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Visit of a Canadian media  
delegation to the People's Republic  
of China = Visite d'une delegation  
des media canadiens d'infor

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Dept. of External Affairs  
Min. des Affaires extérieures

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VISIT

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CANADIAN MEDIA DELEGATION

DÉLÉGATION DES MÉDIA

CANADIENS D'INFORMATION

TO THE

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43-262-606  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

RÉPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE DE CHINE

28 September – 13 October, 1974

28 septembre – 13 octobre 1974

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PART I

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. CANADA AND CHINA

The emergence of China as a world power is one of the most important aspects of recent international politics. Canada's establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1970, and her part in the assumption by Peking of China's seat in the United Nations, are among the most significant accomplishments of Canadian foreign policy of the last two decades.

The background to these developments can be summarized briefly. In April 1949 the People's Liberation Army entered Nanking, then the capital of the Nationalist Government, where the embassies of foreign governments were located. Among these was the Canadian Embassy, for at that time Canada recognized the Nationalist Government. The occupation of Nanking symbolized the end of Canada's old relationship with China.

During the following two decades, Canada's relations with China were at best limited. It was clear from the beginning that the Peking Government was effectively in control of its territory and people, and therefore met some of the classic tests for recognition. Successive Canadian governments between 1949 and 1968, therefore, examined the possibility of entering into official relations. But for years, there were serious obstacles to doing so: hostilities in Korea and the atmosphere of bitterness that followed, and the fact that the authorities on Taiwan and the Peking Government both claimed to be the sole legal government of China.

In 1966, instead of voting against the annual resolution proposed by Albania in the United Nations, which would have given the China seat to Peking and unseated Taipei, Canada shifted to an abstention.

In 1968, Prime Minister Trudeau pledged, if elected, to review Canada's China policy and to initiate discussions with the People's Republic of China on the establishment of diplomatic relations. After his election, he instructed the Department of External Affairs to take the necessary steps to open talks leading to this end. These talks, which began in Stockholm in February 1969, lasted more than 20 months, with the stumbling block being Taiwan. Canada's position was, and is, that the Canadian Government neither endorsed nor challenged the Chinese Government's position on the status of Taiwan.

After much discussion, both sides agreed to a joint communiqué, of October 13, 1970. On the status of Taiwan it said simply: "The Chinese Government reaffirms that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Canadian Government takes note of this position of the Chinese Government." This formula, or one something like it, has been used since 1970 by many of the countries which have followed Canada in establishing relations with Peking.

On April 13, 1971, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, announced the appointment of Mr. Ralph Edgar Collins, as first Ambassador of Canada to the People's Republic of China. Mr. Collins, at that time an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, had been born in Kunming in China, and had served with External Affairs in Chungking from 1943 to 1945.

Mr. Sharp also announced that the Canadian Government had given agrément to the appointment of Mr. Huang Hua as first Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Canada. Mr. Huang, a distinguished career diplomat, had served as Director of the Department of West European

Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, and as Ambassador to the Republic of Ghana and to the United Arab Republic.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassadors, relations between Canada and the People's Republic of China have proceeded relatively smoothly. A significant step was taken in the summer of 1971, when the Honourable Jean-Luc Pépin, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, led an important delegation of Canadian officials and businessmen to the People's Republic of China. This mission, the first Canadian Government mission to visit China, sought to establish close contacts with Chinese ministers, officials and business representatives in all spheres of economic and commercial activity. This objective was fully achieved. During the three working days the Canadian group spent in Peking, no fewer than 25 separate formal meetings were arranged with representatives of each of the seven State trading corporations responsible for China's export and import trade, with the People's Bank of China and with the China Council for the Promotion of Trade.

One of the most significant achievements of Mr. Pépin's mission was China's agreement "to consider Canada first" as a source of wheat. In addition, the Canadian Government agreed with the Chinese to exchange missions in areas of particular commercial interest to both our countries, to hold trade exhibitions in each other's country and also to hold periodic consultations on trade matters. In the course of this visit, China's then Minister of Foreign Trade, Mr. Pai Hsiang-kuo, accepted an invitation from Mr. Pépin to visit Canada. Mr. Pai visited Canada in August 1972, and opened the Chinese exhibition at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto.

Premier Chou also raised the question of establishing an air service between China and Canada during Mr. Pépin's visit. At the initiative of the Canadian Government, negotiations leading to a civil air agreement began in Peking in May 1972 and the agreement was signed in the spring of 1973. The designated carrier, CP Air, hopes to begin the operation of the air link in the not-too-distant future.

A year after Mr. Pépin's visit, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, made an official visit to China. He had extensive talks with the Chinese Foreign Minister and had a meeting with Premier Chou En-lai. Mr. Sharp opened the Canadian Solo Fair in Peking, the largest commercial fair ever held by Canada abroad. It was a very successful exhibition of Canada's technological capabilities and marketing potential in a wide variety of fields.

Subsequent visits were made by other Canadian Ministers: a Petroleum Mission led by the Honourable Donald Macdonald in April 1973 and a Scientific Mission led by the Honourable Jeanne Sauvé in September 1973. The pattern of official Canadian visits to China culminated in a highly productive mission to the People's Republic by Prime Minister Trudeau in October 1973.

Discussions during the course of the Prime Minister's visit resulted in important bilateral agreements or understandings in trade, consular affairs and reunification of families, as well as on a wide range of bilateral exchanges.

The trade agreement provided for the formal exchange of MFN treatment and the establishment of a joint Trade Committee which now meets annually. The Chinese also agreed to consider Canada as a source

of supply for plant technology and sophisticated equipment and reiterated that they would consider Canada first when considering the purchase of a complete synthetic rubber production plant. Immediately prior to the Prime Minister's visit, a long-term wheat agreement had also been signed between Canada and China providing for the purchase of up to 224 million bushels of wheat over the next three years.

The visit thus provided a new impetus to Sino-Canadian trade which reached a record high of \$340 million in 1973 (exports to China of \$287 million and imports from China of \$53 million).

The overall increase in trade has been most satisfying. At the same time, there has been an important and notable change in the composition of Canadian exports; where for most of the past decade, 90 per cent of our exports to China have been accounted for by wheat sales, last year the percentage made up of non-wheat items rose to approximately one-third of total exports, a healthy trend to export diversification.

Significant advances have also been made in the field of scientific and technological co-operation. A Chinese mining mission visiting Canada in early 1972 resulted in Chinese purchases of \$50 million worth of mining and metallurgical equipment. Canada also hosted important Chinese missions in the fields of petroleum, physics, computer technology, electricity and nuclear energy. 1974 has already witnessed the planning of at least sixteen different missions between Canada and China in the commercial and/or scientific and technological areas.

Medicine has also been a sector of special interest in Sino-Canadian relations. An important and comprehensive report was presented to the Secretary of State for External Affairs and to the Minister of

National Health and Welfare after a 1973 visit to China by members of the Canadian Medical Association. Further important exchanges in medical study and research have included a Canadian delegation to China to observe acupuncture analgesia in the spring of 1974 and the visit to China of Canadian doctors under the Bethune Medical Exchange Programme. Chinese medical visits to Canada in 1974 include the sending of Chinese doctors to Canada under the Bethune Medical Exchange, and delegations in the coming months in acupuncture analgesia, and the study of neuro-physiology, urology, and organ transplantation.

The areas of culture and sports have also been integral parts of the large Canada-Chinese exchange programme. A proliferation of sports exchanges have included competitions in Canada and/or China by athletes in such sports as table tennis, badminton, basketball, gymnastics, volleyball, and hockey.

The Chinese cultural contribution to the exchange programme has been crowned by the recent opening in Toronto of the Exhibition of Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China. Since 1972 a highly successful exhibition of Chinese arts and handicrafts has been displayed annually during the Man & His World exhibition in Montreal. A large delegation of Chinese journalists, led by Chu Mu-chih, Director of the New China News Agency, spent two weeks travelling across Canada in June 1973.

A highly successful exhibition of Eskimo art was sent to Peking and Shanghai in early 1973 and plans are underway for the mounting in China of an exhibition of Canadian landscape paintings.

In September 1973 a bilateral agreement was reached between Canada and China providing for the creation of an academic exchange programme. Under this agreement 20 Canadian students are studying in China and a Canadian professor will leave shortly to teach and study for three months in China.

An approximately similar number of Chinese students have been (or will be) studying in Canada under this exchange and one Chinese professor will be coming to Canada for a three month period of teaching and study.

A delegation of University Chancellors and Presidents also paid a successful visit to China in July 1974.

Visit to the People's Republic of China  
by a Canadian Media Delegation  
28 September - 13 October  
1974

2. MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION

- Ross Munro - President of the Canadian Press and Publisher of the Edmonton Journal, Head of Delegation;
- d'Iberville Fortier - Assistant Under-Secretary of State, External Affairs;
- Ralph Costello - President and Publisher of Saint John, New Brunswick, newspapers, the Telegraph-Journal and the Times-Globe, President, Broadcasting Company;
- Michael Davies - President of the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association, Publisher of the Kingston Whig-Standard;
- Paul Desmarais - President of "Power Corporation", Chairman of the Board of La Presse and other newspapers;
- Jacques Francoeur - President of Uni Media, Publisher of Le Soleil and President-elect for 1975 of Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association;
- Gabriel Gilbert - Past President of the Canadian Press and member of the Board of Directors and former Publisher of Le Soleil;
- Martin Goodman - Editor-in-chief of the Toronto Star;
- Tom Gould - Vice-president for News, Features, Information programming, CTV Network Limited;
- C.S.Q. Hoodspith - President, Canadian Community Newspapers Association, and Publisher of Times of North and West Vancouver;
- Pierre Juneau - Chairman of the Canadian Radio-Television Commission;
- Roger Lemelin - Publisher of La Presse and writer;
- Richard C. Malone - Publisher of the Winnipeg Free Press;
- René Mailhot - "Journaliste, Radio-Canada; Président de la Fédération professionnelle des journalistes du Québec";
- Sydney Newman - Government Film Commissioner and Chairman of the National Film Board;
- Corinne Noonan - President of The Canadian Media Club;
- Laurent Picard - President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation;
- Paddy Sherman - Publisher of the Vancouver Province;
- Michael Sifton - President, Armadale and Company, and President of the Regina Leader-Post and the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix

3. CANADIAN EMBASSY - PEKING

Chancery:	San Li Tun No. 16, Peking Tel. 521475 (Embassy) or 521571 521326 (Ambassador) or 521567
Ambassador:	Charles J. Small
Counsellor:	D. Arnould
Counsellor (Commercial):	Armand Blum
Canadian Forces Attaché:	Col. David G. Struthers
First Secretary:	R. Belliveau
First Secretary:	R. Logie
First Secretary:	B. Frolic
*Second Secretary:	Donald Cameron
Second Secretary (Commercial):	J.P. Higginbotham
Third Secretary:	Miss Gilliane Lapointe
Third Secretary:	Bruce Jutzi

\* Resident in Hong Kong

The Canadian Embassy in Peking is housed in a fairly recent brick building, formerly the Embassy of Pakistan. It is situated in the diplomatic suburb of San Li Tun, six miles from the centre of Peking, one of the two diplomatic areas of the city. Some of the staff live within five minutes walk of the Embassy, others about three miles away, all in apartments specifically reserved for foreigners

#### 4. NOTES FOR TRAVELLERS IN CHINA

##### Useful Phrases

Hello/How are you?	Knee how?
Thank you	Sheh Sheh Knee
Goodbye	Zaye(as in Scot. aye) Jen
Very good	Hun how
No	Boo yow
Friendship	Yoh Ee
Health	Jen Kahng
Toilet	Suh-Tsaw
Cheers/Bottoms up	Gan Bay
Bethune	Buy-Choh-Un
Canada	Jah-Na-Da
China	Joong-Gwah
Beer	Pee-Joe
Orange Crush	Jew-Dzuh Shway
Boiled Cold Water	Liang Kaye(as in Scot. aye) Shway
Mineral Water	Low (as in now)-Shan Shway
Mao Tse-tung	Mow (as in now) Dze-Doong or Mow Jew-Shee
Chou En-lai	Joe Un-lie
Teng Hsiao-Ping	Dung Seeow (as in now)-Ping

##### Local Time

Peking, Canton and points in between are located in the same time zone as Hong Kong, 13 hours ahead of Eastern Standard Time.

### Currency

Visitors may buy Canadian, USA or sterling travellers cheques. These may be changed on arrival in Peking. Their expenses are to be paid in yuan (2 yuan equal approximately \$1 Canadian).

The currency used in China is known as the Renminbi or RMB. The yuan, the basic unit, is divided into 10 jiao; the jiao is in turn divided into 10 fen or cents.

### Weather

The Chinese climate varies considerably from one region to another. Peking's climate is continental, with autumn temperatures roughly corresponding to those in central or eastern Canada. Canton and southern areas are sub-tropical, with October weather similar to a Canadian summer.

### Dress

Clothing requirements for both men and women are similar to those in Canada. During the day, casual clothes are appropriate, i.e., sports jacket and slacks, tie not necessary. For formal dinners, business suits are normal, black tie is not worn. In the south, where October weather can be hot and humid, light summer clothes are most comfortable. For women, long dresses are now sometimes worn in Peking in the evening, but are certainly not essential. A light sweater and raincoat should be included.

### Health Regulations

Innoculations against smallpox are mandatory for visitors to the People's Republic of China; cholera, tetanus, paratyphoid and typhoid injections are strongly recommended.

While some visitors drink local tap water with no ill effects, it is advisable to request boiled water. Boiled water is normally available in hotel rooms.

### Restaurants

Peking has many excellent restaurants which can arrange excellent dinners on several hours notice. The average cost per head for a meal of several courses is in excess of 10 yuan (\$5 Canadian).

### Expenses

Members of the Delegation will be responsible for their individual costs in Hong Kong. However, all normal food, accommodation, and transportation costs will be paid by their hosts when in China. Such costs do not include film mailing charges, taxis for private use, etc.

Taxis may be rented at about 5 or 6 yuan per hour, depending partly on distance travelled. Cost for an entire day could run to 40 or 50 yuan. Recently taxi fares have risen substantially and charges may be somewhat higher now.

### Shopping

Prices have increased from 200-500% in the past year on such traditional items as jade carvings and Chinese antiques. Prices on other products such as silks have risen but are still reasonable by Western standards. Most visitors to China are given an opportunity to shop in the Friendship Stores, which are located in each large city and which carry a wide variety of Chinese products.

The export of antiques more than approximately 150 years old is prohibited. Major cities have antique shops where exportable antiques

are marked with a red wax seal which should be left untouched for customs inspection on leaving China. It may also be necessary to produce a receipt for the item concerned. These antique shops will also arrange for shipment of antiques directly to the visitor's address abroad.

### Recommended Shops

The Friendship Store, on Jian Kuo Men Wai, two miles west of the city centre. Four stories high, the Friendship Store is the largest store for sales to foreigners. It specializes in contemporary arts and handicrafts, silks (a good buy) and other textiles, jade carvings, etc.

The best place for antiques is a cluster of shops at Liu Li Chang, in south central Peking, one of the older and more picturesque areas of the city. These shops carry scrolls, ceramics, bronzes and all kinds of antique objects.

Just south of the Tien An Men square (but a little difficult to find) is the Marco Polo Store, which sells jewellery and antiques, but only for foreign currency.

For foreigners who want to shop in ordinary Chinese stores the most interesting is probably the Bai huo da lou, the major department store in Peking, on Wang fu jing, one of the main shopping streets of the city. Directly across the street from the Bai huo da lou department store is the East Wind Market, a series of covered stalls selling a wide variety of products.

### What to Bring Along

Battery operated razors or transformers for electric razors (Peking's electrical supply is 200/220 volts a.c., 50 cycles; elsewhere

both this system and the 3-phase 380 volt system are employed); razor blades; medicine; instant coffee and coffee-mate (hot water is available in rooms and on trains).

Local cigarettes are available, but most foreign visitors prefer to bring their own. Customs regulations permit the import of 300 cigarettes per person.



PART II

BACKGROUND NOTES

1. GENERAL

Area and Geography

China, with an area of approximately 3.7 million square miles, is the third largest country in the world (after the USSR with more than 8.5 million square miles and Canada with 3.8 million). Within this enormous country may be found every extreme of geographical feature. Western China is dominated by the high plateau of Tibet and Tsinghai, the "rooftop of the world", Mt. Everest, highest mountain in the world, is on the border of China with Nepal. To the north lie the desert and semi-desert areas of Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Moving to the northeast the dry steppe-lands give way to heavily forested mountains. Between these great natural barriers and the sea lie the major areas of China's settlement and civilization.

The land frontiers of China are over 9,000 miles long, from Viet-Nam in the south by Laos, Burma, India, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan, to the USSR in the west and north and Korea in the northeast. Politically China seems predominantly a land power, but her coastline is more than three thousand miles long, and the provinces of the south and southeast have a long tradition of seamanship, trade, and overseas settlement.

Climate

Wide variations in climate characterize China. The Gulf of Liaotung and the Bay of Korea in the north are blocked by ice during the winter months each year. To the south, the island Hainan is within 20 degrees of the equator, and the ports of Canton, Hong Kong and the coast of the southern provinces are lashed by tropical typhoons in the summer. Traditionally, an imaginary east-west line some 150 miles north of Shanghai divides the sub-tropical south from the temperate north. The north and west of China tend to

be dry, often extremely so; the annual rainfall increases from north to south, with rainfall in Canton (74" annually) nearly triple that in Peking.

### Population

According to recent estimates, China's population is at least 850 million, 94% of whom are ethnic Chinese or Hans. The minority population is composed of a variety of peoples living mostly in southeast China near the borders with Indochina, in Tibet and in the northwest near the borders with the USSR and with Mongolia.

The great territories of Outer China-Tibet, Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia, with a population density rarely exceeding an average of ten people to the square mile, and in places wholly uninhabited, are a sharp contrast to the densely settled and developed lands of North-East China (formerly Manchuria) and the eighteen provinces of China south of the Great Wall. The major centres of population and economic activity are Southern Liaoning province in the north-east, the great North China Plain stretching from Peking to Shanghai, the Yangtze River Valley, the Szechwan Basin in the west of China and certain low-lying areas along the south-east coast. The most densely settled rural areas in these parts of China often exceed a thousand to a square mile.

### Major Cities, Ports and Industrial Centres

The capital of China is Peking, with a population of over 6 million. Shanghai, with a population of roughly 10 million, is the largest city and the principal port. Other major ports are Tientsin, near Peking, Tsingtao and Dairen in the north, and Swatow and Canton in the south. Major industrial cities are Shanghai, Peking and Tientsin. The main industrial region is in the north-eastern provinces of China, where the biggest iron and steel mills and heavy industry are located. The industrial centres in this area are Shenyang, Harbin and Dairen.

## Economy

China is primarily an agricultural country; over 80% of the nation's 850 million people are directly involved in farming. Thus economic planning, including trade policy, reflects the fundamental importance of agriculture, and much of China's industrial production is directed towards supporting this sector. The main crops in north China are wheat, millet, sorghum and soybeans. In the south, the most important crops are rice, sweet potatoes, sugarcane and tea. Barley, corn and cotton are grown extensively in various parts of the country. Agricultural products - rice, soybeans, tea, and canned fruit and vegetables - form the major part of China's exports.

Since early 1969, the basis of the domestic policy of the PRC has been to increase production in both the agricultural and the industrial sectors of the country. Industrial development has followed a double course: establishment and expansion of large-scale complexes in the major cities and, at the same time development of small-scale locally based industry, entirely dependent on local manpower, resources and technology. Economic priorities, after agriculture, are metallurgical and petrochemical industries and transport and communications; more attention, however, has recently been given to light industries and to export industries. With manpower resources fully mobilized, emphasis is now being placed on advanced research and technology, the perfecting of management techniques, and discipline; the future economic growth of China will depend on the growth of productivity and technological progress.

The policy of the Chinese Government is to make the economy as self-sufficient as possible. Therefore, virtually all consumer goods are manufactured within the country and imports are limited to the purchase of foodstuffs and raw materials, semi-manufactured goods, and machinery and equipment. China's overall

trade for 1973 was about 8.5 billion dollars. Main imports continue to be wheat, chemicals, fertilizers, iron and steel and other base metals; there have also been substantial purchases of complete factories with their machinery, vehicles, and aeronautical products.

Exchanges with Communist-bloc countries rose to \$1.9 billion in 1973, but China continues to conduct the major part of its exchanges with non-Communist countries (approximately \$6.6 billion in 1973). Her largest trading partners in recent years have been Japan, Hong Kong and Canada (with bilateral trade figures for 1973 of approximately \$2 billion, \$1.2 billion and \$340 million respectively). Her largest suppliers to date have been Japan and Canada; however, bilateral China-USA trade has risen rapidly in the last year (\$92 million in 1972, and a total for 1973 that reached \$750 million), and the United States has perhaps taken over second place among China's suppliers. Bilateral trade between Canada and China in 1973 (\$340 million) was up approximately \$35 million from 1972, with a heavy imbalance in favour of Canada. Major Canadian exports to China are wheat, nickel, aluminium, iron and steel scrap, sulphur, tobacco and potash. Clothing and textile items and foodstuffs comprise the major portion of Canadian imports from the PRC.

## 2. HISTORY

### A. TO THE 20TH CENTURY

#### The Beginnings

The earliest records of Chinese history, supported by the evidence of archaeology, place the origins of Chinese civilization in the Yellow River valley, the modern provinces of Shansi, Shensi and Honan. Remains of a civilized society have been found in this area dating as far back as the fourth millenium B.C. Complete towns from the half-legendary Shang dynasty (traditional dates 1766 - 1112 B.C.) and from the Chou or Zhou dynasty (11th century - 2nd century B.C.) have been uncovered by excavations, notably that at An yang in Honan province. From this heartland, where the early Chinese developed the techniques of agriculture, the art of writing and the elements of their religious beliefs, their culture spread rapidly over the North China Plain and southward to the Yangtze. This spread and increase of China's population has been a central theme of Chinese history through the centuries.

A second major theme of Chinese history has been the alternation between periods of strength and unity, and periods of disunity and chaos. Traditional Chinese historians have seen in this alternation a cyclical pattern, in which successive dynasties flourish and grow powerful, then fall into administrative decay, leading to peasant revolts, the overthrow of the dynasty and a period of political turbulence, and sometimes foreign invasion.

## The Warring States Era. The Ch'in and Han Empires

By 500 B.C., a flourishing culture of bronze craftsmanship was challenged by the introduction of iron, and local kingdoms steadily increased their power and battled for supremacy. This era, known as "The Warring States", saw considerable economic expansion and interesting developments in political and philosophical thought.

At the end of the Third Century B.C. the short-lived but powerful state of Ch'in (221-210) united all the then known Chinese world. The borders of China were pushed far to the west, and southwards to Canton, a network of roads was established, the fortifications separating the states were destroyed, and the Great Wall was begun along the northern frontier to protect the new empire from nomadic invasions.

The Han Empire, which succeeded the Ch'in, maintained its state for four centuries. Under the Hans (2nd century B.C. - 2nd century A.D.) China was powerful and prosperous and the Ch'in policy of expansion continued. The empire was characterized by the splendour of its court, the development of the arts and humanities, and substantial progress in agriculture. Later generations were to look on the Han era as a golden age in Chinese history.

The fall in 220 A.D. of the Empire of Han, weakened by court intrigues and peasant uprisings, saw the beginning of a new period of division, with a succession of ephemeral Chinese dynasties in the south, and nomad invaders dominating the north. Feudalism reappeared, and it was at this time that Buddhism was introduced into China.

### The Tang and Sung Dynasties. The Yuan

In the seventh century A.D., China was reunited by the T'ang dynasty. The T'ang era (618 - 917) restored domestic unity to China and reinstated Chinese hegemony in Central Asia and Korea. Chang an (Sian), the capital, with its two million inhabitants, was the largest and most cosmopolitan city in the world. Buddhism flourished, and the era is known for its brilliant intellectual and artistic life.

The T'ang dynasty collapsed at the beginning of the 10th century, leaving China a prey to anarchy for nearly a century. Under the Sung dynasty (960 - 1279), China was surrounded by restless barbarians on all three sides; nevertheless the era saw the arts of ceramics and painting brought to new levels of beauty and refinement.

Early in the twelfth century the Sung emperor was driven south by a new incursion of nomad people, and in 1280 the Mongols under Kublai Khan swept from the north, crushed the last elements of Chinese resistance, and placed all of China under alien rule. This period is known as the Yuan dynasty (1280 - 1367).

### The Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties

As the first fury of conquest faded, Chinese resistance grew. In 1360 the native Ming dynasty (1368 - 1643) regained the Empire. Although the Ming Empire was destroyed in 1644, the Ch'ing dynasty of the Manchus, which was proclaimed in its stead, preserved the unity of the Empire and extended Chinese power on the frontiers. The threat of barbarian invasion was finally removed at the end of the eighteenth century, when the armies of the great Emperor Ch'ien-lung destroyed the last remnants of Mongol military power, and the territories of Tibet and Central Asia were placed

under effective imperial control. Ironically, the triumph of China over her traditional enemies on the Inner Asian frontier was a prelude to the humiliation of the Ch'ing empire at the hands of Europeans invading from the sea.

In the history of China during the 19th and early 20th century, two factors combined to render the empire weak and apparently defenceless. The vigorous European drive for markets and trade, a result of the Industrial Revolution and associated technological advances, coincided with a period of administrative decay and rigidity within the Ch'ing Empire itself, now far from its vigorous beginnings. The Opium Wars of 1840 and 1860, a successful attempt by Western powers to force open the gates of China, marked the beginning of the end of the Ch'ing Empire. In the years that followed, civil war and the great rebellions of the Taipings and the Boxers rendered the government of China almost impotent. Along the coasts the representatives of Europe vied with one another to gain concessions for trade, and treaty ports for settlement.

#### B. MODERN CHINA, 1911 - 1949

The fall of the Empire in October 1911 heralded nearly half a century of political and military confusion within the country. The regime was able to introduce new ideas and techniques, but Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries who founded the new government had few military resources to maintain their authority in the country at large. Within a matter of years China was divided among rival war-lords, and whole provinces were effectively independent of the capital. In 1926 Chiang Kai-shek, successor to Sun Yat-sen as leader of the Nationalist party, launched the Northward Expedition from Canton and was able to reunite the country, at least temporarily, under the Nationalists.

In 1927 the Communists, who had at one time been in alliance with the Nationalists, were driven from the cities by a purge and massacre carried out by Chiang Kai-shek's forces, and established themselves in the countryside of Kiangsi province. Under severe pressure from Nationalist attacks they abandoned Kiangsi in 1934, and in the great Long March their armies travelled westward to Szechwan and north across Kansu, to re-establish the remnants of their forces at Yen-an in Shensi. From there they maintained their position against both the Nationalists and the Japanese.

The Sino-Japanese war of 1895 had seen the first clash between a weakened China and a resurgent Japan; according to the terms of the treaty of Shimonoseki, China ceded Taiwan, the Liaotung peninsula in north-east China and the Pescadores islands to Japan. As a result of her victory in the Russo-Japanese war of 1905, Japan took over Russia's sphere of influence in north-eastern China. In 1931 the Japanese occupied Shenyang (then called Mukden) in a surprise attack, and for the next fourteen years Nationalists and Communists in China were at war not only among themselves but with the armies of Japan.

The end of the Japanese threat in 1945 marked the beginning of the second phase of civil war, as the Communists from the north-west and the Nationalists, who had survived the war at Chungking in Szechwan, struggled for power in a country which had not shown even a façade of unity for more than a generation. By 1949 the Nationalist armies were destroyed and their garrisons had been surrounded and captured. Chiang Kai-shek and the remnants of his party took refuge in Taiwan, leaving mastery of China proper to Mao Tse-tung and the People's Republic of China.

C. THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA SINCE 1949

The first actions of the government of the People's Republic of China after its proclamation on October 1, 1949 were directed towards the founding of new institutions and the restoration of the economy, which had suffered badly from many years of war. Government controls were tightened over the urban and industrial sector of the economy. Nationwide land reform, begun in mid-1950 and completed by late 1952 or early 1953, redistributed farm land on a private ownership basis to those who tilled it. Mass organizations were set up, with training programmes, schools and indoctrination centres, with the goal of changing the structure of society and its mentality. A new marriage law of 1950, aimed at weakening traditional family structure, proclaimed equal rights between the sexes. The Korean War (1950 - 1953) marked China's return to the fields of Asian and world affairs.

From 1953 to 1957 the People's Republic of China launched the first five-year plan, designed to build up basic heavy industry with Soviet help. Agriculture was reorganized on a collective basis at the same time, via voluntary Socialist cooperatives at first and eventually through collectivization. On September 20, 1954 a new constitution was adopted, setting forth the basic principles of the state. The famous "Hundred Flowers" movement in 1956 and 1957, a period of artistic and intellectual debate, threw intellectual circles into a ferment.

From 1958 onwards, the second five-year plan was launched and the phase known as the Great Leap Forward began. This was marked by a frenzied acceleration of production and the reorganization of agricultural and industrial communes. Easier times followed the hard years of 1959 - 1962, and a third five-year plan was launched on January 1, 1966.

Following the Cultural Revolution (1966 - 1969) China pursued policies of economic pragmatism and political reorganization, culminating in the convening of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party in August 1973. Since that time, many of the objectives of the Cultural Revolution have received renewed emphasis in the "campaign to criticize Lin Piao and criticize Confucius".

Signs of a rift in relations between China and the U.S.S.R. were apparent from the late 1950's, and in the summer of 1960 Russian experts were withdrawn from China, leaving many construction projects unfinished. An open break with the U.S.S.R. occurred in 1963.

In recent years China has played an increasingly important international role; this first became apparent at the Geneva Conference of 1954 and the Bandung Conference of non-aligned nations in 1955. Diplomatic relations were established with Canada in 1970, and since that time with numerous Western nations. The People's Republic of China took her place as the representative of China in the United Nations in 1971.

### 3. STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

#### The State Constitution

China functions under both a state and a party constitution. The present state constitution, adopted in 1954, outlines a unitary (rather than federal) type of national government, consisting of a uni-cameral legislature (the National People's Congress), a ceremonial head of state, a cabinet-like executive body headed by a premier, and two formally independent judicial agencies - a supreme court and a public prosecutor's office.

The National People's Congress is indirectly elected by a four-tiered electoral system based on the commune (see below, under "Local Administration"). It formally exercises supreme legislative power, amends the constitution, appoints the head of state, and approves the choice of premier, the budget and economic proposals. Out of session, the Congress is represented by a standing committee.

The post of Chairman of the People's Republic or head of state, held by Mao Tse-tung until 1959 and subsequently by Liu Shao-chi, has been vacant since the Cultural Revolution. In 1972 a Vice-Chairman, Tung Pi-wu, was designated Acting Chairman, and has been carrying out the largely ceremonial functions of this position since that time.

The Cabinet or State Council is the supreme executive body of the People's Republic. Its functions are largely administrative rather than policy-making. It is headed by Premier Chou En-lai.

#### The Communist Party of China

The locus of power within the People's Republic of China is the Communist Party of China (CPC). The party has about 28 million members, a significant increase from the Ninth Party Congress in 1969, when there were

only 17 million members. Party members periodically choose delegates to the National Party Congresses. Since the Cultural Revolution the party apparatus has undergone reconstruction; the Ninth Party Congress, confirming this rebuilding, was held in 1969. The Tenth Party Congress took place in August of 1973.

A Central Committee of the Party, named at the Congress, formally carries on the affairs of the party between Congresses. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is of course Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in China. The nucleus of power within the party, and the real centre of political power in China, lies in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee or Politburo, with 25 members, and within the Politburo, with the 9-member Standing Committee, made up of the most prominent figures in the Politburo. A General Secretariat looks after the internal administration of the party.

Regional and local party units, reorganized since 1967, correspond in their structure to the central party with congresses and committees on the provincial and district levels. Underlying all this, the primary units of the party are formed within the enterprise (factory or People's Commune), or within the administrative or military unit.

#### Local Administration

The present administrative structure of the PRC is an element of continuity with China's past, owing a great deal to the institutions of its predecessors. China south of the Great Wall was divided in imperial times into eighteen provinces; the present government has generally continued this arrangement, except for the centrally administered metropolitan districts of Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai, and the Autonomous Regions and Districts (see below). The territory to the north-east, fully incorporated into the

empire by the Ch'ing dynasty, is now divided into three provinces with an organization equivalent to the pattern in the rest of China.

Below the provincial organization, the local government units are districts or counties (hsien), also an old administrative form. There are about 2,000 of these throughout China, plus about 150 cities. Below the county level, administration is controlled by communes. There were about 26,000 of these throughout the countryside and in the cities when they were created in 1958, but since then they have been reduced in size, and there are now about 70,000. In many cases the communes correspond to the former xiang, or villages. Population of a commune is usually 5,000 - 10,000 people.

People's Congresses, corresponding to the National People's Congress are elected at the provincial, district and communal level. All citizens of 18 and over may vote for the commune congress. This congress then elects the county congress, which in turn elects the provincial congress, which elects the National Congress. These congresses sit for a few days only each year, and appoint executive committees to represent them. Each executive committee is controlled by the level above, and ultimately by the State Council or executive cabinet itself.

#### Autonomous Regions and Districts

Areas with significant non-Chinese populations are administered in an almost identical way to the provinces of China (proper), but the terminology is somewhat different. (Outer) China, from Inner Mongolia through Sinkiang and Tsinghai to Tibet, is composed of Autonomous Districts, administratively the equivalent of provinces. Within the Chinese provinces of the south-east and south-west like Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangtung, areas where there are a variety of non-Chinese minorities, there have been established Autonomous

Districts, administratively similar to their Chinese equivalents. An entire province in this area, Kwangsi, has become the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. These Autonomous Regions and Autonomous Districts have been established with the stated object of protecting the interests of minority peoples and their rights to citizenship and equality.



PART III

NOTES ON PEKING, CANTON, SHANGHAI & KWEILIN

## A NOTE ON PLACE NAMES

There are a number of ways of transcribing the sounds of the Chinese language into the Western alphabet. Most books published in this century have used the so-called Post Office system, inaccurate phonetically but widely used and easily recognizable. In this system the capital of China is written as "Peking", in the Wade-Giles transcription system, also widely used in Anglo-Saxon countries, it is "Pei-ching".

In 1958, however, the Government of the People's Republic of China adopted another system of transcribing the sounds of Chinese into the alphabet; this official transcription is known as pin yin. In this system, "Peking" becomes "Beijing". Pin yin is a much more accurate guide to correct pronunciation and is the only system used on signs in railway stations, street signs, place names, etc.

### Supplementary Note:

At the time this book went to press the full itinerary for the Media Visit was not known. Consequently, for general background information we have included descriptive material on Peking, Canton, Shanghai and Kweilin.

1. PEKING

Pronounced: Bay Jing

Official transcription: Beijing

Meaning in Chinese: Northern Capital

At the time of the 1953 census Peking had a population of somewhat over a million: since then, the population has quadrupled and the latest estimates are that there are 4,000,000 in the built-up area of the city, with 7,000,000 in the metropolitan district as a whole. (The municipal region of 6,600 square miles includes 9 largely rural counties). The metropolitan district is not part of the surrounding province of Hopeh but, like Shanghai, is administered by the central government as a separate unit.

The predominance of Peking arises both from its political status and from its geographical location. The city occupies a strategic position close to the northern borders and at the centre of an arc of natural defences. The Great Wall of China, historically the frontier between Chinese civilization and the northern nomadic tribes, lies only 35 miles away at its nearest point. Nankow Pass, on the main road to Mongolia, is fifty miles to the north-west, and Shanhaikwan, the narrow gateway to the north-eastern provinces (formerly Manchuria) between the mountains and the sea, lies two hundred miles east. Before 500 B.C., the site of the modern city was already the capital of a great state; under the early dynasties military headquarters were maintained here, and the Mongols under Kublai Khan made it the capital of their Empire. In the 13th century, Marco Polo reported to Europeans the splendors of Peking under the Empire of the Khans. The Chinese Ming dynasty, which drove out the

Mongols in the 14th century, first made their capital Nanking in the Yangtze valley, but soon returned north to Peking, 'the Northern Capital'. So close to the frontier with the Manchus, Peking was an excellent headquarters for controlling defence against the Empire's major barbarian enemy. But as the military power of the Ming Empire declined, Peking became dangerously exposed. In 1644, the treachery of a Chinese general allowed an army of Manchus through the pass of Shanhaikwan, and in subsequent years they established their power through all of China, claiming as they did so that they ruled from the same seat as their predecessors.

After the Revolution of 1911, the new Republic chose Nanking as its capital, and Peking was renamed Peiping, 'Northern Peace'. After 1949, however, the Government of the People's Republic of China returned the capital to the north and restored the name Peking.

Under Imperial rule, Peking was the centre of culture and the Imperial University was the finest in the Empire. Since 1949 a number of colleges and technical institutes have been established alongside earlier foundations such as the Medical College and the National University, both of which began as missionary schools. Most of the institutions are located in the western suburbs.

Peking is a transportation centre and has important resources of coal nearby. This plus the readily available manpower has made possible considerable industrial development. In the eastern suburbs of Peking are blast furnaces, machine shops and textile factories. One of the most impressive achievements of the new regime in the 1950's was the Ming Tombs Reservoir project north-west of Peking in the high ground near the Great Wall, and the related Kwangting Dam, a major source of hydro-electric power.

Peking is really three cities, with modern suburbs scattered around the periphery. In the north there is the walled Inner or 'Manchu' City and inside the Manchu City is the Imperial City, also surrounded by a wall. The Imperial City contained the ministries and their dependencies, the court, and at the centre, the Imperial Palace (or 'Forbidden City') itself, surrounded by a moat. South of the Manchu City is the oblong 'Chinese' or Outer City, surrounded by lesser walls, and containing the Temple of Heaven where the Emperor, Son of Heaven, worshipped at midnight on the winter solstice. The Imperial City, the Temple of Heaven and the Summer Palace outside the city have now been restored and turned into museums and pleasure-grounds.

Like almost all the cities of the North China Plain where townsites are flat and little affected by hills or rivers, Peking is planned on a grid system, within great squares of defensive walls, facing north, south, east and west. Most of the city walls have been torn down since 1949, to facilitate the flow of traffic. Despite substantial changes over the last several decades, however, Peking remains one of the most impressive cities of the world, a superb example of traditional Chinese town planning, with trees and boulevards laid out by the Emperor Yung-lo six hundred years ago.

Peking's climate tends to be one of extremes, with cold dry winters and hot summers with frequent dust storms; annual rainfall averages 20", but may vary widely from one year to the next. Autumn, after the heaviest rains and before the November frosts, is the most pleasant season.

## SIGHTSEEING IN PEKING

### Tien An Men Square and Surroundings

The Tien An Men Square stands at the heart of the city. On the north side is the long red wall of the Imperial City, with the imposing stone Tien An Men, or Gate of Heavenly Peace, in the centre. In the south the square ends at the Chian men, the double gate which connected the Inner and Outer Cities. The square is flanked on either side by huge modern buildings, the National People's Congress Building to the west and the Historical Museum and the Museum of the Chinese Revolution on the east.

### The Imperial Palace (The Forbidden City)

The former palace of the Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (1644-1911) courts, the Imperial Palace is the largest and most complete existing ensemble of traditional Chinese architecture. Rebuilding of the palaces was begun in 1406 under the Emperor Yung Lo, and the general outlines of his plan still survive. Over the reigns which followed, the palace was renovated numerous times; most of the buildings are 18th century.

The grounds cover an area of 250 acres and are surrounded by a moat, still full of water, and by walls over 35 feet high. Four towers stand at the corners, each surmounted by a pavilion with an elaborate yellow roof; four gates lead into the city, one on each side. The impressive Wu Men gate in the South wall is the usual entry to the Palace.

The Palace consists mainly of two major parts.

From the outer part to the south the emperors exercised their political rule. This section centres around three great halls used for official occasions: Tai he dian (Hall of Supreme Harmony) the throne room; Zhong he dian (Hall of Complete Harmony), the ante-chamber, and Bao he dian (Hall of Preserving Harmony), the banquet room.

In the Inner Court to the north reached by the Chien Ching Men or Gate of Heavenly Purity, the imperial families lived and the emperors conducted their daily activities of rule. Main buildings here are the three Rear Palaces — the Palace of Heavenly Purity (Chien ching kung) the Hall of Union (Chiaotaitien), which used to be the Emperors' throne room and the Hall of Earthly Tranquillity (Kunning kung) — and the twelve courts of the eastern and western areas.

#### Peihai (North Lake) Park (pronounced Bay-hi)

Peihai is the most northerly of the three lakes belonging to the Imperial City; it lies north-west of the Imperial Palace. The park was one of the imperial gardens during the Liao and Kin kingdoms and the Yuang, Ming and Ching dynasties. The park is built around the lake in the southern part of which rises Chiunghua Island, a small hill dominated at the top by the beautiful White Dagoba. Amidst the greenery and rockeries around the lake and on the island are various structures in the traditional style, including the Five Dragons Pavilions, the Tower of Ten Thousand Buddhas, the Hall of Rippling Waves and the Temple of Everlasting Peace. Other spots of interest include the Nine Dragon Screen and the Iron Shadow Screen, both exquisite works of art.

### The Temple of Heaven

The temple lies in the Outer or Chinese City to the east of the main north-south artery. Its buildings date from the 15th century. The temple was the place where the Ming and Ching emperors each spring offered sacrifices and prayers for a prosperous year. The major buildings are the Hall of Prayer for Good Harvests, a circular structure with a three-tiered roof, the Imperial Vault of Heaven and the Circular Sacrificial Altar. Surrounding the Imperial Vault of Heaven is the famous Echo Wall.

### The Peking Zoo

A former imperial park, the zoo lies just outside the walls to the north-west of the city. Most striking of the animals are the Chinese giant pandas from Szechwan, the tigers from North East China and the big sea-turtles from the China seas.

### The Summer Palace

The Summer Palace in the north-west outer suburbs was an imperial garden from the time of the Kin Kingdom (1115-1234). For 500 years the grounds were kept in beautiful order and the architecture continually improved; in 1860, however, the palaces were sacked by European troops and restored by the Dowager Empress. The park is now extremely popular with inhabitants of Peking, with skating in winter and swimming and boating in summer.

The grounds, surrounded by walls, cover 659 acres. Kunming Lake occupies three-quarters of the park; on the north side of the lake is Longevity Hill (Wanshoushan), where the palace buildings stand. With the broad vistas of the Jade Spring Hill and Western Hills as backdrop,

the Summer Palace is a spacious yet compact park where nature and the landscaping art blend harmoniously.

### Hsiangshan (Fragrant Hills) Park and Surroundings

Situated in a valley in the Fragrant Hills to the northwest of Peking, the walled park was once an imperial lodge known as the "Hunting Park". It is well-known for its scenic beauty, especially in the autumn when the leaves are a riot of colour. Some of the former elegant buildings still remain, including the Zhao or Luminous Temple, built in the Tibetan style in 1780 as the Panchen Lama's Peking residence, the much-restored Pavilion of Introspection and the ruins of the Xiang Shang temple.

Near the park, amid evergreen trees in the foothills, are the ancient Temple of the Sleeping Buddha (Wo fo si), famous for its rare trees, and with a modern Forestry School annexed, and the Temple of the Azure Clouds, with a magnificent view over the whole plain around Peking.

### The Ming Tombs

The tombs of 13 Ming Emperors are situated in a great amphitheatre formed by low purple mountains. The largest and most majestic of the tombs is Chang Ling, tomb of the famous Ming Emperor Yung Lo, who reigned from 1403 to 1424.

The Underground Palace or Ting Ling, excavated in 1958, was the tomb of the Emperor Wan Li who ruled from 1537 to 1620. Five underground walls covering 1195 square meters, with vaulted ceilings unhindered by beams or columns, were uncovered. An exhibition hall displays funerary

objects from the tomb-palace. Other tombs have been less well-preserved, but the sites are delightful.

The Great Wall (Pataling Section)(pronounced Ba da ling)

The section of the Wall open to visitors is reached by car on an interesting route through the town of Nankou, an old caravan halting point, and the Ju yong quan Pass, famous for its magnificent 14th century gateway. Pataling (official transcription Ba da ling) is a fortress guarding an important pass through the Great Wall. This section of the Wall was rebuilt during the Ming dynasty, and Pataling is a fine example of Ming architecture. The Wall here is 6.6 meters high and 6-1/2 meters wide. A foundation of huge granite slabs supports walls of large bricks. The Great Wall rises and falls with the ridges of the Yinshan mountain range. Viewed from the battlements, it winds into the distance like an immense Dragon whose head and tail are invisible. Built more than 2,000 years ago by forced labour, it extends over 6,000 kilometers, one of the world's oldest and most gigantic engineering projects.

## 2. CANTON

Pronounced: Gwang joe

Official transcription: Guang Zhou

Canton on the Pearl River in South China is the "gate of China". With a population of around 2 million, it is an important industrial centre, a busy port and the capital of Kwangtung province. At the beginning of the 20th century it was the largest city in China and although it has since been overtaken and passed by Shanghai, Peking, Shenyang and some other industrial centres of the north, it is still of major importance both in economics and in politics. It was near Canton that the mid-nineteenth century Taiping rebels established their earliest bases, from here the Nationalists began the Northern March of 1926 which re-established the unity of China; the Canton commune of the Communist Party of China was first established in 1927. One of the main tourist attractions of the city is a memorial to the martyrs of an abortive rebellion led by Sun Yat-sen shortly before the final overthrow of the Manchu dynasty.

The city is nestled in a bend of the Pearl River, facing south. Its main streets slope gently down towards the river from the rising ground to the north. The main axis Jie fang lu or Liberation Avenue, divides the town into east and west sectors. Across the axis run both wide boulevards and narrow, crowded, picturesque streets. On the river is a mile of waterfront lined by buildings five or six stories high; a pleasant park on the sandbar island called Sha mian at the south-west tip of the town, site of the former French and British concessions, provides an excellent view over the river and its traffic.

Another island to the south-east Er sha tou, is covered with sports grounds.

Canton has been a centre for overseas trade for more than two thousand years; Arab traders came here centuries before the Europeans. Canton, one of China's chief trading ports has been eclipsed to some extent in recent years by Hong Kong, eighty miles to the south-east on the Pearl River estuary; the shallowness of the Pearl River at Canton and problems in dredging have made docking difficult for large ocean-going vessels. However, the twice-yearly trade fairs held in the Exhibitions Centre (increasingly important as China's trade with the outside world grows) have restored Canton to much of its former importance as a commercial centre. The city is also a highly important regional communications centre, with road, water and rail communications with a wide hinterland.

A shortage of coal in the interior prevents any great development of heavy industry, but there is dock and harbour work and light industry, especially textiles. Canton is also a cultural centre, with the Sun Yat-sen University, several higher education establishments, a museum and libraries. The South China botanical gardens are in the suburbs.

Canton, extensively modernized in the 1920's is today mainly the town built by Sun Yat-sen, though since 1949 there have been further changes. The most successful contribution of the present regime is the Pearl River Square, a huge open space by the riverside, bordered by the tall white buildings of the Exhibition Hall.

### 3. SHANGHAI ("Above the Sea")

Pronounced: Shang hi

Shanghai is located near the east coast of China at a point where the Yangtze River meets the Yellow and East China Seas. It is a flourishing industrial and commercial centre, a great port, and the most densely populated town in China. Today Shanghai and its suburbs form a separate administrative unit, independent of the neighbouring provinces. It covers an area of 3,600 square miles and has a population of approximately 10 million.

#### Brief History:

The origins of the town date from the Sung era, when the lower Yangtze region benefitted from the withdrawal which followed the invasions from the north. Several organizations responsible for controlling overseas trade had already been based there. In 1554, ramparts were built around the town to protect it from attacks from Japanese pirates. In the 17th and 18th centuries trade flourished and Shanghai cotton was well known. The real period of great change dates from the 19th century, however. In June 1842 Shanghai surrendered to the English fleet during the Opium War and it was the subsequent signing of the Treaty of Nanking which opened Shanghai to foreign trade and the taking of special territorial concessions by the British, French, Americans and Japanese.

After numerous skirmishes with Tai ping troops in the mid-1850's the Europeans regained control of Shanghai and the surrounding area. From this point on the foreigners became more numerous and soon controlled Chinese customs and founded banks, factories and business houses.

In the 20th century, the Europeans tightened their hold and at the same time Chinese national capitalism emerged in the shipbuilding and textile sectors.

The early decades of the 20th century were turbulent. The workers became better organized and the Chinese Communist Party was founded at Shanghai on July 1, 1921; its Central Committee was headquartered there for some time. In 1926 the Shanghai workers took part in armed uprisings which were savagely quashed by Chiang Kai Shek in 1927.

Since 1949 the Europeans have gone and business enterprises have been nationalized. Ten industrial satellite towns have been founded and heavy industry has greatly expanded (to include iron and steel, refining of non-ferrous metals, machine-building).

Shanghai's industrial expansion and its development as a major port and population centre have combined to promote impressive agricultural development (cereals, vegetables, cotton).

4. KWEILIN

Pronounced: Gway Lin

Official transcription: Gui Lin

Kweilin, a famous beauty-spot high in the Nan ling mountain range in southern China, lies on the traditional lines of communication and trade between the Yangtze Valley and the South coast of China; a canal was built across the watershed south from Kweilin in the second century B.C. Under the Ming dynasty Kweilin was the provincial capital, remaining so until 1914. The town was a revolutionary stronghold during the Sino-Japanese war and population grew rapidly. Kweilin has a substantial minority population: some 40,000 Chuang, a group related to the Thais, out of a total population of 320,000. (This figure includes both the town itself and surrounding agricultural districts.)

Although Kweilin is now becoming industrialized and there has been much modern building, it is still famous for its superb mountain and river scenery. Erosion in the underlying limestone has produced scenery full of fantastic shapes. Hundreds of stone hills with strange summits rise out of the plain on either side of the River Li and the upper reaches of the Gui jiang. The beauty of Kweilin inspired landscape painters of the Tang and Sung dynasties and has been the subject of countless poems.

The town stretches along the west bank of the River Li. The old walls can still be traced in the lay-out of the streets. The River Yang encloses it to the south, and several lakes border it to the west, the largest of which is the Hao tang. One of the most pleasant parts of the town is the district of lakes Rong hu and Shan hu to the south;

these lakes, formerly a moat outside the city wall, are now divided by the Green Belt bridge. On a little island in the river south of the lake district lie the ruins of the Kai yuan si temple, linked to the town by a bridge.

The hills in the north part of the town are rocky and picturesque with numerous legends associated with them. From the hill called Fu Bo shan there is a superb view over the surrounding countryside.

In the centre of the town is the Wang cheng, the former palace of the 14th century king of Kweilin. The residence, dating from 1393, was converted under the Ching dynasty into an examination hall, and now houses the Kwangsi Teachers Training College. The site and the gate of the old palace can still be seen. In the north part of the palace enclosure rises the Du xin feng peak, reached by steps cut into the west slope, with a good view from the top over the surrounding area. North of the hill lies the Crescent Moon pool, dating from the Ming dynasty.



PART IV

APPENDICES

Pertinent Press Releases  
and Public Statements on  
Canada-China Relations



CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 68/17

## CANADA AND THE WORLD

A Policy Statement by Prime Minister  
Pierre Elliott Trudeau issued on  
May 29, 1968.

We Canadians found a lot to be proud of in 1967, and also some things to question.

Above all we became keenly aware in our centennial year that significant changes - political, economic, technological - have taken place in the world around us and within the body politic of our own nation. We found ourselves questioning long-standing institutions and values, attitudes and activities, methods and precedents which have shaped our international outlook for many years. We found ourselves wondering whether in the world of tomorrow, Canada can afford to cling to the conceptions and role-casting which served us in our international endeavours of three decades or more.

Those fundamentals of foreign policy did serve Canada well in circumstances of severe testing for us and for the world generally. This country played a leading part in shaping the multi-racial Commonwealth, in promoting and supporting a universal United Nations, and in trying to keep NATO attuned to changing strategic and political requirements. We made a significant contribution to international aid.

We shared the enormous difficulties which have bedevilled, in the post-war era, the best efforts to establish world order on a firm base of political and economic stability. Post-war peace had to be built on the foundations of collective security which were rendered less secure by a radically-spiralling arms race, the urgent demands of suddenly emerging nations, and a prerequisite of keeping accidental sparks of war confined, if not wholly quenched.

There has been a tendency to play upon failures and to be patronizing about successes; to pull down institutions and ideas with nothing very concrete to offer in their place; to over-simplify the possibilities for solving international issues which, even today, are as complex as they are enduring, and to forget that an anxious world was not plunged into either military catastrophe or economic chaos.

There is no reason for running down Canada's post-war record in international affairs. In many respects it was a brilliant record, for which we owe much to the inspiring leadership of the Right Honourable Lester Pearson, both as External Affairs Minister and as Prime Minister.

Re-assessment has become necessary not because of the inadequacies of the past but because of the changing nature of Canada and of the world around us.

All of us need to ponder well what our national capacity is - what our potential may be - for participating effectively in international affairs. We shall do more good by doing well what we know to be within our resources to do than by pretending either to ourselves or to others that we can do things clearly beyond our national capability.

Canada's position in the world is now very different from that of the post-war years. Then we were probably the largest of the small powers. Our currency was one of the strongest. We were the fourth or fifth trading nation and our economy was much stronger than the European economies. Ours were among the very strongest navy and air forces. But now Europe has regained its strength. The Third World has emerged.

It is for us to decide whether and how we can make the best use abroad of the special skills, experience and opportunities which our political, economic and cultural evolution have produced in this rich and varied country.

Realism - that should be the operative word in our definition of international aim; realism in how we read the world barometer; realism in how we see ourselves thriving in the climate it forecasts. For we must begin with a concrete appraisal of the prevailing atmosphere - conscious always that rapid change is likely to be its chief characteristic.

What are some of the salient features we face?

The peace which we value most rests mainly on a balance of nuclear terror. Fortunately, the two super-powers have kept the terror firmly within their grasp and have been showing increasing responsibility about unleashing it. The threat of major military clash has measurably receded, but not the need to ensure that the intricate power balance is maintained by a wide variety of means.

International tension is sustained in various regions and in varying degrees because of localized hostilities, latent disputes, racial discrimination, economic and social distress. Whatever comfort we can take from the most recent developments in Vietnam, we dare not disregard the dangers inherent in the Middle East impasse, the race conflicts in the southern half of Africa, the heavy pressure of urgent needs in the developing world. In Europe there remains the lingering threat of an unresolved German problem, which must be resolved if that continent is to capitalize on its growing desire to draw together and not to turn once again down the dangerous road to aggressive nationalism.

It is no longer realistic to think in terms of a single model of organization and development in Eastern Europe or of a monolithic Communist unity such as Stalin could impose. There has been a perceptible détente in East-West relations. There has been a growing recognition in Eastern European countries of the need through economic reforms to adapt their economies to national needs, rather than adhere in a doctrinaire way to an economic model inspired largely by nineteenth century conceptions. Although it remains true that there are some fundamental and far-reaching differences between us and

the Communist countries, it is no longer true to say that the Communist world is monolithically and implacably hostile to us.

Economic and social development continues to pose a major international problem, and it will increasingly engage the initiative, energy and resources of the world community far into the future. The essential needs of the developing countries require a vigorous, comprehensive and co-ordinated response from all the organizations, agencies and individual nations seeking to alleviate the areas of want in the world. The realities of this North-South relation are such that humanity as a whole cannot rest easy until a steady and solid progress toward a better balance between have and have-not nations has been assured.

The international institutions and methods which have been adopted for dealing with the demands of the contemporary world situation have to be brought into closer alignment with actual developments, and especially with the revolutionary desires of rising generations in all parts of the world. If man is to become the master rather than the victim of his restless genius for material progress, he must radically reduce the distance between his ever-advancing attainment in science and technology and the rather sluggish evolution of international instruments for maintaining political and economic order.

All round the earth, nations suffer the nervous exhaustion of living in an atmosphere of armed threat. It is risky enough that two super-powers, armed even now for "overkill", continue their competition for the most advanced weaponry. It does not help that secondary powers have embarked on nuclear-arms programmes. But, even if it becomes possible to contain the nuclear competition, the world will still have to face what almost amounts to an unrestrained, and perhaps uncontrollable, traffic in conventional arms of all kinds, which, far from adding to security, tend to induce insecurity and increased tension.

In most of these international contexts, China continues to be both a colossus and a conundrum. Potentially, the People's Republic of China poses a major threat to peace largely because calculation about Chinese ambitions, intentions, capacity to catch up and even about actual developments within China have to be based on incomplete information - which opens an area of unpredictability. Mainland China's exclusion from the world community stems partly from policies of non-recognition and of seeking to contain Chinese Communism through military means, and partly from Peking's own policies and problems. Yet most of the major world issues to which I have referred will not be resolved completely, or in any lasting way, unless and until an accommodation has been reached with the Chinese nation.

Those are the broad lines of the international environment in which Canada finds itself today. What are we proposing to do about it? We are going to begin with a thorough and comprehensive review of our foreign policy which embraces defence, economic and aid policies. Policy review is part of the normal process of any government, but we wish to take a fresh look at the fundamentals of Canadian foreign policy to see whether there are ways in which we can serve more effectively Canada's current interests, objectives and priorities.

Our approach will be pragmatic and realistic - above all, to see that our policies in the future accord with our national needs and resources, with our ability to discharge Canada's legitimate responsibilities in world affairs.

Our progressive involvement in international development and relations during two decades or more have given this country a position of prominence and distinction. The policy area to be reviewed is broad and complex. In our review, we shall be giving special attention to certain areas.

We as a Government must discharge our duty to the people of Canada in meeting the needs of national security. In the narrowest sense, this could mean the strengthening of North American defence arrangements in a manner calculated to safeguard our national sovereignty and at the same time to make the best use of resources allocated to national defence. But the defence strategies of our time are neither static nor restricted in scope. NATO and NORAD, though not linked organizationally, are complementary in their strategic importance and implication. They are an integral part of the delicate balance of power on which the peace of the world has rested during a long and difficult period. We shall take a hard look, in consultation with our allies, at our military role in NATO and determine whether our present military commitment is still appropriate to the present situation in Europe. We shall look at our role in NORAD in the light of the technological advances of modern weaponry and of our fundamental opposition to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Canada continues to have a very large stake in Europe, perhaps not so much in the military sense of two decades ago but in political, commercial and cultural terms. We have been fascinated and greatly encouraged by the marked improvements in the political and economic situation in Europe as a whole, in both the Eastern and Western sectors. It seems almost axiomatic that, far from relaxing them, Canada should seek to strengthen its ties with the European nations, whose many and varied cultures contribute so much to our own. We should seek to join with them in new forms of partnership and co-operation in order to strengthen international security, to promote economic stability on both sides of the Atlantic and in other regions of the world, to balance our own relations in the Western Hemisphere.

We have a major aim of maintaining mutual confidence and respect in our relations with the United States. We have to sort out the dilemmas which that complex relation poses for us so as to widen the area of mutual benefit without diminishing our Canadian identity and sovereign independence.

We have to take greater account of the ties which bind us to other nations in this Hemisphere - in the Caribbean, Latin America - and of their economic needs. We have to explore new avenues of increasing our political and economic relations with Latin America, where more than 400 million people will live by the turn of the century and where we have substantial interests.

We accept as a heavy responsibility of higher priority Canada's participation in programmes for the economic and social development of nations in the developing areas. We shall be exploring all means of increasing the impact of our aid programmes by concentrating on places and projects in which our bilingualism, our own expertise and experience, our resources and facilities, make possible an effective and distinctively Canadian contribution. We see Africa as an area of growing activity, but not to the exclusion of other regions in which Canada's aid effort is well established. We intend, moreover, to combine these efforts with initiatives, policies and leadership relating to trade which will enable the developing nations to attain lasting improvement in their economies.

We shall be guided by considerations such as the foregoing in sustaining our support for international organizations - and especially the United Nations family. We believe that Canada's contribution to the co-operative efforts of those organizations may benefit from some shift of emphasis but there will be no slackening of our broad policy of support. In making our reappraisal, we shall be looking for realistic means for making multilateral organizations as effective as possible and, correspondingly, Canada's participation in their endeavours.

We shall be looking at our policy in relation to China in the context of a new interest in Pacific affairs generally. Because of past preoccupations with Atlantic and European affairs, we have tended to overlook the reality that Canada is a Pacific country too. Canada has long advocated a positive approach to mainland China and its inclusion in the world community. We have an economic interest in trade with China - no doubt shared by others - and a political interest in preventing tension between China and its neighbours, but especially between China and the United States. Our aim will be to recognize the People's Republic of China Government as soon as possible and to enable that Government to occupy the seat of China in the United Nations, taking into account that there is a separate government in Taiwan.

As I suggested earlier, in reviewing the international situation and our external policies, we are likely to find that many of the problems are the same ones which Canada has faced for many years - global and regional tensions, under-development, economic disruptions. Our broad objectives may be similar, too - the maintenance of peace and security, the expansion and improvement of aid programmes, the search for general economic stability. But what we shall be looking for - systematically, realistically, pragmatically - will be new approaches, new methods, new opportunities. In that search we shall be seeking the views of Canadians, and particularly of those with expert knowledge in the universities and elsewhere.

We shall hope, too, to find new attitudes, for ourselves and in others, which will give us the latitude to make progress in the pursuit of those objectives. There is much evidence of a desire for this kind of change in most countries of the world. Our need is not so much to go crusading abroad as to mobilize at home our aspirations, energies and resources behind external policies which will permit Canada to play a credible and creditable part in this changing world.

To do this we need not proclaim our independence. We need not preach to others or castigate them. What we do need is to be sure that we are being as effective as we can be in carrying out our own commitments and responsibilities, which will be commensurate with our growing status and strength, with our special character.

What is our paramount interest in pursuing this kind of foreign policy? Well, the foreign policies of nations are grounded in history and geography and culture. There are very obvious major interests for most nations today - peace, prosperity, and progress of all kinds. There is always a substantial element of self-interest. In this general sense, Canada is no exception.

But at the present time (it may have always been so and certainly will be so far into the future) our paramount interest is to ensure the political survival of Canada as a federal and bilingual sovereign state. This means strengthening Canadian unity as a basically North American country. It means reflecting in our foreign relations the cultural diversity and the bilingualism of Canada as faithfully as possible. Parallel to our close ties with the Commonwealth, we should strive to develop a close relation with the francophone countries. It means the development of procedures so that Canada's external relations can take even more into account the interests of provincial governments in matters of provincial jurisdiction.

There are many ways of serving that paramount interest. Some of them are already abundantly apparent in the policies and methods which the Government has been promoting for some time. I have indicated throughout this statement our determination to explore every opportunity for applying such policies with maximum effect. They will be projected in the world of today and tomorrow.

... Our search, our exploration, our reassessment, are motivated and directed by a desire not for new approaches for the sake of novelty but for better policies and better methods which will keep Canada effectively in the forefront of those international endeavours which realistically lie within our national resources - active and potential.

While this broad review has been set in motion by the Government, we have taken some immediate steps which will give the Canadian people an indication of the direction the Government will follow and these are:

We have decided to send before the end of 1968 a special mission at the ministerial level to tour Latin America. This mission will be designed to demonstrate the importance the Government attaches to strengthening our bilateral relations with leading Latin American countries.

In order to exploit more fully the opportunities inherent in our bilingual country, it is our intention to open five new missions by 1969 in French-speaking countries. A substantially increased share of our aid will be allocated to francophone countries as an important investment both in improving bilateral relations and in contributing to national unity.

Within the general review, we have set up a special task force on our relations with the countries of Western and Eastern Europe. Its purpose is to prepare detailed recommendations concerning ways in which co-operation could be further strengthened with European countries, from which so many Canadians have originated. It will study the whole range of our economic, political and cultural ties with Europe, together with the presence of Canadian military forces in Europe.

In order to stress the true objectives of our aid programme, we shall change the name of the External Aid Office to Canadian International Development Agency. Aside from removing the resentment that might be felt by some

recipient countries, this change will illustrate that our preoccupation is with co-operative international development, not aid as such. In addition, we shall give speedy and favourable consideration to the creation of an International Development Centre. This would be an international institute established in Canada to apply the latest advances in science and technology to the problems of development and to ensure that Canadian and other aid moneys are put to the most effective use possible.

Such, then, is our liberal approach to foreign policy and Canada's position in the world. We should not exaggerate the extent of our influence upon the course of world events. Yet, because of the origin and character of our population, our history, our geographical position and our economic strength and potential, we can play a significant part in the promotion of peace and the creation of a just world society.

We shall seek a new role for Canada and a new foreign policy based on a fresh appraisal of this rapidly-changing world and on a realistic assessment of Canada's potential. It must be a policy which Canadians of all origins, languages and cultures will be proud to support. It must be a policy which is pragmatic, realistic and which contributes effectively both to Canada's political survival and independence and to a more secure, progressive, free and just world society.

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# *Canadian Recognition of the People's Republic of China*

## THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS

**F**ROM that day in April 1949 when the Chinese Red Army entered Nanking until October 13, 1970, when the Honourable Mitchell Sharp rose in his place in the House of Commons to announce the recognition of the People's Republic of China, the state of the relations between Canada and China was rarely viewed with satisfaction in Ottawa. Successive Canadian Governments between 1949 and 1968 had examined the possibility of entering into relations with the Government in Peking, which so clearly was effectively in control.

The involvement of the People's Republic of China and Canada on opposite sides in the Korean War (which began in June 1950) made it impossible for any Canadian Government to consider establishing relations with Peking either during hostilities or in the atmosphere of bitterness that immediately followed it. Nevertheless, successive Canadian spokesmen, usually in the United Nations context, expressed various ideas intended to permit the establishment of contact with the People's Republic of China on terms acceptable not only to the Chinese but to the international community generally. In general these ideas endeavoured to meet the problem posed by the mutually exclusive claims of Peking and Taipei. To the extent that the Government in Peking paid any attention to these efforts on the part of well-disposed countries, the reactions were emphatically negative. Equally, none of these proffered formulae met with any publicly-expressed approval from the Government in Taiwan.

Canada's dissatisfaction with the Chinese relationship was indicated not only in its preoccupation with the question in the United Nations but also, in a different way, in the bilateral context. It is significant that, although Canada's foreign representation grew from 35 diplomatic missions abroad in 1949 to some 70 in 1968, the Government continued to avoid making an ultimate settlement more difficult by opening a Canadian embassy in Taipei. (The Chinese Nationalist Embassy in Ottawa, which was opened in 1942, was, of course, not affected by the move of the seat of its own Government from Chungking to Nanking to Taipei.)

### **Shift of Emphasis**

The Canadian decision to move from opposition to an abstention on the Albanian Resolution (to seat Peking and unseat Taiwan) at the UN General Assembly of 1966 opened the way for a shift of emphasis to a bilateral approach to the problem. This was put into more specific terms by Prime Minister Trudeau in the election campaign of May 1968, when he declared that it would be his

aim to recognize the People's Republic of China as soon as possible and to enable that government to occupy China's seat at the UN.

This was the situation in the summer of 1968 when the newly-elected Trudeau Government instructed the Department of External Affairs to review Canada's China policy with a view to finding a basis for establishing relations with the People's Republic of China. These studies were completed in the autumn of 1968, when the general lines of the Canadian approach to negotiations with the People's Republic of China were determined. A basic premise of this approach was reflected in a statement made in a television broadcast in January 1969, when the Secretary of State for External Affairs said that recognition of Peking would imply the "de-recognition of the Taiwan Government as the Government of all of China". Public and international interest in Canada's intentions had reached a high level when, on February 10, 1969, Mr. Sharp announced in the House of Commons that the Canadian Embassy in Stockholm had been instructed to propose to the Chinese Embassy there the opening of talks on recognition and the exchange of ambassadors. Two days later, the Minister, in reply to a question, said:

I doubt very much that the Canadian Government would recognize or challenge the sovereignty of Peking over Formosa.

This was the first formulation of the position on Taiwan which the Government adhered to throughout the negotiations and which, slightly modified, appears in the Minister's clarifying statement of October 13 announcing the terms of the agreement.

#### **Basic Canadian Position**

Also, on February 12, 1969, in reply to a question that Compared Mr. Sharp's statement with a previous statement by Mr. Trudeau, the Minister said:

The Government's policy with respect to the recognition of China has been expressed by the Prime Minister and myself in recent days. That is our policy and if it varies in any respect from what has been said previously, it varies.

In this way, Mr. Sharp confirmed the Government's recognition of the fact that neither government claiming to represent China would accept any derogation from its exclusive right to speak for all of China and that the impending negotiations would be conducted in that light. Canada would decline to adopt any position on the status of Taiwan but would proceed with negotiations to establish relations with the Chinese government that exercised effective control in the country. This basic position was adopted from the beginning of the negotiations in Stockholm, where the first meeting took place in the Chinese Embassy on February 21, 1969.

On the other aspect of the Taiwan problem, whether the Government in Taipei could continue to be recognized, the Canadian Government's policy also became more precise. On May 29, 1969, for example, Mr. Sharp said:

Canada has a one-China policy and, since the Nationalist Government purports also to be the Government of China, we cannot recognize both Peking and Taiwan at the same time.

The Minister's statement of July 21, also made in the House of Commons, was even more explicit:

We are not promoting either a two-China policy or a one-China one-Taiwan policy. Our policy is to recognize one government of China. We have not asked and do not ask the Government of the People's Republic of China to endorse the position of the Government of Canada on our territorial limits as a condition to agreement to establish diplomatic relations. To do so might cast doubts on the extent of our sovereignty. We do not think it would be appropriate, nor would it be in accordance with international usage, that Canada should be asked to endorse the position of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the extent of its territorial sovereignty. To challenge that position would, of course, also be inappropriate.

#### **Other Assurances Sought by Peking**

Taiwan, obviously, was not the only question discussed by the negotiators in Stockholm. The Chinese side, for example, also wanted to be assured that Canada's attitude in the United Nations would be consistent with the views expressed by the Canadian representative to the effect that it would recognize only one Chinese government; specifically, they wanted assurance that Canada would support membership for the Peking government and withdraw support from the present occupant of the China seat. The assurance was given that Canada's voting in New York would be consistent with its recognition of a new government of one China.

The Chinese also wished to have specific assurances that official relations with Taiwan would be severed when relations with Peking were established. As this had been made explicit in the Government's statements quoted above, the Canadian negotiators had no difficulty in meeting this request.

On the Canadian side, assurances were sought that the establishment of relations would be accompanied by improved contacts and that bilateral problems that had accumulated over the years would be dealt with. This would mean that Canadian claims for compensation in matters such as the nationalization of the Ming Sung ships could be discussed. Satisfactory assurances were given, as were assurances that consular arrangements should also be subject to negotiation. It was also agreed, in the words of the communiqué, that Canadian representatives in China (and Chinese representatives in Canada) would be accorded treatment "in accordance with international practice".

The drafting of a communiqué in which the agreement to recognize and exchange embassies would be recorded began in October 1969, when the Chinese side submitted a draft which would have met all their requirements. Canadian counter-drafts were proposed and Chinese amendments with Canadian counter-amendments began to be exchanged. In this process, it soon became clear that the one essential ingredient in any communiqué the Chinese would be likely to accept was a statement of their position with respect to Taiwan. Although, in the Canadian view, this was not an appropriate matter for insertion in a communiqué dealing with recognition and exchange of embassies, nevertheless efforts were made by the Canadian side to meet the situation. The prob-

lem this presented was to find an adequate means of expressing its own "non-position" on Taiwan. The semantic difficulties inherent in this situation are obvious and, in the end, the Canadian Government decided that the most satisfactory way of dealing with the problem was simply to "take note of" the Chinese position and then make its own unilateral clarifying statement, in which the Canadian position could be fully expressed and without the necessity of negotiating mutually-acceptable terminology. Accordingly, the Canadian negotiators in Stockholm informed their Chinese counterparts of the Canadian Government's intention and communicated to them the text of the unilateral statement Mr. Sharp would make when presenting the joint communiqué to the Canadian public. This clarifying statement, being an exclusively Canadian statement, did not call for any comment on the part of the Chinese authorities.

At the meeting on August 1, 1970, the first and last paragraphs of the communiqué (as it ultimately appeared) were agreed to by the negotiators and further formulae dealing with the matter of Taiwan were discussed. At the next meeting, on September 18, the Canadian clarifying statement was communicated to the Chinese side and further suggestions were made by both sides for the solution of the difficulty over Taiwan. At the meeting on October 3, the parties agreed on the substance of the communiqué as a whole, subject to approval by the home authorities, and discussion began on the final arrangements — times and dates of announcement and the form in which the agreement would be attested. These were finally agreed to and, on October 10, at the twenty-first meeting, Miss Margaret Meagher, Canadian Ambassador to Sweden, and Mr. Wang Tung, Chinese Ambassador to Sweden, signified their approval as representative of their respective governments.

*(For the texts of the joint communiqué and of Mr. Sharp's remarks in the House of Commons on October 13, when he announced the establishment of relations with Peking, see the November 1970 issue of External Affairs, Page 378.)*



CANADA

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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

### ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

A Statement in the House of Commons by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, on October 13, 1970.

I am pleased to announce the successful conclusion of our discussions in Stockholm with representatives of the People's Republic of China, reflected in today's joint communiqué which records our agreement on mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations. The joint communiqué of the Government of Canada and the Government of the People's Republic of China concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between Canada and China is as follows:

- "1. The Government of Canada and the Government of the People's Republic of China, in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit, have decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations, effective October 13, 1970.
2. The Chinese Government reaffirms that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Canadian Government takes note of this position of the Chinese Government.
3. The Canadian Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China.
4. The Canadian and Chinese Government have agreed to exchange ambassadors within six months, and to provide all necessary assistance for the establishment and the performance of the functions of diplomatic missions in their respective capitals, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and in accordance with international practice."

Officials from my department and from Industry, Trade and Commerce will be leaving for Peking very shortly to begin administrative preparations for the opening of a Canadian embassy in Peking. We hope to have the embassy in operation within two or three months.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between Canada and China is an important step in the development of relations between our two countries, but it is not the first step, nor is it an end in itself. We have opened a new and important channel of communication, through which I hope we will be

able to expand and develop our relations in every sphere. We have already indicated to the Chinese, in our Stockholm discussions, our interest in setting up cultural and educational exchanges, in expanding trade between our two countries, in reaching an understanding on consular matters, and in settling a small number of problems left over from an earlier period. The Chinese have expressed the view that our relations in other fields such as these can only benefit from the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries. They have also agreed in principle to discuss through normal diplomatic channels, as soon as our respective embassies are operating, some of the specific issues we have raised with them.

As everyone knows, the agreement published today has been under discussion for a long time. I do not think it is any secret that a great deal of this discussion has revolved around the question of Taiwan. From the very beginning of our discussions the Chinese side made clear to us their position that Taiwan was an inalienable part of Chinese territory and that this was a principle to which the Chinese Government attached the utmost importance. Our position, which I have stated publicly and which we made clear to the Chinese from the start of our negotiations, is that the Canadian Government does not consider it appropriate either to endorse or to challenge the Chinese Government's position on the status of Taiwan. This has been our position and it continues to be our position. As the communiqué says, we have taken note of the Chinese Government's statement about Taiwan. We are aware that this is the Chinese view and we realize the importance they attach to it, but we have no comment to make one way or the other.

There is no disagreement between the Canadian Government and the authorities in Taipei on the impossibility of continuing diplomatic relations after the Government of Peking is recognized as the Government of China. Both Peking and Taipei assert that it is not possible to recognize simultaneously more than one government as the Government of China. Accordingly, the authorities on Taiwan and the Canadian Government have each taken steps to terminate formal diplomatic relations as of the time of the announcement of our recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 71/25

## A TURNING-POINT IN WORLD HISTORY

An Address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs,  
the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, to the Twenty-sixth General  
Assembly of the United Nations, New York, September 29, 1971.

...It is a matter of deep regret in Canada that this should be the last session at which U Thant will occupy the Secretary-General's chair. U Thant has carried out his heavy responsibilities and fulfilled his arduous obligations with a serenity and steadfastness that have been an example to us all and that have won the respect and admiration of all men everywhere. I am sure that his quiet and authoritative voice will continue to be heard in the councils of the nations, and on behalf of the people of Canada I wish him well in his future endeavours.

This twenty-sixth General Assembly opens a new quarter century in the life of our organization, and I suggest that it may mark a turning-point in our history and the opportunity for a new beginning, if this Assembly moves promptly and effectively to seat the People's Republic of China in the China seat. China is a charter member of this organization and a permanent member of the Security Council. The only question before us is who should occupy the existing China seat. The Canadian position is clear -- the government that has responsibility for the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people must now take its proper place here, the Government of the People's Republic of China.

The seating of the Peking Government in this Assembly and at the Security Council will bring the effective government of a quarter of mankind into our councils.

Canada endorses the principle of universality of membership and looks forward to a time when the divided states too can be properly represented here. But principles must always be conditioned by facts, and before this ideal can be reached there are serious practical problems to be solved. There would be no particular advantage for the United Nations or for the divided states themselves were they to do no more than import their special problems and conflicts into the wider forum of this organization.

I have said that Canada endorses the principle of universality and, in the Canadian view, there is an important principle involved. The communications explosion has annihilated time and distance, two factors that used to isolate

problems in one part of the world from those in another and that frequently contributed to the solution of such problems by allowing a breathing space in which good judgment and common sense could be brought to bear.

International problems can no longer be localized easily; every such problem is a world problem and involves the world community, which is, in effect, the United Nations. The simple theorem that universal problems call for universal solutions is almost a tautology, and universal solutions are likelier to be found by a body that is universally representative.

I should like to illustrate what I mean by touching briefly on four problem areas: armed conflicts; the physical environment; arms control and disarmament; world trade.

As we look around the world today, we see armed conflict or the seeds of armed conflict in many parts of the world. Those cases where international disputes involve member nations -- for example, the Middle East -- fall clearly within the responsibility of the United Nations. Where conflicts are contained within a single state, established practice at least suggests that they do not. This leaves with us a question that I shall pose and discuss, but to which Canada has no definitive answer to offer -- at what point does an internal conflict affect so many nations to such an extent that it can no longer properly be accepted as a domestic matter?

I sense a growing world concern that tragedies are unfolding and that nothing is being done about them by the world community as represented in the United Nations. The capacity of this organization to resolve conflicts, whether domestic or international, is limited by two realities, the terms of the Charter and the will of the member nations.

We do not here constitute a supranational authority. I do not believe that the world is ready for such an authority, for any kind of world government. Today most of the nations of the world, older and newer equally, are preoccupied with internal problems. Certainly Canada is no exception. Canada is facing internal problems, both economic and political. Canada believes that domestic problems are best dealt with by domestic solutions, and others feel the same way. The question is: How can the international community best assist in a situation where an internal problem has got beyond the capacity of the government concerned? The mere fact that the nations are preoccupied with internal problems and questions of sovereignty in the foreseeable future does not excuse us from making the best possible use of the instrument we have, the United Nations.

It can and should move promptly and effectively, as it has often done, to ameliorate human suffering and protect, to the extent possible, the innocent non-combatants who often bear most of the suffering. This is a noble end in itself, and can be a means toward the settlement of a conflict by creating a better and a saner atmosphere.

No move in the direction of universality can in itself offer any great hope for easier solutions to the problems that are troubling our world, but it could offer a strengthening of our organization that should help us come to grips with them.

Turning to the second great universal problem, how to preserve a natural environment that will continue to support life on earth, the United Nations has recognized its global nature by setting up a conference on the environment to be held in Stockholm next year, with a distinguished Canadian public servant, Maurice Strong, as secretary-general.

Canada has a special interest in environmental questions if only because we occupy such a large part of the earth's surface. Despite its vast extent and relatively small population, Canada has serious air- and water-pollution problems of its own. It also, inevitably, is a recipient of the pollution of other through the Great Lakes system and oil-spills on its coastlines, to name only two examples. This is why Canada is concerned about the inadequacy of existing international law relating to the preservation of the environment in general and the marine environment in particular.

Canada is working toward the development of an adequate body of law in this field. At the national level, the Canadian Government has adopted laws for the protection of fisheries from the discharge or deposit of wastes, for the prevention of pollution disasters in Canada's territorial waters and fishing zones, and for the preservation of the delicate ecological balance of the Arctic. At the twenty-fifth General Assembly, and last month in a resolution jointly submitted with Norway to the preparatory committee for the Third Law of the Sea Conference, Canada invited other states to take similar measures at the national level to prevent and control marine pollution as a move toward the development of effective international arrangements.

Canada is working towards a multilateral treaty régime on safety of navigation and the prevention of pollution in Arctic waters with other countries having special responsibilities in the Arctic region.

In a wider multilateral context, Canada is participating actively in the preparations for the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, the IMCO conference on marine pollution and the Third Law of the Sea Conference. These three conferences, taken together, present a unique opportunity for the development of a comprehensive system of international environmental law. As the first and widest-ranging of the three, the Stockholm conference will be of particular importance in helping states to come to grips with the apparent conflict between environmental preservation on the one hand and economic development on the other.

Canada is properly classed as a developed nation, but is still in the course of development, still importing capital and know-how, still engaged in building its industrial base. This makes Canadians aware of the conflict between the need to develop -- essential to economic growth -- and the need to preserve, and where necessary recapture, a viable natural environment -- essential to the survival of life.

For this reason Canada has a special understanding of the dilemma seen by the developing nations, where the highest priority must be given to economic and social development as the means to achieve a standard of living

that will offer dignity and opportunity to all their citizens and where the preservation of the physical environment, however desirable in itself, would seem to come second. But I would suggest that this dilemma is wrongly posed.

Technology has now reached a stage where the industrialization needed for economic development need not disturb the environment to an unacceptable extent, and it is by no means the rule that an ecologically-sound industrial or other project must be more costly than one that is not. With far-sighted planning and careful attention to design and ecological considerations, there need be little or no added cost. The pollution befouling the Great Lakes system largely results from wasted opportunities, from dumping into the water by-products that in themselves have value if properly recovered. The Canadian Government is working with the governments of the United States of America and of the American states and Canadian provinces bordering on the Great Lakes system to establish water-quality standards, achieve them in the shortest possible time and see to it that they are maintained.

The discussions now going on between the various levels of government of Canada and the United States will set in motion a program for the rehabilitation and preservation of the Great Lakes which will cost billions of dollars and call upon vast human and technological resources. These astronomical expenses would not have been incurred had we and our neighbours been able to foresee and forestall the damage we have done to the largest fresh-water system on earth.

I urge my friends in the developing nations to balance the costs of anti-pollution measures against the cost of pollution and the mindless waste of limited resources it so often represents. Everyone in this room is looking and working for the day when the prosperity now enjoyed by the few can be shared by all. Economic and social development is the route to prosperity. We should all take advantage of the fact that advances in technology mean that we can follow this route without poisoning the air we breathe, the water we drink and the soil that gives us sustenance, without disturbing the ecological balance that supports all life.

My third illustration of the universality of human problems is the whole field of arms control and disarmament. Canada firmly believes that until the People's Republic of China is playing its part in our deliberations here and in the detailed studies and negotiations being carried on in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, agreements in this important area will be at best incomplete and at worst ineffective. This is not to downgrade the excellent work that has already been done, as evidenced by such achievements as the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Seabed Arms-Control Treaty and the current work on a biological-weapons treaty, in all of which Canada has had an active and essential part to play. Nor does it make any less welcome the encouraging and fundamental negotiations now taking place between the United States and the Soviet Union to curtail the strategic-arms race.

Earlier this month in Geneva, I had the privilege of addressing the fourth United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

I took advantage of my being in Geneva to speak to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament about a subject to which Canada attaches the greatest importance: the need for a complete ban on nuclear testing, including underground testing.

This Assembly will soon be seized of the CCD special report on nuclear testing, and for this reason I should like to make again here some of the points I made in Geneva. Before a complete test-ban can be achieved there are political as well as technical difficulties to be overcome. Canada is not alone in believing that these very difficulties call for a determined and speedy effort to reach a total ban on underground nuclear testing. There are steps which could be taken at once, before international agreement is reached, steps we believe all members of the United Nations would support. Those governments that are conducting nuclear tests could limit both the size and the number of tests they are now carrying out, starting with the biggest, and announce such restraints publicly. This would present no difficulty or involve any complication.

There is little time left to us to ensure that the Non-Proliferation Treaty becomes fully effective. All the measures needed to make the Non-Proliferation Treaty viable should receive the highest priority, and the ending of all nuclear tests must come first. Many governments are anxious to see all obstacles to the full implementation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty removed, before the precarious equilibrium among the nuclear-weapons powers is further disturbed -- whether it is by ongoing scientific and technical developments or by the emergence of new nuclear powers. Canada is at one with those governments, in their concern and in their determination.

The continuation of nuclear-weapons tests is at the root of the problem. The ending of all nuclear tests by all governments in all environments is of the greatest possible importance, for Canada and for the whole international community.

The safety of all is the concern of all. For Canada there is, if possible, an additional concern. The detonation by the Soviet Union in the last few days of a large underground nuclear explosion, and the possibility of a considerably larger test in our own neighbourhood by the United States, emphasize that the rate and size of underground testing is on the increase. Competitive testing must not be advanced by the nuclear powers as a justification for maintaining the momentum of the arms race. The danger is that it will, and this brings home to us all the urgent need for a complete ban on nuclear testing.

Turning now to my fourth illustration of the universality of problems today I suggest that there is no part of the world and no country that is unaffected by the difficulties now being experienced in the monetary and trading arrangements arising out of the chronic balance-of-payments deficit of the United States. Developing countries are well aware that problems between the fortunate few are of great importance to them. They are affected directly in two ways, by the adverse effect upon development assistance and by increased barriers to the trade that, in the long run, offers the best possibility of economic betterment for their peoples.

Socialist economies are steadily increasing their trade with market economies, to the benefit of all. As exchanges in the fields of science and technology multiply the economies of all the world's nations become more interdependent -- a trend that should be welcomed not only for the immediate benefit it brings but as a proven means of reducing tensions.

The truth is that all of us, rich or poor, developed and developing, with socialist or market economies, have an interest in minimizing obstacles to trade and in facilitating trade by the maintenance of a workable system of monetary exchanges. All of us suffer when trade is impeded by setting up new obstacles to its free flow or by instability in world monetary arrangements.

Trade is more than a matter of dollars and cents, more than a struggle for economic advantage. It is the only means we have to create a world economy that will support all the world's inhabitants at a level that will enable us all to enjoy the social justice that is our birthright and to achieve fulfilment in peace and dignity.

It is to this end that so much of the best work of the United Nations family has been directed in the past and it is this great goal which must continue to call forth all that is best in us for the future.

S/C



CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 71/26

## THE CHANGING WORLD VIEWED FROM CANADA

An Address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, to the Order of the Sons of Italy, Toronto, November 6, 1971.

...Things have been happening quickly here at home in Canada, and in the world as a whole, and it is this rapid rate of change that contributes much to current unrest. Many of the assumptions we made in the past have to be re-examined. The accepted patterns have been broken. Canada recognizes the People's Republic of China. Other nations, some of them among our oldest friends like Italy, follow. Peking takes the China seat at the United Nations. President Nixon announces a new economic policy and shock waves are felt around the world -- nowhere more than in Canada, the United States' best customer and closest friend and ally.

Within six months, the Prime Ministers of the Soviet Union and Canada pay extended visits to each other's countries, a Protocol on Consultations is signed in Moscow and a General Exchanges Agreement in Ottawa. Britain moves towards the European Common Market. The whole pattern of world trade, so essential to Canadian prosperity, seems to be changing. Signs of hope for an end to hostilities in Indochina are offset by a growing confrontation between India and Pakistan.

All of this and much more within the space of a relatively few months.

Small wonder that there are uncertainties as to the future and the course that Canada should follow both at home and abroad.

First and foremost, I am sure you will agree, is the question of how to protect and strengthen the Canadian economy in this complex situation, and on that point I shall say only two simple things.

First, we are not going to strengthen our economy by anti-American policies. It is our destiny and our good fortune to share the North American continent with the richest nation on the earth's surface. It makes good sense to exploit that advantage for all it is worth. It makes good sense to work with the United States for our mutual benefit.

The second point is that in our economic policies we should strive to avoid unnecessary dependence upon the United States by promoting trade and financial links with the rest of the world. This is not anti-American in any sense. It is traditional Canadian policy, which is becoming more and more relevant as Europe and Japan, for example, challenge the predominant position of the United States as an economic power and the Soviet Union looks outward for trade with the non-Communist world.

The effort to diversify lies behind the Prime Minister's visits to the nations of Asia and the Pacific (and our transpacific trade is multiplying apace), behind the constant consultations my colleagues and I are having with European governments and the European Economic Commission, behind the exchange of visits between our Prime Minister and Mr. Kosygin. None of these activities is anti-American in intention or effect. They are in pursuit of Canada's best interests. The economies of Canada and the United States are interdependent to an extent unequalled and unprecedented. It would be to the interest of neither nation were Canada to become an economic satellite of the United States.

I have dealt with Canada's economic interests first, since they represent solid realities that touch us all, that we can identify and measure in dollars and percentages. But Canada would be a poor country and I certainly would not be the Canadian Foreign Minister if we saw ourselves as no more than a business enterprise....

North of the Rio Grande, this continent is shared by the people of Canada and the people of the United States. Canadians and Americans are proud peoples. They cherish their independence of each other, and the particular traditions and differing institutions that give independence meaning.

As we cherish our differences, even more we cherish the shared ideas and goals that unite us. This simple but profound fact overshadows the constant conflicts of interest that arise between us. Conflict is a function of contact. Canada has very little in the way of conflict with Mongolia; our relations with that country might be regarded as a model for all nations if we were to overlook the fact that our contact with the people of Mongolia is almost non-existent. Should changing circumstances bring us into close contact with Mongolia, I can guarantee you some pretty good conflicts of interest within a very short time. No two nations in the world have so many contacts at so many levels, official and unofficial, as Canada and the United States. Essentially, these contacts serve the common interest but, no matter how busy Secretary Rogers and I are with the oilcan, constant contact leads to constant friction and the generation of frequent heated exchanges.

In a recent far-reaching statement on Canadian foreign policy, the Government had two things to say about our relations with the United States -- that the United States is our closest friend and ally and will remain so (this I have discussed with you), and that the central problem for Canada is how to live in harmony with, but distinct from, the most powerful and dynamic society on earth.

For a generation, and until very recently, the world was locked in a sterile East-West confrontation, with China obsessed with its own internal difficulties and playing little part on the world stage, the nations of the third world engaged in a life-and-death struggle for survival.

Suddenly, Peking sits on the Security Council. President Nixon prepares to visit the two great Communist capitals, Moscow and Peking. The Soviet Union accepts a better arrangement between the two Germanies, responds after years of inaction to NATO urging for balanced force reductions in Central Europe, promotes a European security conference, engages in strategic-arms limitations talks with the United States, calls for a world conference on disarmament.

I cannot discuss all of these developments with you tonight, nor can anyone, I believe, be sure what they all mean for the peace of the world and the well-being of all men.

What is clear is that power relationships frozen for a quarter of a century are in the process of change and that trading patterns and monetary arrangements laboriously established are in flux. In these new and perhaps unsettling but at least hopeful circumstances, Canada is determined to preserve its sovereignty and its independence while, at the same time, refusing to remain locked in cold-war attitudes that have lost at least a part of their meaning and their importance. Canada welcomes the human face being shown by nations like the Soviet Union and China. Past history should not be forgotten but it should not be allowed to impede careful, prudent movement toward a saner and safer world equilibrium.

One thing seems to be clear -- that the emergence of China on the world scene and the presence of China in the Security Council will make it more difficult for the United States and the Soviet Union to settle matters between themselves. Only time will tell whether this is a healthy development in international relations. Although it will certainly have the effect of making the settlement of issues more difficult to achieve, settlements once reached may well prove to be more effective and more enduring.

In my remarks this evening, I have travelled a long way from this hall and from our reasons for being here. I have tried to show you a little of the changing world as Canada sees it. I hope I have given you some food for thought. Without further ado, I offer to all of you in this room and to all Canadians of Italian descent my thanks for all you have contributed to Canada and the Canadian way of life. I salute you all on this day of Christopher Columbus and so -- on with the dance!

S/C



CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 72/21

## CANADA AND A NEW WORLD POWER -- CHINA

A Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, to the Ontario Region of the Canadian Junior Chamber of Commerce, Toronto, October 14, 1972.

...China's emergence as a world power is one of the most important developments in current international politics. Canada's recognition of the People's Republic of China just two years ago yesterday, and Canada's part in the assumption by Peking of China's seat in the United Nations, are among the most important developments in Canadian foreign policy of the last two decades. What do these developments mean for Canadians? ....What may we expect from this new relationship with a government representing one-quarter of mankind? What should we learn not to expect? I have ideas on all these matters, based in part on impressions I gained during a ten-day visit to China in August. I am glad to have this opportunity to share these ideas with you.

First, some history: In April 1949, the Chinese Communist Army entered Nanking. This was the old capital of the Nationalist Government, where the embassies of foreign governments were located. Among these was the Canadian Embassy, for Canada recognized the Nationalist Government. The occupation of Nanking symbolized the end of Canada's old relationship with China. This relationship was to remain broken for over 20 years. It was not restored until October 13, 1970, when Canada and the People's Republic of China entered into diplomatic relations.

During those 20 years, Canada's relations with China were at best non-existent and at worst, dangerously bad. It was clear from the beginning that the Peking Government was effectively in control of its territory and people. In other words, it met some of the classic tests for recognition. Successive Canadian Governments between 1949 and 1968 therefore examined the possibility of entering into official relations. But for years, there were serious obstacles to doing so.

Soon after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Canada and China were involved on opposite sides in the Korean War. That made it impossible for any Canadian Government to consider establishing relations with Peking either during the hostilities in Korea or in the atmosphere of bitterness that followed. But, in the intervening years, spokesmen for the Canadian Government speculated publicly, at the United

Nations and elsewhere, about how contacts could be established with the People's Republic of China on terms acceptable not only to the Chinese but to the international community generally. The central problem was that the Nationalist Government in Taipei and the Peking Government both claimed to be the sole legal government of China. Any formula for entering into relations with the Peking Government had to deal successfully with the dilemma posed by these mutually exclusive claims.

For years, no such successful formula could be found. Meanwhile, Canadian Governments tried to avoid making the problem worse for themselves. Between 1949 and 1968, official Canadian representation abroad doubled, but no Canadian embassy was ever opened in Taipei. In 1966, instead of voting against the annual resolution proposed by Albania in the United Nations, which would have given the China seat to Peking and unseated Taipei, Canada shifted to an abstention. Decisions like these looked forward to a time when it would be possible for Canada to recognize Peking.

The Prime Minister decided in 1968 that the time had come. In his election campaign in May of that year, Mr. Trudeau declared that it would be the aim of his Government to recognize the People's Republic of China as soon as possible and to support the right of that Government to occupy China's seat at the United Nations.

How quickly times change! When the newly-elected Government undertook a review of this country's China policy, some expressed doubts. We were asked why a change was necessary. Such questions seem inconceivable today. Events have shown how well-timed the Canadian move was. In this, we anticipated history more accurately than some of our friends. At the time, we said Canada had to act in accordance with the realities of international life. The Government in Peking was the effective government of China. It had been so for almost 20 years. How could we have gone on ignoring this fact? This seems obvious now. It was less so to many people four years ago. But in the intervening years, following Canada's example, and generally for the same reasons, close to 30 nations have established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. How much credit can Canada take for this turn of events? I cannot say. The Chinese certainly believe Canadian action was influential. I am satisfied, anyway, that the Government made the right decision at the right time.

So we had decided to negotiate with the Chinese about recognition. The next puzzle to many people was, why was it taking so long? The Sino-Canadian talks on recognition lasted 20 months. There is no great secret about the reason for this. The problem was Taiwan. From the very first meeting in Stockholm in February 1969, the Chinese side made clear to us their position that Taiwan was an inalienable part of the territory of China. This was a principle to which the Chinese Government attached the utmost importance. We too made Canada's position clear from the start: the Canadian Government neither endorsed nor challenged the Chinese Government's position on the status of Taiwan. This remains Canada's position to this day.

After much discussion, both sides agreed to a joint communiqué. On the status of Taiwan, it said simply: "the Canadian Government takes note of this position of the Chinese Government". This formula, or one something like it, has been used during the last two years by most of the countries which have followed Canada in establishing relations with Peking. The Sino-Canadian communiqué of October 13, 1970, was the world première of a performance repeated many times since. The formula we worked out with the Chinese has entered the jargon of specialists as "the Canadian formula". Like so many important things, it all seemed so simple once it had been worked out. But remember -- working out this simple formula took almost two years of steady work.

I was proud to announce to the House of Commons that Canada had recognized the People's Republic of China. It was a historic moment. A decisive step arising from the Government's review of foreign policy had taken place.

But I was very much aware that this was just a first step in the development of relations between Canada and China. Even between 1949 and 1970, despite the lack of official relations, there had been contacts in a number of fields. Wheat sales had already made our trade relations with China important. Apart from trade, a few Canadians had travelled to China in those years, seen for themselves something of the Chinese experience, and established contacts with Chinese people. This had been possible, even in the absence of diplomatic relations, because the Canadian Government, unlike some, never put restrictions on travel to China by its citizens. But such contacts, however significant they might have been for individual Canadians involved, were very limited.

At the time of recognition, there remained, in fact, a great deal of ignorance and misconception about China in Canada. The average Chinese did not know much about Canada either. Canada and China had gone their separate ways for 20 years without any official contacts. I was deeply conscious of the need to use recognition to increase mutual understanding. Canadian diplomats and trade experts immediately set to work. The Canadian Embassy in Peking was set up within a few months. Ralph Collins, Canada's first Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, took up his post in June 1971. Chinese diplomats arrived in Ottawa in February 1971. The first Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Canada, Mr. Huang Hua (now his country's permanent representative to the United Nations), presented his credentials in Ottawa in July of the same year. The process of getting to know each other officially had begun well.

The gap to be bridged was enormous. We were two of the world's largest countries, separated by the world's widest ocean. Ideology had widened the gap geography created. But we were bound to come increasingly into contact. Canada wanted these contacts for the sake of Canadian interests and for the good of the international community at large. China, for its part, was obviously ready for a more outward-looking and more active role on the international scene. Areas where both Canada and China could benefit from more extensive contacts had to be identified and carefully studied.

A significant step was taken in the summer of 1971, when my colleague Jean-Luc Pepin, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, led an important delegation of Canadian officials and businessmen to the People's Republic of China. This mission, the first Canadian Government mission to visit China, sought to establish close contacts with Chinese ministers, officials and business representatives in all spheres of economic and commercial activity. This objective was fully achieved. During the three working days the Canadian group spent in Peking, no less than 25 separate formal meetings were arranged with representatives of each of the seven state-trading corporations responsible for China's export and import trade, with the People's Bank of China and with the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade.

Through firsthand contact with the Chinese economic ministries and with the foreign-trading corporations, the members of the Pepin mission were able to advise the Chinese in considerable detail of the range, variety and technical sophistication of the many products Canada could supply to the Chinese market. Much of this was new to the Chinese. A good deal of attention was also given to exploring with the Chinese those areas where they might expand their exports to Canada to the benefit of both countries.

The first mission quickly produced results. We agreed with the Chinese to exchange missions in areas of particular commercial interest to both our countries, to hold trade exhibitions in each other's country and also to hold periodic consultations on trade matters. In the course of this visit, Foreign Minister Pai Hsiang-kuo accepted an invitation to visit Canada with a Chinese trade delegation. From the Canadian viewpoint, one of the most significant achievements of Mr. Pepin's mission was China's agreement "to consider Canada first" as a source of wheat. Canadian traders and farmers could be well satisfied that the official phase of our trade relations with the Chinese had begun so well.

Political developments were equally important. At the United Nations General Assembly in the autumn of 1971, Canada supported the resolution calling for the restoration of the right of the People's Republic of China to the China seat in the United Nations. Canada's position was not only the logical consequence of our earlier decision to establish diplomatic relations; despite differences with some of our allies and friends, it was also in accordance with the desire of the large majority of countries represented in the United Nations. Canada was thus particularly pleased to join in welcoming Chinese representatives to the United Nations last year. Since then, at the United Nations headquarters in New York, in other international agencies and conferences, and in Peking and in Ottawa, Canadian and Chinese representatives have usefully consulted about everything from pollution to arms control. We do not always agree with the Chinese. Many times, our views are diametrically opposed. But even when we differ, we have found it possible to discuss the differences frankly, even vehemently. We have not found it necessary to cover up our differences or to talk around them. We have not had to pretend that the differences were not there, or that they could be ignored. It is no surprise that we differ, nor need this detract from the usefulness of meeting and exchanging views. Indeed, Canada argued that it was foolish and dangerous to exclude one-quarter of humanity from the counsels of the world, whether we agreed with what their

Government said or not. The candour of dialogue with the Chinese is a virtue in itself. We should not be discouraged from pursuing it by fears that we risk making matters worse by disagreeing with the Chinese as often as we do. Talking is better than fighting. The Chinese appreciate this as well as we do.

It was in this spirit that I undertook my recent journey to the People's Republic of China. My purpose was twofold: to hold talks on bilateral and multilateral questions with the Chinese leaders and also to inaugurate our Solo Trade Exhibition in Peking. The Exhibition was the largest Canada had ever held abroad. I wanted to underline the importance the Government attached to it. And, as you know, it was a resounding success: \$28-million worth of Canadian goods were sold. Direct contacts were established between Canadian businessmen and representatives of Chinese trade corporations that will almost certainly lead to more sales.

By happy coincidence, China's Foreign Trade Minister, Pai Hsiang-kuo, arrived in Canada for a ten-day tour just as I entered China. During his stay, he was shown a good cross-section of Canadian industrial and technological capacity. Minister Pai inaugurated the Chinese exhibit at the Canadian National Exhibition here in Toronto. You know what a remarkable success that exhibit had. The Chinese Trade Minister also met officials and representatives of all spheres of the Canadian business world. I returned from his country feeling that one more step had been taken in understanding China, its people, its way of life, its place in the world and what it expects of its contacts with other countries. I am sure he felt the same about his visit to Canada.

But what struck me above everything else in my talks both with Premier Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei and other high officials of the Chinese Foreign Ministry was the ease and candour with which we were able to exchange views even on fairly delicate subjects. I was determined from the start to be frank and open with the Chinese. I felt, if we were to have a useful dialogue, we should both express our views clearly and have an opportunity of arguing about them. That is exactly how it happened -- as it turned out, the Chinese were astonishingly frank in their comments to me about international questions and about relations between Canada and China.

On bilateral issues, fortunately, we have no serious problems. Our relations have been developing rapidly and smoothly. We're making progress in breaking down the barriers that have existed for almost a generation between the People's Republic of China and Canada. I hope that we shall make further progress; we would like to see a greater movement of people and an intensified exchange of ideas. The day has not yet come when Canadians can visit China as they visit the United States or Europe. For the time being, the Chinese have neither the desire nor the capacity to cope with large-scale tourism. This is understandable. They have diplomatic relations with some 70 countries. People from all these countries, as well as from some which do not have diplomatic relations with China, want to go to China. China's facilities for receiving them are still limited. Consequently, the Chinese authorities have to be selective in granting visas. They do so according to their own priorities. More and more foreigners will be allowed to visit China. Meanwhile we Canadians can't complain: this past August more than 600 visas were granted to Canadian businessmen, officials and athletes.

During my visit, the possibility of more exchanges in the fields of education, art, sports, medicine, science and technology were discussed. Some important exchanges were arranged. A high-level oil and petroleum mission has just completed what appears to have been a very successful three-week tour of Canada. It has given the Chinese a good look at our technology and our capacity in that field. In November, we shall receive a delegation of Chinese medical doctors and another delegation of Chinese scientists. Negotiations are also in progress to bring a group of Chinese acrobats to Canada very soon. I saw them perform in Peking. I'll bet they'll be a sensation here. From the Canadian side, a mining and metallurgical mission has completed plans to visit China.

All these exchanges, of course, will be made easier by the establishment of a direct air service between Canada and China. A Chinese delegation was in Ottawa this week for the second round of negotiations on a bilateral air agreement.

There is one other aspect of our relations with China that might be mentioned here. I took the opportunity of my talks with Chinese leaders to urge them to give sympathetic consideration to requests by Chinese Canadians to bring their close relatives now living in China to live with them here.

In short, my talks covered most aspects of Canada's relations with China. We explained our respective positions, opened new areas to the exchange of people and ideas, and, to judge from the results already achieved, gave a general stimulus to contacts between Canadians and Chinese.

On international questions, of course, we differed on many issues. We have an entirely different approach to disarmament. They want to continue nuclear testing; we want all testing to stop. They seem less worried than we are over the spread of nuclear weapons. We want Bangladesh in the United Nations now; they want certain conditions to be fulfilled first. And so on. But I came away from my meetings in China with a better understanding of why the Chinese hold the views they do hold in international affairs. To read about the Sino-Soviet split, for example, is one thing. But to hear China's leaders evoke the events which led to it as they saw them, and to sense how deeply China's differences with the Soviet Union affect China's policies on many issues, is quite another.

For my part, I tried to tell those I met not only what Canada's policy is on international questions, but also what geographic, historic, human and economic factors shape our foreign policy. I explained how we view the world and our role in it and gave particular emphasis to our policy of living distinct from but in harmony with our great southern neighbour. I am convinced that through official and informal talks, as well as through the numerous contacts established by Canadians who were in China this summer, the Chinese now know a great deal more about who we are, what we think and do, as well as what we can produce and sell.

I spent a total of ten days in China. In such a short time, one doesn't become an expert on a country like China. But any traveller is bound to be struck by certain things about the country itself. The first thing that strikes anyone who travels about the country as extensively as I did -- by plane,

train, car and boat, and for a hundred yards or so by bicycle -- is that China is first and foremost an agrarian society. All the Chinese officials who spoke to me constantly stressed this. They all set their first priority as agriculture -- second, light industry, and third, heavy industry. This emphasis on agriculture, on food production, is evident everywhere. Others have said it before me, but now I can say it from my own observation: China is a garden. There is not a square inch of arable soil that is not cultivated. My picture of China is of people in the fields working, planting, harvesting, weeding, fertilizing, irrigating, making the best possible use of the land. What the Chinese have achieved in the countryside is enormous. Chinese agriculture is not yet mechanized -- at least, not by Canadian standards. The Chinese are, however, aware of the need to simplify some tasks by letting machines do the work. Gradually, tractors and more sophisticated agricultural tools and equipment are being introduced. But such tools or machines are more likely to bear the stamp "Made in the People's Republic of China" than any other.

This is because the Chinese are determined to become and to remain self-reliant. China does not intend to depend, economically or politically, on other countries. This has some significance for Canada's political relations with China but more for our commercial relations; only if we understand that point will we be successful in trading with China. Self-reliance and foreign trade are not mutually exclusive. As China's standard of living rises, as China increases its capacity to meet its own needs, so also will China's capacity to import. Of course, the Chinese Government will not leave its imports to chance, any more than it does now. Imports will be planned, and planned with a view to making China self-sufficient. If I could leave one idea with this audience, it would be this: China wants the capacity to look after its own needs. If we can contribute to that capacity, then we will be successful.

The third very strong impression I had is that China is determined to take its place in the world, a place in keeping with China's size and its importance. Yet its leaders disavow any intention of assuming the role of a super-power. The Chinese make much of this point: they say they are not now, nor will ever be, a super-power. But how does one measure power? Super-power or not, China is a great country. The Chinese have already begun to have a profound effect on the course of events in the world. They will surely continue to do so.

Canada has made surprising progress in the development of its relations with the People's Republic of China during the past two years. I think the prospects for a greater exchange of goods, of services, of ideas and of people, are excellent. We can continue to build on the foundation we have laid because China's leaders and the Chinese people think well of Canada. Of course, there are deep and obvious differences in our social and political systems. But the Chinese have confidence in their new relationship with us. This basis of confidence and mutual respect will enable our two countries to develop not only our trade but all those ties that are the foundation of a civilized international order.



# Statements and Speeches

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No. 73/20

## CANADA AND CHINA -- A LITTLE MUTUAL EDUCATION

A Press Statement by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau  
issued at Peking on October 13, 1973.

My visit to the People's Republic of China was, of course made at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai. It was first extended over a year ago and renewed early this summer. Considering the importance of China on the world scene and the particular interest Canada has had and continues to have, both in terms of our own commercial relations and in respect of the broader issues of the day, I was very happy to have been able to accept. The discussions that have taken place I think I can describe as extremely warm and indicative of a high order of mutual respect and regard. The results, on which I shall have more to say in a moment, also included a little mutual education. I am hopeful that the Chinese Premier and the Government of the People's Republic of China will have a better understanding of the Canadian point of view even on those issues on which we still differ.

For my part, I have learned a great deal about what underlies China's policies and its actions on the world scene. On bilateral matters, the results we have achieved speak largely for themselves and I shall give the gist of them:

Trade and economics    On the trade and economic side, the Premier and I were pleased to note the favourable development of two-way trade since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1970. Trade between Canada and China has increased considerably both in value and composition. It is expected that Canadian exports to and imports from China will surpass in 1973 the record levels reached in 1972, when two-way trade totalled over \$300 million. We expressed the expectation that our discussions during the past few days would lead to a further development of this trend in 1974, to the mutual benefit of both countries. As a further important step in the development of trade relations, the Premier and I signed a trade agreement that will serve as a framework for the development of trade between Canada and China over the next three years. In the agreement, both sides undertake to endeavour to create favourable conditions for further strengthening the flow of goods between them. The agreement establishes a joint trade committee that will meet annually, and we agreed that a meeting of the committee should take place in early December in Peking. The trade agreement also contains an undertaking by both sides to promote the interchange of persons,

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groups and delegations engaged in trade. It was agreed that a program of such interchanges for the coming year would be established during the December meetings of the joint committee. I suggested, in particular, that consideration be given to such areas as transportation, forestry and agriculture.

In the trade agreement, both governments agree to facilitate the development of mutually-beneficial, long-term commercial arrangements between the relevant trading bodies and enterprises of the two countries. In this regard, the Premier and I were pleased to note that Canada and China had just signed a long-term wheat agreement under which China will buy up to 224 million bushels of Canadian wheat over the next three years. Long-term arrangements appear to be particularly useful in a number of other product areas. Two such examples, where it was agreed that detailed discussions might be initiated quickly between the enterprises and organizations concerned in Canada and China, are aluminum and woodpulp. Both sides also exchanged views on potash, sulphur and nickel and agreed that further discussions should take place between the relevant trading bodies and enterprises.

I noted that there had been a significant increase of Chinese imports from Canada of manufactured goods, including capital equipment. Of particular importance were generators, insulated wire and cable, telecommunications equipment and electronic equipment and components. I fully expect that this trend will continue.

During the visit, we were advised that, when importing complete plants, China would consider Canada as a source of supply. In this respect the Chinese indicated that, when they decided to purchase a complete synthetic rubber-producing plant, they would consider Canada first.

In my discussions, I noted that Chinese exports to Canada had doubled in 1972 over 1971, and I expressed the hope that they would continue to increase and that China would take advantage of the varied export opportunities in the Canadian market. I appreciate, of course, that an expansion of our exports to China should be accompanied by an expansion of Chinese exports to Canada. That is what two-way trade is all about. We agreed, in this connection, that both governments should try to render whatever help and assistance they could.

Medical science  
and health care

During my visit there has been a most profitable exchange of views in the medical science and health-care field. More particularly, it has been agreed as follows:

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- a) In April 1974, Canada will send to China a nine-member team for a period of one month to learn the technique of acupuncture analgesia.
- b) In September 1974, China will send to Canada a nine-member team, being three groups of three persons, for one to two months, to study neurophysiology, organ-transplantation and the artificial kidney.
- c) In 1974, China will send two scientists to McGill University for one month under the Bethune Lectureship.
- d) Also in 1974, preparation will be made for China to send to Canada, about January 1975, a five-member team to demonstrate acupuncture analgesia and to teach it to Canadian scientists and practitioners.
- e) At the end of 1974, Canadian and Chinese representatives will meet again to discuss exchanges in the medical science and health-care field for 1975.

Science and technology

Following upon the highly successful visit to China of the Canadian scientific delegation led by Minister Sauvé, Premier Chou and I agreed that, for the mutual benefit of scientific research in Canada and in China, there should be a number of exchanges during the course of 1974. China will send to Canada delegations of scientists to study the fields of laser research, coal-mining by the open-cast method, seismology, fisheries and forestry. Canada will send to China delegations in the fields of coal-mining by hydraulic power, metrology, fisheries, forestry and pest-control.

Cultural, academic,  
sport and media

In the area of cultural, academic, sport and media exchange, the Premier and I have discussed the following for 1974: China has agreed in principle to be host to a Canadian symphony orchestra and to an exhibition of Canadian paintings from the collection of the National Gallery. Canada will receive an exhibition of Chinese historic relics now on show in London. We have also noted China's intention to participate next year in Man and His World in Montreal through an exhibition of traditional-style paintings and handicrafts. The same exhibition may also go to Vancouver. China has accepted a gift of books on Canada to be given, over a period of five years, to a Chinese University.

With regard to academic exchanges, both the Premier and I are pleased with the arrangement already concluded which allows for an exchange of 20 students each way each year for the next two years. We have also agreed upon an exchange of professors, to begin, if

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possible, early in 1974, and upon an exchange of delegations in the field of education.

Concerning sport, we have agreed to an exchange of three teams from each country in 1974.

Regarding the media, I was happy to accept an invitation for a delegation of representatives of the press of Canada to visit China, returning the visit to Canada earlier this year of Chinese press representatives.

Finally, we have agreed to an exchange of radio and television programs and documentary films between our two countries.

Consular affairs

In the consular field, extensive discussions have been held in a co-operative and friendly atmosphere on matters that are of mutual concern to the Chinese and Canadian Governments and will mean much to our peoples. These discussions have resulted in agreements in three areas. The broadest of these is an understanding on the formal establishment of consular relations that includes a provision for each side to set up a consulate-general in the other country. Another is an understanding on the simplification of visa procedures, which will facilitate the movement of persons between the two countries. Thirdly -- and of perhaps the greatest humanitarian interest -- is an understanding to facilitate the reunion of families. It will now be possible for the Canadian Government to process within China applications made by Canadian residents on behalf of their relatives in China.

We regard these three understandings as a major contribution to increasing the movement of persons to which the Canadian Government attaches great importance.

World affairs

The format of the discussions was proposed by the Chinese side. They began with a statement by myself of the Canadian viewpoint on a wide range of subjects both of a general nature and of particular interest to the two countries. The most obvious matters were those currently occupying the attention of governments everywhere, including the situation in the Mid-East, the problems of newly-emerged and emerging countries, the movement toward an accommodation in Europe, and the world situation in respect of energy resources and food supplies.

In these, as in other matters, I took the opportunity of explaining to the Premier the particular attitudes that arise out of Canada's unique geographical and historical position in the world and the Government's policies relating to them. Premier Chou displayed

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considerable interest in my presentation of the Canadian world outlook, particularly in matters relating to Canadian participation in NATO, and other international groupings such as the Commonwealth and the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation. He also enquired about Canadian attitudes toward the Law of the Sea Conference and about Canada's pollution-prevention zones in the Arctic, and about our energy policies.

For his part, Premier Chou presented with great clarity the views of his Government on issues of particular concern to China. I also explained to Premier Chou that, with one great power to our south and another to our north, it was natural that Canada should exert special efforts to establish and maintain close and friendly relations in other parts of the world. To the east, we are concerned with safeguarding and improving our relations with the countries of Europe, but equally it was important for us also to look west to the countries of Asia and the Pacific for co-operation and understanding. I was at special pains to point out that our relations with the U.S.A. were good and must necessarily remain so, that the American relation would obviously continue to form a vital part of our foreign policy. It was no reflection on any of our existing relations that we were seeking to establish and improve our contacts in other parts of the world.

Premier Chou and I agreed that, although there were factors that prevented us from seeing the same events in precisely the same light, our respective points of view were at least understandable to each other and often very similar. Speaking for Canada, I was able to assure him that friendship for China was and would continue to be an important element in our foreign policy.

I think I may say that this visit to Peking, the warm welcome and excellent arrangements that have been made for us, and the extremely friendly and candid conversations we have had, as well as the agreements and understandings we reached, have all combined to ensure that the relationship between the two countries will remain both friendly and of substantial importance to both.



# Statements and Speeches

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No. 73/21

## NEW CANADIAN TIES WITH CHINA

A Statement by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau in the House of Commons, October 19, 1973.

...I should like to report to Honourable Members on my visit to China, which, as the House knows, concluded just a few hours ago.

The invitation to me to visit the People's Republic of China was first extended by Premier Chou En-lai two years ago and was renewed again several months ago.

We left Canada with high expectations. I am able to say that the willingness of the Chinese Government to accept our point of view and to engage with us in activities of benefit for the people of Canada more than met those expectations. The high degree of interest of the Chinese Government in Canada and the willingness of that Government to work towards the maintenance and strengthening of friendly relations with Canada was made evident by the amount of time they, the Chinese leaders, were willing to devote to me and to my party. Chairman Mao Tse-tung extended to me the courtesy of a long conversation. Premier Chou En-lai met with me for many hours of formal discussions over the course of several days and chatted with me at even greater length in informal circumstances on a number of occasions.

One of the main objectives of any visit by a head of government, whether a Canadian travelling abroad or a prime minister coming here, is to ensure that each country understands the policies of the other and the circumstances which give rise to those policies. It is seldom possible to come to agreement on the wisdom or the effectiveness of all policies, nor would one expect that this could be the case in a world in which the vagaries of history, the realities of geography, and the variations of social systems lend distinctive directions and points of view to governmental policies. What I found most heartening, however, in my discussions with the Chinese leaders was their understanding of, and sympathy for, Canada's foreign policy. In particular, I was not subjected to any demands that future Canadian relations with China would depend for their warmth on our attitudes towards any other country. I stated in Peking, both in the privacy of conversation with the Premier and on public occasions, that Canadian foreign policy sought to avoid tension, to strengthen the institutions of international co-operation and to assist the economic development of the newly-

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independent countries. I said as well that, in my belief, the true measurement of national greatness was found not in military might or in political ceremony but in the willingness of a country to recognize the importance of individual welfare, human dignity and a sense of personal accomplishment and fulfillment.

Many of the issues which were discussed with the Chinese leaders, and in the several committees of officials that were established during the course of the visit, reflected these beliefs and the desire of Canada to expand its international trade.

Premier Chou and I signed a formal trade agreement that will serve as a framework for the development of trade between Canada and China for the next three years....

Honourable Members will find that this agreement establishes a joint trade committee, which will meet annually. The Canadian suggestion that the committee address itself immediately to the areas of transportation, forestry and agriculture was accepted by the Chinese. Agreement was reached as well that detailed discussions should be initiated quickly in the fields of aluminum and wood pulp. We also agreed that further discussions should take place soon with respect to potash, sulphur and nickel. The Canadian side was heartened by the obvious Chinese interest in increasing the purchase of Canadian manufactured goods and contemplating the purchase from Canada of complete plants. Throughout our discussions in this area, emphasis was lent by both sides on the mutual benefit to be gained from long-term commercial agreements.

Satisfying as were the discussions on trade and commercial relations, I was moved most by the several understandings reached in the areas of medicine and human relations. Honourable Members will be familiar with the important work done last spring in China by a joint governmental and professional medical mission to China led by Dr. Gustave Gingras, the then President of the Canadian Medical Association. That mission recognized the immense benefits that could be realized in health-care services in Canada if more were known about several areas of Chinese medical techniques. The hope was subsequently expressed by the two major medical bodies in Canada that the Canadian Government would attempt to encourage the Chinese to engage in co-operative activities with Canadian doctors to these ends.

I am delighted by the progress that we were able to make in this respect during my visit, which provides for teams of Canadian and Chinese physicians visiting one another's countries to study advanced techniques in each place. The field of interest chosen

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by Canadian doctors in this first phase is that of acupuncture analgesia. I am informed that, if this technique proves as successful in the Canadian social environment as has been the case in China, its contributions in the elimination of anaesthetic complications, in the reduction of costs associated with surgery, and in the extension of surgery to elderly and high-risk patients now denied treatment, will rank it as one of the major contributions to Canadian medicine -- a ranking, I am assured by members of the medical profession, equivalent in importance to any medical contribution in the past decade.

I am particularly appreciative of the willingness of Premier Chou to agree to my request that facilities be instituted which will lead to the reunion of families. Just as I regarded this question of reunification as one of the most important of the subjects on which I engaged Premier Kosygin in discussion -- and which has since led to the exit from the Soviet Union of several hundreds of persons to join relatives in Canada -- so I emphasized to Premier Chou the importance with which Canadians as a whole viewed this aspect of Canadian-Chinese relations. I have instructed Canadian officials to waste no time in the implementation of this new understanding that permits Canadian immigration officers to proceed to China to process applicants for entry to Canada. An officer of the Department of Manpower and Immigration is already on his way from Ottawa to Peking.

Understandings were reached in other fields as well: cultural and sports exchanges, for one, consular arrangements for another, and science and technology for still another. The latter was made possible by the extensive work done in advance of my arrival by the Minister of State for Science and Technology.

My visit to China leaves me without any doubt of the wisdom of the decision of the Canadian Government to reverse the long-standing policy of ignoring the People's Republic of China. Because that immense country of talented and industrious people will have an increasing impact on world affairs, and because a strengthening and enriching of the bilateral relation between Canada and China can be beneficial to Canadians, that decision was right and will increasingly prove to be right. The presence of China in the United Nations and in other international councils makes it vital that Canada's interests and Canada's views be understood and, it is hoped, supported by the Chinese Government. It will be of increasing advantage to Canada that Canadian leaders have opportunities to explain Canadian attitudes and policies to Chinese decision-makers just as -- amongst many things -- I exposed to

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Premier Chou the positions Canada would advocate at the forthcoming Law of the Sea Conference.

In conclusion, I wish to say that I was heartened again and again by the genuine friendship extended toward Canada and Canadians by the leaders and the people of modern China. I am confident that the diversification and enjoyment of our new ties with China will not interfere with the long-standing friendly relations that we enjoy with those several countries with whom we have special ties. Nor will it detract from our efforts to seek, to our advantage, the easing of tensions and the increase of contacts with other parts of the world.

It has not been the vastness of the Pacific that has acted as a barrier between Canada and China. The gulf has been found all too often in the minds of those of us who were unwilling to recognize the magnitude of one of the most significant revolutions in the history of the world and the extension of basic human amenities to hundreds of millions of persons to whom they had been denied for millennia.

The name of Canada is held in high respect in China, and, as a consequence, Canadians are beneficiaries. It is the aim of this Government that this reputation, and those benefits, increase and continue.



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