themselves go straight; I am not worried, and the people of themselves are prosperous; I cherish no desire, and the people of themselves become simple and honest."

The ideal society described in *Lao Zi* is "a small nation with an isolated people." It maintains that culture spells disaster for the people, and mankind should therefore return to the ancient age of obscurantism. "The nation and the population should be kept as small as possible. Although there are all sorts of instruments and equipment, we should refrain from using them, so that the people need not risk their lives and move to faraway places. Although they have ships and carriages, they cannot find the place to ride in them. Although they have arms, they have no place to display them. It is necessary for the people to return to the old custom of keeping records by tying knots, delight in their food, be proud of their clothes and content with

their homes and rejoice in their own lifestyle. Neighbouring states should be located within sight of each other, where the crowing cocks and barking dogs would be within hearing, but the people might never visit each other until they grow old and die."

Lao Zi lived at a time when the slave system was gradually giving

The influence of Lao Zi's thought in Chinese history was second only to that of Confucius... Quite a few recluses and intellectuals unsuccessful in their search for an official post found refuge in the thinking of Lao Zi.

way to feudalism. As a representative of the declining social forces, he was annoyed by the rising feudal landlord class. This feeling deeply influenced his political ideas.

Lao Zi also expresses many dialectical ideas. It says everything contains two interdependent and complementary opposites, such as beautiful and ugly, difficult and easy, long and short, above and below, front and back, being and non-being, loss and gain, rigid and flexible, disaster and good fortune, honour and shame, wisdom and stupidity, nimbleness and clumsiness, big and small, life and death, victory and defeat, attack and defence, advance and withdrawal, quiet and noisy, light and heavy. Everything is a unity of two opposites which cannot do without each other. *Lao Zi* says, "To be and not to be are mutually engendered; the difficult and the easy are mutually formed; the long and the short are mutually embodied; the above and

the below are mutually contrasted; the sound and the voice are mutually combined; and before and after are mutually accompanied."

The book maintains that everything will invariably transform into its opposite, and that humanity's various positive activities will bring negative results. "Misery, alas! rests upon happiness. Happiness, alas! underlies misery," it says. "The normal may all of a sudden become abnormal; the honest may all of a sudden become the scoundrels... Everything will grow strong. But once it becomes strong, it will invariably become weak and old and die quickly." Things always remaining in the state of weakness will not grow strong and, therefore will not approach death.

Concerning life, *Lao Zi* concludes that one should remain weak; by thus never becoming strong, one can avoid suffering. "Although he deeply knows how to soar like a male, but he is content to lie low as a female." One can best learn this lesson from water, the book says, because, "in the world nothing is more tender and delicate than water, but in attacking the hard and the strong nothing will outdo it." Applying this principle of "conquering the hard and strong with the tender and the weak" to military affairs and politics, *Lao Zi* says, "That which is about to be contracted should first be expanded; that which is about to be weakened should first be strengthened; that which is about to be discarded should first be activated; that which is about to be spoiled should first be endowed." Only thus can the two aspects of a contradiction quickly transform themselves into each other.

The influence of *Lao Zi*'s thought in Chinese history was second only to that of Confucius. Sometimes it even overshadowed Confucianism, and became the pre-

vailing ideology. In politics, some rulers adopted Lao Zi's ideas in running the country. During the early Western Han Dynasty, for example, the feudal ruling class vigorously advocated his idea of "governing with non-action," to allow the society to quickly recover from the ravages of war. This proved effective in putting the nation back in order after long years of internal turmoil. In academics, Lao Zi's theories were enriched by later Chinese thinkers and developed into substantial schools of thought. The various religious sects of Daoism (Taoism) in China all revere Lao Zi as their founding teacher. Quite a few recluses and intellectuals who were unsuccessful in their search for an official post found refuge in the thinking of Lao Zi.

Modern Studies of Lao Zi's Thinking

From the May Fourth Movement of 1919 to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, quite a few influential Chinese scholars made exhaustive inquiries into the authenticity of Lao Zi the man and his writings. They came to divergent conclusions. For example, one opinion holds that *Lao Zi* was written by Lao Dan, who lived before Confucius. Another opinion has it that Lao Zi lived during the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), and the book *Lao Zi* was written then. Still another opinion says that *Lao Zi* appeared between the Qin and the Han Dynasties (221 B.C.-8 A.D.), but was not written by one particular man (or school of thought), nor during a certain time. The last two opinions actually deny any link between the man Lao Dan and the book *Lao Zi*. Another opinion, which is held by the majority of scholars today, is that Lao Zi was actually Lao Dan, once teacher of Con-

fucius, and that the book was not written by Lao Dan but contained some of his teachings, which were enriched by people of later generations.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the debate on *Lao Zi* among Chinese historians has focused on

The discussion on "Lao Zi" has been focused on the nature of its philosophy: Is it idealist or materialist? Most Chinese historians maintain that the book is inclined to materialism in its concept of nature, but its theory of knowledge is certainly idealist.

the nature of its philosophy: is it idealist or materialist? Most of them maintain that *Lao Zi* is inclined to materialism in its concept of nature, but its theory of knowledge is certainly idealist. Opinions differ as to whether the book, taken as a whole, is idealist or materialist. Because the book was written in a terse style, deep with meaning, and because it used archaic, mysterious language, differences in understanding are bound to arise.

In the last three decades, many essays have been published on the philosophical nature of *Lao Zi*, but no consensus has been reached. The opinions of two famous scholars serve to illustrate.

Hou Wailu, chief editor of *The General History of Chinese Thought*, a work known for its penetrating theoretical analyses, says the philosophy of *Lao Zi* is basically idealist. This is because *dao*, which runs through all of Lao Zi's philosophy, is a supernatural absolute entity that is analogous to the god in pantheism and beyond the knowledge of

mankind. But compared with the idealist of personified ruling force of Confucius and Mo Zi (Mo Di, 468-376 B.C.), Lao Zi's theories contain elements of materialism and simple dialectical concepts.

The other scholar, Ren Jiyu, is known for his long years of research into *Lao Zi*. During the debate of the 1950s and 1960s on the philosophical nature of the book, he said its philosophy is basically materialist because *dao*, the supreme factor in *Lao Zi*'s philosophy, represents both the entity of matter (i.e., the one indivisible thing itself) and the law of the movement of matter. In the 1970s he changed his viewpoint, maintaining that the *dao* in *Lao Zi* is not the entity of matter, but more like the absolute spirit, existing independent of mankind. Thus the book expressed an objective idealist philosophy, he said.

Then again, in an article written in the early 1980s on methods of studying *Lao Zi*, Ren Jiyu re-examined his previous opinions. It is true that the many articles and books on *Lao Zi* written in the last two decades have only scratched the surface, he said, but the major problem lies in the fact that people tended to overdo themselves in interpreting *Lao Zi* and their interpretation surpassed the knowledge of the book *Lao Zi* itself and the period in which it appeared. According to Ren Jiyu, considering *dao* as either the entity of matter or of the absolute spirit are both incorrect. It is a characteristic only of modern philosophy that idealism and materialism are categorically different. In ancient times, there were large numbers of unthorough idealist or materialist philosophers. It won't do to dogmatically interpret the ideology of ancient times. This, he maintains, is precisely where the problems of the past studies of *Lao Zi* lie. □

Proposal for a Friendship Garden

from "RENMIN RIBAO"
(People's Daily)

LAST year, I published a short article, "Build an International Friendship Garden," in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) and *China Daily*. In the article I suggested building an international friendship garden in Beijing, so as to satisfy the desire of our patriotic overseas Chinese and compatriots from Xianggang (Hongkong), Aomen (Macao) and Taiwan, as well as friends from various continents who are willing to leave their sincere feelings in China's capital by volunteering to plant trees which will grow, thrive and become an evergreen forest serving as a symbol of the unity and friendship of the world's people.

Since then I have met with many Chinese and foreigners who are interested in the suggestion. They are all concerned about where the garden will be located, what the layout will be like and how labour, materials and funds will be contributed. The authorities of Beijing have also showed interest. Seeing that the garden will benefit the development of international friendship, they are ready to offer every facility for the realization of the plan. Deeply moved by all of these, I have written my suggestions specifically as follows for consultation and discussion.

1. It would be better to name it International Friendship Garden, and there should be an affiliated evergreen park.

2. It will be good to build the garden near the Ming Tombs, where the scenery is beautiful and transportation is convenient. Fur-

thermore, our beloved Chairman Mao Zedong, Premier Zhou Enlai and other state leaders volunteered their labour there in 1958, adding their sweat to the work on the reservoir and the land now covered with flourishing groves. Their noble qualities moved numerous Chinese and foreign people. It would be very meaningful to build the International Friendship Garden and its affiliated evergreen park near the reservoir, facing the trees planted by the revolutionary leaders.

3. The garden should supply land for growing famous and rare flowers and trees from various countries. Foreign funds should be collected to build glass restaurants or dining halls in the local style (of course the inner facilities would be modern), cafes under colourful umbrellas, picnic lawns, tennis and badminton courts, swimming pools and other sports facilities. The garden will gradually develop into a scenic spot open to Beijing residents, volunteer tree planters and tourists.

4. The funds to build the garden may be donated by people in various countries, and the relevant established under the Beijing municipal government.

5. An administration should be established under the Beijing municipal government to co-ordinate the efforts of all parties concerned for overall management of the garden. Among the foreigners, there should be an evergreen club which will collect funds, work out plans and keep close ties with the garden administration, to discuss and improve work.

6. As to design, we can rely on the many talented Chinese and

foreign architects who specialize in designing gardens.

If this plan can be realized, Beijing's tourism will surely develop in a shining modern style, and set the world a good example of peace, friendship and goodwill. The Chinese people will learn from the sincerity and good wishes of their international friends, and hand this on to the coming generations.

An international friendship garden has never before been built with donation and through voluntary labour. I sincerely hope that friends of various countries will make suggestions for and criticisms of the plan, so as to perfect it. I wish the first group of saplings to be planted on the day of *Qingming* (Pure Brightness which will be April 4 this year) by Chinese and foreign friends, led by leaders of the Beijing municipality.

Prof. Yuan Xiaoyuan, Chinese-American

The Structure of China's Population

from "ZHEJIANG RIBAO"
(Zhejiang Daily)

THE structure of a nation's population generally falls into one of the three categories: increasing, decreasing and static.

1. In the increasing or young type, there is a large proportion of children, and, as age increases, the population of different age groups decreases evenly. There is a potential for population growth.

2. In the decreasing or old type, the proportion of children is small and there is a tendency towards a decreasing population.

3. In the static type, the number of children is close to the

number of young and middle-aged people. The population is neither increasing nor decreasing. The populations of developed countries in Europe and North America fall into this category.

China's population structure in the past decade has belonged neither to the increasing nor to the

static type, but to the decreasing type. The proportion of children is decreasing as a result of the country's family planning policy. It is now suitable in China that there be fewer births than in the previous generation, and the structure of population should gradually become static.

animals and plants. The scientists planted Gorgon fruit, water chestnut, deep-water rice, water shield, wild rice stem and other cash crops. Although the experimental fields were hit by typhoons, floods and other natural disasters every year, the majority of the plants grew well.

Water-Agriculture: A Bright Future

from "GUANGMING RIBAO"
(Guangming Daily)

ON the vast Taihu Lake a new green garden has emerged, where, in the mirror-like water, plants thrive and fish swim. Named "water agriculture," this is the achievement of scientists with the Nanjing Institute of Geography.

China has more than 4,000 fresh-water and shallow lakes on the lower and middle reaches of the Changjiang River. But they have been under-used. By comparing lakes and fields, the scientists found that less than one-thousandth of the sunshine shed on the lake had been used, which was only 10 to 20 per cent of the use in fields. The productive value of one *mu* of lake was therefore 10 to 20 per cent that for the same area of field. These figures reflected the relationship between the economic gains and the use rate of sunshine.

The best way to more completely take advantage of the sunshine is to grow water plants good at absorbing solar energy. But on a broad surface like the Taihu Lake, there is usually strong wind and waves, and the tides and water levels vary greatly. The scientists decided to build wind and wave shelters first. They planted water peanut, a plant which grows on the surface of the water, to form a two-metre-wide belt, which divided the 100 *mu* experimental

area into several blocs. The roots of the water peanut joined one another into a protective screen against wind and waves.

These measures brought about a world of peace and tranquility for

The plants also provided the fish with an ideal living, migrating and spawning environment. With plenty of oxygen, fresh water and rich feed, they grew quickly. The harvest of fish in the experimental fields might reach 7,000-15,000 kilogrammes per hectare, the scientists estimated, 100 times the present per-hectare harvest on the Taihu Lake.

Xu Beihong and Cavalry Marshal

from "WENHUI BAO"
(A Literary Gazette)

XU BEIHONG (1895-1953), noted contemporary Chinese painter and art educator, is famous all over the world for his paintings of horses.



A Galloping Horse. by Xu Beihong

In April 1934, during his exhibition in Moscow, Xu painted for the visitors in the exhibition hall. Completely at ease, Xu made his preparations, moistening his brushes and tidying the paper. Then, with just a few lively and vigorous strokes, he painted a strong galloping horse. The crowd of visitors burst into applause.

Among the crowd Marshal Budenny, who was known as a horse lover, squeezed his way forward. He asked Xu frankly, "Please give the horse to me, otherwise, I'll be mad." Xu was delighted. He nodded and immediately added the words "To Marshal Budenny" to the painting. As happy as if he had just won a battle, Budenny, rubbing his moustache with his hand, examined the picture carefully and then lifted it high so that everyone could see it. He embraced Xu Beihong enthusiastically and said, "Mr. Xu, you are not just the magic brush of the orient, but of the world. The horse you just painted is bolder, stronger and more beautiful than any of my war horses."



Ai Qing, Wang Zhen and Huang Hua (second, third and fourth from left) wish Rewi Alley a happy birthday.

Home

Rewi Alley

I look at the old Ishing teapot,
the blue cup and saucer, the
plates from Chingtehchen each
morning, and smile; home is a place
where bits and pieces one has loved,
collect; where friends and family
come around, making walls echo
with sounds of laughter; where flowers
grow, and where too, determination
is wedded to daily living, where folk
from Oceania, the Americas and too
some from Europe, come for talk;
a place that is a base for travels
into the hinterland; ever a comforting
thought that it is there in its
quiet compound of trees that leap
into life each spring, and fill
each autumn with golden radiance.

A kindly home is this
that China has given me.
How can I thank her more?
Beijing Oct. 25, 1977

Many Happy Returns, Alley

Rewi Alley was honoured at a meeting sponsored by the China Pen Centre on January 5 to celebrate his 86th birthday and his outstanding achievements in literature. At the meeting, Rewi Alley's poems were recited, and Chinese poets Zhao Puchu, Zang Kejia and Tian Jian read their poems in honour of him. He was admitted into the centre six months ago.

Rewi Alley, born in New Zealand, has published 18 collections of poetry, including *Freshening Breeze*, *Snow Over the Pines* and *Winds of Change*. He has also

written many non-fiction works about China. In addition, Alley translated 11 books of poems, including those written by celebrated Tang Dynasty poets Li Bai, Du Fu and Bai Juyi. His most recent translation is *Light and Shadow Over the Highway*, a collection of poetry from more than 300 Chinese writers.

In many of his poems, Alley expresses his admiration for China's magnificent scenery and ancient history, and praises its modern socialist construction. He uses his poems as weapons to attack imperialism and hegemonism, and also to probe deeply into his own philosophy of life.

The noted Chinese poet Ai Qing said of Alley, "Whatever he

writes always coincides with the feelings of the Chinese. His wisdom and bravery originate from the people. He has won the respect of the Chinese people and progressive people the world over."

Rewi Alley said at the meeting, "My first appreciation of Chinese poetry came when my old Chinese teacher in Shanghai thought I should memorize a few classical poems. Their rhythm and cadence, their spirit and their pithiness all fascinated me, so that in later years when I began to put ideas and impressions into poetic form, I always remembered them. Going back on my brief trips to New Zealand I often thought of the 8th century poet He Zhizhang's lines:

A youngster when I left, and
now grown old I return;

still with my country dialect,
but with hair thinning;

none of the children know me,
and they laughingly ask,

'Traveller, where do you come
from?'

"Through the years of the Wars of Resistance and Liberation, I travelled over the country mainly by truck up and down hinter-land highways. As the trucks often had to halt for repairs, I would sit by the side of the road, and scribble poems; then when we started off again, stuff the bits of paper into my pocket. Later, at Sandan in Gansu, I began to collect some I had written and to publish them in New Zealand to sell for funds for the Bailie School.

"It was only after liberation that I realized how very important it was to interpret China abroad. So I started to write more in both prose and poetry as I travelled. Poetry, I found, was easily read and digested, though with poor sales appeal in most Western countries. Yet a surprisingly large number of people wrote to me asking for more of the same, especially poems."

He concluded, "One of China's gifts to me has been the idea of making one's life mean something to people, rather than letting the trivial things like the quest for fame, face or fortune dominate it. Fortunately, many years of my life in China have been spent mainly in close touch with the people in myriad villages amongst her hills and streams and over her wide plains, giving me a lasting inspiration."

Rewi Alley came to China in 1927, full of enthusiasm for the Chinese revolution. He screened underground workers, and supplied anti-Japanese troops and flood victims with grain, money and other materials. During the war years, he ran more than 2,000 small co-operative factories and the Bailie School to train professionals in industry. He was also one of the founders of the newspaper *The Voice of China*. He has lived in Beijing since 1955.

Chinese Scholars Do Well Abroad

Chinese scholars studying abroad have brought home many doctorates, awards, patents and inventions, according to a recent survey by the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Since 1978, the academy has sent more than 2,800 scholars and postgraduate students overseas, and of the half who have already returned, 1,211 were surveyed. Twenty per cent have come up with various innovations, 24 people have been awarded doctorates and 21 have applied for patent rights on the fruits of their foreign research projects. One has even been named Correspondence Academician of the Paris Institute of the History of International Science.

Hong Guofan, an assistant research fellow with the Shanghai Institute of Biochemistry, received

worldwide attention when he developed a non-random method of determining DNA's molecular structure while a visiting scholar at the Laboratory of Molecular Biology of the Cambridge Medical Council. Hong's discovery was cited as one of the world's 10 major achievements in 1982 by Chinese scientists and technicians, and he has since been promoted to research fellow by the academy.

Zhou Jinghua, an assistant research fellow with China's Acoustics Institute, accomplished a great deal in his research into ultrasonic theory and examination and testing skills while working on a co-operative research project at Stanford University in the United States. Zhou read or published 13 papers on the subject in various international symposia and American scientific journals.

Zhou Chaochen, an associate research fellow with China's Computer Institute, published four papers in less than two years of study at Britain's Oxford and Edinburgh Universities. His new theory of computer programme design outlined in the papers was called "a substantial contribution at the highest technical level" by the paper examiners.

Postgraduate Li Xinfu of the China University of Science and Technology studied for his doctorate in chemistry at Manchester University in Great Britain. There he discovered a stable model of a compound under the influence of the weak ligand field (an electrical field generated by the negative particles surrounding an atom). His findings were later confirmed by tests. Li received a prize for his doctorate dissertation, and was awarded his degree earlier than expected.

After returning home, all these scholars and postgraduate students have been active in the ranks of the academy's top scientists and technicians, opening new fields of research in China.

New Book on Mao's Philosophy

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Mao Zedong's philosophical ideas form the theoretical basis of Mao Zedong Thought. Many works have been published on this subject recently, reflecting the deeper and wider understanding careful study has yielded. Of these, the *Study of Mao Zedong's Philosophical Thought* (in Chinese), edited by Yang Huanzhang, Qin Xiyu and Mei Dai of the China People's University, is among the most comprehensive, and has been received very favourably.

The book outlines the basic content of Mao's philosophical thought, offers methods of studying it, and explains its formation, development, significance and outstanding features. Divided into 13 sections — Marxist philosophy, the actual and historical unity of the subjective and the objective, seeking truth from facts, a person's conscious dynamic role, practice, the masses, the process of development of cognition, truth, contradictions, the military, ethics, the arts, methods of thinking and ways of working — it systematically and comprehensively explains the

basic theories and practice of Mao Zedong's philosophical thought.

The book is also unique in highlighting the special characteristics of Mao's philosophy, both in structure and content, and in analysing the questions which it raises.

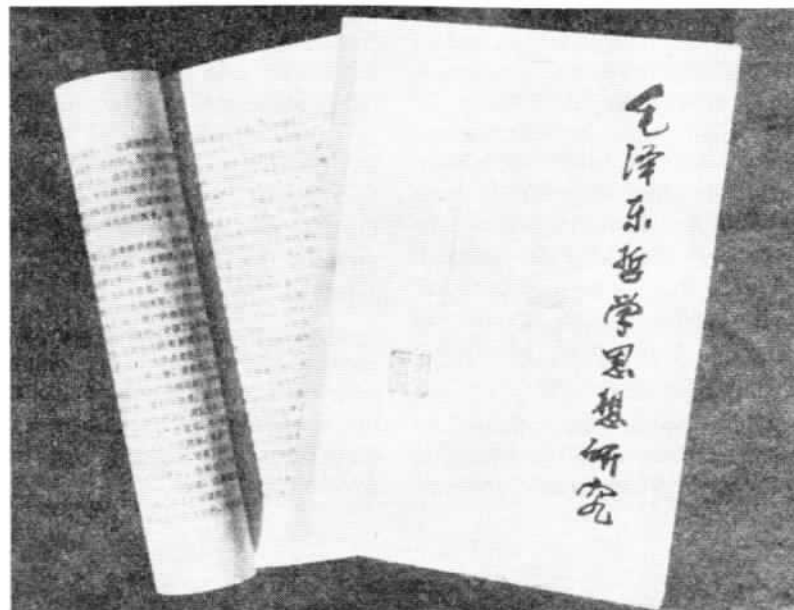
Because Mao Zedong's philosophy combines the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete experiences of the Chinese revolution, the integration of theory and practice is a distinctive feature of Mao's philosophical thought. Throughout the book, this question is dealt with. All the topics it touches on were originally faced by the Chinese Communists represented by Mao Zedong, as they tried to resolve the specific problems of the Chinese revolution with Marxist-Leninist stand, views and methods. In analysing these questions, the book integrates theory with practice and logic with history, giving its readers a better understanding both of Mao's philosophy and of the historical experience of China's revolution.

Another outstanding feature of Mao's philosophical thought is that it turns Marxist world outlook into methods of thinking and

working which are generally quite practical and can be easily understood by our cadres and people. The book closely links analyses of Mao's philosophical theories with the methods and style of work advocated by the Chinese Communist Party. This practical integration can help readers understand how the Party, basing itself on Mao's philosophical theories, formed its correct lines, principles and policies and established a fine style of work, with good methodology. It will also help readers see how Mao's ideas can be applied and developed in their everyday lives.

Because Mao comprehensively integrated the Marxist world outlook with the experiences of the Chinese revolution, each major topic in his philosophy embodies the unity of materialism and dialectics. Unlike many other works which generally elaborate the materialism, dialectics, epistemology and concept of history in Mao's philosophical thought separately, this book fully reflects the distinctive unity of all these concepts in Mao's ideas. It analyses and summarizes each question in many ways, according to the logic inherent in Mao's thinking. Each conclusion is derived from analyses, which, in turn, shed light on the conclusions. The readers can thus see the richness of Mao's philosophy as an integrated system.

Just like Mao Zedong Thought, Mao's philosophical thinking is a crystallization of collective wisdom. It combines the work of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and the struggle of the entire Party and all the Chinese people. While introducing Mao's thinking on each question raised, the book also analyses the relevant ideas of Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and other comrades.



New Year Pictures



Lei Feng and Children.
by Xu Fugen



A Lovely Child.
by Wang Lisuo



Ever-Lasting Spring.
by Zhang Qi

ART PAGE

Morning Sunshine Over
a Lotus Pond.
by Zhang Yumin

晨風映荷
張毓民



