

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

**The "Forbidden City"
Forbidden No More**

**US Policy Towards Taiwan
(1948-50)**

**BEIJING
REVIEW**



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

US Policy Towards Taiwan

A historical analysis of US involvement in China's internal strife which developed into a full-scale civil war in the late 1940s. The article reviews the role of US aid to Chiang Kai-shek, the subsequent US dilemma resulting from its attempt to separate Taiwan from China and the dispatch of the US Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan Strait in 1950. This well-documented essay sheds much light on the present US policy towards Taiwan which still constitutes a serious obstacle in Sino-US relations (pp. 15-20).

New Coalition Government In Kampuchea

The common desire of the Kampuchean people is to unite against the Vietnamese invasion. A *Renmin Ribao* Commentator greets the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (p. 9). The Declaration on the Formation of

a Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea spells out the purpose, tasks and operating principles as well as composition and operation of the coalition government (pp. 13-14).

Halt the Israeli Aggressors

China's Permanent Representative to the UN condemned Israel for its new acts of aggression against Lebanon. He analysed the motives of the Begin government as well as the ignominious role the US is playing in the present serious situation (p. 9).

Mounting Peace Movement In the West

With an intensified nuclear arms race between the two superpowers and continued economic recession as the background, a peace movement is gaining momentum in the West and its influence has been felt in the internal politics of some countries and the development

of some international events (p. 10).

"Forbidden City" Is Open To All

The former imperial palace has been transformed into a museum. Our correspondent provides a brief description of the government's efforts to preserve the palace and its valuable collection of art treasures. The article also depicts the present circumstances of some of its former residents (pp. 21-28).



Hall of Supreme Harmony in the Palace Museum.

Photo by Wang Donghai

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Angola

Is China willing to normalize its relations with Angola?

China is willing to normalize its relations with Angola. As early as during the Angolan people's struggle for national independence, China gave energetic support to all three of the country's liberation organizations — the People's Liberation Movement of Angola, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola and the Angolan National Liberation Front. When Angola was about to win independence, the Soviet Union thrust itself into the internal affairs of Angola, supporting one faction and opposing the other two, thereby aggravating the conflict be-

tween the three organizations. It was under those circumstances that China stopped its support to all parties.

Angola became an independent, sovereign country on November 11, 1975. The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, warmly congratulating the Angolan people and the Angolan liberation organizations on the occasion. At present, we maintain contact with the Angolan Government and have suggested normalizing relations between the two countries.

— International Editor Mu Youlin

Clarification of Terms

Sometimes you put "Left" in quotation marks. Other times you don't. Why?

We would like to clarify how we use the two terms. We use the word Left (without quotation marks) as a positive indicator of political inclination, meaning progressive or revolutionary. We use "Left" as a negative description of wrong tendencies such as adventurism in revolution which arises from an inability to distinguish between the various stages of social and political development.

For instance, we call Marxist Parties Left, and refer to Marxists as Leftists. In the 1930s, China's progressive writers' organization was called the League of Left-Wing Writers. Before liberation we referred to the progressive members of the Kuomintang as the Leftists in the Kuomintang.

On the other hand, in the mid-1930s, some people in our Communist Party headed by Wang Ming pushed an adventurist political and military policy and brought heavy losses to the revolutionary base areas and the Red Army. We call this a "Left" error. We also call many of the mistakes made during the "cultural revolution" "Left" errors.

However, because the gang of four pushed the "Left" errors to extremes in order to serve their own schemes, we call what they advocated ultra-Left policies.

In some historical documents, however, the words are used interchangeably. For instance, Zhou Enlai said in the article *Communist Party in Present Political Struggle*: "The Communists have always hoped that the Right-wingers would fully

grasp the meaning of democracy and gradually turn to the Left, and that loyal members of the Kuomintang would all become Left-wingers." Of course, it was used there in a commendatory sense.

In 1926, Liu Shaoqi said in the article *The Position of the Working Class in the Great Revolution and the Principles of the Workers Movement*: "The working class should urge the petty-bourgeoisie to move to the Left so as to remedy the latter's vacillating and conservative shortcomings." Again, Left clearly was used in a positive sense.

But both Zhou and Liu sometimes termed particular tendencies within the Party as Left when they were actually being quite critical.

In order to avoid any possible confusion that could arise from this lack of differentiation, after liberation in 1949 we adopted the practice in our publications of putting the term in quotation marks when it was used as a negative designation.

In the past few years, however, the terms have not always been used consistently. Sometimes the quotes have been omitted when the term was intended negatively, other times what should have been called "Left" was called ultra-Left. Recently the confusion has been brought to the public's attention by Chinese newspapers and other journals. In the future, the method that prevailed after liberation will again be strictly followed by Chinese publications, including *Beijing Review*.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

LETTERS

Improvements

Your magazine has improved. I can say this because I also have some copies of *Beijing Review* dating from the "cultural revolution." Your journal has turned from a subjective magazine which contained a lot of cliches, to an objective one which realistically depicts Chinese society and news and events about China and the world.

The layout of your magazine has also advanced. The cover is more eye-catching, especially since you placed photographs on it.

"Notes From the Editors" is one of the best things that ever happened to your magazine. I am sure a lot of readers like me find their questions about China answered in this section. "From the Chinese Press" is also a worthwhile column as it gives us foreign readers insights into China as reported in your newspapers.

Jose Bayani D. Baylon
Manila, the Philippines

Children's Well-Being

I found the section on "The Welfare of 300 Million Children" (issue No. 22, 1982) interesting. It would appear from reading this article that the younger generation play a vital role in the economy of the People's Republic. They are in turn well rewarded for their efforts, by mostly free maintenance in the fields of health, education and social needs. It is obvious that this system is beneficial to the country and a method which should be observed by other countries.

Jonathan Gordon Till
West Yorkshire, Britain

Egypt and the Arab World

I enjoyed the article on Egypt and the Arab world in issue No. 21 (May 24, 1982). I hope that if Egypt re-establishes relations with the other Arab countries, it will be able to mediate a peaceful solution between Israel and the Arab world.

I have enjoyed the foreign relations columns for they provide an insight into China's relations around the world.

If you could spotlight a third world country each week, it could prove interesting because the only coverage such countries get in the Western press consists of accounts of coups, wars, famines and other "sensational" news.

Peter Hunter
Ont., Canada

Income Tax Law Concerning Foreign Enterprises

The article which I found to be more informative is the one on the Detailed Rules and Regulations for the Implementation of the Income Tax Law of the People's Republic of China Concerning Foreign Enterprises (issue No. 14). It's good because it will let the foreign people know their left and right when they come to establish firms in China.

Eric K. Twumasi
Adansi, Ghana

Asian Perspective

It is indeed useful to read about global problems as they are seen by Asian people. It has been especially informative to see your views over the continuous expansion policy of the Soviet Union, a question which is too little spoken of here in Europe.

Tapani Havia
Muurla, Finland

Comments and Suggestions

I would like to mention two things which I would see more of in *Beijing Review*. The first is more articles dealing with the development of socialist democracy in China. For example, the articles about the workers' congresses were good. It would be interesting to learn more about how local government works and how officials are made accountable to the people. I am interested in this because I would like to learn from other people's experience in building socialism.

Second, I would like *Beijing Review* to have more articles about the struggles for national liberation going on around the world. Your coverage of Afghanistan and Kampuchea has been good but I feel that your coverage of the struggles in Latin America, particularly El Salvador and Guatemala, has been weak. For example, even though a civil war is

taking place in Guatemala with the military and moneyed interests on one side and the guerrillas and the people on the other, you fail to mention in your article "Guatemala From Election to Coup" (issue No. 14) that there is a guerrilla opposition.

Chris Campbell
Baltimore, Md., USA

Cover and Graphics

I am satisfied with the new front cover, especially the one of the first issue of 1982 which is more vivid than the old ones. The red colour you use is nice and it makes your magazine highly attractive to people in my country.

The drawings on the inside back cover are beautiful. The acknowledgement of the artists near their drawings is good. Please present more art in the future.

Paul Yeboah Konoboa
Adukbom-Akwapim, Ghana

I prefer the cover of issue No. 16. The photograph on the cover should take at least half of the page. I think, apart from the photos of scientific and technical workers, there should be photos reflecting other fields such as agriculture and education. Photos inside the magazine are clear and their layout is good.

Luis Jose Fernandez
Pola de Caviana, Spain

It is a great pleasure to see examples of art in China. For a time I wondered about the growth of visual arts and I am pleased to see the promotion of folk arts as well as more traditional water colour styles.

David Baldwin
Vancouver, Canada

Your cartoons are dull and are not well placed. The humour that decorates the inside back cover is so simplistic it makes people cross.

Bonald Picciotto
Arenzano, Italy

I enjoy looking at the *Beijing Review*, especially the art page that you have put inside the back cover. Perhaps you could even devote more of your review to the arts in China.

A reader
Alaska, USA

ECONOMIC

Steady Increase in Industrial Production

Heavy industry registered a marked rise in output during the first five months of this year compared to the same period of last year, while light industry continued its rapid growth and the energy industry overfulfilled its plan.

This was announced at a recent conference by the State Economic Commission.

China's industrial output value totalled more than 223,900 million yuan in the January-May period, 10.7 per cent more than in the same 1981 period. The output value of light industry rose by 11.9 per cent while that of heavy industry rose by 9.6 per cent. The proportion taken up by heavy industry in the country's total industrial output value was on the increase. Its output value in May outstripped that of light industry.

The output of steel, rolled steel, pig iron and 10 kinds of nonferrous metals increased month by month since the beginning of this year. Rolled steel output in the first five months was nearly half the annual plan. In the case of some heavy industrial products, supply used to exceed the demand, but now the demand has gone up, particularly following the expansion of the rural economy, and the demand for farm machines has been increasing.

Of the 100 major industrial products, the output of 81 rose in the January-May period over the same 1981 period. State-owned enterprises turned over

10 per cent more profits and revenue to the state than in the corresponding period of 1981, while production costs dropped by 0.2 per cent.

But, a leading member of the State Economic Commission called attention to the fact that the backlog of some products has gone up, energy consumption has been excessive and safety measures also must be improved.

Improvement in economic results continues to be the focus of industrial production in the second half of this year. To this end, the commission has called for the following measures:

- Strengthen market surveys and control the production of those products in excessive supply;

- Improve commodity circulation and promote sales in the urban and rural areas; meet the increasing demand of the peasants for consumer goods following the rise in their living standards;

- Continue to economize on the use of energy;

- Streamline the enterprises and improve their management.

New Ways to Hit The Road

Double-tracking and electrification of rail lines, new railways and wharves and dredging the Grand Canal are among the major planned improvements of China's transportation systems. The measures were outlined by Guo Hongtao, adviser to the State Economic Commission at a recent meeting.

Guo said that a comprehensive land and water network is taking shape after 30 years

construction in the country. By 1981, a total of 1.25 million kilometres land and water routes were available, 7.7 times greater than before liberation. But transportation and communications are still a weak link in the national economy.

The main problems are: an acute shortage of transport facilities in the coal-producing bases; an inadequate handling capacity of the harbours along the coast for either internal or external transportation and inadequate passenger transport.

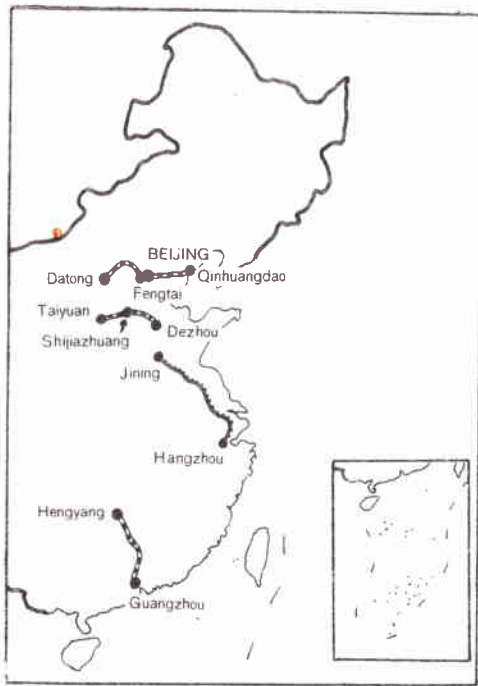
To rectify this situation, he suggested that numerous new rails be laid parallel to existing ones so traffic can move both directions, while others will be electrified. These measures will facilitate coal transport from the major producing areas of Shanxi and Henan Provinces as well as from Ningxia and Inner Mongolia.

Improvements will be made on the Beijing-Qinhuangdao railway line, the Fengtai-Datong, Shijiazhuang-Taiyuan and Shijiazhuang-Dezhou railway lines. Guangzhou-Hengyang section of the north-south trunk line, the Beijing-Guangzhou railway line, and parts of the east-west trunk line will be double-tracked or electrified.

Other measures include:

- Building new wharves and expanding the merchant fleets for inland river navigation and coastal and ocean-going shipping;

- Electrification of the Guizhou-Kunming railway in remote southwest China, building a few railway sections there and improving navigation along the Xijiang River, a major tributary of the Zhujiang (Pearl) River;



— Start dredging this year the 830-kilometre southern section of the Grand Canal from Jining in Shandong Province to Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province, with the long-term goal of making the whole section navigable all the year round;

— Using larger railway freight cars for transporting coal; using larger trucks, and producing refrigerator cars and cars for container traffic;

— Raising the coal dressing capacity which will in turn help ease the tension in the transportation of coal; and

— Increasing the daily flights and passenger-carrying capacity of the domestic airlines.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Greeting 12th Congress Of the LCY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 26 sent a message to the League of Communists of

Yugoslavia, warmly greeting the convocation of its 12th Congress.

The message noted that with the great Marxist Comrade Josip Broz Tito as its outstanding leader, the LCY has won great victories in the cause of revolution and socialism in Yugoslavia during the past 60 years.

The message praised the LCY for upholding national independence, opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and safeguarding world peace and for its devotion to the defence of the principles of the non-aligned movement and its support to the struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples.

The message also lauded the LCY for its irreconcilable struggle in defence of the fundamental norms of independence and total equality which govern the relations between the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The message noted that during recent years mutual understanding between the two Parties, two countries and two peoples has been deepened continuously, their friendship enhanced and their relations of co-operation have expanded.

The message expressed the conviction that the blossoms of revolutionary friendship between the two Parties, two countries and two peoples will bear solid fruits in their common struggles in the future.

A delegation of the Communist Party of China led by Peng Zhen, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, attended the 12th Congress. President Dusan Dragosavac and Secretary Dobroslav Culafic of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCY received the Chinese delegation on separate occasions.

Maltese Prime Minister Visits China

Prime Minister Dominic Mintoff of the Republic of Malta paid an official visit to China from June 24 to 30.

Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping met with Prime Minister Mintoff on June 29. Premier Zhao Ziyang gave a banquet in honour of the Maltese guests and held talks with Mintoff. They exchanged views on major international issues of common concern, the situation in the Mediterranean area in particular, and on the further development of bilateral relations.

International Issues. Zhao Ziyang said that the Chinese and Maltese Governments share similar views on many major international questions.

Referring to the Middle East situation, Zhao Ziyang strongly condemned Israel for continuing to escalate its military invasion, besieging and bombarding Beirut and recklessly killing the Lebanese and Palestinian people. He said: "The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Lebanese, Palestinian and other Arab people in their just struggle to resist Israeli aggression. We are willing to join all other peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples in the endeavour to stop Israeli invasion, compel Israel to withdraw its troops from Lebanon, support the just cause of the Palestinian and other Arab people and safeguard peace in the Middle East."

Prime Minister Mintoff spoke of the situation in the Mediterranean, the Maltese Government's foreign policy and its views on some international questions. He said that Malta



Prime Minister Mintoff, accompanied by Premier Zhao, greets the cheering children at the welcoming ceremony.

will do its part to safeguard peace in the Mediterranean area.

Premier Zhao said that the Chinese Government and people resolutely support the policy of neutrality and non-alignment pursued by the Maltese Government and its just position of safeguarding peace and security in the Mediterranean.

Zhao Ziyang pointed out that from the long-term point of view, it is mainly the strength of the third world countries that will decide the future of the world, despite the fact that the two superpowers are attempting to dominate the world. Therefore, he added, the strengthening of unity among the third world countries is the most reliable guarantee in maintaining world peace. Premier Zhao reiterated that China will not change its fundamental policy to strengthen unity and co-operation with the third world countries, oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace.

Sino-Maltese Relations. During the talks, both sides expressed

satisfaction with the development of friendly relations between the two countries since the establishment of diplomatic relations 10 years ago. They held that to continue to develop such relations is beneficial to the two peoples. They also explored new channels of expanding bilateral economic and technical co-operation.

Prime Minister Mintoff visited a shipyard in northeast China's port city of Dalian and a marine products company there.

Chinese Scientists Receive Foreign Honours

A number of Chinese scientists have received honours from foreign academic institutions for outstanding contributions in their fields over the last few years.

Mathematician Hua Luogeng, director of both the Mathematics Institute and the Applied Mathematics Institute, was elected on April 27 this year a foreign academician of the

US National Academy of Sciences.

Physiologist Feng Depei, Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, was elected an honorary member of the Canadian Physiological Society in 1979; in 1981 he was elected a regents professor of the regents board of the University of California and a fellow of the University College, London.

Physicist Huang Kun, director of the Institute of Semiconductors of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, was invited to become a foreign member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1980.

Professor Guo Kexin, deputy director of the Institute of Metal Research, was invited to become a foreign member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Engineering in 1980.

Professor Wang Dezhao, director of the Institute of Acoustics, was awarded a silver medal in 1980 by the Group of French Speaking Acousticians (GALF) for his outstanding achievements in acoustics research and education.

Professor Zhang Xiangtong, director of the Shanghai Institute of Brain Research, was invited in 1980 to become a Fogarty International scholar, at the Fogarty International Centre, US Department of Human Resources (formerly Health, Education and Welfare).

Botanist Wu Zhengyi, director of the Kunming Institute of Botany, was accepted as a member of the American Botanical Society in 1980

Gong Zutong, director of the Xian Institute of Optics and Fine Machinery, received a photosonics achievement award

from the American Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers in 1981 in recognition of his outstanding contribution to high-speed photography and optical instruments.

Metal physicist Ge Tingsui, vice-president of the Hefei Branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, was invited to become a corresponding member of the Lyons Institute for French-Chinese Exchange for his contributions to the Sino-French academic exchanges.

There are many other middle-aged and young Chinese scientists who were invited to become members or council members of foreign scientific institutions.

CULTURAL

“Gentle Breeze and Sunshine” Predicted For Creativity

Members of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles in Beijing recently underscored the duty of Chinese writers and artists to use their own works to promote communist ideology.

At a Beijing meeting last month, some 400 writers, dramatists, film makers and other artists from across the country reviewed developments in the past few years and exchanged views on literary and art theories and policies. At the closing ceremony held on June 25, they adopted an 8-point pact spelling out the guidelines for writers and artists. They called on their colleagues to make strict demands on themselves in accordance with communist ideology, style and moral standards, and to strive to be true

engineers of the human soul. The gist of the pact follows:

- Uphold Party leadership, the socialist orientation and other basic Marxist principles, adhere to the policy of “letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend” so as to bring about the flourishing of literature and art, and wholeheartedly serve the people and socialism;

- Conscientiously study revolutionary theory and knowledge, go deep among the masses and become one with them;

- Improve artistic skills and constantly learn from outstanding cultural achievements, both present and past, Chinese and foreign. Create works of a high ideological and artistic level and with distinct national characteristics to meet the people’s needs;

- Listen modestly to people’s criticisms and have the courage to uphold the truth and correct mistakes;

- Advocate modesty and prudence and combat arrogance and complacency;

- Consciously resist bourgeois and feudal ideas and other corrosive malpractices;

- Promote criticism and self-criticism, mutual assistance and unity among fellow writers and artists;

- Enthusiastically support the newborn forces to bring about the rapid expansion of the ranks of socialist writers and artists.

Established on the eve of the founding of New China in 1949, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles is composed of the Chinese Writers’ Association, Chinese Dramatists’ Association, Chinese Musicians’ Association, Chinese Artists’ Association, Chinese Film Work-

ers’ Association, Chinese Dancers’ Association, Chinese Ballad Singers’ Association, China Society for the Study of Folk Literature and Art, Chinese Photographic Society, Chinese Acrobats’ Association and Chinese Calligraphers’ Association. These national associations now have a total membership of 16,194. Their branches in the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have an even greater membership.

The national committee of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles is composed of the most outstanding and influential personages from various literary and art spheres. Zhou Yang, 74, a literary theoretician, is its chairman.

The meeting agreed to use the expression “gentle breeze and sunshine” to describe the present atmosphere of creativity for writers and artists. The meeting affirmed that the situation in literature and art is excellent. Large numbers of new people and new works have emerged in various spheres, the quality of works has noticeably improved, and literary criticisms have become more lively.

The meeting emphasized the need to continue combating the influence of “Left” mistakes and looked forward to strengthened and improved Party leadership over literature and art. It expressed the clear-cut stand to struggle against the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. It reaffirmed the continued enforcement of China’s open policy towards foreign countries in literary and art activities and the implementation of Chairman Mao’s principle of “making foreign things serve China.”

Greeting Kampuchea's New Coalition Government

LEADERS of three Kampuchean patriotic forces formally signed a Joint Declaration on the Formation of a Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on June 22 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. This is a major development in the Kampuchean people's struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors. The Chinese people heartily rejoice at this and offer their congratulations.

Unity Against Enemy

A united struggle against the Vietnamese invasion is the common desire of the Kampuchean people. With Soviet support, the Vietnamese authorities have invaded and occupied Kampuchea, unscrupulously trampling on its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. As a result, the Kampuchean people are faced with genocide. Therefore, resisting the Vietnamese invasion and defending the nation's existence is the common objective and task of all the patriotic Kampuchean people. Unity provides strength. Building unity, jointly fighting against the enemy and driving them out of their territory are the sacred tasks of all the patriotic Kampuchean forces.

Since 1979, when the Democratic Kampuchean Government advocated a joint resistance against the Vietnamese aggressors, it has taken the initiative to meet and consult with other patriotic Kampuchean forces many times in an effort to bring about a coalition. Thanks to the common efforts of all the patriotic forces, a

Declaration on the Formation of a Coalition Government has been signed.

The Kampuchean people's resistance against Viet Nam has not only provided a safeguard for the independence and survival of their nation, but also made a significant contribution to checking the aggression and

expansion of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, the bigger and lesser hegemonic powers, and to maintaining peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world. Many peace-loving and justice-upholding countries have expressed their appreciation and support for the realization of the aspirations and efforts to form a joint anti-Vietnamese resistance force of the three Kampuchean patriotic factions. The five ASEAN nations have devoted efforts to bringing about

Israel Must Halt Its Aggression Against Lebanon

ISRAEL must immediately halt its aggression against Lebanon and unconditionally withdraw all its troops from Lebanon," stated Ling Qing, China's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the June 26 Seventh Emergency Special Session of the UN General Assembly.

"This massive armed aggression against Lebanon has been premeditated by the Israeli authorities," said Ling Qing. "Taking advantage of the present international situation, they attempt to write off the Palestinian people's struggle for their right to national self-determination and perpetuate Israel's armed occupation of the West Bank, the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip by smashing the Palestine Liberation Organization's bases in Lebanon and annihilating the armed forces of the PLO. It is also their intention to put Lebanon in the Israeli sphere of influence and undermine the unity of the Arab people."

He pointed out that the United States vetoed two Security Council draft resolutions condemning Israel and calling for its withdrawal.

"The United States has actively supported Israel to attain its strategic objective in Lebanon and, therefore, bears the unshirkable responsibility for the serious situation in the Middle East resulting from the Israeli aggression against Lebanon," he said.

Ling Qing also said, "The Chinese Government has consistently held that Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967 and the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the rights to return to their homeland, to national self-determination and to set up their own state, must be restored."

The Chinese representative expressed the hope that the Arab people will strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle to achieve a just and reasonable settlement of the Middle East question.

In a resolution adopted on the same day, the General Assembly demanded that Israel immediately stop fighting and withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally from Lebanon.

such a coalition. The signing by the three Kampuchean patriotic forces of the Declaration on the Formation of a Coalition Government constitutes a heavy blow to Hanoi's scheme to legalize their Phnom Penh puppet regime.

Prime Task of the Coalition

The Declaration on the Formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea points out: The purpose of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is "to mobilize all efforts in the common struggle to liberate Kampuchea from the Vietnamese aggressors with the view to restoring the motherland as a sovereign and independent country." It says: "The workings of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea shall be guided by the principles of tripartism, equality and non-preponderance." This clearly shows that to unite with all patriotic anti-Vietnamese forces and strengthen the Kampuchean people's struggle against Viet Nam is the primary task of the coalition government. The declaration will encourage and promote unity among all the Kampuchean patriotic forces on the basis of the principles to be abided by all and the common commitments. It will also enable them to strike more effectively at the Vietnamese aggressors so that the Kampuchean people will win early victory in their struggle for safeguarding state sovereignty and national independence.

The Chinese people have always supported the Kampuchean people's struggle and stood for unity against the common enemy by all factions of the Kampuchean patriotic forces. The future of the Kampuchean state lies in the hands

of the Kampuchean people. It is our hope that with the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, all the Kampuchean patriotic forces will take the overall situation into account, strengthen unity and mobilize all capabil-

ities to fight the common enemy, thereby making their contributions to the Kampuchean people's war of resistance against Vietnamese aggression.

— "Renmin Ribao" Commentator (June 25)

Mounting Peace Movement In the West

THE peace movement has recently gained popularity in the West. It has converged into a powerful rejection of the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States.

As the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament is being held in New York, 600,000 people demonstrated on June 12 in support of the peace and disarmament. On the same day, smaller demonstrations were conducted in Boston and other American cities.

During President Reagan's visit to Western Europe and NATO's summit, demonstrations were conducted in Paris, Rome, London and Bonn. Over one million people participated. They demanded a suspension of the arms race and dismantling nuclear weapons in Europe. In Tokyo, hundreds of thousands of Japanese people took part in an anti-nuclear demonstration in late May.

The huge peace demonstrations have generated a sensation in Western political circles and attracted significant public attention.

Directed at the Superpowers

The peace movement is chiefly directed at the two superpowers, opposing their large-scale

nuclear arms race and trying to avert a nuclear war. West German demonstrators oppose the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe.

Those participating in the peace movement in Europe and the United States include unem-



On June 20, more than 200,000 people participated in the largest peaceful demonstration held in Paris, France during recent years.

ployed workers, distinguished public figures, housewives, politicians, servicemen, religious leaders and ecologists.

Although numerous political attitudes are embraced by those who support the movement, most of them oppose the nuclear priorities of the United States and the Soviet Union. Some lay emphasis on opposition to the United States, some on the Soviet Union, and some believe Europe should maintain "neutrality" between the Soviet Union and the United States; some demand common disarmament by East and West; unilateral disarmament has also been suggested. Some pacifists display slogans which recommend begging for peace. Given this diversity, it is difficult to summarize the nature of the movement. Nevertheless, the majority clearly opposes nuclear arms expansion and nuclear war.

The peace movement's political influence should not be underestimated. It is influencing the internal politics of some countries and the development of some international events. For example, the movement has influenced the Soviet Union and the United States to agree to renegotiate the issue of limiting strategic nuclear weapons.

The Movement's Background

The intensified nuclear arms race between the two superpowers constitutes the political background which give rise to the peace movement. Years of continued economic recession in the West are also responsible. Take Western Europe for example. A serious stalemate between the two big military blocs exists in this small "European peninsula," which has the most concentrated array of nuclear

weapons. Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles in recent years has altered the military balance in Europe and engendered a new round of the arms race. Europeans are frightened by US comments about a "limited nuclear war" in Europe. They fear Europe will become a nuclear war testing ground as a result of superpower conflicts. On the other hand, the broad masses who live under economic recession are unwilling to be victimized by deployment of US missiles and additional military expenditures. Therefore, they pour into the streets to shout "Brezhnev, Reagan, give us peace" and "We want work but not missiles."

The US Government has criticized the peace movement, and

suggested that it is a plot engineered by the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the Soviet Union is making gestures of "sympathy" and "support" in order to free itself from a difficult position. At the same time, it is attempting to develop an image of peace in order to influence the movement.

However, development of peace movement is independent of either superpower's will. As a result, the United States has to consider the sentiments of the masses. But the wishful thinking of the Soviet Union is doomed to fail. For everyone knows that the two superpowers constitute the most significant threat to world peace.

— Ma Weimin

Superpowers' Fierce Recriminations On Disarmament

THE war of words between the two superpowers has become fiercer with the speeches delivered at the UN Special Session on Disarmament by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and US President Ronald Reagan.

Immediately after Reagan spoke at the special session, the Soviet mass media attacked him as a "world dictator," saying his speech was "not constructive

and at the same time antagonistic" and "incompatible with his status." His "high-sounding" statement is "no more than a sophistry which goes completely against objective criteria." Such virulent Soviet attacks on Reagan by name are rare in the recent period.

The US President said in his speech on June 17 that the United States is "deeply concerned by Soviet conduct." He



charged the Soviet Union with a "record of tyranny," including "aggression and support for violence around the world." "The decade of so-called detente witnessed the most massive Soviet buildup of military power in history," he noted.

Reagan Asserts US Sincerity

As for the United States, Reagan avoided mentioning the US policy of war and aggression. Instead, he said, "America has no territorial ambitions, we occupy no countries," and "we were never the aggressors."

Refuting Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's boast about Moscow's disarmament proposals, Reagan said, "Since the end of World War II, the United States has been leader in serious disarmament and arms control proposals."

While the United States "exercised unilateral restraint," Reagan said, the Soviet Union "forged ahead and today possesses nuclear and conventional forces far in excess of an adequate deterrent capability."

Reagan's remarks on the question of who is the defender of world peace and who is pursuing expansionism aroused strong counter-charges from the Soviet Union.

Soviet Counter-Charge

In a signed article published on June 18, the Soviet official news agency TASS did not mention the massive Soviet military buildup and its expansionist policy, especially its occupation of Afghanistan and its support for Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea. It made this counter-charge: "The entire history of development of American imperialism has been inseparably linked with foreign

expansion . . . in the period after the end of World War II to the end of 1975, the United States started armed conflicts, resorted to force or threatened to use force on 215 occasions."

"So the raging conflicts and aggression which the US President sees everywhere in the world are, in considerable measure, the result of the United States' aggressive foreign policy course," the article said.

On the question of disarmament, another TASS article said that Reagan's statement about the United States' exercise of "restraint" was so far from reality that it probably deserved no attention. In fact, the article said, "the Reagan administration plans to spend 1,500 billion dollars on war preparations in the next five years. This figure almost equals the military spendings by all the NATO member countries in a decade."

On June 21, Gromyko criticized the United States' disarmament proposal at a news conference in New York. He said that the number of nuclear warheads carried by US nuclear submarines is three times that of the Soviet Union, and the United States' strategic air force outnumbered the Soviet Union by several times. The Soviet Union can not accept the United States' stand, he said, because this would mean the balance of strategic forces would turn to the advantage of the United States.

On June 20, the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* carried a commentary, saying: "Just remove the mask from Washington's plan on strategic armaments and one will find that it is directed at undercutting the security of the other side and at keeping a free hand for the re-

alization of their own military programmes." If the US President wants to conduct negotiations with the Soviet Union with these ideas in mind, *Pravda* stressed, "success will hardly be possible at the negotiations."

Door Still Open

Although the Soviet Union launched vehement attacks on Reagan's speech, this does not mean Moscow does not want to talk with Washington, especially to have a summit meeting between Brezhnev and Reagan. Chief of the Department of International Propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Zamyatin revealed the feelings of the Soviet leaders when he recently spoke to correspondents of the American magazine *Time*. He said the graver the situation is, the more important it becomes for the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to conduct a dialogue, and that no matter how critical their relations, the fine line between the two sides cannot afford to be torn up. As for the United States, it has repeatedly indicated, like the Soviet Union, it will continue to pursue its dual tactics: while going on with its military buildup, it will leave the door open for negotiation.

— Xin Zhong



Declaration on the Formation of a Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea

Leaders of the three Kampuchean resistance forces Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Khieu Samphan and Son Sann signed in Kuala Lumpur on June 22, 1982, a declaration on the formation of a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea. The full text of the declaration reads as follows:

HIS Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, His Excellency Mr. Son Sann and His Excellency Mr. Khieu Samphan, in pursuance of their joint statement made in Singapore on 4 September, 1981, have agreed to form a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea.

Purpose:

The purpose of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is:

1. To mobilize all efforts in the common struggle to liberate Kampuchea from the Vietnamese aggressors with the view to restoring the motherland as a sovereign and independent country.
2. To bring about the implementation of the declaration of the international conference

on Kampuchea and other relevant United Nations General Assembly resolutions.

Operating Principles:

1. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is under the legitimacy and framework of the state of Democratic Kampuchea which is a member state of the United Nations. To this end, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will strive to defend the Democratic Kampuchean seat in the United Nations.
2. Each participating party in the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea shall retain its own organization, political identity and freedom of action, including the right to receive and dispose of international aids specifically granted it. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea shall have no right to take any decision infringing or restricting this autonomy.
3. The workings of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea shall be guided by the principles of tripartism, equality and non-preponderance.



Leaders of the three Kampuchean resistance forces signing the declaration.

4. The operation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea shall be governed by the principle of consensus applicable to matters of importance and relating to:

(1) The settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

(2) International treaties or agreements.

(3) The appointment of important delegations such as those in charge of discussing the settlement of the problem of Kampuchea.

(4) The eventual modification of the structure or composition of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

(5) The appointment of ambassadors or representatives of Democratic Kampuchea in diplomatic affairs. No question of change of ambassadors or representatives of Democratic Kampuchea currently in office should be raised in the period of six months following the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

5. Any decision or activity of any party in violation of the above provisions is null and void.

Composition and Operation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea:

The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will be administered by a council of ministers. In accordance with the principles of tripartism, equality and non-preponderance, the council will comprise an inner cabinet and a number of co-ordination committees.

1. The Inner Cabinet consists of:

(1) President of Democratic Kampuchea:
Samdech Norodom Sihanouk

(2) Vice-President of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of foreign affairs:
H. E. Mr. Khieu Samphan

(3) Prime Minister:
H. E. Mr. Son Sann

2. Co-ordination Committees are established in the following areas:

(1) Finance and economy

(2) Defence

(3) Culture and education

(4) Health and social affairs

Each Co-ordination Committee will be chaired by three appointees of ministerial rank representing the three participating parties. These ministerial posts in the Co-ordination Committees, however, do not constitute any part of the Inner Cabinet, and are subordinated to it.

The Council of Ministers of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will convene regular meetings inside Kampuchea. Extraordinary meetings can also be convened when urgent problems present themselves. Meetings are convened by the President, Vice-President, or Prime Minister of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and presided over in the same order of precedence by the three members of the Inner Cabinet.

The Inner Cabinet of the Council of Ministers will be entrusted with the responsibility of preserving the existence of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which includes the discussion and settlement of differences arising over the interpretation and/or implementation of the operating principles governing the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. In the event of failure, the presidents of three participating parties will be requested to meet to work out a solution.

In accordance with the above-mentioned operating principles, each of the three participating parties reserves the right to its freedom of action so as to ensure its own continuity, in the event that an impasse has developed which renders the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea inoperative. In this case the current state of Democratic Kampuchea led by H. E. Mr. Khieu Samphan will have the right to resume its activities as the sole legal and legitimate state of Kampuchea and as a member state of the United Nations in order to ensure the continuity of the state of Democratic Kampuchea. □

US Policy Towards Taiwan (1948-50)

by Zi Zhongyun

- During the crucial period between the latter half of 1948 and the end of 1949 when the Chinese revolution was forging ahead victoriously, the United States first aided the Chiang Kai-shek clique in fighting a civil war in China and then attempted to separate Taiwan from China's mainland by using various pretexts and formulas and thus found itself in an inextricable contradictory position. This stems from its policy-makers' lack of a sense of the times: in the mid-20th century they continued to use the power politics of the 19th century.

- Between late 1949 and early 1950, there was a heated debate within US ruling circles over the question of whether they should continue their assistance to the Chiang Kai-shek clique which had retreated to Taiwan. Hard pressed by the situation, they once contemplated a "disengagement" policy, but it was never put into practice. In June 1950, using the Korean war as an excuse, the United States sent its Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan Strait and thereby began nearly 20 years of using direct US armed force to prevent the reunification of Chinese territory. It is entirely because of US expansionist policy that there remains "Taiwan issue" in Sino-US relations.

- Shortly after the signing of the communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, the US Government passed the "Taiwan Relations Act." While declaring readiness to value its relations with China, the United States is unwilling to stop interfering in China's internal affairs. As a result, US policy towards China is enmeshed in a dilemma. How will Sino-US relations develop in the future depends on whether US policy-makers will draw a historical lesson and catch up with the times.

Following is the first part of this article, the second part will be published in our next issue. — Ed.

EVER since the earth-shaking changes took place on the age-old territory of China, giving birth to a new people's republic, US policy towards China's Taiwan Province has become one of the major issues impeding the normalization of the Sino-US relationship. With the advance of history and the change of the situation in the last 30 years, China and the United States have established diplomatic relations. However, the US attitude towards Taiwan remains a hidden rock on the navigation route of Sino-US relations which presents the ship with the danger of running aground at any time. Given these circumstances, a review of US policy-makers' considerations over the question of Taiwan during the period between

the end of 1948 and the first half of 1950 when the Chinese revolution was advancing victoriously may be of greater significance than just to provide lovers of history with some interesting materials.

A Brief Retrospect

After the Opium War in 1840, the United States, under the slogan of "equal participation" in advantages, entered China following Britain's gunboats and progressively gained the same privileges in China as those enjoyed by other powers. After the conclusion of its first unequal treaty with China, the Treaty of Wanghia (Wangxia), the United States began to covet Taiwan because the island had rich coal mines and its location on the route between California and Xiamen could serve as an ideal transfer station and supply depot for US merchant ships. In the 1850s, some US merchants and of-

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officials in the Far East urged the US Government to seize Taiwan by means of forced purchase or military occupation, or to force the Qing government to open a number of trading ports¹ in Taiwan. But at that time the United States was too busy expanding and consolidating its spheres of influence on the American continent to give much attention to the Western Pacific. Nevertheless, it still engaged in illegal trade at a few ports on Taiwan Island by taking advantage of the opportunity when the corrupt and decrepit Qing government was engaged in suppressing the peasant uprisings of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. In 1858, British-French allied forces invaded China and forced the Qing government to conclude the Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin). As a result, a few more trading ports were opened, including Taiwanfu (Tainan) and Danshui on Taiwan Island. The United States again obtained its advantage through "equal participation."

After the Civil War, capitalism developed rapidly in the United States and its overseas expansion gained momentum. As Lenin pointed out, the last 30-plus years of the 19th century was a period of transition to the new era of imperialism. During this period, the imperialist powers were locked in a fierce struggle for domination of the Pacific islands. And the United States began to harbour a growing ambition for the Far Eastern region. The United States, Britain and Japan contended against and colluded with each other over Taiwan. During the 1860s, the US consul general Legendre in Xiamen, taking the opportunity of a US merchant ship running aground near Taiwan, went deep into Taiwan Island to carry out an investigation. He subsequently wrote a report urging the US State Department to take action over Taiwan. US consul general Issac Allen in Xianggang (Hongkong) frankly admitted that his main point of departure was the "acquisition of this great island by our government."² During the 1870s, Legendre assisted Japan in its attack against Taiwan and in invading and occupying the Ryukyu Islands.³ Particularly after the outbreak of the unprecedented economic crises that swept Europe and America in the early 1890s, many wealthy US merchants and politicians cried out in alarm: "New markets and new opportunities for investment must be found . . . if the entire fabric of the present economic order is not to be shaken by a social revolution."⁴ Since then, the United States started actively developing its naval forces and vigorously expanding into the Western Pacific. It

occupied Hawaii in 1893, unleashed the US-Spanish War and captured the Philippines in 1898. It formally put forward the "open-door" policy towards China in 1899 and thus joined the other imperialist powers in the struggle for the division of China. But in 1895, Taiwan was exclusively occupied by Japan. As a result, US and Japanese forces began to experience conflicting interests in the Pacific.

After the Pearl Harbour incident in 1941, Japan used Taiwan as a base from which to attack US possessions in the Pacific. This posed a grave threat to the United States. It was against this background that the Cairo conference was held in 1943 among China, the United States and Britain. At the conference, the United States expressed the view that Taiwan belonged to China. The famous Cairo Declaration jointly published by the three countries stipulated that Chinese territory, including northeast China, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands under Japanese occupation, should be returned to China. The Roosevelt administration then intended to establish military bases in Taiwan after World War II.⁵ As the United States conceived it, most of China's territory, Taiwan included, which were under the Kuomintang rule, would come within the US sphere of influence after the war, and China could be a "buffer zone" containing the Soviet Union and a potential market for US commodities and capital as well as an important raw material base. Therefore, while it hoped that China would remain a superficially independent big nation with relative political and economic stability, it did not wish to see China truly independent and strong enough to free itself from dependence on the United States. The US proposal for returning Taiwan to China enabled it to assume the posture of respecting China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, deprive Japan of an important stronghold, thereby eliminating Japan's influence and make Taiwan serve US strategic and economic interests. It was an idea that could kill three birds with one stone, why not go ahead with it?

However, China's realities were independent of US will. After World War II, the people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party dashed the wishful calculations of the United States. Therefore, the aim of US postwar policy towards China was to give all-out support to the Chiang Kai-shek regime and prevent the Chinese revolution from winning victory. For this the United States has paid a heavy price.

Failure Followed by New Efforts

After Japan's surrender, the United States first gave the Kuomintang great help in order that the latter "might get to them (strategic points) ahead of the Communists"⁶ and "establish its authority over as wide areas of China as possible."⁷ After sending General Marshall to carry out a biased "mediation,"⁸ it went all out to supply Chiang Kai-shek with money, guns and advisers to fight the civil war and spared no effort to prop up the Kuomintang rule. But as Dean Acheson put it, "Nothing that this country did or has done within the reasonable limits of its capabilities could have changed the result (of the Chinese civil war)."⁹ From the latter half of 1948, the Chinese People's Liberation Army began a strategic counter-offensive and the Kuomintang suffered one defeat after another. Early in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek performed an act of abdicating his seat to Li Zongren and at the same time transferred a huge quantity of gold, foreign exchange and munitions to Taiwan. He evidently intended to entrench himself in Taiwan and hold on with US assistance, without giving up, of course, his slogan of "staging a comeback to the mainland."

At that point, those within the US Government with a sense of reality noted that US policy designed to prevent the Chinese Communist Party from winning victory was already bankrupt so far as China's mainland is concerned. Many a US diplomat in China pointed out that the downfall of the Kuomintang was determined by its corrupt system and that if the United States continued its aid to Chiang Kai-shek, it would lose prestige and inevitably be accused of "strengthening a decadent feudalistic regime and thus meddling in China's internal affairs,"¹⁰ and of "prolonging the agony of the civil war and of pursuing imperialistic ends in defiance of the clearly expressed wishes of the Chinese people."¹¹ They vehemently stated that "it would be immoral to foist a rotten, unpopular government on the Chinese people; it would be worse than a crime, it would be stupid, to pursue our present aid policy."¹² Given these circumstances, the United States had no alternative but to start adopting a policy of "disengagement" from the civil war on China's mainland and to refrain from committing itself to a "losing cause" so as to maintain its initiative and flexibility of action in the future. Regarding recognition of the new Chinese Government, the

United States was in a state of uncertainty and adopted a wait-and-see attitude. As a much-quoted saying by Acheson goes, the policy was "wait until the dust settles."¹³ But its attitude towards Taiwan was quite another thing. It was from that time on that the United States sought to divide Taiwan from China's mainland.

Between December 1948 and March 1949, US Joint Chiefs of Staff, the State Department, the White House National Security Council and other policy-making organs repeatedly studied and discussed policy towards Taiwan. Their consensus was that Taiwan was of great importance to US strategy in the Western Pacific. Because: (1) Loss to the United States of availability of strategically valuable areas of China would enhance the strategical position of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands which could be used as wartime bases for strategic air operations when necessary and for the control of adjacent shipping routes; (2) "Unfriendly" control of these islands would result, in case of war, in an "enemy capability" of dominating the sea routes between Japan and the Malay area and of extending its control to the Ryukyu Islands and the Philippines; (3) Taiwan was the primary source of supplies of food and other materials to Japan; if this source was cut off, Japan would prove to be of more a liability than an asset to the United States. Therefore, "the basic aim of the US should be to deny Formosa and the Pescadores to the Communists. **The most practical means for accomplishing this at the present time is by isolating those islands from the mainland of China.**"¹⁴ (Emphasis is the author's, the same below).

In implementing this policy, the first problem facing the United States was that it had signed the solemn international agreements—the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Proclamation, and had committed itself to the return of Taiwan to China. Now if it broke its promise, how could it justify itself legally and morally? For this, the United States came out with the following thesis: Because no peace treaty had been signed with Japan, Taiwan was still legally part of the Japanese empire. The policy which the US had followed since V-J day was one of recognizing Chinese de facto control over the islands. Now the situation had changed, the Kuomintang government which previously exercised "perfunctory" sovereignty over the island proved itself to be incapable of continuing its rule and unqualified to hold power. Therefore, the question concerning the status of Taiwan

could only be finally solved after the signing of a peace treaty with Japan.¹⁵ Thus, the United States concocted the notion that the status of Taiwan had not been decided, using this as an excuse to justify its perfidious actions.

Another question was, from the political point of view, how could it justify its attempt to separate Taiwan from China. The United States had all along used the following logic to justify its involvement in China's civil war: the Chinese Communist Party was "controlled" by the Soviet Union and its victory would inevitably turn China into a Soviet "satellite." So the same logic was used in regard to its attitude towards Taiwan. It declared that if Taiwan should fall into the hands of the Chinese Communist Party, it would amount to a military base for the Soviet Union in the Pacific and thereby present a menace to the security of the United States. Some people simply used such words: "If Formosa is lost to the Communists, which means to the Russians" when they referred to the possibility of the liberation of Taiwan. Some Americans might have genuinely believed such an absurd myth out of ignorance and prejudice; but for US policy-makers, it was a convenient excuse. Informed American officials knew full well that "if we had any right to aid Nationalist China against the Chinese Communists, it could only be on the basis of defence against Soviet aggression, for otherwise it would be intervention in Chinese internal affairs."¹⁶ Acheson himself said on an occasion of internal discussion: "We must accept as fact. . . . Mao is not a true satellite in that he came to power by his own efforts and was not installed in office by the Soviet army."¹⁷ It can thus be seen that the notion that the Chinese Communist Party was controlled by the Soviet Union was just another excuse for the United States.

Under the cover of these two excuses, the United States deemed itself free to go ahead with its attempt to carve up China's territory.

Caught in a Dilemma

How to materialize this attempt? On the eve of the overall victory of the Chinese people's Liberation War on China's mainland, the United States contemplated the following choices:

1. Direct involvement of the United States.

It could be either direct military occupation of Taiwan by the United States or obtain-

ing US extra-territorial and base rights in Taiwan through negotiation with the Kuomintang, or treating Taiwan as part of the Japanese empire and temporarily placing it under the custody of the Supreme Command of Allied Powers (i.e., under General MacArthur), till the birth in Taiwan of a "future legitimate government true (to the) real intent of the Cairo Declaration" (actually it should read "true to the real intent of the United States").¹⁸

But each of the above practices was too blatant for the United States. For one thing, it surmised that the remnant Kuomintang government would not agree to it in defiance of universal condemnation unless *in extremis*. Furthermore, the United States had not given up its intention of waging a political war in liberated China to win popular support. And a brazen occupation of China's territory could only enable "the Communist Party to mobilize the entire Chinese people against US imperialism." Moreover, it would tarnish the US image in the world and leave it on the defensive in the United Nations. State Secretary Acheson said that the United States should avoid raising an "American created irredentist issue" just at a time when it was seeking to exploit the Chinese people's anti-Soviet sentiments because of Soviet practices in Xinjiang and the northeast. Therefore, said he, "If our present policy is to have any hope for successes in Formosa, we must **carefully conceal our wish to separate the island from the mainland control.**"¹⁹ He was strongly in favour of economic and diplomatic means and against making a show of military force.

Meantime, the White House asked the US Joint Chiefs of Staff to consider whether the use of military means was practicable and worthwhile if diplomatic and economic steps proved insufficient to deny Communist domination of Taiwan. The answer was: Such a situation would lead to the necessity for relatively major efforts in Taiwan, and "the current disparity between our military strength and our many global obligations makes it inadvisable to undertake the employment of armed force in Formosa." Viewed from the point of military strategy, although Taiwan was important, it was not considered to be directly vital to US national security like some European countries, say, Iceland, and therefore "any overt military commitment in Formosa would be unwise at this time."²⁰

So, being politically undesirable and militarily unfeasible, this choice was dropped.

2. "To support continued local non-Communist Chinese control" of the island to prevent Communist domination and discourage the influx of Kuomintang remnants to Taiwan.

As for "local non-Communist Chinese," the most desirable for the United States would be a local political force other than the Kuomintang, which advocated "self-government" and "independence" of Taiwan. The United States would support it to form a government under US aegis, which would then declare separation of Taiwan from the mainland. Actually, US diplomats in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong), Nanjing and Shanghai did make contacts with numerous representatives of organizations which professed to be anti-Communist and advocated "self-government" of Taiwan. However, they failed to find any organized force or personality that could prove to be of some influence. The conclusion was that although people in Taiwan were universally dissatisfied with the rule of the Kuomintang which came from the mainland, they were "without political experience or strong leadership."²¹ So, while continuing to keep an eye on and prepare to make use of a Taiwan autonomous movement whenever possible, the United States had to shelve this plan.

Its second choice was to replace the Chiang Kai-shek clique with people within the Kuomintang who were more acceptable according to US standard, had a more liberal image, and were less notorious among the masses. Such people in power would be more easily manipulated by the United States. Therefore, after Chiang Kai-shek abdicated, the United States offered him a visit to the United States, and when he first prepared to go to Taiwan, tried to dissuade him on the ground that the status of Taiwan was legally undecided.²² It also attempted to influence the choice of governor for Taiwan Province. But all these attempts ended in failure. The United States found that Chiang Kai-shek held power in his hands so closely that there was no way to "get around the generalissimo" and that, like it or not, it had to deal with him.

3. Separate Taiwan from China in one way or another through the United Nations.

The State Department repeatedly proposed that the United States should work through the United Nations, when it could still control the organization, to put Taiwan under either US or UN trusteeship or to realize self-government of Taiwan. For instance, when the situation became critical, the United States would request,

through other countries, that the United Nations interfere under the pretext of peace being threatened and then arrange a plebiscite under UN supervision to determine the status of Taiwan. Or, the request could be raised by the Kuomintang authorities and/or a Taiwan independent movement at the United Nations. The United Nations might also be requested to convene a special session where the United States could issue a statement expressing the view that because the Chinese authorities had misgoverned Taiwan, they had "forfeited the right to a perfunctory confirmation of sovereignty" over Taiwan. The statement would also suggest that the people of Taiwan had the right to decide through secret ballot whether Taiwan should return to the mainland or be temporarily put under trusteeship before it acquired independence.²³

These formulas were naturally very appealing to the United States. But, since it deemed it necessary to conceal its intentions, it did not want to take actions publicly by itself. As for other major Western countries such as Britain and France, although they were quite interested in this idea, they were not ready to stand out and act for the United States on this issue. On the contrary, Britain sent several messages to the United States expressing "concern" about continuous US deliverance of tanks and artillery to the Kuomintang in Taiwan for fear that once Taiwan was liberated, the weapons would fall into the hands of the Communist Party and would be used to deal with Xianggang (Hongkong).²⁴

Chiang Kai-shek, on his part, did not agree with the US proposals. He maintained that war between the United States and the Soviet Union was inevitable and was hoping for a third world war which would help him realize his dream of "recovering the mainland." Therefore, he was against the idea of separating Taiwan from the mainland. Instead, he requested the United States to regard him as the representative of all China and give him all-out support. In a public statement made in March 1949, Wang Shijie, former foreign minister of the Kuomintang government who had just retired, said that Taiwan was a "restored territory," not a "military occupation area" and that China had absolute sovereignty over its foreign and domestic matters. The Treaty of Shimonoseki was nullified by Chinese declaration of war against Japan in 1941. Taiwan had been legally reverted to China and then was physically acquired from the Japanese army at the end of the

war. This statement was actually a refutation of the US thesis that "the status of Taiwan was undecided" and could not be unheeded by the United States.²⁵

Besides, the United States noted that if the decision, even though adopted by the United Nations, met with resistance from any side, the United Nations had no armed force to enforce it. If an armed force was organized in the name of the United Nations, the main burden would fall on the United States and, militarily, that would not be much different from US military dispatching troops alone, an option which had already been rejected by the US military establishment. If a decision could not be put into effect, the United Nations would lose its prestige.²⁶

Although the United States did not abandon the notion of controlling Taiwan through the United Nations, it has never dared, nor been able, to put the idea into practice.

4. Continued support for the Kuomintang.

As was mentioned above, those US officials familiar with the situation repeatedly pointed out that the complete failure of the Kuomintang on the mainland resulted not from the lack of US aid, but from its own corruption and incompetence. In his report to the Department of the Army in November 1948, General Barr, leader of the Joint US Advisory Group to China, said: "No battle has been lost since my arrival due to lack of ammunition or equipment."²⁷ A State Department document also pointed out: Since the Kuomintang took over Taiwan after World War II, it has "displayed a genius for misgovernment."²⁸ The undemocratic political practices of the Kuomintang and the grabbing by "carpet-baggers" from the mainland aroused deep resentment among the local people. The influx of people from the mainland threw the economy of Taiwan into further chaos. If the United States should continue to give all-out support to the Chiang Kai-shek clique which had no hope for victory, it would mean loss of prestige and of any chance for flexible policies. Moreover, to assist the Kuomintang ruling clique in its move to Taiwan as requested and recognize it as representing all China would inevitably arouse strong resentment of all the people in Taiwan against the United States, and make it completely discredited both on China's mainland and in Taiwan.

On the other hand, the United States did not want to see the collapse of the Kuomintang in the whole of China. So it continued its as-

sistance to Chiang Kai-shek, permitting him to use US funds to buy munitions. With regard to Taiwan, the United States tried hard to avoid giving people the impression that it supported the Kuomintang government's move to the island. It gave the latter economic assistance through the "Economic Co-operation Administration" and was careful to use "aid" in places where it could be directly felt by the people of Taiwan. The United States did not make any promises in regard to the Kuomintang's repeated requests for sending again military advisory groups because it wanted to avoid undertaking an open commitment, but it allowed retired US officers to be hired as advisers in private capacity. In addition, the United States formally asked Chiang Kai-shek and other principal Kuomintang figures to change their practices, to introduce "political reform" in Taiwan and to restrict the influx of people from the mainland into Taiwan as the conditions for more US "aid." At the same time, it continued to carry out diplomatic activities in the hope that the Taiwan question could be finally brought up at the United Nations.²⁹

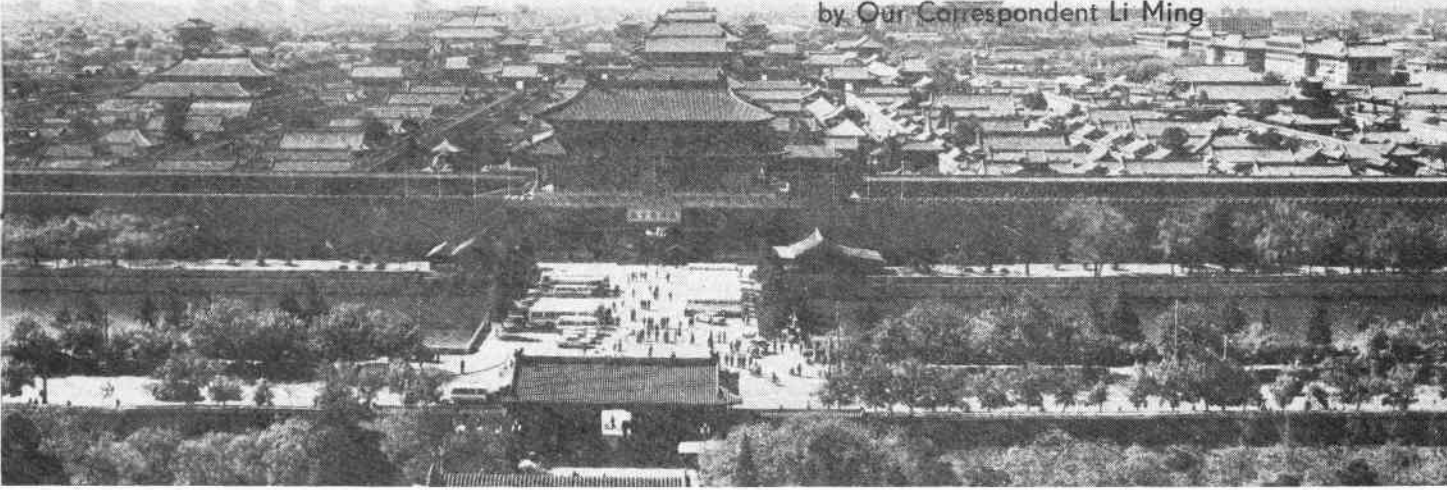
With the development of the Chinese revolution, the United States sensed the imminent possibility of Taiwan falling into the hands of the Communist Party, so after June 1949, several reappraisals of policy towards Taiwan were made, particularly on the feasibility and desirability of resorting to military forces when and if other methods proved ineffective. As a result of these studies, the conclusion of the military quarters remained by and large unchanged: US ability fell short of its wishes; the State Department believed the political price was too heavy and, therefore, not worthwhile. So the United States could not but take the fourth choice which was adopted under a helpless state. The White House National Security Council admitted that the "choice is not between satisfactory or unsatisfactory courses of action but rather of the least of several evils or an amalgam of the lesser of them."³⁰

In short, the United States was fully aware that if it tied itself with a reactionary regime destined for defeat, it would become discredited and be bogged down in a hopeless position; yet, it could not make up its mind to end its aid to Chiang Kai-shek. It harboured a strong ambition over Taiwan, but at the same time tried hard to conceal it. While it was afraid to arouse the hostility of the entire Chinese people, it spared no efforts in doing things detrimental

(Continued on p. 28.)

Former "Forbidden City": It Belongs to the People

by Our Correspondent Li Ming



The meticulous attention to the Palace Museum, the largest historical museum in China, symbolizes the policy of the Chinese Government concerning the preservation of historical relics. The following reports review the vicissitude the Palace Museum has undergone. — Ed.

Efficient Management

ONCE known as the Forbidden City, the Palace Museum is a site of China's court history as well as a museum of ancient Chinese culture and art. Since the beginning of the 15th century, feudal emperors asserted their rule over the nation and administered day-to-day work. It was the residence for 24 emperors of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) Dynasties.

In 1961, the Palace Museum, renamed so after the Qing court was toppled in the Revolution of 1911, was listed by the People's Government as one of China's key historical sites and relics.

Protecting Ancient Buildings

With all its splendour as the largest exhibition of traditional

Chinese architecture, this awesome complex is one of the world's largest classic engineering wonders.

It sprawls 720,000 square metres in the centre of Beijing. A wall 10 metres high and a moat 52 metres wide, make it an enclave within an enclave. No common person could cross into its inner reaches before liberation. Hence the name Forbidden City.

Majestic halls tower over the 9,000 royal courtyards and rooms. Both in layout and scale, this architectural giant was designed to satisfy the emperor's overweening vanity. All the major halls are positioned along the north-south axis of the palace, which is also the axis of the city of Beijing.

The halls are roofed with gold-coloured glazed tiles, a symbol of "all-mightiness." The expanse of tiles above the brilliant, multi-coloured eaves and the walls painted royal red create a breathtaking sight. Outlined against the blue sky, the scene evokes all the legendary mystery and grandeur of feudal China.

The complex is a crystallization of an architecture nurtured through the long years of feudalism. Many of the structures are imitations of those depicted in Chinese mythology. The imposing Hall of Supreme Harmony, where major royal ceremonies were held during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, stands on three layers of marble, eight metres high, with a balustrade also made of snow-white marble. This foundation rarely seen in ancient architecture was a replica of the kind of altar in the legendary Sumenu Mountain which Buddhism regards as the centre of the world. Set off by a 30,000-square-metre promenade in the front, the unmatched



A glimpse of the Palace Museum.

ostentatiousness of this 35-metre-high hall is shown to best advantage.

Four exquisite watch towers are poised gracefully on the corners of the walls surrounding the palace grounds. Their seemingly innumerable corners, up-turned eaves and golden roofs are a feast to the eyes. Not a single pillar was used to support these 17-metre-high towers. Probably to inspire the impression that the emperors were living in a wonderland, their designs were borrowed from river-side buildings popular in traditional Chinese paintings of the Song Dynasty and the palace of the moon in fairy tales.

Visitors are impressed by the multifarious forms of the roofs of all the halls and palaces. Colourful decorations adorn both sides of the eaves. The way the buildings were spaced

and grouped is extraordinary. All these manifest the acme of perfection of classic Chinese architecture, known for its distinctive tradition and styles. The construction of such a gigantic royal courtyard under the social conditions of the time itself bears witness to the ingenuity and creativity of the Chinese labouring people.

Unbelievably, the Palace Museum had fallen into an appalling state of dilapidation before liberation.

It came under the protection of the People's Government after 1949. Huge quantities of garbage piled there since the late Qing Dynasty was carted away, trees that had been allowed to grow through the roofs of buildings were removed, structures that had either tumbled down or decayed were rebuilt according to original blueprints, and many halls

were refurbished and repainted. Kilns were built to produce necessary replacement tiles. Through the sweat of a 400-strong engineering team under the museum's department in charge of the tremendous repair and upkeep work, all the halls, the imperial living quarters and the royal garden were restored to their former glory.

Low Entrance Charge

"It is not the property of emperors any more; it belongs to the people," said the Palace Museum's 75-year-old deputy curator Shan Shiyuan, a seasoned expert in classic architecture. This graduate from the history department of Beijing University has worked at the Palace Museum since 1925. "We work here on behalf of the 1,000 million Chinese people—that is why we should take good care of the museum and make it serve the people."

For this reason, the entrance fee is an affordable 0.1 yuan. The museum could not survive on the income from entrance charges. The government provides whatever sums needed for the restoration and preservation of the buildings and the artifacts stored there.

"It is our hope that the future generations will never forget history. We are duty-bound to protect this rare treasure house of Chinese history, so that we can hand it down to posterity," Shan said.

A staff of 1,300 works for the Palace Museum. About 500 are either preserving and restoring the ancient structures, ceramics, paintings and other treasures or researching into them, some serve as hosts for visitors and the others publish a jour-

nal for historians across the land.

Delicate Artifacts

No effort has been spared to preserve the valuable historical relics and objets d'art housed in the Palace Museum. "These artifacts require even more demanding conditions than human beings need," said Zheng Qiuzhen, vice-director of the department in charge of the preservation of historical relics. "A man can only live 100 years or so, whereas these artifacts will survive for thousands of years." Some of the paintings, for example, have a history of 1,000 years.

A warehouse was established in the Forbidden City during the Ming Dynasty. Today, Zheng Qiuzhen's department combines traditional methods with advanced foreign technology to protect the historical relics stored there. The inside of the warehouse has been refurbished without changing its outward appearance and thermostats have been installed. Fifteen psychrometers monitor the humidity inside the warehouse. Plans have been worked out to build a new, modern warehouse.

Artifacts stored in the warehouse are under the watchful eyes of security guards. Without special permission, even the curator himself is not allowed in.

When the "cultural revolution" came, the museum staff had to stop working for six years, but they managed to keep all the artifacts and structures in good condition. In 1966, when words came that "red guards" wanted to storm into the museum, the late Premier Zhou Enlai immediately ordered that it be closed. He sent over a 300-strong battal-

ion of PLA soldiers, who protected the museum from destruction during those traumatic years.

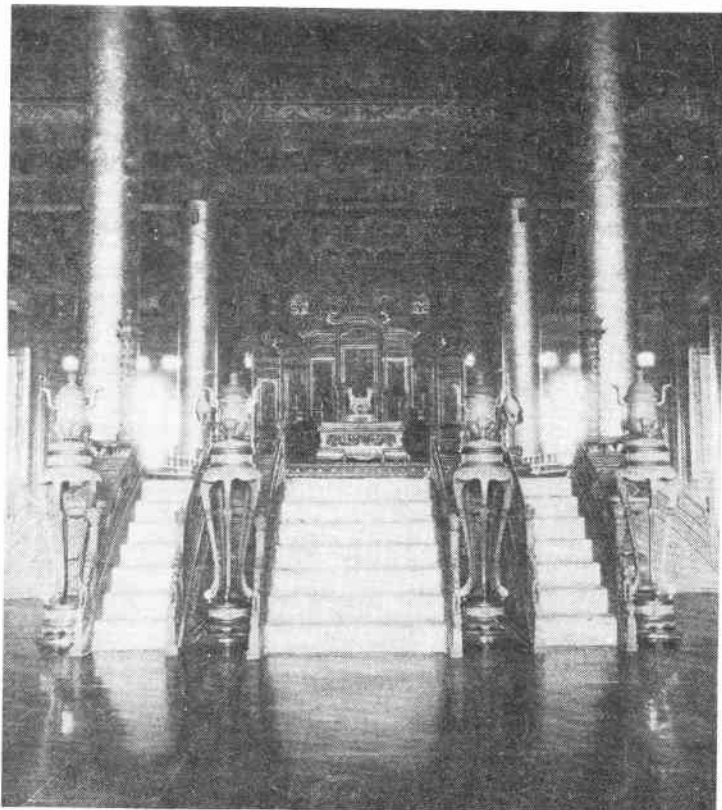
An Irresistible Attraction

THE Palace Museum's remarkable halls and superb collection of treasures are enough to attract the thousands who flock to it every day. It is now divided into many sections displaying ceramics, arts of the various dynasties, paintings, treasures and the original furnishings of the royal household. In the hall where the emperors held court sessions, the elaborately carved and engraved throne remains, complete with tripods, incense burners and screens used for major ceremonies. The interior of the emperors' living quarters, bedroom for newlywed royal couples and the living area for the queens and the imperial concubines all look the same as in bygone

days. The exquisite furniture, utensils, and decorations are evidence of the extravagant life of the feudal rulers.

The museum owns a huge collection of articles used every day by emperors and empresses, including decorations and curios made of gold, silver, pearl and precious stone. Their elegant designs and superb workmanship symbolize the wisdom of the Chinese labouring people; they are also historical teaching materials on the court life of feudal emperors.

Because of the low entrance fee, the number of visitors the Palace Museum receives in a single day now almost equals



The throne in the Hall of Supreme Harmony, where the emperors held court sessions.

what it was for a whole year before liberation. It received 6.7 million visitors in 1981 alone. This did not include those who were admitted without tickets such as children less than a metre high and participants in academic meetings.

The museum has a special department to receive visitors, explain displays and welcome foreign guests. It was not necessary to have such a department before liberation because, said department vice-director Wang Jingfu, there were very few visitors. The labouring people had neither the time (because they had to work long hours to make ends meet) nor the money for the 4 yuan of an entrance ticket, worth 20 kilogrammes of wheat flour at the time.

Property of the People

On an ordinary day, most visitors appear to be from outside Beijing. From their style of dress and mannerisms, it is evident that quite a few are peasants and workers. This indicates that, with improved living standards, people can now afford sightseeing trips. It also shows that the former imperial

palace has become the property of the entire labouring people.

Typical were three sun-tanned young commune women from Laishui County, Hebei Province, who had saved up their money to travel to Beijing. "I saw pictures of the Palace Museum before. I longed to come. Now I'm overjoyed to be visiting it," said Zhang Chunhui in an easy manner. The other two shyly nodded their agreement.

Aibai and Yilixiati, two Uygur youths from Xinjiang, were copying designs from the mosaic of the stones on the walks in the imperial gardens. They said they were collecting ideas for their work as carpet designers. When asked about their deepest impression of the palace, Aibai said: "This is my first visit here. I'm very excited. I'm most impressed by the well-preserved cultural relics in the Palace Museum."

Zhang Kexin, a middle-aged policeman from Hunan Province in southern China, had been a PLA member who was stationed in the Palace Museum when Beijing was just liberated in 1949. He said that there was a world of difference between

the present and the old Palace Museum. "Many of the buildings in the palace complex were completely dilapidated then. Now they have been refurbished," he noted.

Foreign Visitors

Foreign visitors to the Palace Museum, number 6 million in all, are universally impressed by its grandeur, its elegance and its sheer size.

"It's fantastic," said Peter Maag, a SWISSAIR flight attendant on a stopover from his native country of Switzerland. "I've been in Beijing twice and have visited the museum both times. I hope I'll come back pretty often," he said.

Two Texas oilmen who travelled to China on business, John Huff and Jack Jurkoshek, echoed each other's first response to seeing the museum. "Spectacular," they said. "It's as impressive as the Parthenon and the Pyramids," said Huff, naming other of the world's greatest artistic and historical attractions he had visited.

"I read about it in a guidebook before I came today," said Dr. Lawrence Fishbein of the US National Centre for Toxicological Research in Jefferson, Arkansas. "But no guidebook can prepare you for the incredible ornateness and vastness of the museum." Dr. Fishbein, a visiting lecturer at the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences, said: "There is no question that the museum is representative of China's contributions to the world treasure house of arts."

Australians Lawry Scully and Margaret Lockyer had been in Beijing for 12 hours when *Beijing Review* met them, but their tour had already taken them to the museum. They both said that they liked many things about the museum and that they were most impressed by the



Hebei country girls chatting with "Beijing Review" staff correspondent during their visit to the museum.

dimensions of the palace. "Its scale is just amazing," said Lockyer.

Many Japanese, Scandinavians and overseas Chinese ap-

peared to have the same feeling. Snapping photographs, gazing in awe at the structures and relics, they really seemed to be enjoying themselves.

"Cultural Relics Hospital"

THE museum operates a factory that conducts all of its relics restoration work. Housed in an inconspicuous western courtyard where the emperors accommodated concubines they didn't like, it employs about 100 craftsmen. Most of the rarities on display in the exhibition halls were repaired there. The restoration work can be very intense, with the craftsmen working long, concentrated hours to offset the decay caused by time and exposure. Hence the nickname "Cultural Relics Hospital."

The factory director is a very capable woman named Cai Ruifen. According to her, the factory had its origins in a small group of master craftsmen who were brought together in 1954. In 1960, the museum gathered together the best craftsmen from Shanghai and Suzhou and the group was expanded to include four workshops—the painting, copying and mounting workshop, the jade objects and jewellery restoration workshop, the bronze ware workshop and the clocks and antique furniture repairing workshop.

Many paintings and cultural relics are in extremely bad shape. A silk painting and some silk books of 2,000 years old found in a tomb at Mawangdui in Changsha in 1972 were rushed to the "hospital" for care as soon as they were unearthed. The silk painting was nearly decayed while the silk books, due to the dampness inside the mound, had stuck together like

hard bricks. They all needed intensive care.

Over the past 28 years, the factory has mended and mounted thousands of paintings and repaired large amounts of jewellery, bronze and lacquer ware. Some priceless ancient paintings have been copied so that the originals can be kept in the storehouse and the reproductions be exhibited.

Meticulous Care

In the room for copying ancient paintings, eight young people bend quietly over big easels. Every piece they copy is rare. The earliest of their recent undertakings were two paintings from the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.).

The copying room is an example of the museum's policy of constantly training young artisans to replace the old.

Chen Linzhai, 70, is one of the few older craftsmen in this workshop. In his half-century career, he has copied more than 40 ancient paintings. The most complicated one was the *Night Feast of Han Xizai* by Gu Hongzhong. He made 1,667 drafts and finally successfully achieved the colours and drawing techniques of the original. It is an artistic rarity.

At present, there are two other masters from Chen Linzhai's generation still working. All the others are young people of about 30 years old.

The work demands meticulousness. The originals are laid

in specially made glass frames with transparent papers for copying the main lines, which are then recopied on to *xuan* paper and painted with colours. Special techniques are applied to make the copies appear ancient. Usually, it requires two years or longer to finish one painting.

The factory stipulates that the original scrolls can be unfolded only by veteran artists, not the apprentices. On one rare occasion, Chen Linzhai opened up the 8-metre-long *Imitation of Gu Kaizhi's "Goddess Luo"* painted during the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), revealing the masterwork itself as well as the annotations at the end of the masterpiece brushed by Qing Emperor Qian Long (1711-1799 A.D.).

Young artists are chosen principally through tests of their drawing techniques. Under the careful scrutiny of the masters, their talents are nurtured and developed. At the 1980 ancient painting exhibition in Xianggang (Hongkong), many exhibits were their works.

Young People Mature With The Help of Veterans

Only 1 per cent of the vast holdings of the museum are currently on display. Many other pieces require extensive restoration.

A typical task for the lacquer ware group was a seriously damaged piece, a large round red container with a diameter of 80 centimetres, which has been restored recently. The exquisite carving on it had fallen off because of dampness. A young worker who repaired this former palace treasure worked under the guidance of Chen Zhensheng, a veteran technician.



Zhang Wenqing repairing an artifact.

Chen said that before liberation, the condition of lacquer ware in the Palace Museum was very bad because it did not receive proper protection. After liberation, some veteran masters were organized to repair and renovate all of the best lacquer work. Chen proudly displayed photographs of the lacquer work the artists have restored.

Today none of the masters who were so crucial to the restoration work in early post-liberation days (some of whom had worked for the Qing imperial court) are still living. But, their skills are thriving, Chen said. He, himself, did his apprenticeship under the old masters. Today he has taken up the responsibility to train young people for the work.

Zhang Wenqing, 59, another veteran master, has been working on a miniature Buddhist pagoda, carved out of a piece of *lapis lazuli*. Adorning the pagoda are more than 100 large pearls, rubies, sapphires, turquoise pieces and cat's eyes. The pillars and the base are cast in pure gold. It is one of the many treasures Pu Yi (1906-67), the last emperor of the

Qing Dynasty, removed from the palace. Later, it was sold to a bank. After liberation, the government reclaimed this priceless treasure. It will be displayed in the jewellery exhibition hall when the repairs are finished.

Master Zhang has a female apprentice who was formerly a narrator in the museum. As her skills have developed, she has been assigned more difficult tasks. This year she has been repairing a plate of fruits made of precious stones—several persimmons the size of duck eggs made of red agate, water chestnuts carved out of ivory and pitched black as well as leaves carved out of turquoise. Several of these fruit plates sit on a large green lotus leaf made of wood, which is called a hanging screen. In the palace, the fruits on the hanging screen were changed with the changes

of seasons. "This particular hanging screen was probably for the autumn because persimmons are only ripe in that season," she said.

She thinks that in addition to learning from the veteran masters, one must make use of one's own imagination in repairing the palace articles. Some of the treasures were falling apart when they arrived at the repair workshop and some have parts missing. Repair work is based on historical records. But when those are lacking, one can only depend on one's own resources. She said: "I am very happy when I see treasures which were seriously damaged are sent for exhibition after we have repaired them." Many relics currently on display in the jewellery exhibition hall were repaired by Zhang Wenqing and his apprentices.

Former Residents of the Imperial Palace

THREE years after Pu Yi, China's last emperor, came to the throne, the 1911 Revolution overthrew the imperial system. The five-year-old emperor was forced to abdicate.

However, he occupied most of the imperial palace for another 13 years. It was not until 1924 that he was moved out. Only then did he free the remaining 470 imperial eunuchs and 100 palace maids and moved into his father's princely mansion with his wife and imperial concubine.

After that, the Forbidden City was no longer banned to the public.

Earning His Own Living

In his autobiography *From Emperor to Citizen*, Pu Yi detailed his experiences. He was

imprisoned for 10 years for his collaboration with the Japanese imperialists.

This former emperor, who in the past relied on others to put on his clothing, was changed into a new person earning his own living through labour and studying during his imprisonment. When he was released in 1959, he was assigned a job in the Institute of Botany under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Because his wife Wan Rong died in 1945, he married again. He lived 61 years and died of cancer in 1967.

Many members of his family still live in China. Except that one of his younger brothers and one sister died in their early childhood, his other two younger brothers and six sisters are all in good health. Pu Jie, one of his younger brothers who



Pu Jie at work.

read with him in the Forbidden City, now works for the Research Society of Cultural and Historical Data of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He takes part in gathering and collating materials on China's modern history. He goes to his office twice a week, and spends the rest of his time working at home, participating in various kinds of social activities, or meeting with relatives and friends. As his wife is Japanese, he has often guests from Japan. Pu Jie spends his after-work hours practising calligraphy and tending flowers and trees.

In 1978, Pu Jie was elected a deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress.

Pu Yi's other younger brother and his seventh younger sister are both teachers. His sixth sister is a painter at the Beijing Academy of Paintings. His fifth sister, who had never touched a pair of scissors when young, later became a tailor. She is now a retired worker. His third younger sister, who studied in Japan and married Wan Rong's brother, has become a social activist and a member of Beijing's Dong-

cheng district committee of the CPPCC.

All members of the former royal family, who lived within the walls of the Forbidden City and squandered more than 280 million taels of silver taken from the labouring people each year, have now turned into ordinary labourers who earn their own living. This cannot be omitted as a new chapter in the history of the Forbidden City.

The Former Eunuchs

A large number of imperial servants also lived in the Forbidden City in its heyday.

Two of the former eunuchs who served China's last imperial court are still alive. Their experiences constitute a vivid description of the history of the Forbidden City.

The two live in Beijing's Guanghua Temple, which has a peaceful and secluded environment and a history of more than 700 years.

Sun Yaoting, 81, is the son of a

peasant in Jinghai County in north China's Hebei Province. His family was so poor that his parents had to send him into the imperial court to be a eunuch.

The emperor's palace was entirely a new world for Sun. "I was completely amazed when I first stepped in the Forbidden City," Sun recalled. "I felt dizzy and even lost my sense of direction."

At first he served two chief eunuchs. Later he studied book-keeping. Then, he was assigned to serve Duan Kang, a favourite concubine of Emperor Guangxu (1871-1908) and Pu Yi's wife Wan Rong.

In November 1924, Sun and other 400-odd eunuchs followed the imperial family as it walked out of the Shenwu Gate, the last gate of the Forbidden City. "Emperor Pu Yi and Empress Wan Rong wept and many eunuchs, including myself, wept, too," Sun said.

"However," Sun added, "we did not cry for the collapse of the last feudal imperial dynasty but for our own unforeseeable future."

Many of the palace maids were able to marry later, but most of the eunuchs became homeless. A large number sought refuge in the Qinglong



Sun Yaoting.

SPECIAL FEATURE PALACE MUSEUM

Temple in Beijing. At that time, Sun Yaoting could only make a living by picking unburned briquettes and orange peel. He suffered from cold in the winter. When he was ill, he could not afford to see a doctor. He said feelingly: "To tell the truth, I would have died a long time ago if it were not for liberation."

After liberation, the government organized the eunuchs who lived in various temples in Beijing and issued them life subsidies according to their different economic conditions.

After 1957, many of them got jobs either as workers or peasants.

Sun became a book-keeper and worked in the temple's administrative office. His monthly income is 50 yuan. Now, he has two rooms and eats his meals in the temple's canteen. He enjoys free medical care and gets his milk and newspapers regularly. His clothes are washed by the temple's laundry service.

Sun does not feel lonely. He has adopted one of his younger brother's sons. His adopted son

works at the Beijing International Airport and visits the old man often, usually accompanied by his wife.

Since liberation, Sun has gone to the Palace Museum many times, but as a master of the state not a slave of the imperial court. As a living witness to the history of the Forbidden City, many friends and relatives respect him and ask him to show them around the palace. He is anxious to tell them about his miserable life in the past as well as his happy life today.

(Continued from p. 20.)

to the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation. It wanted to preserve its international image and loathed to be accused of imperialism, but it flagrantly tore up international agreements, disregarded the norms of international relations and wilfully tried to divide the territory of a sovereign state. Political, economic and diplomatic means turned out to be ineffective, while military force fell short of its objectives. All through the period between the latter half of 1948 and the end of 1949, US policy towards Taiwan was enmeshed in contradictions and caught in a dilemma.

(To be continued.)

NOTES:

1. Sophia Su-Fei Yen: *Taiwan in China's Foreign Relation*, pp. 59-73.
2. Ibid. p. 129.
3. Fan Wenlan: *An Outline of Chinese History*, p. 234.
4. (William Appleman Williams: *Large Corporation and American Foreign Policy*); see *Corporations and the Cold War*, edited by David Horowitz, p. 79.
5. Michael Schaller: *The US Crusade in China*, p. 151.
John Davies: *Dragon by the Tail*, p. 279.
6. *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, 1948, Vol. VII, pp. 708-709.
7. *Letter of Transmittal, United States Relations With China* (White Paper), July 30, 1949, p. 11.
8. Marshall received the following instruction: In the event that either the Communist leaders or "the Generalissimo" refused to make what, in General Marshall's opinion, were "reasonable concessions," he was authorized to "go ahead and assist 'the Generalissimo' in the movement of troops into North China." (From Memorandum by General Marshall of a conversation with President Truman, Secretary of State Byrnes, and Admiral Leahy), *FRUS*, 1945, Vol. VII, pp. 767-769.
9. Ibid, 7, p. 16.
10. *FRUS*, 1949, Vol. VIII. p. 109.
11. & 12. Ibid, 6, p. 708.
13. According to Acheson himself, his answer to reporters was: "When a great tree falls in the forest one cannot see the extent of the damage until the dust settles."
Dean Acheson: *Present at the Creation*, p. 306.
14. *FRUS*, 1949, Vol. IX, pp. 271-275, 284-286, 291-292. The last sentence underscored, see p. 274.
15. Ibid, 1948, Vol. VII, p. 662; 1949, Vol. IX pp. 271, 350.
16. Ibid, 6, p. 709.
17. *FRUS*, 1949, Vol. IX, pp. 465-467.
18. Ibid, 1948, Vol. VII, pp. 601-602.
19. Ibid, 1949, Vol. IX, p. 295.
20. Ibid, p. 285.
21. Ibid, p. 272.
22. Ibid, 1949, Vol. VIII, p. 288.
23. Ibid, 1949, Vol. IX, pp. 266, 305, 348-349, 356-359.
24. Ibid, pp. 435-438, 442.
25. Ibid, p. 304.
26. Ibid, p. 396.
27. *US Relations With China*, (White Paper), p. 358.
28. *FRUS*, 1949, Vol. IX, p. 272.
29. Ibid, pp. 392-397.
30. Ibid, p. 274.

THEATRE

"Songtsan Gambo"

Each of China's 55 minorities has dramatic tales of its history and its larger-than-life heroes. *Songtsan Gambo*, currently being staged in the capital by the Tibet Drama Troupe, depicts the history of the wise and brave ruler who first unified Tibet.

Songtsan Gambo was the chieftain of the Tufan Dynasty. During the early 7th century, he annexed many of Tibet's tribes and unified the Tibet plateau, putting an end to long years of destructive tribal fighting. Lhasa was made the capital. During his rule, a written language was devised, laws were stipulated and civil and

military positions designated. A slave state was set up.

After Songtsan Gambo's marriage to Princess Wencheng of the Tang Dynasty in 641 A.D., a number of sons of aristocratic Tibetan families were sent to Changan, the capital of the Tang Dynasty, to study in the imperial school. Songtsan Gambo made great contributions to the development of Tibetan social economy and culture, as well as to the promotion of friendly relations between the Han and Tibetan nationalities.

The play chiefly focuses on the development of a written Tibetan language and the standardizing of laws and decrees. It portrays several rulers who hold different views, and praises the wisdom and far-sightedness of Songtsan Gambo.

When the curtain rises, Tufan soldiers and civilians are celebrating the victory of an annexation war in the snowy grasslands. "Long live our wise chieftain," the soldiers shout. The chieftain however is not intoxicated with his success. He knows his people are still very backward, "having no books and laws, no written language and education."

He decides to reform the society first by sending a mission to the Tang Dynasty to learn laws and other cultural forms from the Hans. But his idea is strongly opposed by the conservatives represented by Minister Shanglang. They prevent potential students from enrolling in a school set up by the returned scholars. As not a single student has the courage to go

Tibet Drama Troupe

FOUNDED in 1962, the Tibet Drama Troupe has performed in Beijing on several occasions. Its first group of players were trained in the Tibetan class of the Shanghai Drama Theatre.

After graduation they took a full-length play to Lhasa, but it was not accepted by the local people who had just won their emancipation and who had never seen a stage play.

To make their plays acceptable, they performed skits and light comedies in the streets reflecting the daily life of the emancipated serfs. They toured from place to place and wherever they went they helped train cultural and art workers and set up local culture and art centres. Their plays were gradually accepted by the local people, and they began to introduce folk tales into their performances. Later, full-length plays were staged.

The Tibet Drama Troupe works wholeheartedly for the audience. Fresh footprints of the players can be found in every part of Tibet. They cross mountains and hills on horseback or on carts. Sometimes they go to remote areas to give special performances for one or two herds-men's families. Even in adverse weather, the players go on with their performance.

Once they were performing *The Twin Sisters Forbidden to Come to the World* in an open-air theatre. As part of the play's action, most of the players had to strip to their waists and be barefooted. The weather changed suddenly and it began to snow heavily. The audience pleaded with the troupe to stop the play or at least put on more clothes. Fully acknowledging the people's kindness, the actors went on. When the play came to an end, many members of the audience jumped on to the stage, embracing the players. Afterwards, they invited the players to their families, treating them to hot buttered tea.

The troupe is a united collective, in which every member has a strong sense of performing for the honour of the collective. The players, old and new, never vie with one another for the principal roles. Deyang, who played Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet* and Qiangba who played the leading role in *Princess Wencheng*, both prominent actresses, are playing minor roles in *Songtsan Gambo*.

At present the troupe has some 100 members, compared with 20 in the early 60s. The troupe has its own scriptwriters, directors and stage-artists. All the players are Tibetans who are able to perform in both Han and Tibetan languages.



Songtsan Gambo (centre) declares: "The mission to the Tang Dynasty should embark!"

to the school, Songtsan Gambo himself became its first student, under the tutorship of Minister Tunmi

The villain, Minister Shanglang, and a religious leader take advantage of superstitious thinking among the people, and mislead them by saying the teacher is a devil. They besiege the school and threaten to kill Minister Tunmi. At the critical moment, Songtsan Gambo, who believes that sooner or later the masses will appreciate the new policy, orders those who are protecting the school to open the gate. He calmly goes out and speaks to the people about the importance of developing a Tibetan written language and culture. The attackers soon disperse and the storm is dispelled. Through one climax after another, Songtsan Gambo emerges as a chief who is determined to make his dynasty prosperous.

MEDICINE

Hepatitis B Virus Cloned

Scientists at the Shanghai Institute of Biochemistry have accomplished a world's first by

cloning a strain of hepatitis B virus (HBV).

Hepatitis B, caused by HBV infection, is a global health problem. It is estimated that about 200 million people are infected and scientists believe that HBV may be a contributing factor to the onset of cirrhosis and liver cancer, since it leaves the liver weakened.

The scientists at the institute began their genetic engineering research on HBV in 1980. Last year, scientists of the institute's molecular genetic laboratory and tumor research group isolated and purified ADR HBV genome from the plasma of Chinese HBV carriers. Early this year they, in co-operation with the Shanghai epidemic prevention station, completed the genome cloning of the ADR HBV in *escherichia (e) coli*. The transformation efficiency was high and a maximum of 158 clones of ADR HBV genome were obtained in the experiment.

Of the four types of hepatitis virus, ADW and AYW had been cloned in the United States, France, Britain and the Federal

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Republic of Germany; but the genome cloning of ADR, prevalent in East and Southeast Asia, had previously not been reported.

China's breakthrough opens the door to research and development of a hepatitis B vaccine through genetic engineering. It has also provided possibilities for further study of ADR gene structure, DNA sequencing and gene expression.

Zhao Shiying's Sketches From the Stage



Born in Shandong Province's Yantai, Zhao Shiying is a graduate of the Beijing Art Teachers' College and later taught in middle schools. He is now an art editor of the magazine *Wudao* (Dance).

His sketches from the stage are noted for their forcefulness and rhythm. The artist has keen powers of observation and his presentation is resolute and lively



Artificial Flowers



The Beijing Silk Flower Mill, one of the world's best artificial flower factories, manufactures silk, "magic," paper and plastic flowers. It also produces coloured lanterns. They are suitable for hall, courtyard, drawing room and shop window decorations. They are also nice presents for relatives and friends.

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