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ئىچىدىكىلەر

جۇڭگونىڭ پارلاق يولى—سەن مىن جۇيى
جۇڭگونىڭ بىرلىككە كېلىشىگە بولغان قاراش
ئەسرنلەشكەن جۇڭخۇا مىنگو (چىن جۇمھۇرىيىتى)
جىن سەي—تېيەن ئەركىنلىككە قاۋۇشدى
لى يۈەن—جە يۇرتىغا قايتىدى
ساۋىت رۇسىيەدىكى مۇسۇلمان سىياسى پارتىيەلىرىنىڭ
پروگراممىلىرى (1920 - 1917) - ئىنگىلىزچە ماقالە
رەئىس جۇمھۇرىمىزنىڭ دۆلەت بايرىمىنى قۇتلاش گېپى

جۇڭگونىڭ پارلاق يولى -

سەن مەن جۇيى

(ئۆتكەن يىلدىن داۋام)

۲ - خەلق تۇرمۇشى مەسلىكىنىڭ ئىشلەمكۈچى

كاپىتالىزىمغا نىسبەتەن خەلق تۇرمۇشى مەسلىكى، تەقسىمات مەسلىكىگە سالماقلىق قارايدۇ، كومۇنىزىمغا نەزەرەن خەلق تۇرمۇشى مەسلىكى، شەخىسنىڭ ئەركىنلىك ۋە قىممەتكە ھۆرمەت قىلىدۇ. خەلق تۇرمۇشى مەسلىكى، شەخىسنىڭ ئەركىنلىكى بىلەن ئىززەتتىكى قوغداش ئاساسىدا، ئىقتىسادى ئۆسۈش ۋە تەقسىماتتىكى ئادالەتنى ئىزلەيدۇ. ئوتتۇز نەچچە يىلدىن بۇيان، جانلانۇش زىمىنىمىز بولغان تايۋەن دە ئاجايىپ نېتىجىلەر نىڭ ئورتىغا چىقىشى، يالغۇزغىنا دۇنيا ئەللىرىنىڭ تەقدىرلىشىگىلا سىزا-ۋار بولۇپلا قالمايدى، شۇنداقلا بۇ نېتىجىنى، جۇڭگو كومۇنىستلىرىنىڭ يېتەكچىلىرىمۇ ئىقرار قىلماي تۇرالمىدى.

1952 دىن 1979 نىچى يىلغا قەدەر بولغان يىگىرمە سەككىز يىل ئارىسىدا، تايۋەندە ئىشلەپ چىقىرىلغان ماللار، ئۇنىڭ تۇراق باھاسى بىلەن ھىساۋىدا، يەنى مال باھاسىنىڭ ئۆزگىرىشىدىكى ئامىللارنىڭ چىقىرىلىشىدىن كېيىن، كۆتۈرۈلىشى تەخمىنەن توققۇز يېرىم ھەسسەدور. ئورتا ھىساپ بىلەن يىللىق ئارتىش سەۋىيىسى، يەنى ئۆسۈش نىسبىتى (ئىقتىساددا) %9.1 بولۇپ، دۇنيادا ئىقتىسادى ئۆسۈش سۈرئىتى بەك ئادىر بولغان يەرلەردىن بىرىدور. 30 يىل ئەۋۋەل، ھۆكۈمىتىمىز ئەمدىگىنە ئانا ۋەتەندىن تاي-ۋەنگە كۆچۈپ كەلگەن چاغدا، تايۋەن بولسا، ئۇرۇش ئوتىدا خارەبىلەش-كەن بىر دېڭىز ئارىلى ئىدى. ئۇنىڭ ئىقتىسادىدىكى قالاقلقى شۇ چاغدىكى ئانا ۋەتەن بىلەن ئوخشاشلا دېڭىدەك ھالدا بولۇپ، ئوتتۇز نەچچە يىللىق سۈرگەنلىك تەرەققىيات ئەسناسىدا، «تەرەققى ئېتىۋاتقان» مەملىكەتلەر ئارىسىدىن يېڭى كېلەچەكتە «تەرەققى مەملىكەتلەر» قاتارىغا كىرىش ئالدىدا تۇرۇپتۇ، ھەمدە بۇ كۈنلەردە ئۇ «يېڭىدىن تەرەققى تاپقان سا-

نائى دۆلەت» دېيىلگەن ئاتالغۇنى سۈپەتلەندۈرۈلمەكتە. 1980-يىلى تايۋەننىڭ كىشى بېشىغا كەلگەن ئىشلەپ چىقىرىش خامسالى ئورتا ھېساب بىلەن 2,282 ئامېرىكان دوللارى بولۇپ، سىرتقا چىقىرىلغان مال قىممەتى ئون توققۇز مىليارت يېتتە يۈز ئالتىمىش نېچچە مىليون ئامېرىكان دوللارى. بۇ سان ئەركىن دۇنيا ئەللىرىنىڭ تىجارەت سېپىدە يىگىرمىنچى ئورۇندا. ئەگەر پىترو (نېپت) ئىخراج قىلغۇچى دۆلەتلەرنى ھېساپقا قاتتىمىساق، ئۇ چاغدا تايۋەن ئون بەشىنچى ئورۇنغا چىقىدۇ. ئىخراج ماللىرىنىڭ %80 دىن ئارتۇقى سانائى مەھسۇلات بولۇپ، سانائى مەھسۇلاتىنىڭ بۇتۇن ئىشلەپ چىقىرىش يەكۈنىدىكى نىسبىتى %46 دۇر. (1979)

خەلق تۇرمۇشى مەسلىكىنىڭ يۈرگۈزۈلۈشىدىكى ئۈتۈك، يالغۇزلا تايۋەننىڭ ئىقتىسادى ئۆسۈشىنىلا چاپسانلاشتۇرۇپ قالمىدى، شۇنداقلا ئۇ، ئەينى زاماندا، يىلدىن يىلغا كىرىم تەقسىماتىنىمۇ تۈزەلتىپ بارماقتا. 1964-يىلى ئۈستۈن %20 قازانچىلىق (كىرىمگە ئىگە بولغان) ئائىلىدىكى شەخسنىڭ كىرىمىگە قاراغاندا 5.3 ھەسسە بولغان بولسا، بۇ نىسبەت ئەمدى 4.2 دۇر. دېمەككى خەلق تۇرمۇشى مەسلىكىنىڭ مۇۋازىن بايلىق تۈزۈمى، مالى بايلىق يېتىشىدۈرۈش جەريانىدا، مۇتاناسىپ تەقسىمات مەقسىتىگىمۇ ئېرىشكەن.

۳ - چىن ئانا ۋەتىنىنىڭ كەمبەغەللىكى

ئىقتىسادى تەرەققىيات ئۈچۈن بۇ نەسىلنىڭ بەخت ۋە مەنپەئىتىگە قۇرۋانلىق كېرەكمەيدۇ، مۇتاناسىپ تەقسىمات ئۈچۈنمۇ قورقۇتۇش ۋە كۈرەش ئۇسوللىرى قوللىنىشنىڭ مۇھىم ھاجىتى يوق. چىن جۇمھۇرىيىتى (جۇڭخۇا مىن گۇو) ھۆكۈمىتى تايۋەندە، خەلق تۇرمۇشى مەسلىكىنىڭ پىرىنسىپلىرى بويىچە، ئوماق-ئامراق، خوشال خۇراملىق ئىچىدە ئىقتىساد-دىنى تەرەققىي ئەتدۈردى، تەقسىماتنى ياخشىلىدى. شۇنداق بىر سېلىش-تۈرۈپ قارىساق، چىن ئانا ۋەتىنى كومۇنىزىم باشقۇرۇشى ئاستىدا، خەلىقلەر مال مۈلكىدىن ئايرىلغان، ئەركىنلىكىنى يوقاتقان، ھەمدە بەزى

قېرىنداشلار مال مۈلكىنى دەپ جېنىنى پىدا قىلغان. ئوتتۇز نېچچە يىل-
لىق ۋاقت ئۇچقانداك ئۆتۈپ كەتتى، ئامما، خەلىقنىڭ تاپقىنى نىمە
بولدى، قېنى؟

1950 ىنچى يىلدىن 1952 ىنچى يىلغىچە چىن كومۇنىستلىرى «يەر
ئىسلاھاتى» يۈرگۈزدى؛ ئۇلار، كەمبەغەل دىخانىلارنى قۇرال قىلىپ، ئۇلار
بىلەن بىرلەشكەن ھالدا، ئورتا ھال دىخانىلارغا جىددى كۈرەش قىلدۇرتۇپ،
باي دىخانىلارنىڭ يەر زىمىنىنى تارتىپ ئالدى. ئۇنىڭدىن كېيىن، يەنە
كەمبەغەل دىخانىلار بىلەن بىرلىكتە، ئورتا ھال دىخانىلارنىڭ قولىدىكى يەر
زىمىنىنى دۆلەتنىڭ مالغا ئايلاندۇرۇپ، ئۇنىڭغا «خەلىق مۈلكى» دىگەن
گۈزەل ئىسمىنى تاقىدى. 1957 ىنچى يىلى سانائەت ۋە تىجارەت بۆتۈنلەي
ئىجتىمائىلەشتى. بۇنىڭ بىلەن ئانا ۋەتىنىمىزدىكى قېرىنداشلار، ئىشلەپ
چىقىرىش قۇراللىرىدىن ئايرىلىپ، بۆتۈنلەي كومۇنىزىمنىڭ قولى بولۇپ
قالدى. 1958 ىنچى يىلدىكى «بۈيۈك مارش» بىلەن ئىقتىساد تامامەن ئىل-
قىغا قايتىپ، خەلىق تۇرمۇشى سەرسان ھالغا تۇشدى. ئالتمىشىنچى يىللار
نىڭ باشلىرىدا، «تەرتىپكە سېلىپ مۇستەھكەملەش» شۇ ئارىسى توۋلاپ،
شىۋ-جىڭ جۇيى (رېۋىزىونىزم — Revisionism) يولىغا كىردى.
1966 ىنچى يىلى «مەدىنىيەت ئىنقىلاۋى» باشلاندى، ئون يىل يۈرگۈزۈلدى.
شۇ ئون يىل جەريانىدا مىللى ئىقتىساد داۋاملىق پاراكەندە ھالدا
قالدى. 1976 ىنچى يىلى بۇ ئىقتىساد يەنە بىت چىت بولىدىغان دەرد-
جىگە كەلگىنى ئۈچۈن، قايتىدىن شىۋ جىڭ جۇيى يولىغا كىرىپ «تۈرت
گەسىرلەشمەك» نى ئالغا سۈردى.

چىن كومۇنىستلىرىنىڭ رەسمى دائىرىلىرى ئىلان قىلغان سانلارغا ئا-
ساسەن ئەيىتلەنغاندا، 1978 ىنچى يىلقى ئانا ۋەتەندىكىلەرنىڭ ئورتا ھېساب
بىلەن كىشى بېشىغا كىرمى 152 ئامېرىكان دوللارى بولۇپ، بۇ سان شۇ
يىلقى تايبۇەن شەخسى كىرىمىنىڭ سەككىزدىن بىرىدۇر. چىن ئانا ۋەتە-
نىدىكى شەخسى كىرىمىنى دۇنيا ئەللەرىنىڭ قاتارىغا قويغاندا يۈزىنچى
نىڭ كىيىنىدە بولۇپ، پاكىستان، ھىندىستان قاتارلىق دۆلەتلەر بىلەن باراۋەر

كەمبەغەل بۆلگەلەر سېپىدا تۇرىدۇ. كومۇنىزىم نىڭ زەھەرلەش نېتىجىسى بولسا، مانا مۇشۇ. تەجرىبىلەرنىڭ ئىسپاتلىغىنىدەك، چىن ئانا ۋەتەننىدىن كومۇنىزىم تۇپ يىلتىزىدىن قومۇرۇلۇپ تاشلانمىسا ئۇلارنىڭ «تۈرت ئەسرلەشمەك» دېگىنى سۈرەتتىكى نان بىلەن قۇرساق تويغۇزۇش ۋە ياكى غورىغا قاراپ ئۇسۇزلىق قاندۇرۇش بولۇپ، بۈيۈك بىر قالايمىقانچىلىق ئىچىدىكى مۇۋەققەت دەۋرىدىنلا ئىبارەت!

V - يېڭى جۇڭگونىڭ كەلگۈسىگە قاراش

دۆلىتىمىزنىڭ ئاتىسى، دوكتور سۈن ياتسەننىڭ غايەلىرىنى بىر يەرگە كەلتۈرسەك، يېڭى جۇڭگونىڭ چىنرەسى بىلەن ھەقىقىي ۋەسىيى، خەلىقنىڭ بولىدىغان، خەلق تەرىپىدىن ئىدارە قىلىنىدىغان ۋە خەلق ئۈنىڭدىن مەن-پىئەت ئالىدىغان، تىنچلىق ئىچىدىكى، ئەركىن ھەمدە مۇساۋى بىر دۆلەت. يەنى جۇڭگو خەلقى بەكمۇ ئارزۇلاپ تەلەپ قىلغان بىر جەمئىيەت. دوكتور سۈن ياتسەننىڭ، جۇڭگونىڭ ئەسرلىشىشىگە قارىتا يۈز ئالغان ھەرىكەتتىكى جۈنۈلۈشكە بولغان تۆھپىسى بەك ئوچۇق. ئۇ، قۇرال (ملازمە-نەرسە، كېرەك)، تۈزۈم ۋە ئىنسانى ئەخلاقى مەدەنىيەتنى ئىچىگە ئالغان ئۈچ قاتلامنىڭ ھەممىسىگە ئوخشاشلا ئېتىبار بەرگەن. جۇڭگو كومۇنىستلىرىنىڭ «تۈرت ئەسرلىشىش» دېگىنىدە، ئوچۇقتىن ئوچۇق «خەلىقچىلىق سەياسى تۈزۈمى» بىلەن «جۇڭگونىڭ ئەنئەنىۋى ئەخلاقى مەدەنىيىتى» كام بولۇپ، تېخنىكاغا سالماق بېرىپ، تۈزۈمگە سەل قارىغان، جۇڭگودىكى مەدەنىي ئاساسدىن تېخىمۇ ئۇزاققا ئايرىلىپ كەتكەن. قازارا، 1913-ئىنجى يىلى، سۈن ياتسەن ئەپەندى: «كومۇنىزىم تۈزۈمى ۋە سەۋىت تەشكىلىنى، جۇڭگودا ئەمىلى رەۋىشىدە قوللانغىلى بولمايدۇ. « دەپ قەتئىي قارارىنى بەرگەن. بۇ بولسا، ئەمىلىياتدا كومۇنىزىمنى رەت قىلىش بولۇپ، ھەقىقىي ئىلمى ئوچۇقلامادۇر.

كىشىلىك جەمئىيەتنىڭ راۋاجلىنىشى، چوقۇم سۈرەتدە، شەخسكە مۇ ئوخشاشلا ئېتىبار بەرگەن جەمئىيەتكە بولغان جۈنۈلۈش، ئۇ ئىقتىساد، سەياسەت ۋە باشقا تۈرلۈك ئامىللەردىن توپلانغان بىر مۇرەككەپ تۈزۈم

دۇر. يەنى، شەخس ئەركىنلىكى، ئىجتىمائىي بەخت-مەنپەئەت، ئىقتىساد-دى ئەمىنىيەتلەرنىڭ ھەدەپ ۋە ئىستاندارتدا خەلىقچىلىق تۈزۈمى تەرتىبى ئارقىلىق قارارلاشۇرۇلغان بىر تۈرلۈك تۈزۈمدۇر.

كىشىلىكنىڭ ھەر تۈرلۈك ھەرىكەتلىرىدىكى مەقسەت، ئۆزىنىڭ مە-ناۋىياتىدىكى ئارزۇلىرى بىلەن تۇرمۇش ئارزۇلىرىنى قاندۇرماق ئۈچۈن دۇر. لېكىن، كومۇنىست پارتىيەسىنىڭ كونترول ئۈسۈلى، مەسىلەن: كۈ-رەش، تۈزەش، تارىلاش، ھىساپلىشىش ۋە قورقۇتۇش دىگەنلىرىنىڭ قايسى بىرى كىشىنىڭ مەناۋىياتىنى ھاقارەت قىلغان سانالمايدۇ؟ بۇلار، كىشىنى دائىما قورقۇنۇپ ئىچىدە تۇتۇش، شىددەت ئىچىدە كۈن ئۆتكۈزۈشكە قىلىنغان زورلۇق بولۇپ، كىشىلەرنىڭ بۇ تۈرلۈك تۇرمۇش شەكلىدىن ھارغىنلىق ھىس ئېتىشى، ئۇنىڭدىن تويۇشى ۋە ئۇنى لەنەتلىشى تەبىئىدۇر. «كەسىپى ئىنقىلابچى» سانالغانلار، مەزكۇر جەمىيەتنى ئىجات قىلغانلاردۇر، ئۇلار، تەبىئىي خەلىقنىڭ بېشىغا چىقىپ ئولتۇرغان «يېڭى سىنىپ» يەنى، خەلق مەنپەئىتىنىڭ قارىمۇ-قارشى ھالىتى.

سەن مەن جۈيىلىق دۆلەتنىڭ ئىش ۋە قابىلىيىتى، خەلىققە مەنپەئەت كەلتۈرمەك. شۇڭلاشقا، دۆلەت بىلەن خەلقنىڭ مەقسەتلىرى بىر ئا-رىدا تۇيۇشقان بولۇپ، دۆلەت، پالان بىر سىنىپنىڭ ۋەكىلى ئەمەس، دەۋلەت، ئۇمۇمىي خەلىقنىڭ مەنپەئىتىگە ۋەكىل.

30 يىللىق تايۋەن زىمىنىمىزدىكى قۇرۇلۇش دىن تۇغۇلغان سەمەرەلەر شۇنى تەھلىل قىلىدۇ: سەياسەتدە، ئۇمۇمىي خەلىقنىڭ دېموكراتىسىيىسى؛ ئىقتىساددا، لايىق دەرىجىدە خۇسۇسى ئىقتىساد؛ كۆلەملەشكەن ماڭارپ؛ ھەممە ھۇقۇقدا باراۋەر بولغان ئەدلىيە تۈزۈمىدىن ئىبارەت بولۇپ، بۇ تەھلىل تولۇقى بىلەن دۆلەت قۇرۇش دىكى جۈنۈلۈشنىڭ مۇھىملىكىنى ۋە جۇڭگو خەلقىنىڭ زەكا ئۈستۈنلىكىنى ئوچۇقلىدى.

بۇلار، تەجرىبىمىزنىڭ ئۇلى، ئىمانىمىزنىڭ ئاساسى.

بۇلار، جۇڭخۇا مىللىتى ئارزۇلاپ تېپىپ، قايتىدىن ئىجات قىلىنغان يېڭى تۆھپىلەر. بۇ تۆھپىلەر، سەن مەن جۈيىنىڭ بەخت-ساغادەتلىك بۇ-يۈك تۈزۈمى ئاساسىدا، جۇڭخۇا نى يېڭى باش دىن قۇرغۇسىدۇر.

بۇلاق سۈيى قەدەر ھىچ سۇ گۈزەل بولماس
ھىچ يېقىنلىق يۇرتداش كەبى ئۆزەل بولماس
ئۆز يۇرتدا ئاي شۇنچە يۇمىلاق- شۇنچە تۇلۇن
ئۆز يۇرتدا سۇ شۇنچە تاتلىق- شۇنچە شىرىن
يۇرتنى ئەسلەش، يۇرتىنى ئويلاش، يۇرت قابىغۇسى
گۈدەكلىكىنى يۇرتدا كۆرمەك ھىس ئۇيغۇسى
ياقا يۇرتدا بىر يېقىننى كۆرمەك دېمەك
قول ۋە كۆڭۈل بىر ئارىغا كەلمەك دېمەك
بىز بىر نىيەت ئىگىسىمىز يولىمىز بىر
تەقدىرىمىز، قىسمىتىمىز ئۆلىمىز بىر
ئانا ۋەتەن سارى ھەممە ئاتلانايلى
مۇشتاق بولغان يۇرت سۆيگۈسىگە قانايلى
قاراقۇرۇم چوقاسىغاچە بارايلى
بېرىپ سەن- مەن جۈيى تۇغىنى قادايلى

77 ياشلىق شائىر لو دىيەن- فو ئوقۇغان

16- IX- 1986



Twin Oaks,
a setting
for ROC re-
presentatives
since 1937.

كلمات سامية لفخامة زعيم الحزب الوطني تشانغ جين كو في المؤتمر المركزي الثالث

أيها السيدات والسادة :

يبدأ اليوم المؤتمر المركزي الثالث للحزب الوطني الصيني ، ويسرني ان انتهز هذه الفرصة ان اتحدث معكم عن اوضاع بلاد الصين ومستقبل بلادنا الصينية . منذ سنوات عديدة ، هناك مسألة تدور حول افكار جميع ابنا الصين ، وهذه المسألة هي مستقبل بلاد الصين . وأنا مثل كافة ابنا الصين ، افكر دائما كيف سيكون مستقبل الصين وما هو النهج الذي ينبغي ان ينتهجه بلاد الصين ، كيف ستكون الصين مستقرة ، كيف نجعل مواطنينا يتمتعون بالحرية والرخاء ، كيف نبذل جهودنا من اجل خدمة العالم . وقبل خمس وسبعين سنة ، قدم مجاهدون صينيون حياتهم من اجل انجاح الثورة الوطنية الكبرى مما تأسست اول دولة ديمقراطية في قارة آسيا - جمهورية الصين . وكان الدكتور صن يات سان يقود الشعب الصيني للقيام بالثورة الوطنية هادفا الى الحصول على الحرية والمساواة لبلاد الصين ، غير ان د / صن لم يقدر تنفيذ افكاره لاعادة انشاء البلاد بسبب عرقلة الحزب الشيوعي الصيني ، وبعد وفاة د / صن باني جمهورية الصين ، خلف الجنرال تشانغ كاي شيك توصياته ، فقاد جميع ابنا الصين لاسقاط المتحدرين العسكريين الصينيين في شمال البلاد ، فتم توحيد الصين ، ولكن لم تَمْضِ عشر سنوات من الزمان ، قامت اليابان بغزو البلاد فقاد الجنرال تشانغ الشعب الصيني لمكافحة العدوان الياباني الاستعماري وبعد ثمانية اعوام من التضحية انتصرت الصين على اليابان ، فاصبحت الصين من خمس اقوى دولة في العالم . ولم تكن تأخذ الصين وقتا كافيا للاستجمام حتى قام الحزب الشيوعي الصيني بمساعدة روسيا السوفيتية بالتمرد العسكري في البر الصيني ، فوقع الشعب الصيني في البر الصيني في الستائر الشيوعية الحديدية وهذا فعلا مؤساة الصين والعالم .

وبعد انتقال الحكومة المركزية الصينية من البر الصيني الى تايوان في عام ١٩٤٨ م ، قاد الجنرال تشانغ كاي شيك ابنا الصين في تايوان واتخذ تايوان قاعدة للنهضة الصينية للقيام بالانشاءات طبقا لارشادات مبادئ الشعب الثلاثة التي رسمها د / صن يات سان ، وبعد اكثر من ثلاثين سنة ، لقد اصبحت تايوان اليوم منارة مضيئة وموضع الامل لجميع ابنا الصين في البر الصيني .

انجازات مبادئ الشعب الثلاثة في جمهورية الصين بتايوان

احتلت اليابان على جزيرة تايوان لمدة اكثر من خمسين سنة ، ووقعت هذه الجزيرة في تدبير شديد خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية ، فكانت تايوان في وقت عودتها الى احضان الصين بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية من المناطق الفقيرة والمتأخرة ، ومعدل الدخل الفردى قليل جدا وثلثي سكانها من الاميين ، وبعد انتقال الحكومة المركزية الصينية الى هذه الجزيرة ، بدأت الحكومة في عام ١٩٥٠م باصلاح الاراضي والخططة الاقتصادية الرباعية ، وبعد اكثر من ثلاثين سنة من الزمان ، اصبحت تايوان اليوم متقدمة سياسيا واقتصاديا ، ما يطلق عليها رجال العالم " معجزة تايوان " . وهذه المعجزة طبعا لم تأت بالصدفة ، انما من المثابرة والتضحية والتحديات والاجتهاد . وهي كذلك تشمل المعاني والاهميات التالية :

اولا : انه منذ اكثر من ثلاثين سنة وامام تهديدات شيوعية ، قمنا ببناء المنشآت العسكرية لترسيخ هذه القاعدة وببذل جهودنا لازدهار المجتمع وخاصة من ناحية السياسة فنحن نصر على تنفيذ النظام الديمقراطي فاجربنا حسب المواعيد الانتخابية النوابية وذلك من اجل ان يكون للشعب الحقوق وللحكومة القدرة ، وهذا هو قوة لتعاوننا واستقرارنا .

ثانيا : اننا نعتقد بان الانسان قادر على التغلب على جميع الصعوبات والتحديات ، وبهذه الثقة لقد احرزنا انجازات اقتصادية جبارة ، حيث ان معدل الدخل الفردى للشعب الصيني في تايوان اكثر بعشرة اضعاف من معدل الدخل الفردى في البر الصيني ، على الرغم من ان مصادرها الطبيعية محدودة الا اننا اعتمدنا على كفاحنا المثابر اصبحتنا الخامسة عشرة اكبر دولة تجارية من بين مائة وسبعين دولة في العالم ، وهذا يدل على نجاح مبدأ رفاهية المعيشة للحياة .

ثالثا : ان مجتمعنا اليوم ملو بالطموح والاخلاق الصينية التقليدية ، فكلما كنا نواجه التحديات فكرنا باننا من ابنا الصين ونعتز ببلادنا ، وبهذه الفكرة فكل مواطن يحب وطنه وامته ويريد ان يكون وطنه اكثر تقدم واقوى .

طبعا اننا تواجهنا كثيرا من الصعوبات ووقعنا في الخطأ احيانا خلال مراحل انشاء بلادنا غير اننا قد بذلنا كل ما في وسعنا من اجل استقرار المجتمع وازدهار حياة الشعب ، ان ما هي الهامات نجاح انجاز مبادئ الشعب الثلاثة في تايوان لجميع الناس في العالم ؟

اولا : لماذا تنقسم الصين الى قسمين ولم تتوحد ؟ لماذا ابنا الصين الذين يعيشون على جزيرة تايوان يتمتعون بحياة سعيدة وغبية وابنا الصين في البر الصيني يعيشون بدون بهائم ؟ والجواب هو بسيط جدا ، لانهم يعيشون في نظامين مختلفين - نظام مبادئ الشعب الثلاثة ونظام الشيوعية والصين اليوم ايضا منفصلة او مقسمة الى قسمين بهذين النظامين المختلفين لا بالمضيق .

ثانيا : نريد التساؤل انه اذا احضرنا هذه الخبرات والانجازات التي حصلنا عليها في تايوان الى البر الصيني بالاضافة الى كثرة السكان والصادر الطبيعية فيه فكيف ستكون الصين الجديدة — التقدم والازدهار ؟ كم يقدر الشعب الصيني ان يبذل جهوده من اجل خدمة العالم يا ترى ؟

ثالثا : ان وجود الفقر والغنا ، والضعف والقوة ، التقدم والتأخر ، الديمقراطية والديكتاتورية ، الحرية والاستعباد هو السبب الرئيسي للاضطرابات في العالم ، وحل هذه المشاكل يعتمد على تنفيذ النظام الجيد سياسيا واجتماعيا واقتصاديا ، فان خبرات جمهورية الصين التي تدعو الى الاصلاح بعقل واعتدال خال من النزاع والتناقض هي جديرة للمراجعة لجميع الناس في العالم .

أراء فخامة تشانغ جين كو حول اوضاع العالم

انتصرت الدول الحلفاء في الحرب العالمية الثانية على الدول المحورية النازية — اسقاط السياسة الدكتاتورية ، ولكن لسوء الحظ فشلت الدول الحلفاء في ميدان الحرب الفكرية والسياسة الاستراتيجية تدريجيا مما استطاعت المبادئ الماركسية واللينينية الشيوعية التي تعتبر اشد دكتاتوريا من النازية تحقيق محاولتها خطوة بعد خطوة فتوسع نفوذها الى ثلثي سكان العالم رغما من ذلك ان دول العالم الحر لم تعقد عزمها لتدمير هذه الافكار الغدارة ، وهذا هو جمل اوضاع العالم الراهنة تقع في حالة متزعزعة .

ونحن نرى ان العالم اليوم مازال في حالة النزاع بين الديمقراطية والدكتاتورية ، والنزاع بين الحرية والاستعباد ، وهذا النزاع بكونه مختلف الافكار فلا يمكن التفاوض ، وذلك لاننا اذا اردنا المحافظة الديمقراطية فينبغي علينا مناهضة الشيوعية ، على هذا ، فان جمهورية الصين تصر على موقف ثابت لمناهضة الشيوعية . حيث ان وجود جمهورية الصين في تايوان - قاعدة النهضة الصينية له اهمية ايجابية تجاه العالم :

اولا : ان نتائج تنفيذ الحزب الشيوعي الصيني في البر الصيني لمدة اكثر من ثلاثين سنة نظام الشيوعية قد برهنت على فشل الشيوعية ، اما مبادئ الشعب الثلاثة التي تطبقها جمهورية الصين في تايوان فجعلت تايوان متقدمة وهذا يدل على ان هذه المبادئ تناسب وتلائم ابناء الصين ، مما يعرف جميع ابناء الصين ان تايوان التي توارث الحضارة الصينية التقليدية هي موضع الامل لحياء بلاد الصين .

ثانيا : ان عدم استطاع الحزب الشيوعي الصيني احتلال تايوان وجزر مجاورة لها قد منع من تحقيق محاولته في بلشفة قارة آسيا ، هكذا فاصبحت تايوان قلعة لمنع التسرب الشيوعي الى المناطق الباسيفيكية

ثالثا : ان جمهورية الصين هي القوة الوحيدة التي ترجع بالبر الصيني الى العالم الحر ، والشعب الصيني في البر الصيني لا يرضى باستعباد الشيوعية ولا يقع في خدعة الشيوعية ، فهو يتطلع ويحرص على حياة الشعب الصيني في تايوان ، وبالتالي سيقوم الشعب الصيني باسقاط السلطات الشيوعية .

اليوم ان جمهورية الصين في تايوان تعامل جميع الدول في العالم معاملة تعايشية

اخوية ، فليست هناك "مشكلة تايوان " بل هناك مشكلة الصين وهي مشكلة كيفية توحيد بلاد الصين بدون الجدال ، ان الصين واحدة فقط وان بلاد الصين ستتحدها آجلا ام عاجلا ، ولكن يجب ان تكون موحدة بمبادئ الشعب الثلاثة الديمقراطية الحرة ، والصين لا يمكن ان تبذل مجهوداتها لخدمة العالم والانسان الا ان تكون الصين الصين الحرة . ونحن نعتقد كل الاعتقاد بان يوم توحيد الصين سيأتي قريبا ، لان الحقائق التاريخية الصينية قد اخبرنا بان سلطات طاغية لا تبقى الى الابد .

مهام الانشطة ومستقبل العالم بعد ان تكون الصين موحدة بمبادئ الشعب الثلاثة

لقد قال الدكتور صن يات سن مؤسس جمهورية الصين " ان استقرار آسيا هو عماد استقرار العالم ، واستقرار الصين هو حجر اساسي لاستقرار آسيا " ، وفي الواقع لولم يقع البر الصيني على سيطرة الشيوعية لما تعرض العالم الحر لتهديدات الشيوعية ، كذلك لا يفكر العالم الحر في استعمال تكتيك ضغط الشيوعية بالشيوعية المخاطر ، فان كفاح جمهورية الصين في تايوان يرمي هدفه الى انقاذ الصين وفي نفس الوقت يرمي الى انقاذ العالم من استعباد الشيوعية .

طبعاً نحن نعرف جيداً ان مهمة مناهضة الشيوعية لاسترجاع البر الصين واعادة بنائها ليست من الامور السهلة ، ولكن من ناحية اخرى ، ونثق كل الثقة بان الشعب الصيني لا يريد الشيوعية بل يحرص على مبادئ الشعب الثلاثة ، وهذه الثقة تأتي من تنوق الشعب الصيني في البر الصيني الى الحرية والديمقراطية وتأتي ايضا من عزم ابناؤ الصين داخل البلدان وخارجها في مناهضة الشيوعية . واعادة انشاء البر الصيني يجب ان تتم اعتماداً على الثقافة الصينية ورغبات الشعب حسب نموذج انشاء تايوان الناجح ، ومن اجل الحصول على استقرار الصين الدائم واستقلال القومية ومساواة حقوق الشعب ورفاهية الشعب فاننا نصر على ما يلي :

من الناحية السياسية ، نحضر الدستور الصيني الى البر الصيني وتنفيذ السياسة الديمقراطية استئصال اضرار الدكتاتورية الشيوعية هادفاً الى الامور الدولية وتتقرر من الراي العام وحقوق السيادة للشعب وكل فرد متساو امام القوانين .

من الناحية الاقتصادية ، نتمسك بنظام التجارة الحر والمحافظة على الممتلكات الشخصية والحركات الاقتصادية الشخصية الحرة لرفع مستوى حياة الشعب حتى تسعى الصين الى صفوف الدول المتطورة . من الناحية الثقافية ، نهتم بتربية الايدولوجيا القومية وتشجيع حرية البحوث وادخال بهاء الثقافة الدولية وانتشار الاخلاق التقليدية حتى تبقى الثقافة الصينية الى الابد .

من ناحية الشؤون الدولية ، نتمسك بمبادئ التكامل لا جراً التعاون مع جميع الدول للمحافظة على سلام العالم والاحترام بحقوق السيادة لكل الدول .

ونريد حث جميع اصدقائنا في العالم بان اضطراب العالم اتى من توسع النفوذ الشيوعي وجمهورية الصين تصر على مكافحة الشيوعية من اجل منع التسرب الشيوعي الى العالم الحر ، لذلك يجب على جميع الدول في العالم معرفة اهمية كفاح جمهورية الصين في تايوان ومعرفة بان جمهورية الصين تلعب دورا هاما في المحافظة على سلامة العالم .

ونريد حث جميع ابناؤنا الصين في العالم على الاشتراك في صفوف مناهضة الشيوعية بكل بسالة وشجاعة لاسقاط الشيوعية الصينية الشرسة لاتمام راسلتنا المقدسة وهي توحيد بلاد الصين بيمادى الشعب الثلاثة حتى نعيش حياة غنية وسعيدة .

ونريد حث جميع كوادر الحزب الشيوعي الصيني على نبد الشيوعية الماركسية واللينينية ثم قبول بيمادى الشعب الثلاثة حتى تكون بلاد الصين موحدة في اسرع وقت ممكن .

ايها الاخوة ، ان الحزب الوطني الصيني قد انشأ دولة جمهورية الصين اعتمادا على " الاخلاق والديمقراطية والعلوم " والان يقود بلادنا الى مستقبل مشرق ، ونحن نتحمل مسؤوليات سلامة العالم وامنه ، فيجب علينا نبذل كل ما في وسعنا لتحقيق توحيد بلادنا بيمادى الشعب الثلاثة ، حتى تترف اعلام جمهورية الصين التي تمثل الحرية والمساواة والعدال في جميع انحاء بلاد الصين .



琺瑯盃盤

The goblet depicting western women, the Ching Dynasty (1736-1795)

現代化的中華民國

ئەسرلەشكەن جۇڭخۇا مىنگو (چىن جۇمھۇرىيىتى)
جمهورية الصين الحديثة

Modernization of Republic of China



ئاقچۇنلاردىن
ئالغاب نارى

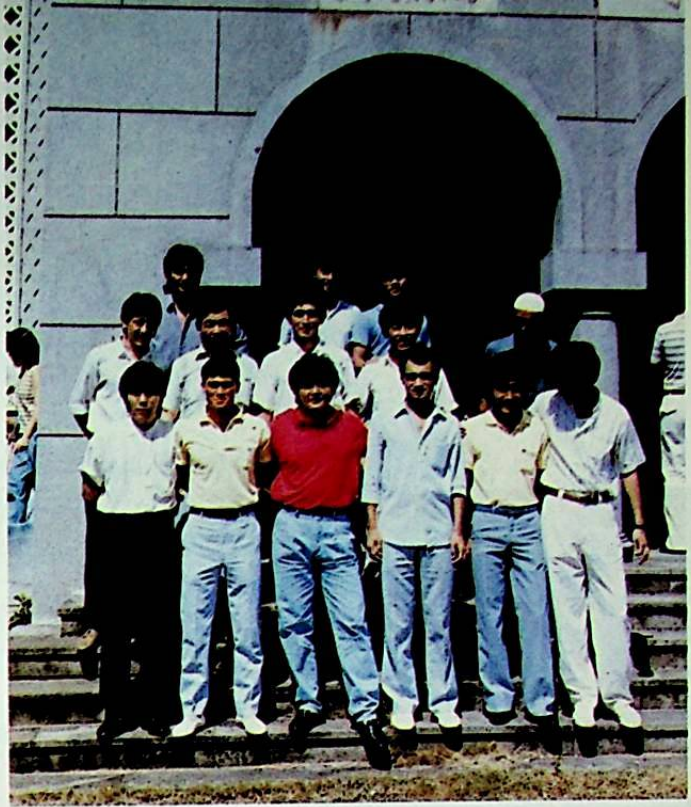
士氣如虹
يۈكسەك مورال
روح عالیه
The morale of the troops is high



揚威天空
 كوكله رنى قوچمدؤ!
 القوة على الجو
 Showing the superiority in the sky



不亞鬚眉
 قنز - خانسم لهر ئەرکه کله رگه ئوخشاش
 عسکریات صینیات
 A woman as good as man



新疆學生
ش. تۈركستانلىق ئوقۇغۇچىلار
من طلاب سينكيانغ
The students of Sinkiang



載歌載舞
ناخشا ئەيتىپ ئۈسۈل ئويناش
الرقص والغنا
singing and dancing



图舞如花
 رەقىسلەر گۈلگە ئايلاندى
 رقصة صينية
 The circle dance as flower



邊疆舞
 چىگارا ئۆسۈللىرىدىن
 رقص شعبية
 The borderland dance



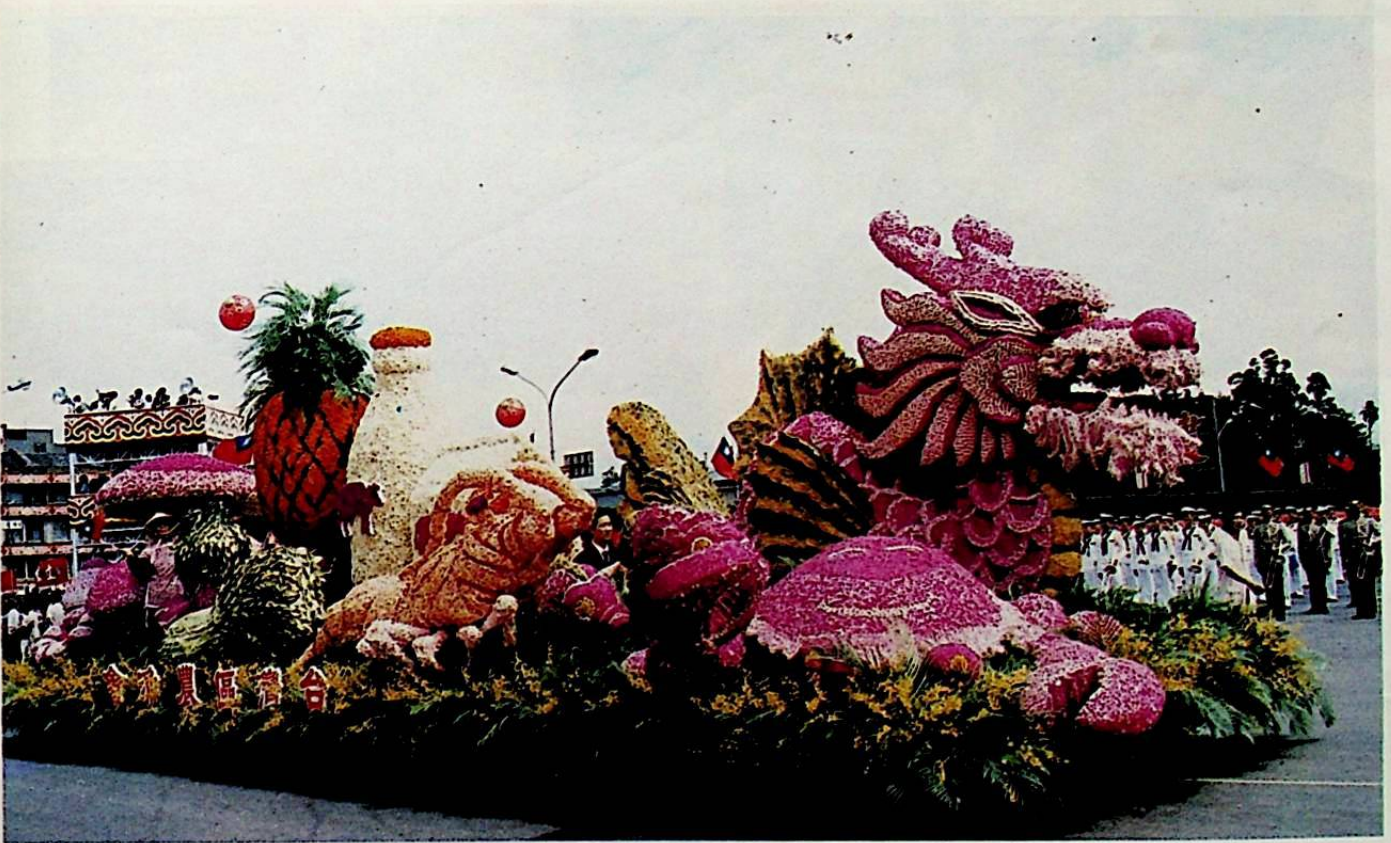
少年英姿
 ياشلىقنىڭ زىلۋالىغى
 طموح الشباب
 Young people dashing appearance



強身強國

تەننى كۈچەيتىش دۆلەتنى كۈچەيتىش دېمەك!
الرياضة والقوة

The strenthen people, the powerful country



物阜民康

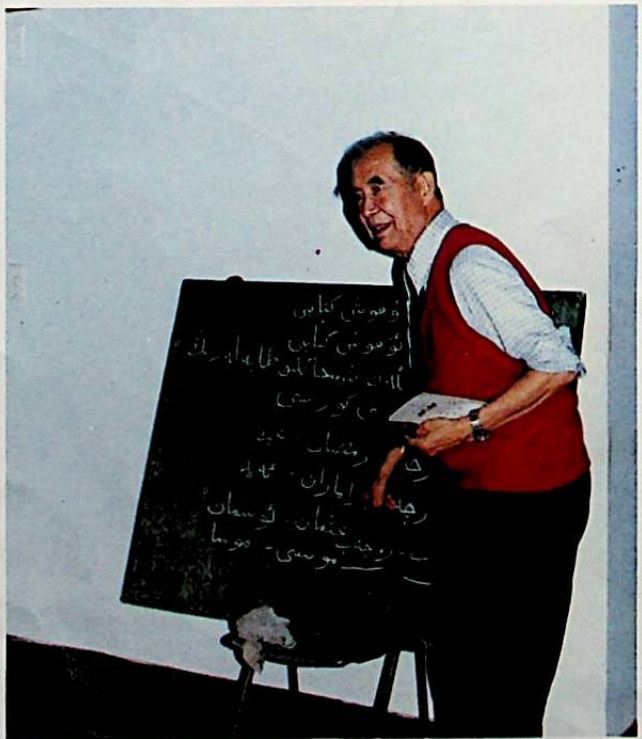
موللوق ۋە كامپاپلىق ئىچىدىكى ئەل
رفاهية ورخا

Goods are plentiful, the people are happy

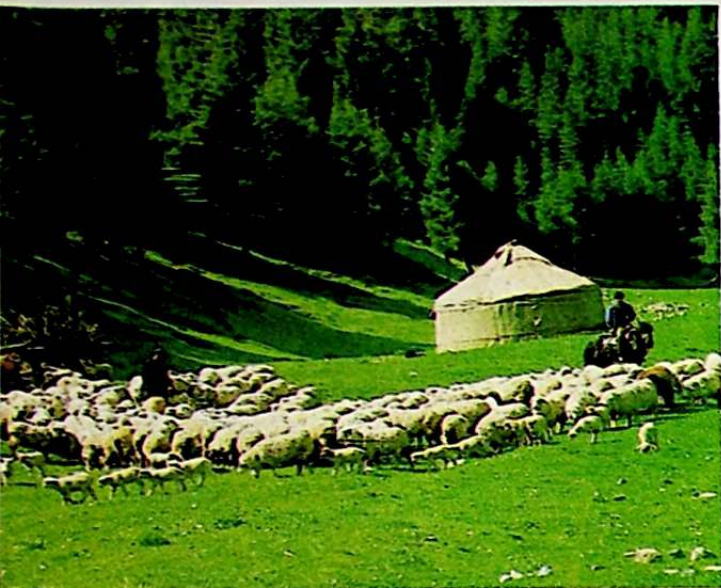


記者訪問阿不都艾里先生
 بىر گېزىت مۇخبىرى ئابدۇۋەلى ئەپەندى بىلەن گەپلەشمەكتە
 مقابلة مع السيد عبد علي

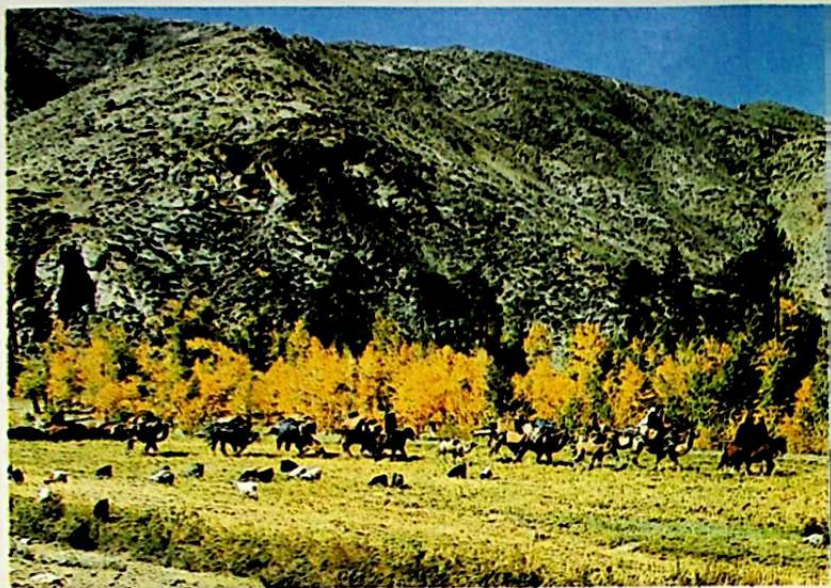
The reporter visited Mr. ABDULVALI



維文教學
 ئۇيغۇرچە تەدرىسات
 تعليم اللغة الايغورية
 The Uigur language class



天山牧野
تيانشاننىڭ يايلاقلىرىدىن
منظر موعى تيان شان
A graze area of Teyansan



阿爾泰山一瞥
ئالتاي نىڭ بىر مەنزىرىسى
منظر جبل التاي تاغى
Taking a glance of the Altay Tagi



哈萨克人游牧生涯
قازاقلارنىڭ چارۋاچىلىق تۇرمۇشى
حياة سكان قازاق
The nomadic life of Kazak

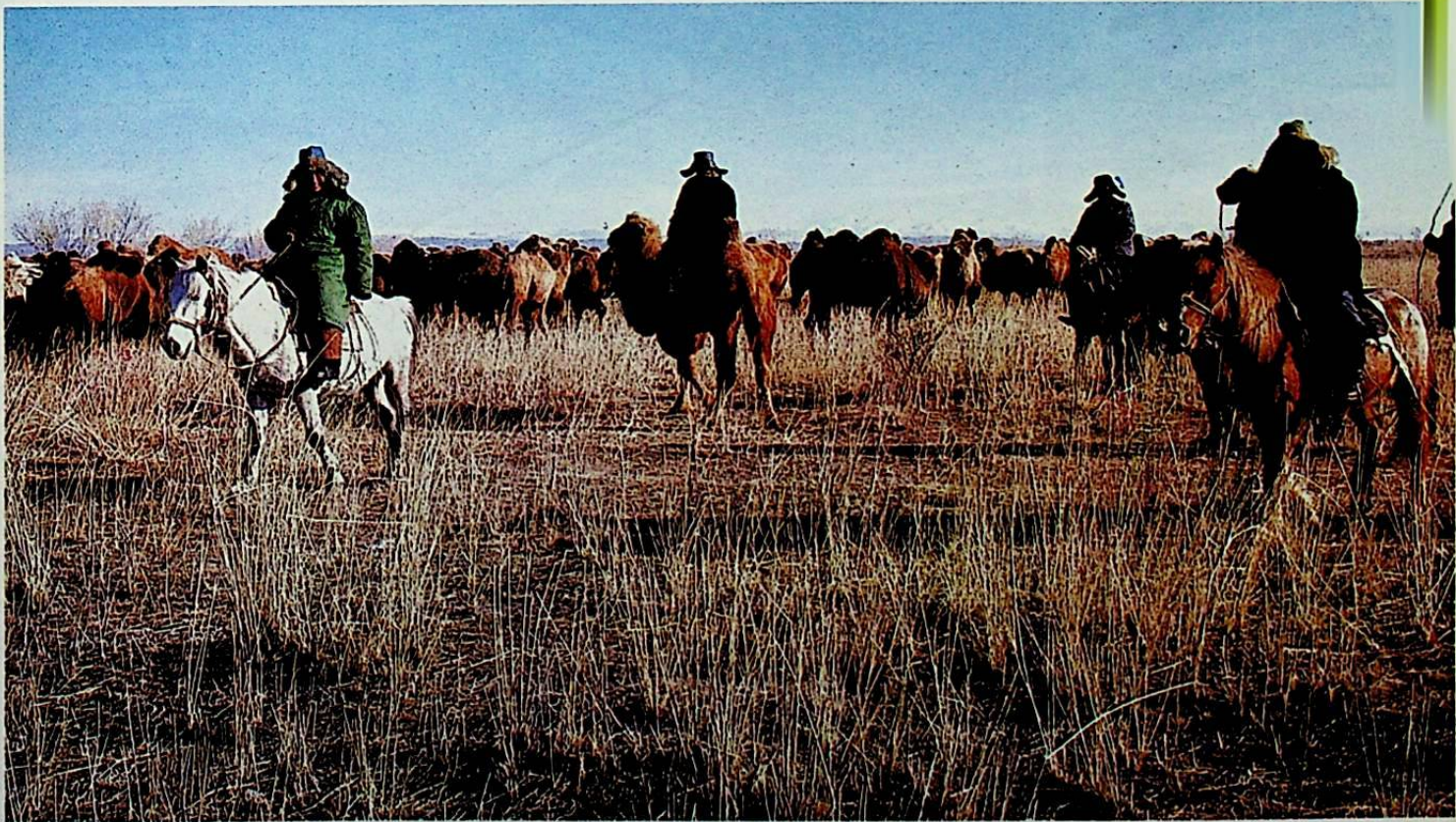


雄偉的穆士塔格阿特山
هەشەمەتلىك موزتاغ
جبل موزتاغ التاي تاغى
The grandeur of Tagimozaltay



塔吉克人手工藝
 تاجىكلارنىڭ قول ھۈنەرلىرىدىن
 منتجات يدوۋە لسكان تاجىك
 The handicraft of Tajek

哈薩克人的獵戶
 قازاق ئاۋچىلىرى
 صيادو سكان قازاق
 The hunters of Kazak



哈薩克人的獵戶
 قازاق ئاۋچىلىرى
 صيادو سكان قازاق
 The hunters of Kazak



塔吉克姑娘的演奏
 تاجىك قىزى چالغوسى بىلەن
 عزف الموسيقى لفتات قازاقى
 The girl of Tajek playing a musical instrument.



戴著朵巴的維吾爾女孩
 دوپپيا كېيگەن بىر ئۇيغۇر قىزى
 فتىيات مە قىبىلە اوگورگا زىننەن
 Wearing duppassi of Uigurian girl



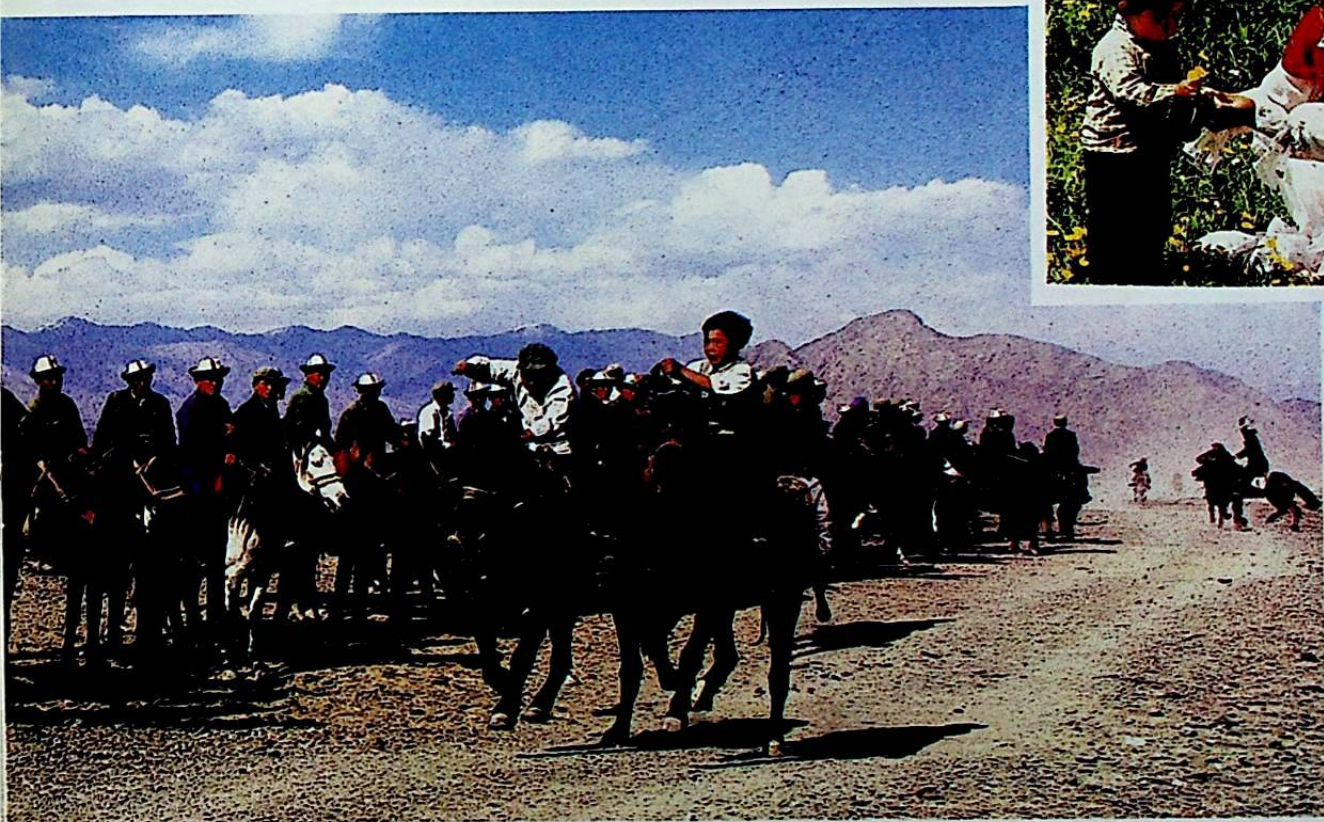
彈著冬不拉的少女
 دومبىرا چالماقدا بولغان قىز
 فتاة تعرف على رومبورا
 The young girl performing the Dumbura



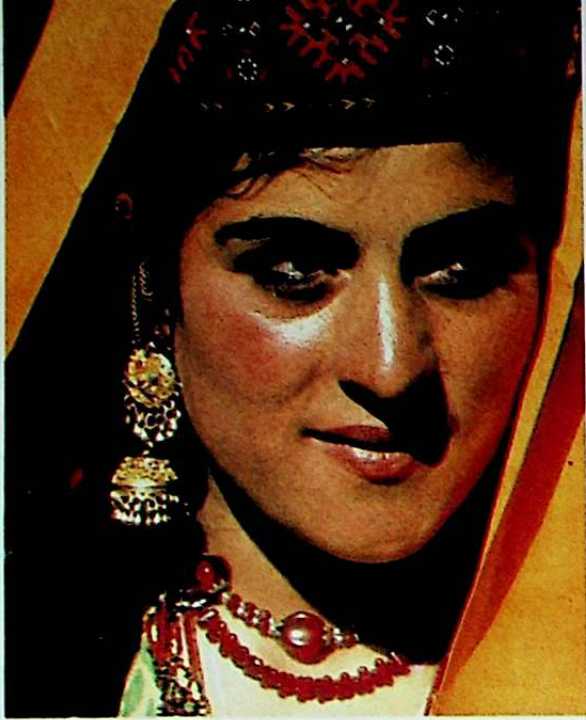
維吾爾人能歌善舞
 ئۇيغۇرلار ھەم ناخشىغا ھەم ئۇسۇلغا ماھىر
 ابنا، يوقور يجيدون الغناء والرقص
 The Uigur skilled in both singing and dancing



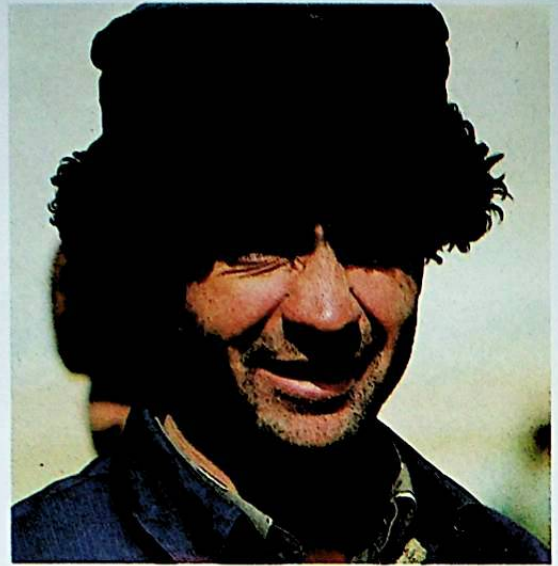
哈萨克婦女與兒童
 قازاق ئاياللارى ۋە بالىلىرى
 نسا، وازغال قازاق
 The women and children of Kazak



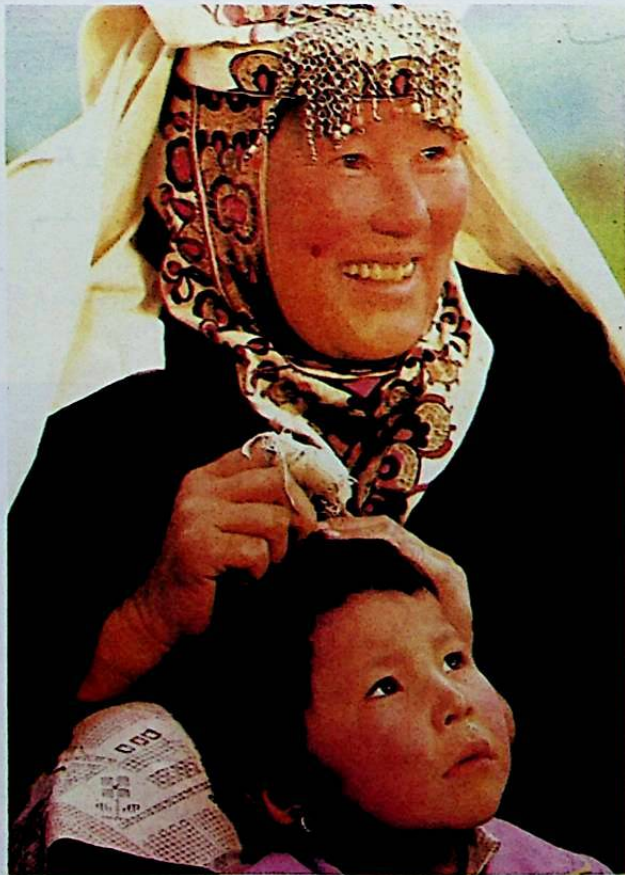
11. 哈萨克人善於騎術
 قازاقلار ئۇستا ئات مىنگۈچى
 ابنا، قازاق يجيدون الفرسان
 Kazak skilled in riding



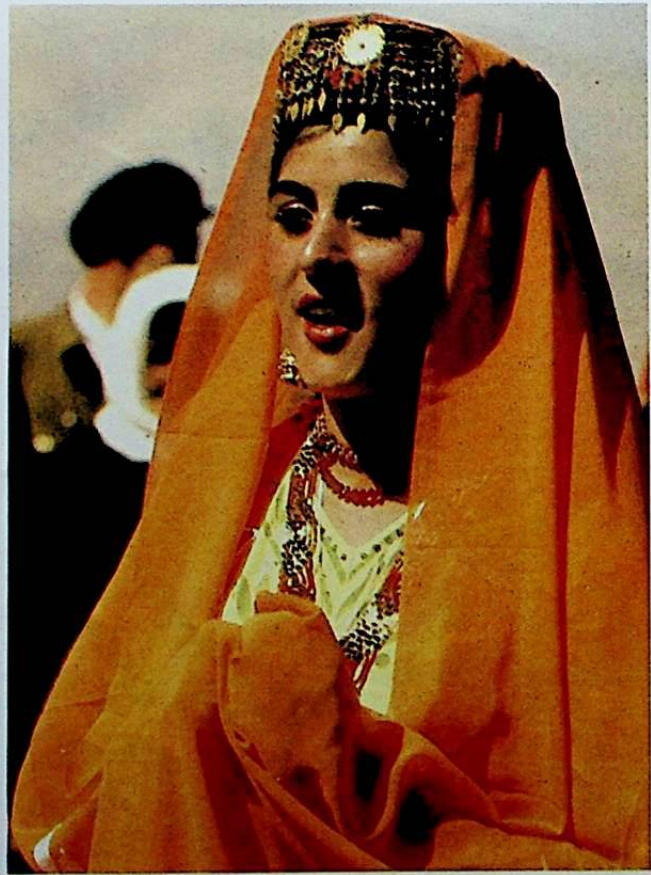
塔吉克人的裝飾
 تاجىكلارنىڭ قىياپىتى
 مزخرفات اھالى قازاق
 The embellishment of Tajek



塔吉克人的裝飾
 تاجىكلارنىڭ قىياپىتى
 مزخرفات اھالى قازاق
 The embellishment of Tajek

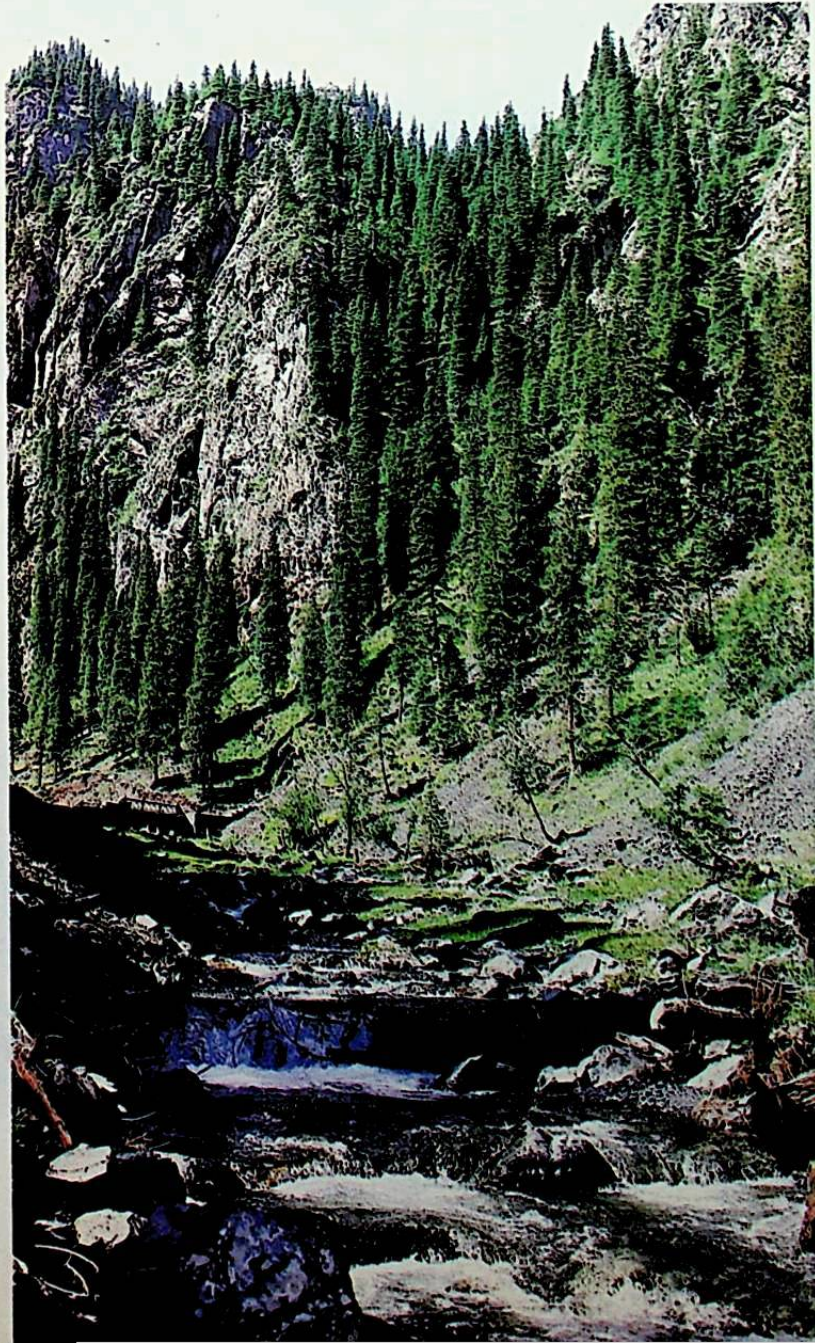
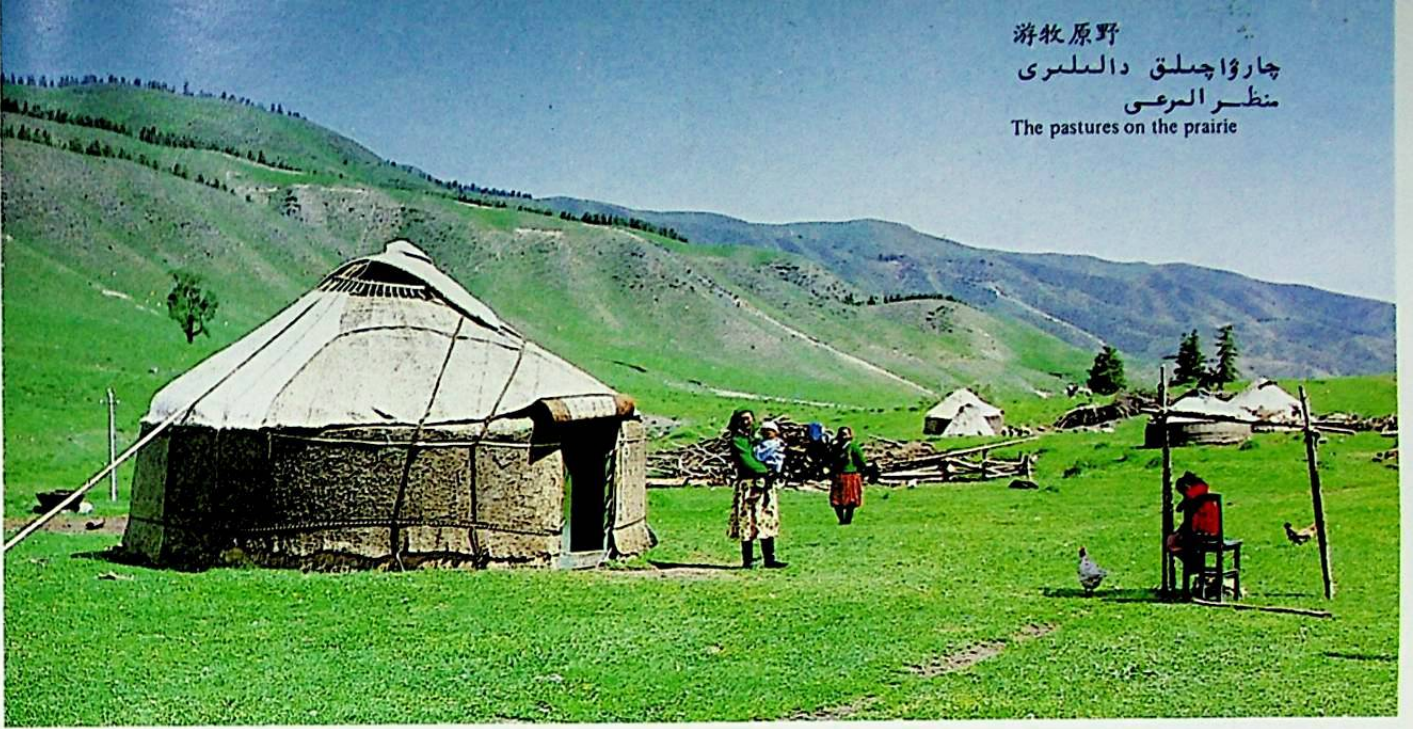


塔吉克母子
 ئانا - بالا تاجىكلار
 ام واطل قىبىلە تاجىك
 The mother and son of Tajek



等待出嫁的塔吉克新娘
 ئۆيۈلۈنۈش ئالدىدىكى تاجىك كېلىنى
 عرور قىبىلە تاجىك
 Tajek bride waiting wedding ceremony

游牧原野
چارۋاچىلىق دالىرى
منظر المرعى
The pastures on the prairie



雪嶺雲杉流水
قارلىق چوققىدىن،
بولوتلار ئاراسىدىن چىققان ئېقىم
اشجارى ونهيري جبل الثلج
A snow-capped mountain, spruce fir, flowing water.

雪嶺雲杉流水

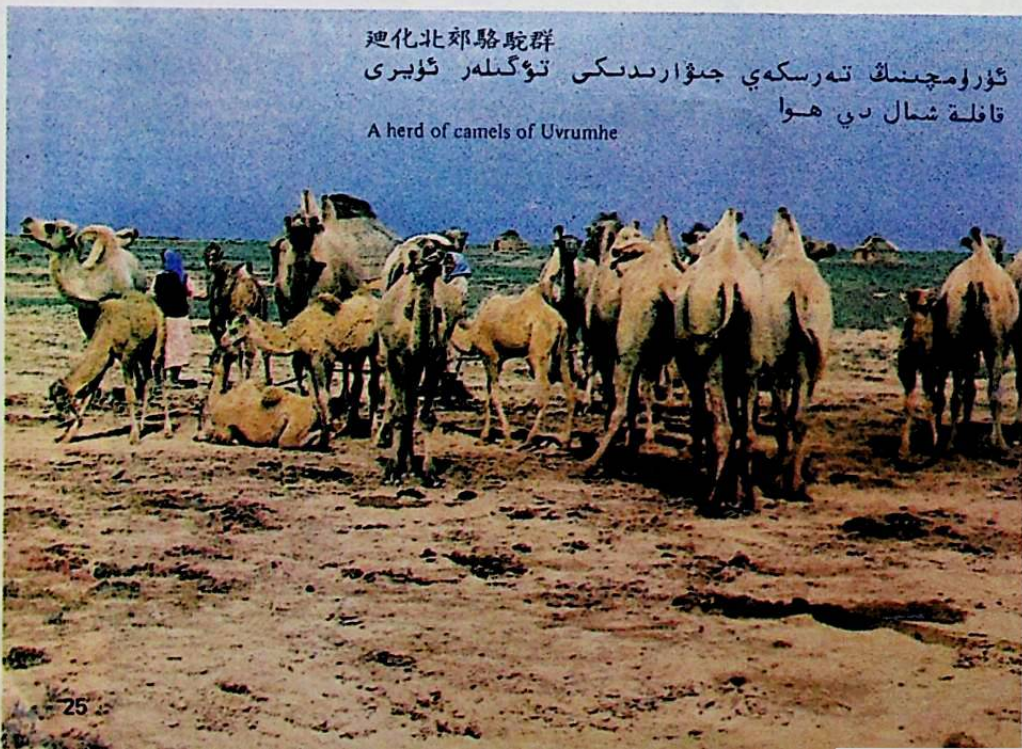
قارلىق چوققىدىن،
بۇلۇتلاڭ ئاراسىدىن چىققان ئېقىم
اشجارىنىڭ ئېقىمى
A snow-capped mountain, spruce fir, flowing water.

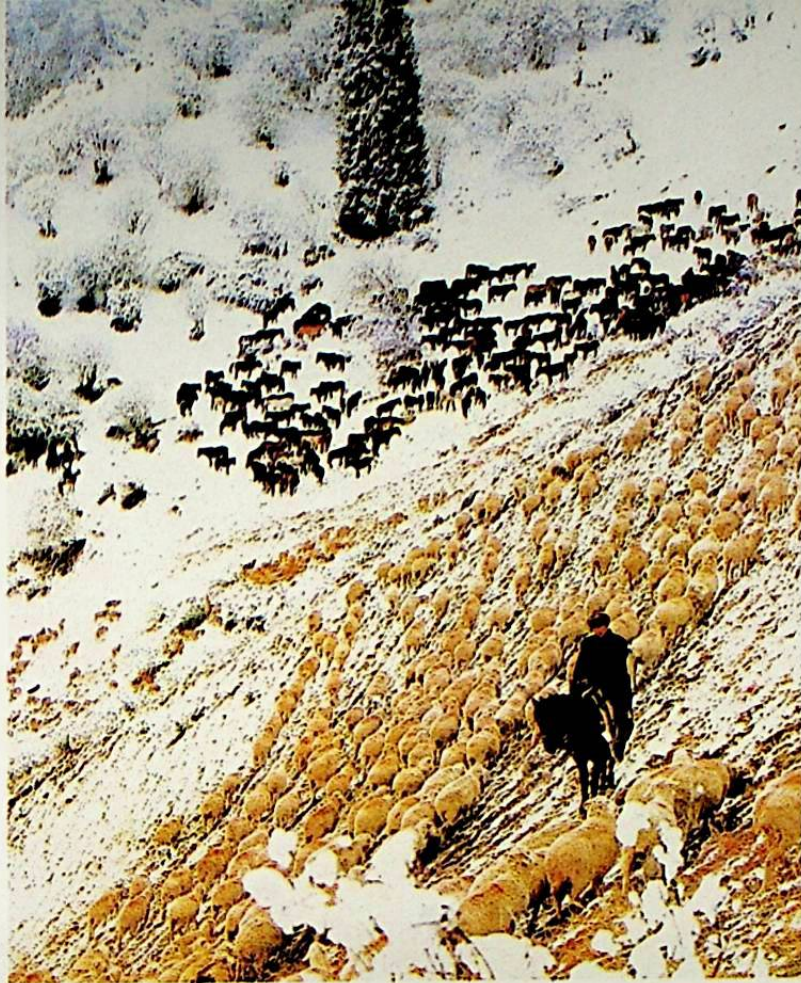


迪化北郊駱駝群

ئۈرۈمچىنىڭ تەرسكەي جىۋارىدىكى تۈگىلەر ئۆيى
قافلىق شىمالىي ھوا

A herd of camels of Uvrumhe

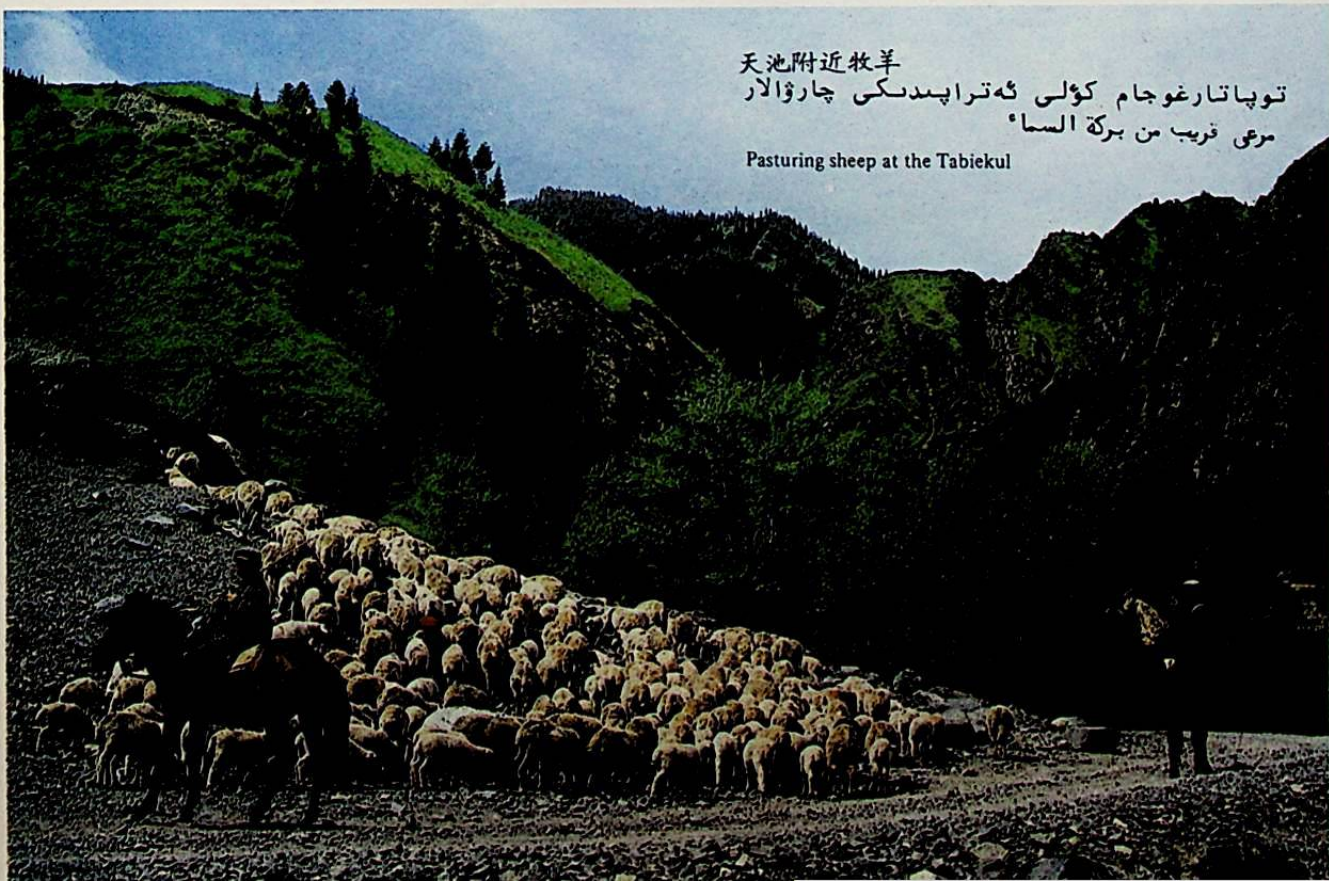




大雪紛飛的景色

قارلىق - شورغانلىق مەنزىرە
منظر سقوط الثلج

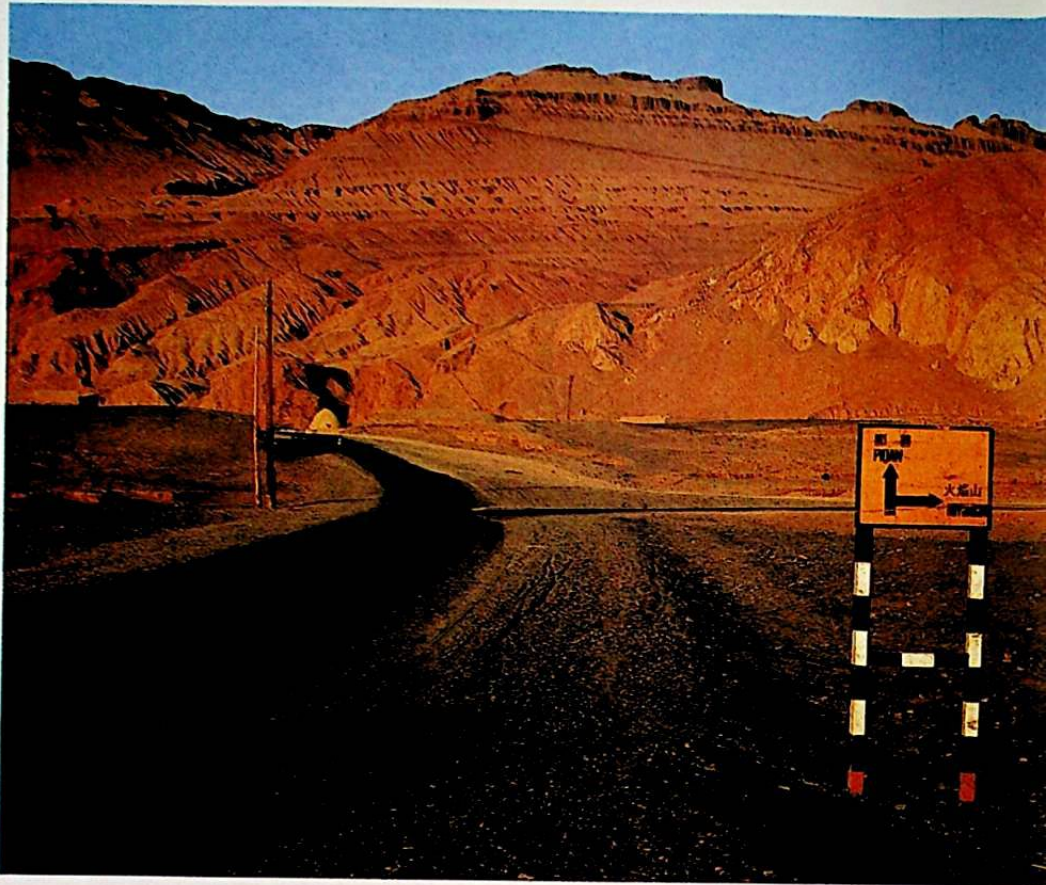
The scenery of snowing in great flakes



天池附近牧羊

توپاتارغوجام كۆلى ئەتراپىدىكى چارۋالار
مرعى قريب من بركة السماء

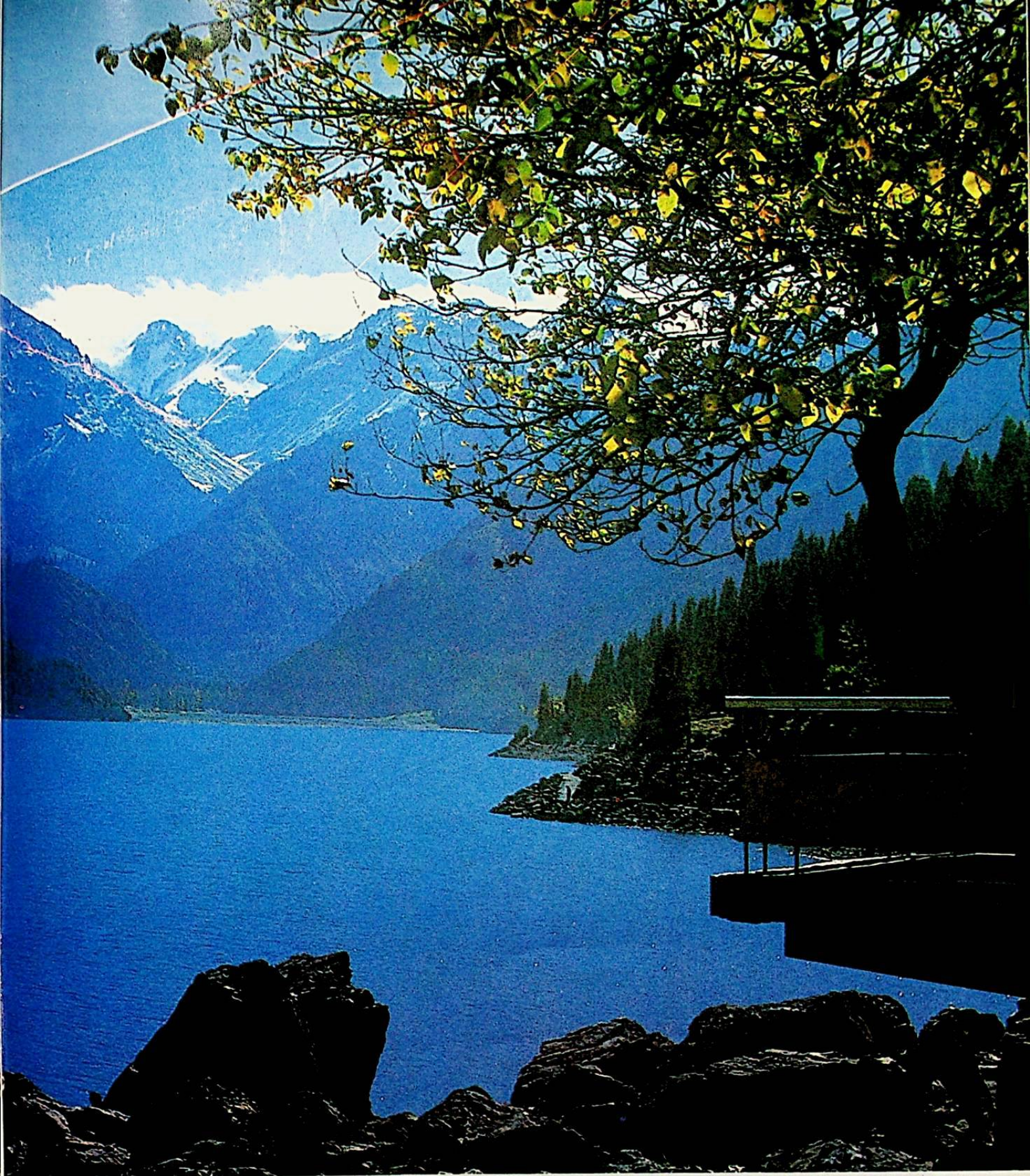
Pasturing sheep at the Tabiekul



吐鲁番远眺
تورپان نىڭ ئۇزاقدىن كۆرۈنۈشى

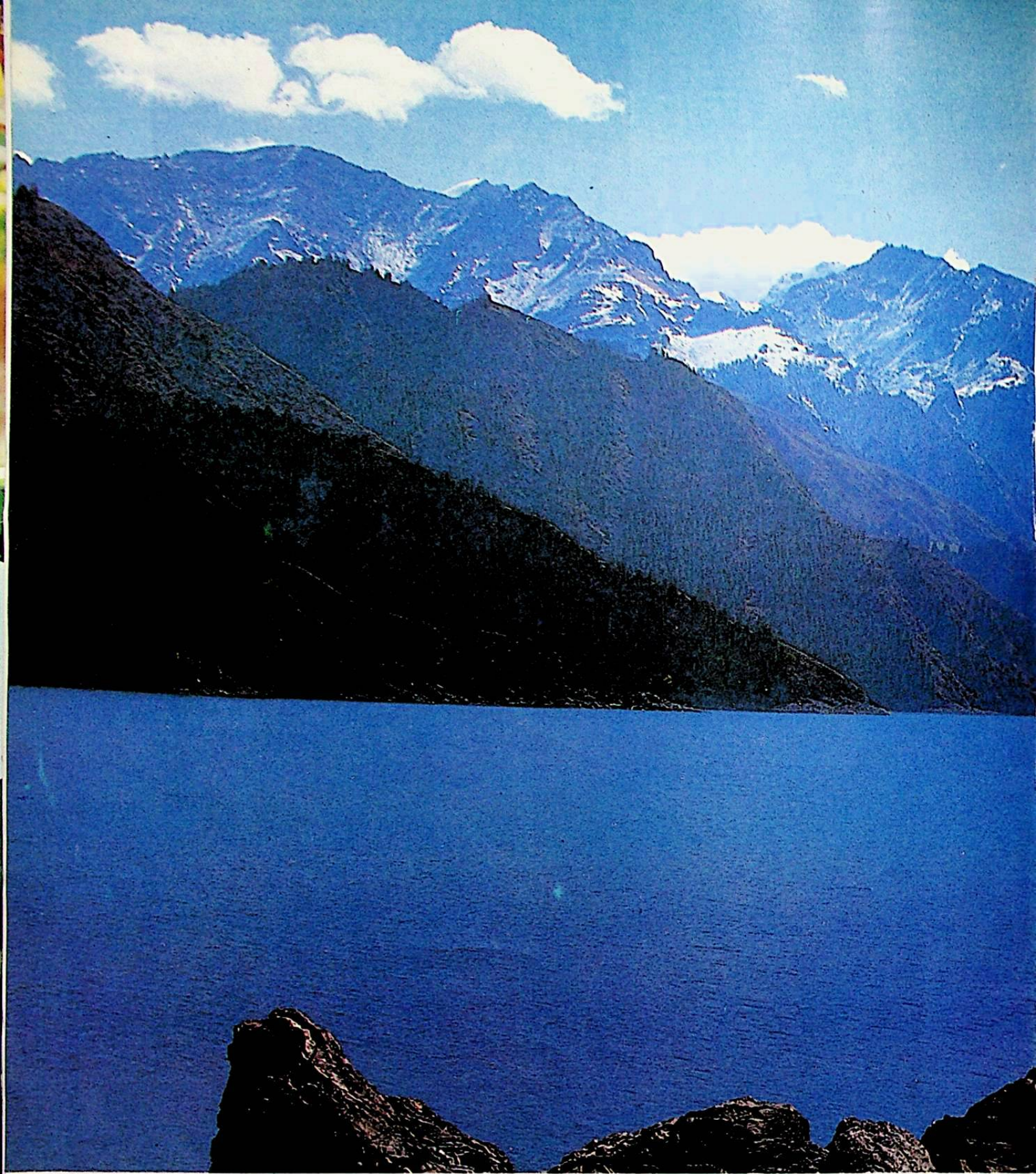


منظر بتورپان
Taking a distant looks at Turpan

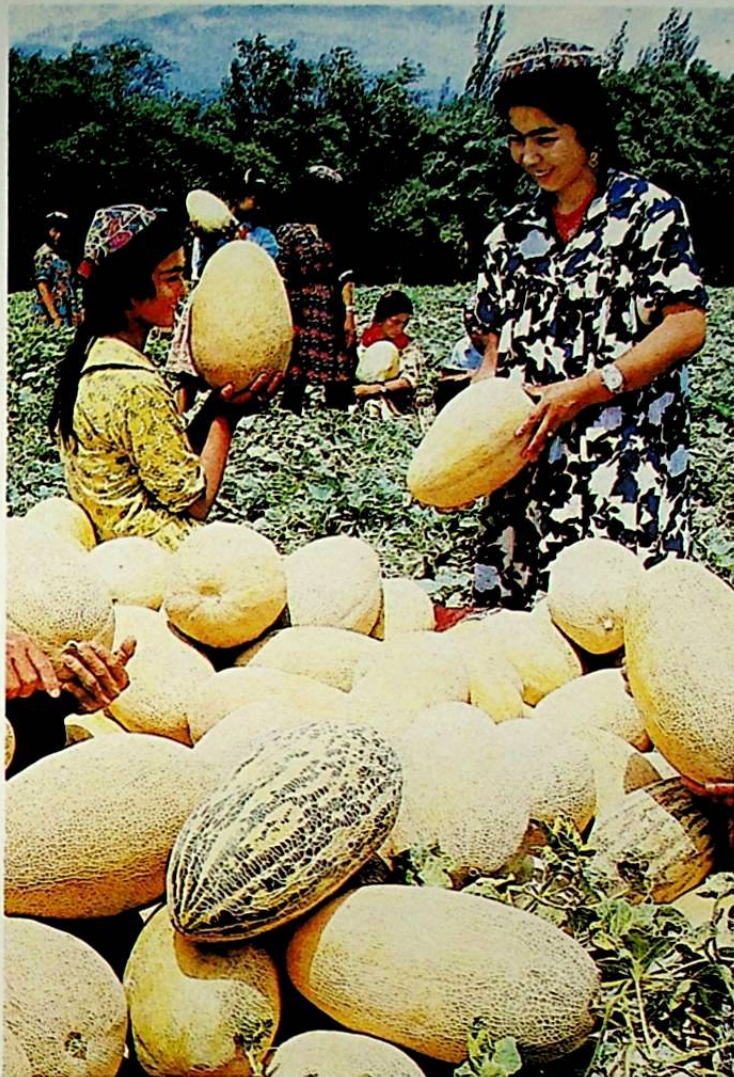


منظر قمة الجبل ببيركة السما*

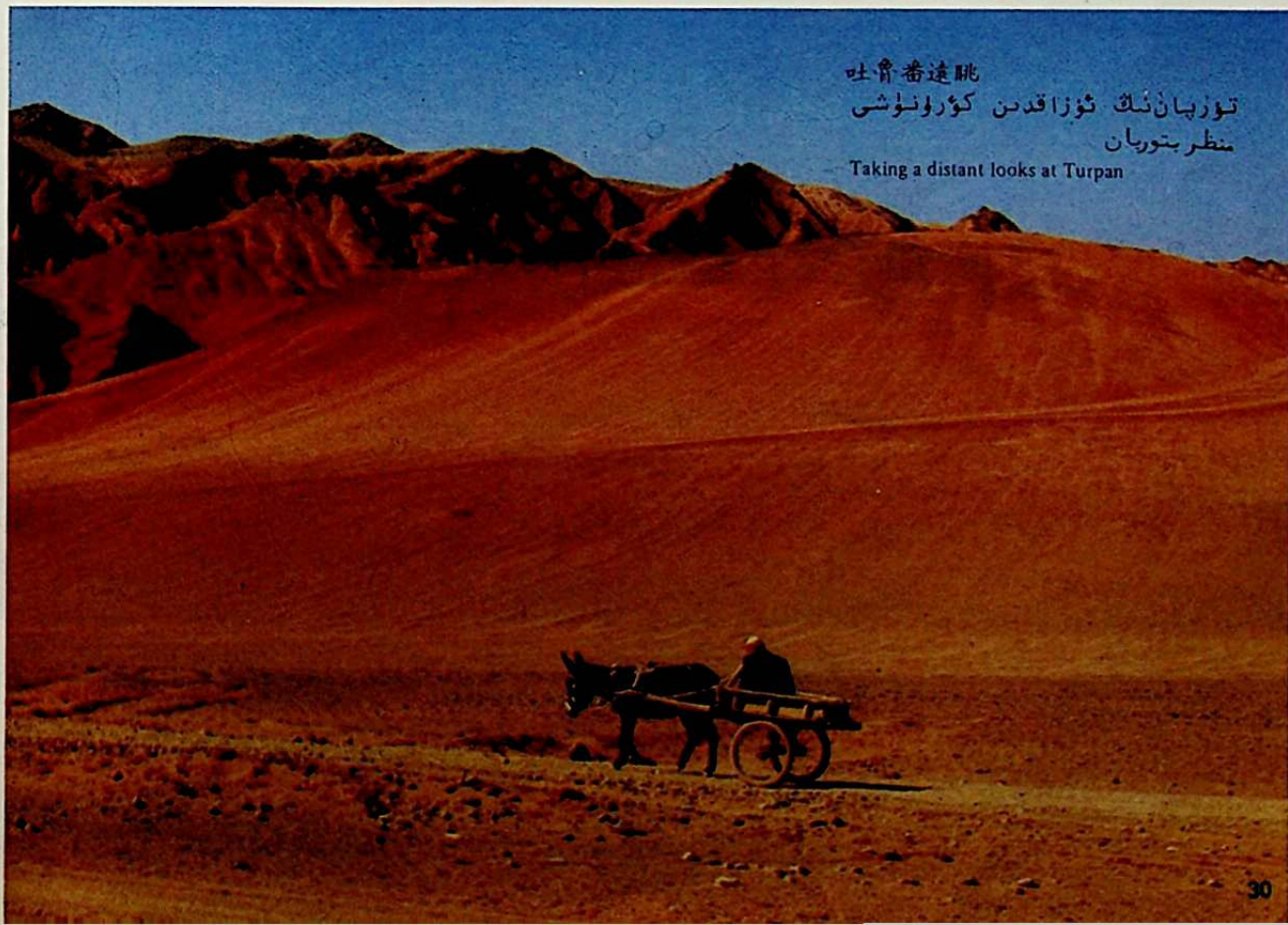
The beautiful snow mountain of Tabiekul



天池雪峯美景
توپاتارغوجام قارلىق چوققىسىنىڭ گۈزەل كۆرۈنىشى



哈密瓜成熟時
قوغون نىڭ پىشقان پەيتى
فواكه الشام
The ripe melon period of Kumul



吐鲁番远眺
تۇرپان نىڭ ئۇزاقدىن كۆرۈنۈشى
منظر تۇرپان
Taking a distant looks at Turpan



伊犁“果子沟”

ئىلى مەنزىرىسىدىن «تەلكە»

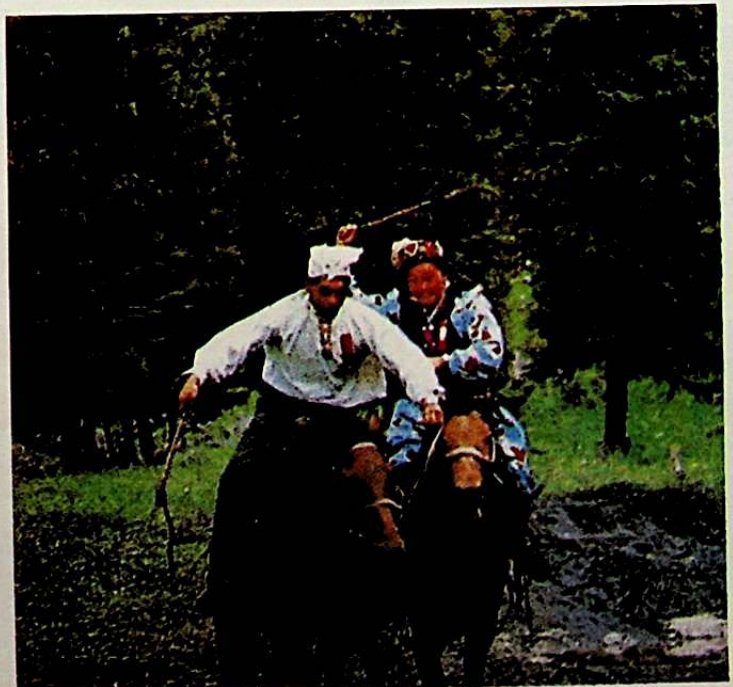
«مجرى الفواكه» بايلى

The fruit canyon of Ele

春到伊犁
ئىلىدا گەرتە ياز
الربيع في ايلي
The spring came to Ele



“姑娘追”哈萨克少女爱情游戏
قازاق خەلقىنىڭ سۆيگۈ ئويۇنلىرىدىن
«قىز قوغان»
تسليات فتیات قىبیل قازاق
“The girl goes after the boy”—Kazak girl loves play

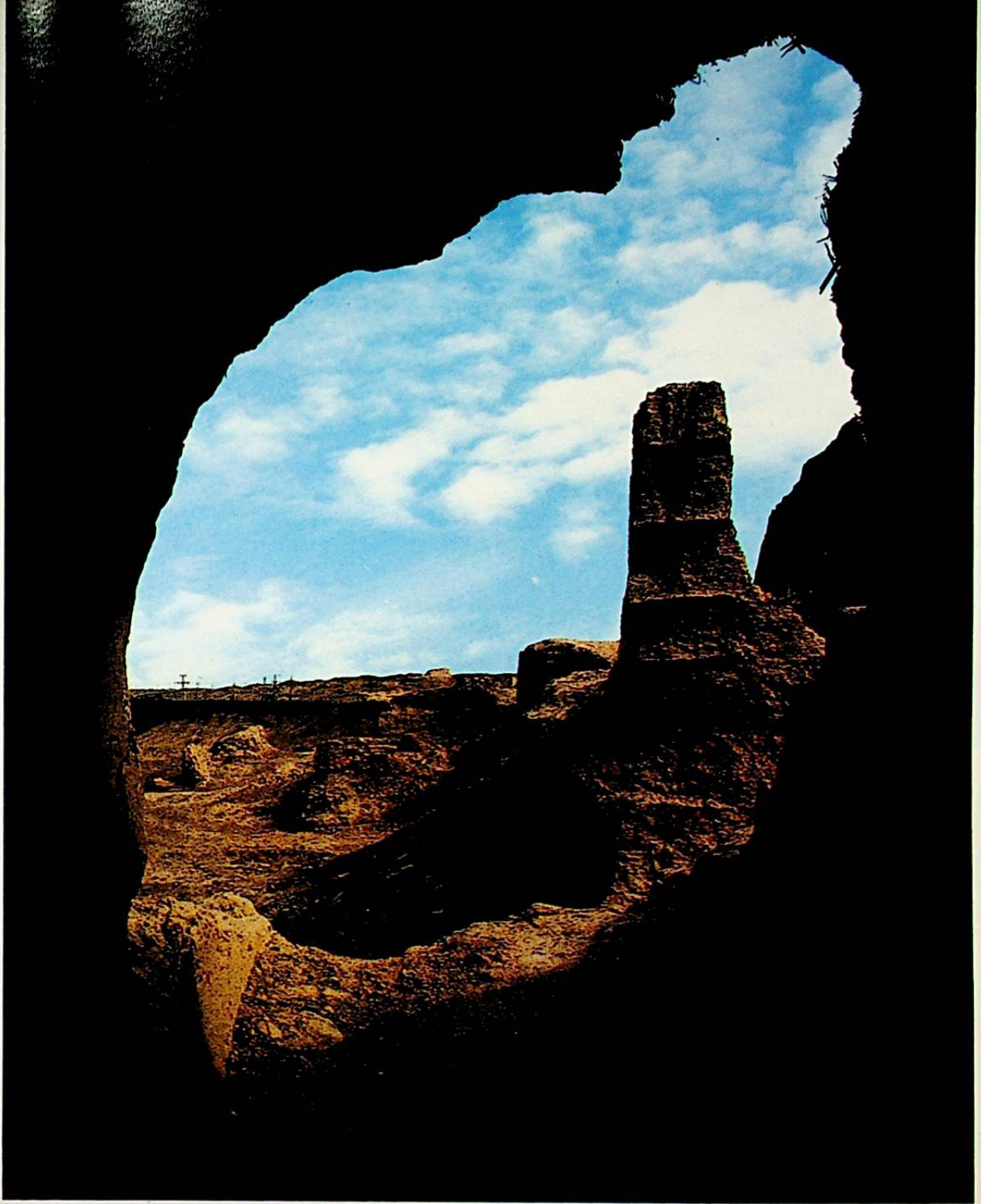




庫車烽火臺
کوچار دسکی مه شئەل سە یلیگا
منارة بکوهار
A tall structure for beacon fir in Kuchar



Summer - ducking ponds at Bustan Lake



錫克沁千佛洞

كۆچار بېقىنىدىكى مىڭ ئۆي

غارالتىئال بەھاكاسىن

A cave have thousand Buddha at Hakasin

庫車—蘇巴什故城
کوچاردا، ئەسكى سوبېشى شەھىرى
مدینه قديمه - سوپا
Kuchar—Old city of Subash





庫車—歌舞葡萄架下
كوچاردا، ئۈزۈم باراڭى ئاستىدىكى نەغمە - ناۋا



الرقص والغناء تحت اشجار العنب
Kuchar—singing and dancing under the grapevine trellis



疏附日出

قەشقەر كونا شەھەردە كۈن چىقىش
منظر طلوع الشمس بشو نو

The Sunrise at Kashkar

喀什噶尔河

قەشقەر دەرياسى

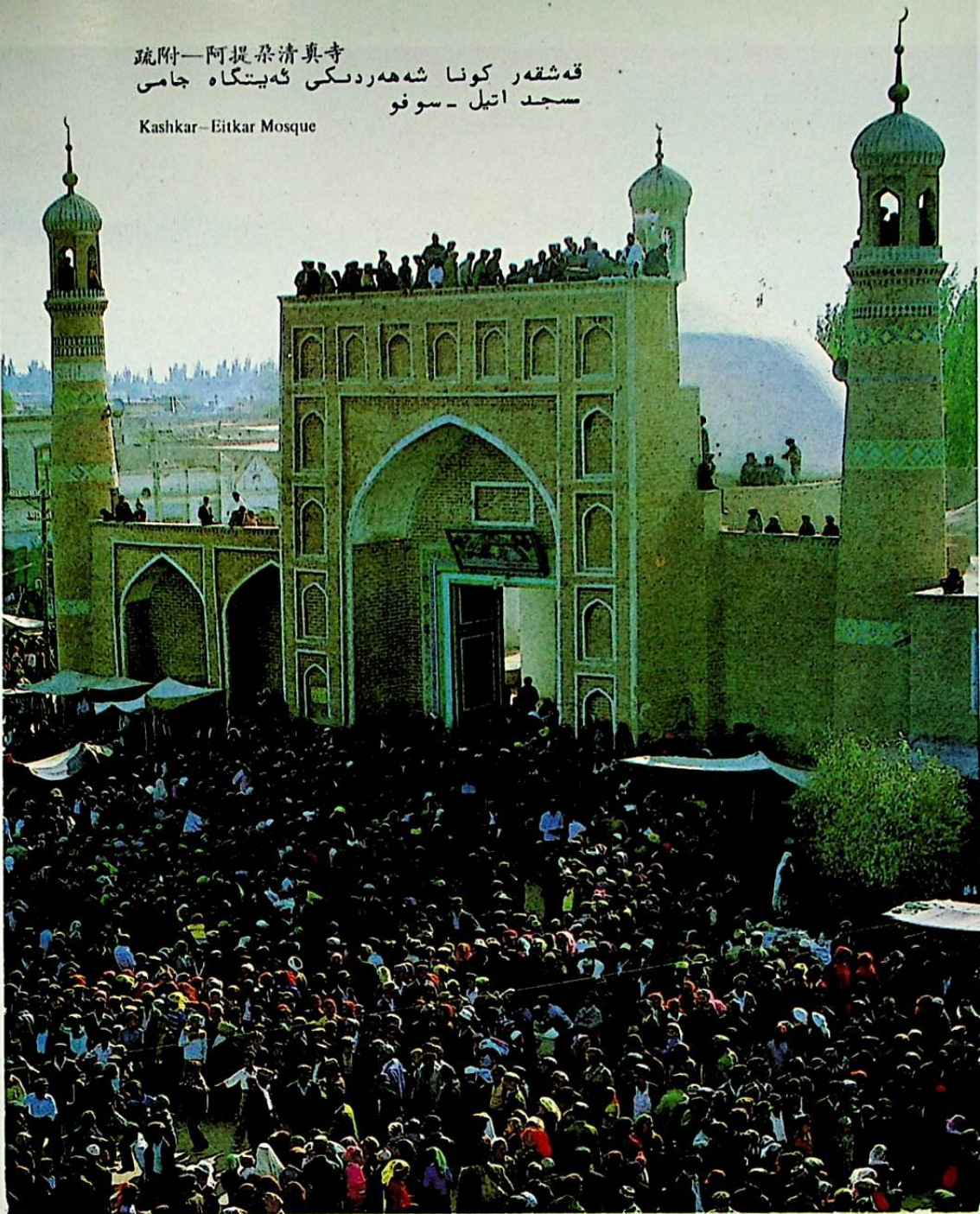
نەركاشن قار

River of Kashkar



疏附—阿提朵清真寺
قەشقەر كونا شەھەردىكى ئەيتگاھ جامى
مسجد ايتيل - سوفو

Kashkar-Eitkar Mosque

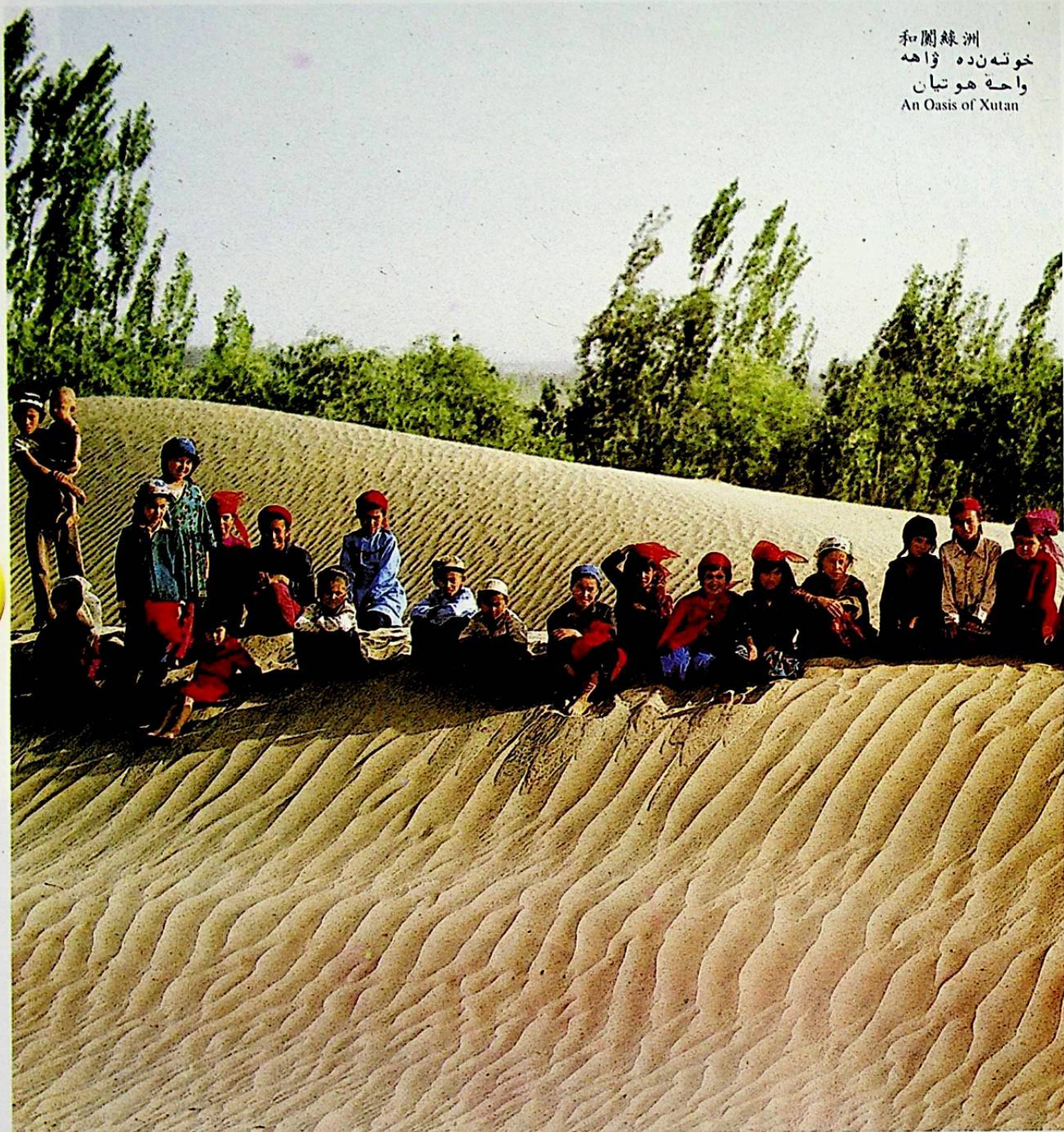


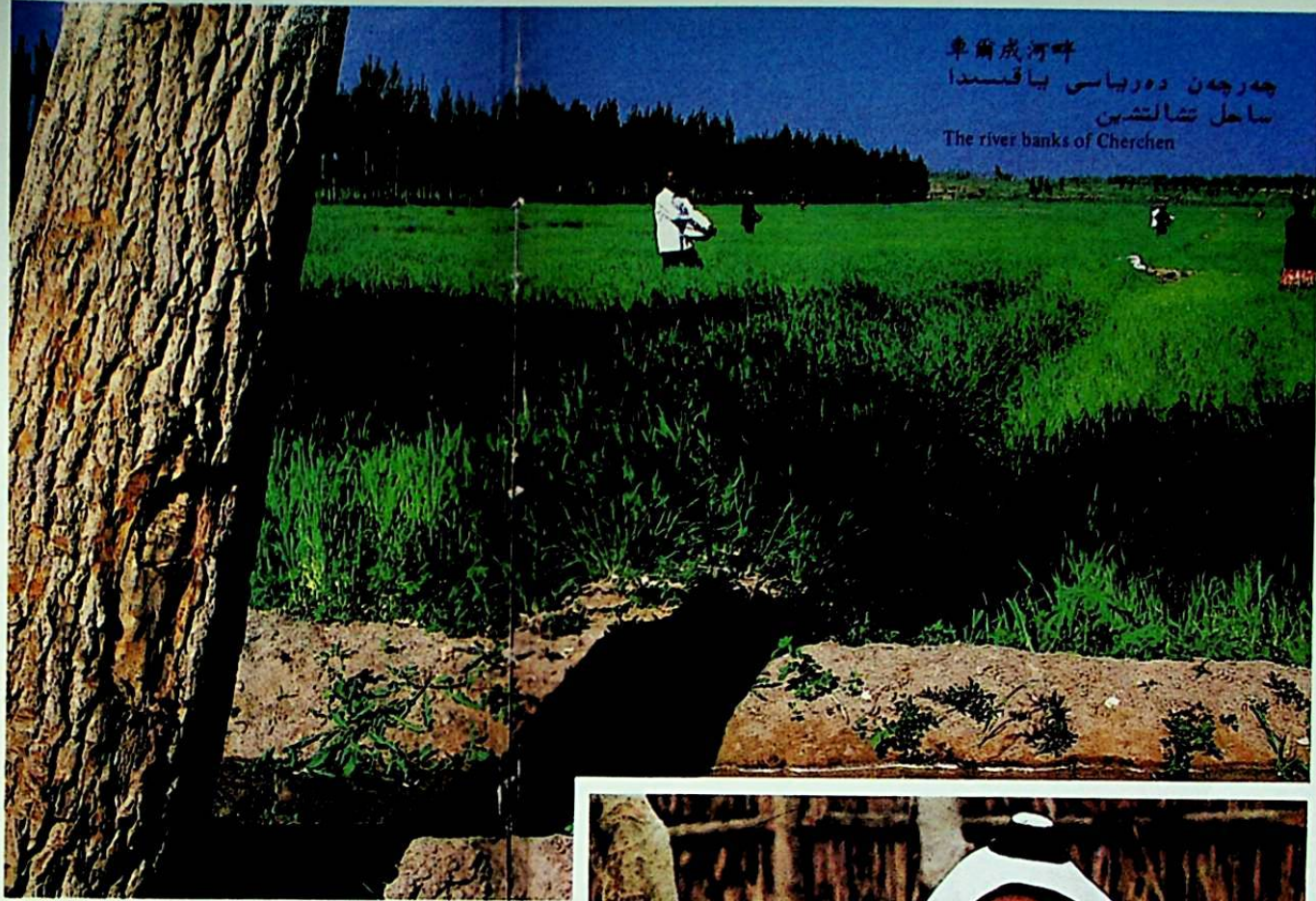
疏附—維吾爾人全家團圓
قەشقەر كونا شەھەردە
بىر ئۇيغۇر ئائىلىسى
اجتماع اهالي يوقۇر

Kashkar-A union of Uigur Family

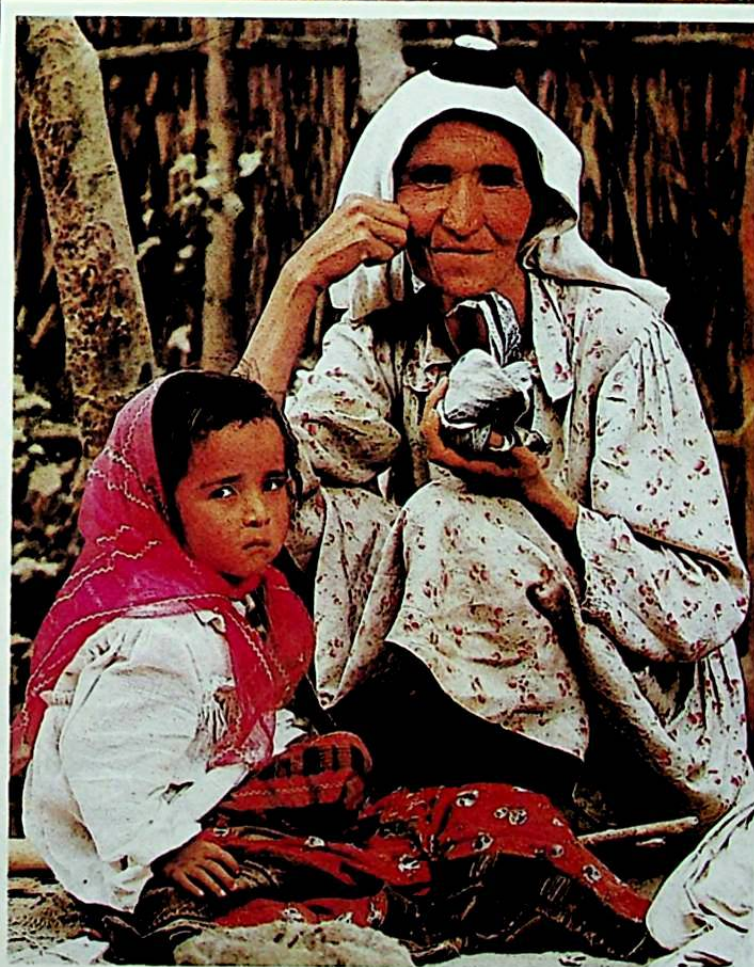


和闐綠洲
خوتەندە ۋاھە
واحة هوتيان
An Oasis of Xutan





車爾成河畔
چەرچەن دەرياسى ياغسندا
ساحل تىنچلىقى
The river banks of Cherchen



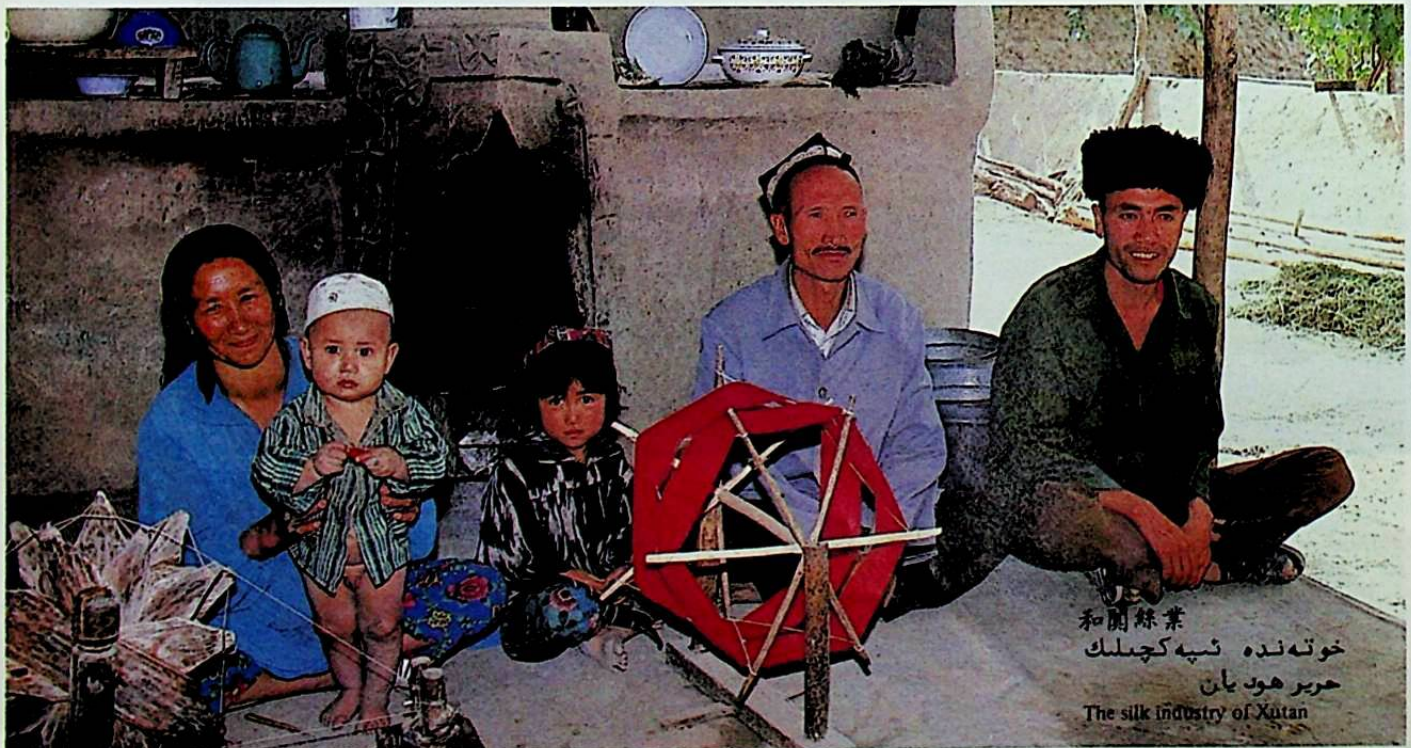
44. 民豐—祖孫
چەكمەندە بىر بوۋا - نەۋرە
مىن فو - جد وحفيد
Grand-mother and grand-child in Navra



和闐絲業
خوتەندە نىپە كچىلىك
حرير ھوديان
The silk industry of Xutan



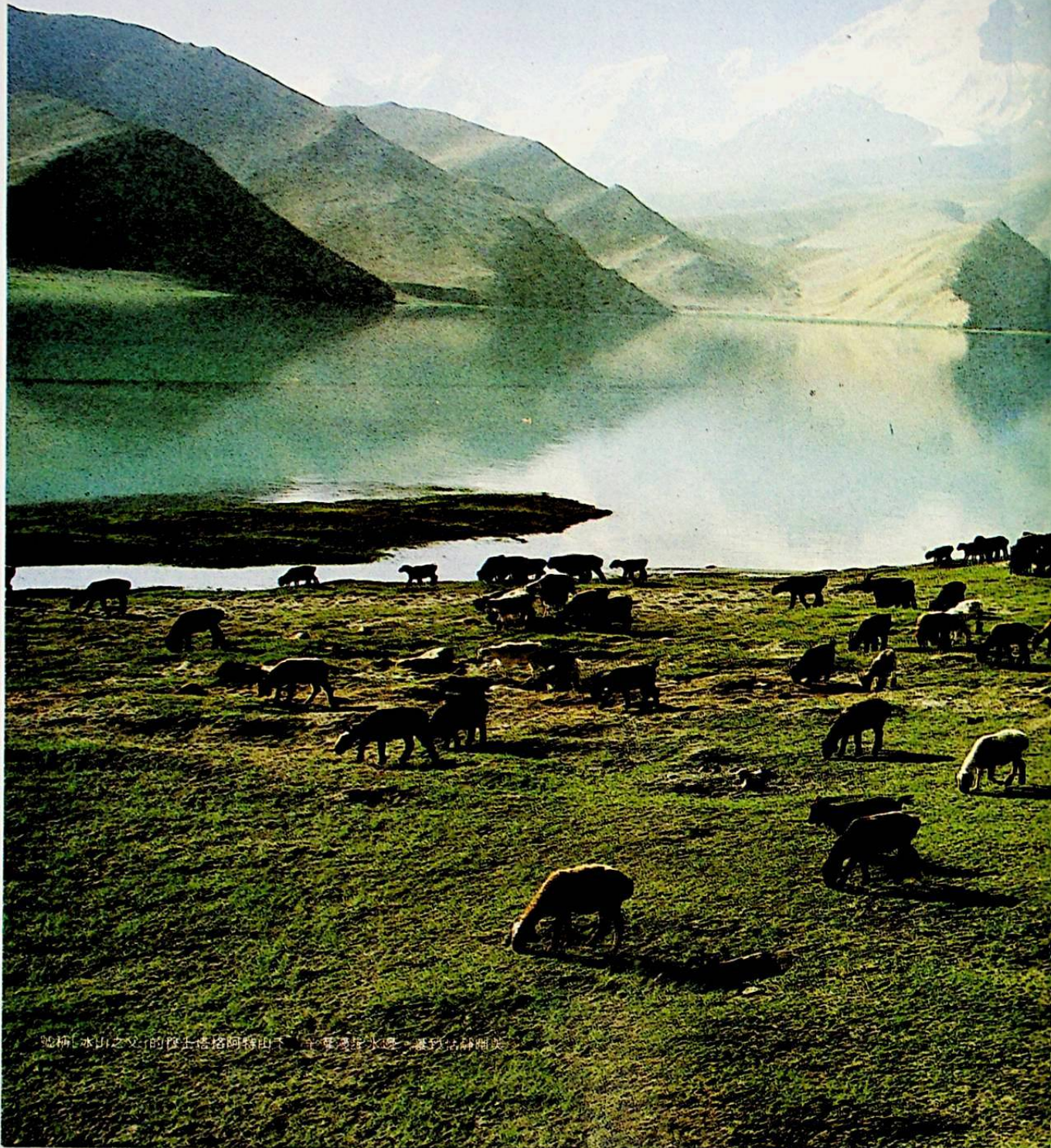
和闐玉
قاش تېشى
جار ھوديان
The jade of Xutan



和闐絲業
خوتەندە نىپە كچىلىك
حرير ھوديان
The silk industry of Xutan

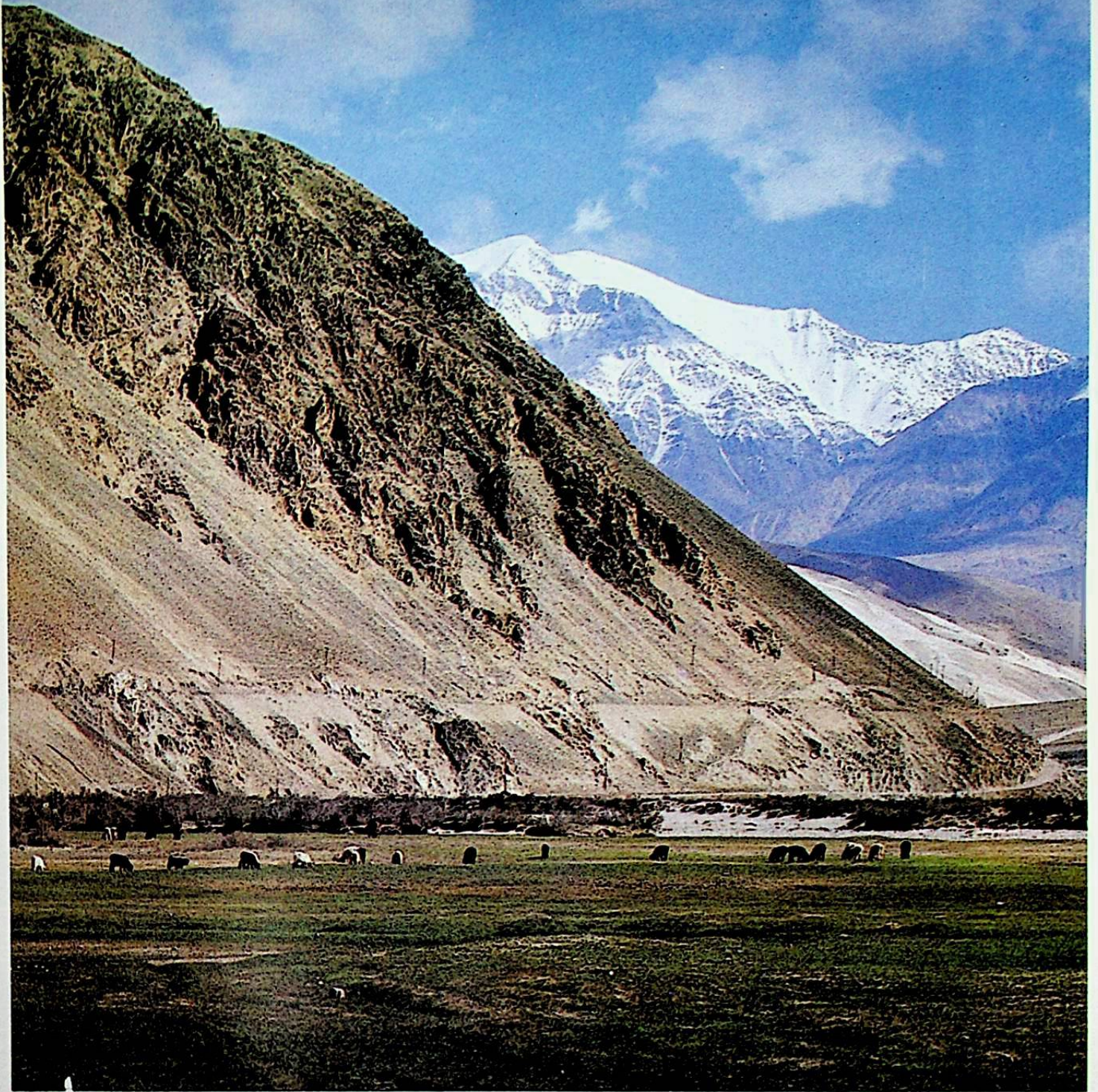


穆士塔格阿特山
موز تاغ قاتا تېغى
جبل سستاق آتر
The Muztagata mountain



號稱「冰山之父」的穆士塔格阿特山下，千層漫綠水堤，瀑布恬靜幽美。

帕米爾高原
پامیر یاییلیغی
مرتفعات پامیر تاجی
The plateau of Pamir



But he successfully penetrated various lines of landbased defense and tight air surveillance because his job was to make sure fellow pilots do not defect, Cheng said.

The freedom seeker said he had resolved to defect in 1981, but preparations and his flying techniques were not good enough then.

His longing for freedom made him leave behind on the mainland a 61-year-old mother, a 24-year-old wife and two-month-old son, he said.

Cheng called on the Peking regime to spare his family.

He denied that Seoul authorities tried to talk him into going to a third country other than the Republic of China.

Cheng said he believes China will be reunited under The Three Principles of the People.

Read a poem

Shortly before the defector answered questions from reporters, he read a poem and letter he wrote while in the custody of Seoul authorities.

Government Information Office Director-General Chang King-yuh presented Cheng with a copy of "The Reunification of China and World Peace" by President Chiang Ching-kuo.

Cheng, born in Hupei province, was leader of the first squadron, first battalion, fifteenth regiment of the Red Chinese naval fifth air division.

He took off from Laishan Airbase on Shantung peninsula on Oct. 24, 1986, changed course and flew into South Korean airspace.

South Korean radar picked up Cheng's MiG across the Yellow Sea as it entered South Korean airspace. Two Seoul warplanes scrambled to intercept and escorted the plane to Chougiu airbase, 70 miles (112 kilometers) southeast of Seoul.

Well treated in South Korea

He stayed in South Korea 56 days before coming to Taiwan. He said he was well treated by Seoul authorities.

Cheng is the 12th Red Chinese pilot to defect and the seventh to land in South Korea since the end of the 1950-53 Korean War. All have been allowed to come to Taiwan.

Cheng's defection is the second this year by a Red Chinese pilot.

On February 21 1986, Cheng Pao-chung triggered a major air-raid alert in Seoul as he sped south, pursued by North Korean jets.



大禹嶺 Tayuling



Freedom seeker Cheng Tsai-tien (center) waves to reporters during a press conference in Taipei following his arrival here from Seoul. Looking on are government spokesman Chang King-yuh (right) and military spokesman Chang Hui-yuan.

Defecting Red pilot Cheng here after 56 days in Korea

Defecting Chinese Communist pilot Cheng Tsai-tien said the nature of his job—to keep fellow pilots from defecting—provided him with an excellent opportunity to seek freedom.

Cheng, who flew a MiG-19 to Seoul in a defection bid two months ago, was allowed by South Korea to come to the Republic of China.

He told reporters during a press conference at the Armed Forces Officers' Club in Taipei that the Red Chinese have stepped up defection prevention measures because of a series of defections in recent years.

students at Tsinghua University.

Lee gave a lecture at National Taiwan University. He visited the synchrotron accelerator project and conducted experiments at the Institute of

Atomic and Molecular research.

Lee, born in 1936 graduated from National Taiwan University and went on to receive his Ph. D. at the University of California Berkeley.

Far-sighted Policymaking

Dr. Lee Yuan-tseh, who shared the 1986 Nobel Prize for Chemistry with two other scientists, received a warm welcome upon his return to the Republic of China. His extraordinary accomplishment has brought both pride and joy to the people of Taiwan, where he completed his elementary, high school, university, and graduate school education before going to the U.S. for further studies.

The Nobel laureate's success and some of the remarks he has made about conditions at home provide us with food for thought.

Although Dr. Lee's honor reflects credit on the education in the ROC, he probably would not have become a Nobel Prize winner if he had stayed here after completing his graduate school education. This is evidence that an environment is lacking here which is favorable for advanced scientific research and development.

It is for this very reason that quite a few scientists from the ROC would rather stay abroad than return and devote themselves to scientific development in their mother country.

Improvement of this situation depends on the creation of a better environment for scientific research. This goal requires more abundant resources and the spread of a spirit of enterprise among local scientists.

More important still is the development of basic sciences as the foundation of high technology, as Dr. Lee has pointed out. He stressed that policymakers must be far-sighted enough to meet this requirement, and the need to create the right environment for scientific research and train more scientists.

We agree. Over the past few decades there has been a strong tendency in our society to emphasize rapid growth and development. Quick results have all along been the primary concern of the policymakers. In this rush for rapid growth, long-term development has almost been completely neglected.

The policymakers must be far-sighted and strive to lay the foundations for the country's long-term development, as Dr. Lee advised; otherwise the country will never catch up with advanced nations.

Such far-sightedness is necessary not only for sound development of science, but also for the general improvement of the country. The government and the people must not continue to think of progress in terms of the short-term, tangible benefits to be reached. It is essential that we actively and patiently work to pave the way for the attainment of higher goals. Without such a shift in emphasis, this country will advance economically but lag scientifically. (C.P.)

Lee Yuan-tseh returns home; formidable schedule awaits him



Lee Yuan-tseh and his wife. Lee, is a professor at the University of California-Berkeley. He is the fourth Chinese-American, and first Taiwan-born scientist to have received a Nobel Prize.

Chinese-American Nobel laureate Lee Yuan-tseh returned home. The 49-year-old 1986 prize winner in chemistry, went to his hometown, Hsinchu, for a reunion with his parents and relatives. They later proceeded to Taipei.

In his arrival speech, Lee said he was mulling over whether to return home permanently and contribute to national development. He explained, though, that major responsibilities in his research work at the University of Berkeley in California will keep him in the U.S. for at least five more years.

The scientist admitted that he might not have been able to engage in high-tech research had he not immigrated to the U.S. Lee added, however, that

he would, likewise, have tried to make important scientific contributions and help improve the research environment in Taiwan had he stayed.

The Nobel winner urged ROC students to take more initiative in research work and push the nation into scientific prominence. He was appreciative of Taiwan's high esteem for scientists.

He has visited Taiwan, since leaving for the U.S. 24 years ago, to do research at Institute of Atomic and Molecular Research. He is the prime mover behind the institute's synchrotron particle accelerator project.

The National Science Council has arranged a tight schedule for Lee. He met math and science

munist Party of Crimea and Chairman of the Soviet People's Commissariat (Sovnarkom) of the Crimean Tatar ASSR; arrested in 1923 and executed in January 1928 for "Sultangalievism".

Batyr Aytuvgan, writer.

Mustafa Berke, writer.

During the Civil War, which was particularly bloody in Crimea, Milli Firqa continually vacillated between political trends. It did not play a significant role until 1919, when White general Denikin occupied Crimea. As a result of the anti-Tatar position of Denikin's administration, left-wing members of Milli Firqa went underground and actively collaborated with the Bolsheviks. After October 1920, when Crimea was finally occupied by the Red Army, left-wing members of Milli Firqa joined the RCP(b). Most members of Milli Firqa were later purged and liquidated in the 1930's.

THE ERK PARTY (“Will”)

ERK was a Muslim underground socialist – but anti-Soviet conspiratorial political organisation. The impetus for such a party appeared simultaneously, but independently, in the spring of 1919 in Bashkiria and in Tashkent. In November 1919, some Muslim socialist leaders from Tashkent, Bukhara, Kazakhstan, and Bashkiria, who realised that Bolshevik promises of independence and sovereignty for Russia's Muslims were insincere, met secretly in Moscow, where they decided to combine their efforts in an attempt to establish one Muslim socialist political organisation. They drafted a programme of twelve points.

In the spring of 1920, when it had become obvious that the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) would never tolerate a Muslim socialist party as an autonomous member of the Komintern, these same Muslim leaders opted to establish their own party, which could be completely independent of both the RCP(b) and the Komintern. During the famous Baku Congress in September 1920, they drafted a set of statutes for the planned party. Only three founders of this clandestine party can be positively identified:

Zeki Velidi Togan, the Bashkir leader.

Abdul Hamid Arifov, the War commissar of the Government of the Bukharian Republic in September 1920.

Janizakov, of Turkestan.

It is likely that the Kazakh leaders Ahmed Baytursun and Ali Khan Bukeykhanov and possibly the Uzbeks Fayzullah Khojaev and Osman Khojaev (Commissar of Finance of the Bukharian government) also were among the conspirators.

In January 1921, in Bukhara, it was decided to change the name of the party to Türkistan Sosialistler Tudesi (Group of Turkestan Socialists). In April of that year, a secret congress of the party held in Bukhara reduced the programme to nine points. In early 1926, the name was changed once more to Türkistan Socialist ERK Firkasy (Türkistan Socialist Party – ERK). It is unknown whether this last decision was taken in Soviet Central Asia or abroad, where some of the leaders of the ERK Party had already fled.

Most ERK members disappeared in the bloody purges of the nationalist Muslim intelligentsia in the 1930's.

Their political ideology was more pan-Islamic than pan-Turkic; it was a blending of Tatar radical reformism and the ideology of the Young Turks, with a strong revolutionary emphasis. The influence of Russian socialism, at least in the beginning, was weak.

In March 1918, the Young Bukharians tried to seize power in Bukhara with the help of a Soviet expedition sent from Tashkent. This endeavor failed, and the Young Bukharians fled the Emirate of Bukhara for Tashkent. In May 1920, a second attempt to overthrow the Emir was successful. The Red Army took Bukhara, and the Young Bukharians formed the first government of the People's Republic of Bukhara.

In 1923, most Young Bukharians were admitted into the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, where they remained its leaders until 1936-37. Most were then liquidated on Stalin's orders in 1937-38.

MUSAVAT ("Equality")

The Azerbaijani political party Musavat was created in 1911 in the city of Elizavetpol' (Genje; now called Kirovograd) by a group of young Muslim intellectuals with socialist and nationalist leanings. Some of them had been since 1905 members of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party. Important leaders of Musavat included:

Mehmet Emin Rasul Zade (1884-1954), Chairman and principal theoretician; began his political career as a socialist and member of the RSDWP; took an active part in the revolutionary movement in Iran in 1908-1910, during which time he published in Tehran the radical periodical *Iran-i Now*; emigrated to Turkey in 1910, where he took an active part in the pan-Turkic cultural movement, including making contributions to the famous *Türk Yurdu* of Istanbul; joined the Musavat in 1913.

Gholam Reza Sherif Zade
Abbas Kuli Kerim Zade
Kerbelai Veli Mikhal Zade

Between 1911 and 1917 the Musavat inclined toward the right, away from socialism and towards nationalism. In 1917, Musavat defended autonomist – but not yet separatist – positions. Rasul Zade, as leader, spoke forcefully in favour of autonomy for Muslim areas within a larger Russian federation at the First All-Russian Muslim Congress (1 May 1917). However, in 1918 Musavat's leaders advocated total independence for Azerbaijan.

On 20 June 1917, Musavat absorbed the smaller

and more conservative Türk Federalist Party, which had been created in April 1917 by some intellectuals and landlords. This expanded organisation took the name of the Türk Federalist Party – Musavat; Mehmed Emin Rasul Zade became its President on 20 May 1918.

During the period of the Independent Azerbaijani Republic (November 1918 to April 1920), Musavat completely dominated Azerbaijani political life. Its ideology remained liberal, combining moderate socialism with local nationalism. After the conquest of Azerbaijan by the Red Army, members of Musavat were arrested, although some managed to escape abroad. Mehmed Emin Rasul Zade was one of the latter. He escaped to Turkey, where he died only in 1954.

MILLİ FIRQA ("National Party")

This Crimean Tatar national party was founded in July 1917 by a group of young intellectuals educated primarily in Turkey and Western Europe. They were moderate nationalists but more radical than the older generation of Crimean nationalist leaders, who, for the most part, subscribed to the liberal pan-Turkism of Ismail Gasprinski.

The political programme of the party was tinted with socialism; its nationalism was revolutionary. Milli Firqa had no official affiliation with any Russian socialist organisation, however. Its leaders were struggling for an autonomous Crimea and were ready to ally themselves to any Russian political party which shared this view.

Not a monolithic body, the party soon split into two factions. Among the leaders of the relatively moderate faction were:

Hasan Sabri Ayvaz, a former colleague of Gasprinski and former chief editor of *Terjuman*.

Ahmed Ozenbashly, novelist and historian; liquidated in 1945.

Ali Bodaninsky, left-wing Social Revolutionary; killed in 1920 while fighting for the Red Army.

Halil Chapchakchy.

The more radical, but smaller, faction was closer ideologically to the Bolsheviks, while remaining within a nationalist and Islamic context. Among its leaders were:

Mehmed Koja Vezhdi, a mudarris.

Abdülhakim Hilmi Arif Zade, historian and writer.

Veli Ibrahimov, future President of the Com-

was the first to go on 26 March 1918, and it was followed shortly by the demise on 25 April 1918 of the Milli Shura in Moscow and its Executive Committee (Ikomus) in Petrograd and the Milli Idare and the Millet Mejlisis in Ufa.

ALASHA ORDA

(Alash is the name of the mystical ancestor of the Kazakh people; it is also their *uran*, or war cry. Alash Orda means "The Horde or nation of Alash".)

Alash Orda was a liberal nationalist Kazakh political party, founded in March 1917 by a group of moderate nationalist intellectuals. Among the better known were:

Ali Khan Bukeykhanov (1869-1932?), descendant of Chingiz Khan; writer, folklorist and historian; President of the Alash Orda government of Eastern Turkestan in December 1917; member of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) in 1920; leader of the right-wing of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan until his liquidation by Stalin.

Ahmed Baytursun (1873-1937), poet and educator; member of the RCP(b) in 1920 and one of the leaders of its right-wing; Chairman until 1929 of the Scientific Commission of the People's Commissariat for Education of the Kazakh Republic; liquidated in 1937 on Stalin's orders.

Mir-Yakub Dulatov, writer.

H. Dosmohammedov, writer.

Mohammedzhan Tynysbbaev, ethnographer.

Abdul Hamid Zhuzhdybaev

Ölde Ömerov

Magzhan Zhumabaev, poet.

The programme of the party (in the beginning close to the Russian KD Party) was a blending of moderate Menshevik and Social Revolutionary ideas. Indifferent to religion and to pan-Turkism, Alash Orda was concerned mainly with the formation and protection of the Kazakh nation.

In 1917, Alash Orda completely dominated the political life of the steppes. In December of that year, its leaders — all of whom came from the Kazakh upper class — joined the counter-revolutionary forces (Kumuch, the Orenburg Cossaks, the Bashkirs of Zeki Velidi Togan). On 10 December 1917, the party proclaimed the autonomy of the steppes with two governments: one for the western area at the village of Zhambeitu, which was to be chaired by H. Dosmohammedov; the second for eastern Kazakhstan with its seat at Semipalatinsk, chaired by Ali Khan Bukeykhanov. Both governments were strongly

anti-communist, but the policies of the White leader in the East, Admiral Kolchak, against minorities convinced the leaders of Alash Orda that their interests would be better served by aligning themselves on the left with Lenin.

On 10 November 1919, Alash Orda recognized Soviet power, and its leaders entered the RCP(b). They were liquidated on Stalin's orders in the 1930's.

THE YOUNG BUKHARIANS

(Yeni Bukarlylar, Mlado-Bukhartzy)

The Young Bukharians was a secret society founded in 1909 in Bukhara by a group of young, radical modernist (jadid) Turkestanian intellectuals, some of whom had been educated in Istanbul. Among the leaders were:

Abdurrauf Fitrat, writer and philosopher; Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bukhara in 1923; professor at Tashkent University in 1924; arrested and liquidated for "nationalism" in 1938.

Abdul Kadir Muhitdinov, President of the People's Republic of Bukhara in 1920; later a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan; purged for nationalism in 1937.

Fayzullah Khojaev (1896-1938), Chairman of the Council of the People's Republic of Bukhara in 1920; member of the Communist Party from September 1920; Chairman of the Soviet People's Commissariat (Sovnarkov) of Uzbekistan from 1924 to 1937; arrested in 1937 and executed as a "traitor" in 1938.

Akmal Ikramov (1898-1938), member of the Communist Party from February 1918; Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkestan; First Secretary of the Central committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan; member of the All-Union Central Committee of the RCP(b); arrested in 1937 and executed as a "traitor" in March 1938.

Mahmud Behbudi, mullah from Samarkand; leader of jadid reformism in Central Asia; executed by the Emir of Bukhara in March 1919.

Munever Kari (Abdurrahidov), the greatest pre-revolutionary Turkestanian writer, publicist, jadid and pan-Islamist.

The Young Bukharians programme focused on three main points: 1) education for the people; 2) the fight against obscurantism and religious scholasticism; and 3) the struggle against the Emir of Bukhara and against Russian administration.

Kazakh Alasha Orda, the Crimean Milli Firqa, the Turkestan Young Bukharians, and, briefly, the Bashkirs under Zeki Velidi Togan. Only in Azerbaijan, the Musavat party escaped the dramatic choice between these two unpleasant options.

Throughout the first ten years of Soviet rule, those Muslim nationalist leaders who had joined the Bolsheviks formed the right-wings of local communist parties and were instrumental in the articulation and implementation of national cultures in the Muslim republics. As early as 1919-1920, on the other hand, some of the national leaders understood that Russian imperialism was being given new life under the aegis of Bolshevik "proletarian internationalism". One of the direct results of this awareness was the birth of the clandestine Muslim Socialist Parti ERK. Between 1928 and 1938, local communist parties were thoroughly purged of all – without exception – former nationalist Muslim leaders who had joined the RCP(b). These were physically liquidated as "nationalists", "deviationists", "Sultangalievists", "traitors", and "spies". Some were later "rehabilitated" under Khrushchev: Fayzullah Khojaev, Akmal Ikramov, Galimjan Ibragimov, and Turar Ruskulov being the best known. Others remain "anti-Soviet traitors" to this day, such as the leaders of the Alash Orda or the Kazan Tatar Mir Said Sultan Galiev. The political organisations they led have never received objective treatment by the Soviets, and they are unlikely to: these parties are likely to remain forever outside the Soviet pantheon as anti-popular, imperialist entities.

The programme documents of the Muslim nationalist parties – Alash Orda, Young Bukharians, Milli Firqa, and Musavat – are reproduced here as they were elaborated between 1914 and 1917. The resolutions of the two All-Russian Muslim Congresses (May and July 1917), and the programme of the ERK Party are also reproduced. As rare documents, their reproduction here is intended to aid scholars who are investigating the history of this period.

FIRST ALL-RUSSIAN MUSLIM CONGRESS

The First All-Russian Muslim Congress was held in Moscow on 1 May 1917. It was attended by more than 900 delegates, including 300 mullahs, on the basis of proportional representation of the different Muslim nationalities. All Muslim nationalities. All Muslim nationalities of the former Russian Empire were represented, as were all political trends from the conservative right to the radical socialist

left. Only the few Muslim Bolsheviks refused to attend.

Volga Tatars and moderate right-wing socialists dominated the Congress. The atmosphere was one of pervasive enthusiasm, and the delegates reached unanimity on almost all points. Importantly, they sought, successfully, to reconcile Islam and socialism and dealt directly with such thorny issues as political equality of the sexes; the prohibition of polygamy; confiscation of state properties, Orthodox monasteries and large land-holdings; the establishment of an eight hour working day; the creation of exclusively Muslim military units; and the establishment of a central religious executive independent of Russian authority.

Unanimity foundered on one point, however: the question of the relationship of Muslims to the Russian state. Delegates split into two groups: those who supported the principle of centralisation, that is of extraterritorial cultural autonomy for Muslims within a unified democratic Russian republic; and those who supported the territorial autonomy of Muslims within a Russian federation. Federalists won on a vote of 446 to 271. To avoid a permanent split between the factions, the Congress established an all-Muslim central agency, the Muslim Central Council (*Milli Shura*) in Moscow with an executive committee (*Jkomus*) in Petrograd, which was to be responsible for coordinating unified political action.

SECOND ALL-RUSSIAN MUSLIM CONGRESS

The Second All-Russian Muslim Congress was held in Kazan. It was attended mainly by Tatar, Crimean, Bashkir, and a few North Caucasian delegates. Conferences dealing with religious and military affairs were held simultaneously.

More than that the First All-Russian Muslim Congress (1 May 1917), the Second Congress was dominated by Tatar socialists. Delegates confirmed the plan for Muslim military units and set up an Army Council (*Harbi Shura*) to raise Muslim battalions straight away. They also proclaimed the national cultural autonomy of the Turks and Tatars of Russia and Siberia. A Muslim National Board (*Milli Idare*) was formed in Ufa to give reality to this proclamation and to convene a National Assembly (*Millet Mejlisi*), a deliberative body which met in Ufa on 20 November 1917.

These were to be short-lived organisations. On an order from the People's Commissariat of Nationalities (Narkomnats), headed by Stalin, all Muslim bodies were disbanded. The Harbi Shura in Kazan

PROGRAMS OF THE MUSLIM POLITICAL PARTIES 1917-1920

By S.C.A.S.

INTRODUCTION

During the periode of the Provisional Government, between the crumbling down of the Tsarist monarchy in February and the Bolshevik takeover in October 1917, the political land-scape was characterised by intense activity in all of the non-Russian territories of the former empire. All, from the largest to the smallest, tried with varying degrees of success to take advantage of the breakdown of central power to attain either total independence from Russia or a substantially increased degree of political or cultural autonomy.

The Muslim nations of Russia were among the first to act. In May and July 1917, they held in Moscow and Kazan two important All-Muslim Congresses, and in all the Muslim territories – the Kazakh steppes, Central Asia (Bukhara), Bashkiria, Crimea, Tatarstan, the North Caucasus, and Azerbaijan – they formed political parties. The history of these Muslim political parties has been thoroughly compromised by Soviet historiography. Under Stalin, the parties were characterised as hotbeds of “clerical, feudal, reactionary and conservative nationalism”; today’s Soviet historians hew closely to the same line. At best the Muslim political organisations are simply ignored or described in current Soviet literature as irresponsible anti-proletarian separatist groups. More frequently they are portrayed as creatures of various “imperialisms” – Turkish, German, British, and Japanese imperialisms usually holding pride of place – seeking to detach their territories from Russia and to plunge their nations back into medieval obscurantism.

Soviet historiography frequently takes excessive liberty with the truth, as is well known, and its treatment of the Muslim political organisations of the revolutionary period is no exception. Historical reality was in fact very different. Far from being the perserves of various reactionary fanatics, these parties were formed and dominated by the most

sophisticated representatives of the Muslim modernist (*jadid*) intelligentsia. Among them we find famous scholars, writers, historians and poets. Their demands, as can be seen in the political programmes published herein, were for the most part democratic, reasonable, and realistic. They sought nothing beyond the cultural and political autonomy of the Muslim areas, economic and administrative parity with the dominant Russians and religious independence. If these political documents attest to anything it is to the growing sense of Muslim national awareness and the desire to assume a greater role in the administration of their own affairs and an end to Russian domination: sentiments not unlike those of independence movements elsewhere at that time or, for that matter, today. Indeed, if one were to assign positions to the various Muslim political parties on the political spectrum of their day, they would fall distinctly, in the parlance of today’s politics, in the liberal “middle of the road”, easily distinguished from the radical political organisation and demands of the Bolsheviks on one hand and the counterrevolutionary “Whites” on the other.

But revolution and civil war – which were contested in all Muslim territories – simply came too early for Russia’s Muslims. Caught between two fires, too weak to defend their newly born autonomy, they were ineluctably forced to choose a lesser evil. Because of the strategic blunders and tactical errors of the White generals and because of the clever, if ingenuous political manoeuvring of Lenin and Stalin, the Bolsheviks, despite their brutality, came to be seen by most Muslim leaders as constituting less of a threat to Muslim aspirations than the human residue of the Tsarist past. And so it was that during the tragic years of the Civil War (1918-1920), the majority of the leaders and the rank and file of the Muslim political parties supported the Bolshevik side, where they were accepted collectively in the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik). Such was the case of the

Wester euphoria over mainland China business prospects has worn off

By Bob Webster

When Communist China opened its doors to the West six years ago, a fever spread like wildfire among occidental businesses eager to set up shop and cash in on the huge untapped market.

That fever, however, has turned to chill in recent months as a number of American companies with ties to Red China have grown frustrated with the bureaucratic delays, foreign exchange shortages and everyday business hassles that have overshadowed mainland China's glittering potential.

Foreign investment in mainland China is declining for the first time since the country's heralded opening to the West in 1980.

The Communist China's foreign exchange reserves have slipped to US\$10.3 billion in March from \$16.3 billion just two years ago. Inflation in mainland China has reached a record high 8.8 percent and bankruptcy is no longer a foreign concept behind the Great Wall.

So, although Red Chinese officials say they are eager to improve business conditions to keep their country attractive to foreign investment, a number of Western executives are reassessing the opportunities that attracted them to mainland China.

"Some of the euphoria the earlier players were experiencing has worn off, and the realities of doing business with (Red) China are setting in," said Sandy Holt, vice president of marketing and international affairs at Altos Computer Systems Inc.

The San Jose, California, computer company abandoned the plans it once held for direct investment in mainland China and has opted to do business through a Hongkong trading company.

"Everything we do is done on a third-party, arm's length basis. Two years ago, I would have said we'd have a subsidiary in Peking with 10 people. I can't say that now," Holt said.

"You just can't proceed any longer on blind faith that (Red) China will buy products with the reckless abandon they used to."

Consider the case of Intech Systems Inc., a

Minneapolis maker of Chinese-language computer products.

After a successful showing of a prototype touch-screen computer in mainland China last September, Intech executives returned to Minneapolis confident and eager to begin filling orders.

"The (Red) Chinese fell all over themselves when they saw it. We signed with a distributor on the spot," Intech's President Ted Larsen recalled. "But by the time we had a finished product to sell, they didn't have the money to buy it."

As Intech, Altos and other Western companies found, the Red Chinese regime greatly restricted the flow of foreign exchange in January, leaving many mainland Chinese purchasers unable to honor the commitments they made in the fall.

"We've had only modest sales since then," Larsen said, adding that his company has retreated from its plan to sell directly to mainland Chinese concerns in favor of selling through trading companies.

The glitter that caught the eyes of investors searching for quick profits has dimmed as complaints from frustrated businesses executives in mainland China have filtered across the Pacific to their home offices in the United States.

Said Winston Lord, the United States' Ambassador to Red China, the complaints range from "price gouging" and "bureaucratic foot-dragging" to a lack of qualified local personnel and diminished access to Red China's one billion people.

In short, frustrated Western businesses are finding that Red China's Great Wall has become harder, and more costly, to scale.

One Western bank representative recently paid \$230,000 as a year's advance rent for a small hotel room office in Peking, where there is a severe shortage of commercial space.

Other businessmen said they have been asked for cash kickbacks from Red Chinese officials, or for consumer items such as color televisions, refrigerators and washing machines.

October 10, 1928.

Until his death, Generalissimo Chiang implemented the Three Principles of the People without deviation and made the Republic of China the foremost democratic nation of the Asian Pacific region, enjoying freedom, democracy and economic prosperity like no other nation in this region.

The people of the Republic of China owe their good fortune to Dr. Sun's Three Principles of the People and the remarkable achievements of the late

President Chiang and his worthy successor, President Chiang Ching-kuo, who heads the government of the people, by the people and for the people. Our great success has inspired the people of the Chinese mainland to desire life under the Three Principles which are capable of defeating Communism in every way. The Three Principles are the right weapon to defeat Marxist-Leninist doctrines and reunify the Chinese mainland. We salute Dr. Sun's vision and revolutionary deeds on the occasion of his birthday.

Making The Returnees Feel At Home

Year after year countless overseas Chinese visit or revisit the Republic of China on Taiwan either individually or with their families or friends. Regardless of how long they have to travel, they make the trip of their own accord and at their own expense. This they do because it is here that they really feel at home, though they may have comfortable living quarters and satisfying jobs in their countries of residence.

October, when a number of important national festivals take place, is the time when most of the returnees make the trip. This year, more than 30,000 overseas Chinese are expected to tour Taiwan during this month. Welcoming them and making them feel at home is a task that requires the efforts of all.

The Chinese are known for their hospitality. There is no doubt that a returnee, as soon as he steps off the plane, will be given a hearty welcome. And afterwards he will also find everyone here amiable and ready to help.

But hospitality and amiability are not enough to make the trip pleasant and memorable for an overseas Chinese. What can impress him even more is the visible progress the mother country has made in various respects, such as more efficient transportation, better hotel service and a cleaner environment. These are also the hopes of the citizens, yet the goals

are particularly important in making good impressions on overseas Chinese.

Hence, sincere and vigorous efforts must be made to effect improvements in those areas. Such efforts should, in fact, be made continuously instead of only at a time when so many overseas Chinese are arriving. Improvements of these kinds have a direct bearing on the image of the ROC in the eyes of overseas Chinese and international tourists.

Also, many of the overseas Chinese returning will tour the island under arrangements made for them by travel agents or government agencies. Preparations made carefully and meticulously will make the tours enjoyable for the returnees.

It is important, however, that the tourists be given plenty of time and freedom to look around. This will enable them to gain a good understanding of this society and the latest developments. Then they will go home convinced that their impression of the ROC as a vigorous and progressive country is correct.

Winning the hearts and minds of overseas Chinese is one of the goals the ROC is pursuing at present. An orderly, stable, and efficient society will contribute more than anything else to the fulfilment of that goal.

openmindedness. We also uphold justice and respect treaties in a world full of disturbances. We honor our commitments and treasure all friendly relations as we make our contributions to the international society.

Model of success

—The Republic of China is a model of success for the developing countries. We believe that the livelihood of the people is the pivot of history; the welfare of the people comes first in all cases. The interests of various sectors of the society are to be reconciled on the basis of mild, rational, and gradual reforms. We have successfully built a happy, secure, and prosperous society, advancing from an underdeveloped country to a newly industrialized one, providing services to other developing countries and serving as a model for them to follow.

—The Republic of China is an uncompromising anti-Communist fortress. We have suffered the most

from the Communists and know only too well the evils that poisonous Communism can bring to mankind and the threat of Communist expansion to world peace. Our anti-Communist history is written in blood and tears. We wish to tell the world that freedom and democracy can never co-exist with Communist totalitarianism. For the future of China and the world, we shall uphold our anti-Communist position until final victory over Communism is won.

Our late President Chiang Kai-shek said, "The rise of a nation depends on unity and solidarity. Whether a country is strong or not depends on the joint efforts of its citizens." My dear fellow countrymen, we are the people of this lovely country. Let us all stand at attention to salute our country and join hands to serve it with devotion. Now, let us all call out together:

"Long live the Three
Principles of the People!"
"Long live the Republic
of China!"

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Birthday Anniversary

The government and people of the Republic of China celebrate today the 121st birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Republic of China, and the 21st Chinese Cultural Renaissance Day.

Dr. Sun was instrumental in overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty and established the first Republic on the continent of Asia, the Republic of China. He conceived the Three Principles of the People and a concrete plan for the construction of a democratic nation to found the Republic of China.

He also founded the revolutionary Hsing Chung Hui, Tung Meng Hui and Kuomintang parties and traveled extensively abroad to preach his revolutionary cause. In so doing, he was kidnapped and detained in the Manchu Legation in London for two weeks in October 1896 until his release was obtained through British intervention arranged by Dr. James Cantile, his former teacher in Hongkong.

Dr. Sun's revolutionary deeds had also met with many setbacks before he succeeded in the 11th time at the Wuchang Uprising, which overthrew the

Manchu Dynasty on October 10, 1911 after 268-years of rule over China. He was inaugurated Provisional President of the Republic of China on January 1, 1912.

But he was compelled by political circumstances to resign in favor of Yuan Shih-kai who aspired and conspired to succeed Dr. Sun and even proclaim himself Emperor.

After Yuan's attempt failed, China was plunged into a series of internal wars ushering in a period of warlordism. Meanwhile, Dr. Sun passed away with his wishes and revolutionary tasks unfinished on March 12, 1925 at the age of 60.

However, his noble deeds and sacred mission of making the Republic of China a modern democratic nation were carried out by his trusted follower General Chiang Kai-shek. General Chiang rallied his followers together and launched the Eastern and Northern expeditions to crush the warlords and unify the Chinese nation. He succeeded and assumed the chairmanship of the national government on

Chiang reaffirms commitment to accomplishing national goals

In his National Day message, President Chiang Ching-kuo reaffirmed the Republic of China's ties with the Free World and its commitment the active promotion of international peace and justice.

The ROC, under the Three Principles of the People, is a model of success for developing nations, the President emphasized. President Chiang reiterated that the ultimate objective of the nation is to reunify China under freedom and democracy and to establish lasting peace in Asia and in the world.

The President once again stressed that democracy can never co-exist with Communism.

The following is the full text of President Chiang's message:

My dear fellow countrymen:

The Double Tenth, our glorious National Day, has created a new life for the Chinese nation and gathered a new force to turn a bright new page in history. All the Chinese people, inspired and encouraged by this happy day, have dedicated themselves in a continuous effort to the future of the nation, shining like the bright sun in the blue sky.

Seventy-five years ago, the success of the Wuhan revolution brought into being the first democratic republic in Asia. It has changed China's status in the international society and thereby helped reshape the world situation. Dr. Sun Yat-sen pointed out that the duty of the people of the Republic of China was to help promote world peace. He further explained that "the promotion of world peace was the very goal of the Republic of China, and that to proceed toward this goal would further consolidate the foundation of the Republic." Based on this solemn declaration, we have adopted our basic stance in international affairs, actively promoted international justice and striven to safeguard world peace.

The 20th century has experienced two world wars and the spread of Communism. The Republic of China has gone through many trials and tribulations, and even now our compatriots on the mainland still suffer from the tyranny and persecution of the Communist regime. But no matter how difficult the world situation is, we have always stood firm in the democratic camp. We are convinced that we can overcome adversities and win victory over the enemy if we consolidate the foundation of freedom and democracy. Thus, in accordance with the ideals of the Three Principles of the People we have devoted

ourselves to the reconstruction and development on this bastion of national revival. The ultimate objective is the reunification of China on the basis of freedom and democracy and the establishment of a lasting peace in Asia and the world.

ROC's progress

With solidarity, persistence and joint efforts of our compatriots at home and abroad, we have rebuilt, based on the achievements of our national development, our self-confidence and self-respect, and re-affirmed our positive self-evaluation. We have pledged and exerted ourselves to present a true picture, in the eyes of the world, of the Republic of China as having the following characteristics:

—We are untiring, self-reliant warriors. In spite of hardships and adversities, our people have been able to meet the challenge with perseverance and determination, to overcome difficulties, and to break through barriers. We realize that self-help is the only way to build up our strength. In this great mission of national salvation and development, we are all brave fighters.

—We are indefatigable champions of our beliefs. We are proud to inherit the benevolent tradition of Chinese culture. With this cultural heritage, we carry out faithfully and persistently the political ideal centered on the people's well-being and, out of this unswerving determination, adhere to the lofty goal of Confucius' Great Commonwealth.

—The Republic of China has been faithful as an ally. We fulfill our obligations and claim our lawful rights in the light of equality, reciprocity and

THE HODJA'S SPECIAL CALENDAR

"If you wait for a few minutes," he said, "I will tell you the exact date."

He went into his house, took the pot down from the shelf, emptied it on the floor and began to count the pebbles each one supposed to represent on day of Ramadan. There were exactly 120 pebbles, which appeared incredible as a lunar month has no more than 30 days. Returning to his friends, he said:

"Today is the 45th day of *Ramadan*." When he saw that they were staring at him with stupefaction, he added: "Mind you I have tried to be more than fair. If I were to tell you the correct number of the pebbles in the pot, today would be the 120th day of *Ramadan*."



ONE DAY THE HODJA

The day before the beginning of the fasting month of Ramadan, Nasreddin Hodja thought:

"Instead of going to the trouble of asking people the exact date, when it is more than likely that they won't know it, I shall keep my own calendar. When 30 days are over, I shall know for sure that the month of Ramadan is also at end and that Bairam has arrived."

Accordingly, he took out an earthen pot and placed it on a shelf. Next day he put a pebble into it, and went on doing so every morning. The Hodja's naughty son, one day observed his performance, and when he was himself unobserved, added a few handfuls of pebbles to his father's hoard.

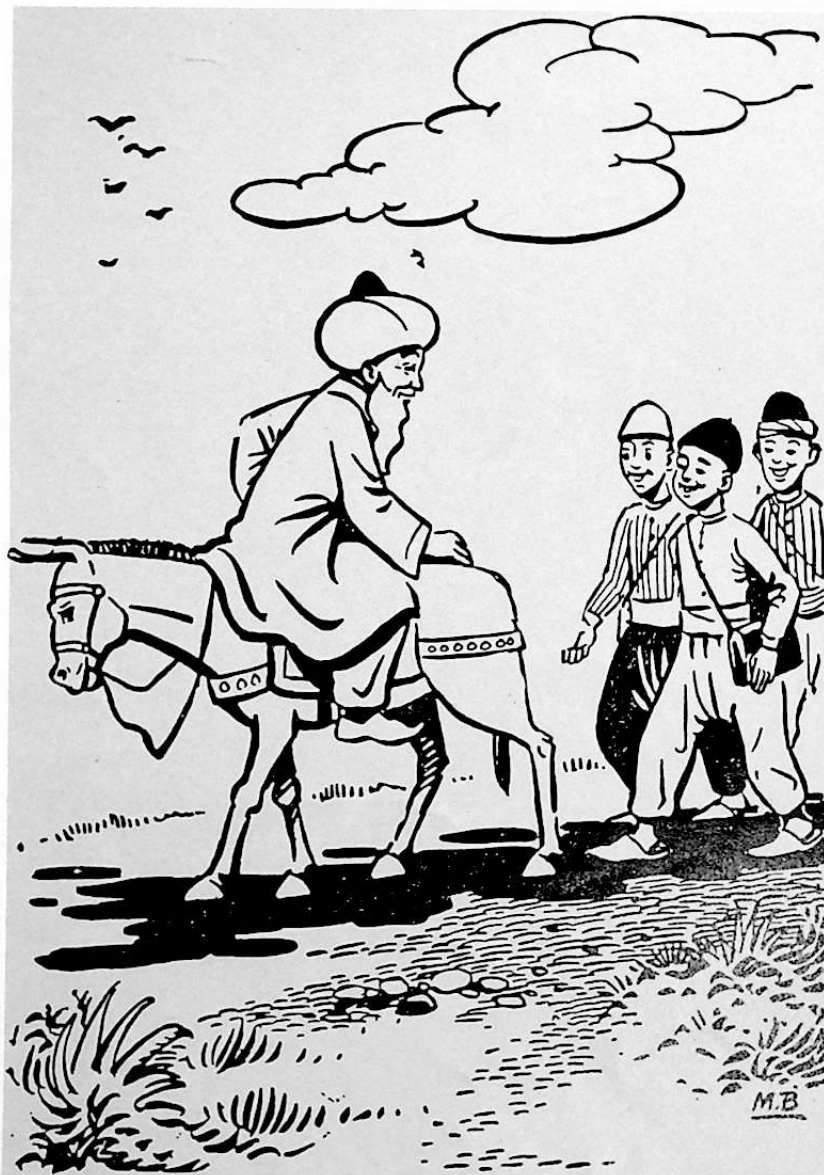
It happened that, just a few days before Bairam, friends asked Nasreddin Hodja the day of the month.

THE WRONG WAY ROUND BUT THE RIGHT WAY

One Friday morning, the Hodja and the boys in his class, were on their way to the mosque together, where he was going to give a public lecture.

That morning the Hodja, being very preoccupied, mounted his donkey the wrong way round. The boys had already started sniggering when he discovered his mistake, but it was too late. Unless he explained away his action convincingly, he was bound to become the laughing-stock of the whole community. Addressing the boys:

"My riding may seem the wrong way round to you," he said airily, "when actually it's the right way. Riding the conventional way, I couldn't lead you and keep an eye on you at the same time. To follow you would be unthinkable as I am your teacher. So you see, the wrong way round, is the right way for me to ride in this case."



翠玉白菜



Fei-ts'ui jade cabbage

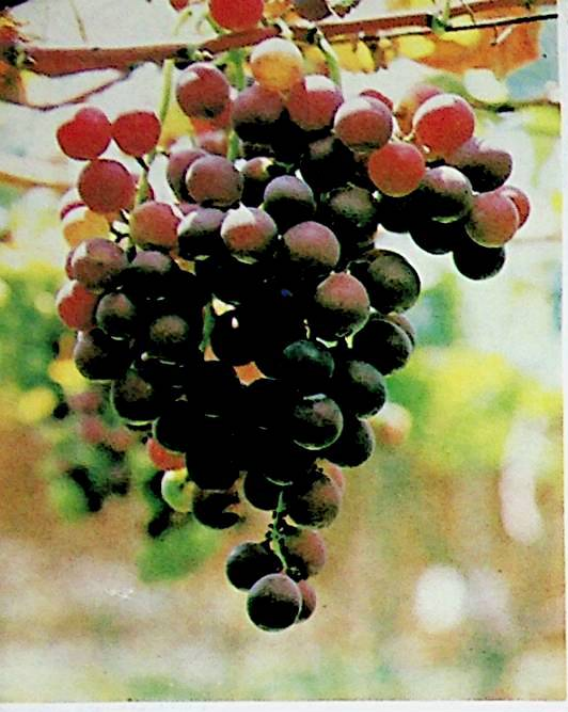
Ch'ing dynasty (A.D. 1644–1911)

Length: 18.7 cm Width: 9.1 cm

Breadth: 5.07 cm

Here the jade carver, with the dexterity of a master magician, has transformed a piece of emerald green and white jadeite (*fei-ts'ui*) into a very real-looking Chinese cabbage. The ruffled, semi-translucent leaves almost rustle at the touch. Long, white stalks overlap in a kind of gentle rhythm, the delicate combination of pale blue-green mottles in the opaque white jade exquisite. With a bit more scrutiny even a large and a small grasshopper will appear camouflaged in the leaves!

種類繁多的水果
Various of fruits



美麗寶島—台灣
The beautiful island - Taiwan

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ناشرى : يعقوب بك من بولبارس بك
تحريرى : عبدالولى يوسفى
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