

# The Reunification of China and Unity in the Chinese Catholic Church

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## **I. Conditions and Prospects for Reunification**

Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait want reunification, but the more pressing issue these days is reunification on what terms. The present division is indeed tragic, and continues to present a serious obstacle to the Chinese people in their pursuit of freedom, democracy, and the full realization of their human rights. With this also comes the growing awareness on both sides that any authentic reunification can only happen when the following conditions are present: a democratic political system, a free economy, a pluralistic society that recognizes human rights as God-given, and a Chinese culture that is open to the outside world.

In recent years, both political systems have undergone major changes. In Taiwan the Chinese have confronted with a tenacious idealism the many obstacles in their path to building a free and democratic society, and with the lifting of martial law moved quickly to establish a multi-party system which put an end to the

totalitarianism of one-party rule. Fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms are now given more respect and receive greater protection. It is a common conviction of the people there that a totalitarian political system will never again be allowed to exercise authority over them.

On the mainland, changes have also taken place. The end of the Cultural Revolution saw the demise of "radical class struggle" as a viable instrument of social change. However, a total reform of the Communist system is still a long way off. There remains much perplexity among Communist leaders, theoreticians and intellectuals about how to resolve the conflicts that arise between a free economy and a backward political system. The tragic events of June 4th in Tiananmen Square can be related directly to this confused state of affairs. What also cannot be ignored in all of this is the sudden and dramatic about-face of other Communist regimes throughout the world--the startling shift towards democracy in Russia itself is nothing short of miraculous.

There is a worldwide movement toward freedom and democracy, and the Chinese authorities will have to face up

not only to the impact it is having on the rest of the world, but also to the unprecedented changes it brings in its wake. More and more Chinese intellectuals are coming to the view that while the desire may be urgent, the reunification of the mainland and Taiwan lies in a gradual approach over a longer period of time. An increase in cultural and scientific contacts will lead to more economic and business exchanges, which, in turn, will pave the way for political dialogue. This step-by-step approach is necessary if there is to be an orderly transition. It is also needed to protect the freedoms and democratic future of the 20,000,000 Chinese citizens now living in Taiwan, and to allow for a sufficient period of time to test the sincerity of the Communist Party's public resolve to abandon its totalitarian style of governing. Until these conditions are met, serious political dialogue or negotiations would be meaningless.

Where do the people of Taiwan stand on this issue? Recently, Taiwan's *United Daily News* published the results of a survey it conducted on the question of reunification versus independence. Results indicate that an all important factor in this is the credibility of the Communist Party...how sincere are they when they talk about implementing democracy? According to the poll, 42% of the respondents felt that Taiwan should move towards independence if the Communists continue their policy of one-party rule. This question attracted the greatest number of answers from the people polled. When asked how they would feel if the Chinese Communists really did

implement a policy of freedom and democracy, 75% said they would favour reunification, with only 5.1% of the respondents still holding out for Taiwan independence.<sup>1</sup>

In another survey, this one conducted by the Preparatory Committee of the National Affairs Conference for their meeting which took place in Taipei during June and July of this year, 51.2% of the respondents were in favour of changing the present government policy to allow for direct talks with China's Communist authorities. Of the remaining, 23.9% were opposed, while 24.8% said they had no opinion. When asked under what conditions the Taiwan government should meet with the mainland Communist government, 48.4% responded that the Communists must abrogate use of military force to achieve reunification, the Four Basic Principles, and a foreign policy which seeks to isolate Taiwan from the rest of the international community. Only 10.9% were of the opinion that no conditions should be established before such meetings begin to take place.

Other results of the Conference committee were also quite interesting. 72.2% agreed that mainland ports should be open to air and sea traffic from Taiwan, but only 50.5% would allow mainland ships and planes direct access to Taiwan. When asked whether Taiwan should become an independent nation separate from China, only 6.8% of those polled thought it would be beneficial; another 13.1% felt it was too difficult to say, while 71.4% thought that Taiwan independence would not serve the best interests of the people there. With regard

to future relations between the two sides, 55.6% were optimistic or very optimistic, while 25.3% said they were not optimistic or were pessimistic. When it came to projecting how long reunification would take, 5.9% thought it could happen within five years, another 18.3% felt it would take place within ten years, 11.6% said within twenty years, 5.8% from thirty to fifty years, 4.1% over fifty years, and 6.5% believed it would never take place at all.<sup>2</sup>

After the National Affairs Conference ended in July, it issued the following statement:

The Conference reached a considerable consensus on the issue of mainland-Taiwan relations and on what kind of policy the mainland government should pursue in implementing it. It was concluded that the mainland government be urged to adopt a policy toward Taiwan that would be open, positive and would proceed through guaranteed stages along the road that leads to greater freedom and democracy, in accord with the following factors: the good of the people of Taiwan, the limitations of the international situation, the proper exercise of Communist political power, the aspirations of the mainland peoples, and a careful evaluation of realistic possibilities towards effecting reunification.<sup>3</sup>

## **II. The Link Between the Reunification of China and Unity in the Catholic Church**

The Communists, throughout their 40 years in power, have taken a dualistic approach toward the Catholic Church.

Having classified it as a religious ideology, they saw it as a dangerous hindrance to the development of the individual and society. It was an addictive drug that caused psychological dependency, like opium or cheap wine, and therefore had to be eradicated. This approach dominated official thinking prior to and immediately following Liberation, and again came to the fore during the time of the Cultural Revolution. The second approach was strictly pragmatic, wherein religion was to be organized and unified in order to serve the purposes of the government and the nation.

In 1957 the Catholic Patriotic Association was formed under government auspices. It was made up of Catholic clergy and laity and was to serve as an intermediary organization between the government and the Catholic Church. The Church was informed by the government that while it would be permitted to submit to the Pope in matters of faith, it was to give its complete obedience to the ruling Party in all matters concerning politics, economics, church organization and church activities. Moreover, the Church was from now on to follow a strict policy of independence and autonomy. Such a policy, to the Communists' way of thinking, was commensurate with the restoration of national dignity, after the humiliations China suffered at the hands of foreign powers during the Age of Imperialism.

The policy of keeping the Chinese Catholic Church independent and autonomous has not changed from its inception in 1957. The Party's goals remain the same: to promote the Patriotic Associa-

tion and support its claims to the right of free election of its bishops. It is also committed to the suppression of any dissent and a policy of stamping out the underground Church. The government's policy has led to a divided church. If the canonical implications of this division may be left to further investigation, the fact of the division is patently obvious. While many historical factors may have helped to bring this about--and the Church, too, must bear its share of the responsibility--the real reason behind the policy is the fear that religious freedom poses a threat to the political power of the Communist Party. There can be no true religious freedom in China until the Party becomes more democratic in its policies. And there can be no doubting that the same prerequisites of freedom and democracy for obtaining reunification of the mainland and Taiwan, are also the prerequisites for achieving a reunification of the Chinese Catholic Church under the authority of the Pope and in communion with the Universal Church. A corollary of this is that Chinese Catholics who work to the best of their ability for mainland-Taiwan reunification are at the same time paving the way for the reunification of the Chinese Catholic Church. Chinese Catholics in Taiwan, then, should see this not only as a duty of citizens, but also as a unique mission conferred on them by the times in which they live.

### **III: Exchanges between Mainland China and Taiwan**

Exchanges had been taking place between people on the mainland and those in Taiwan long before the Taiwan gov-

ernment gave official permission for family reunions in 1987. Professor Weng Songran of Hong Kong's Chinese University described the situation in this way:

The "three no policy"--no contact, no negotiating, no compromise--has become a policy that allows for informal exchanges, casual dialogue and familiar social communication. In fact, communication on both sides is on the increase and exchanges are now taking place everywhere.<sup>4</sup>

Professor Weng goes on to make the following observations in the same article:

Speaking in general, as Taiwan goes about developing more strategies for inter-personal exchanges, formulating guidelines for regulating mainland relationships, broadening its own experience by establishing more intermediary organizations, this process itself furnishes the most important subject material for Taipei's new mainland policy. This policy, when taken in conjunction with other diplomatic moves, clearly manifests Taipei's desire for a period of peaceful coexistence, a balanced and healthy spirit of competition, and the development of a relationship that is both stable and cooperative. There is no indication that the Taipei authorities are about to resurrect past hopes of "recovering the mainland". Nor does it seem to share the view that the fundamental political power of the Communists was undermined by the June 4th incident and that the Li Denghui government has actually formulated plans to overthrow the political power of Deng Xiaoping,

Yang Shunkun and Li Peng. Taipei merely continues to maintain its overall anti-communist stance.

Since June 4th, Taipei's policy towards the mainland has not only not changed, but the feelings of Taiwan's people for the homeland have become even stronger. Family visits, tourism, trade and investment have continued to be on the increase. However, because the authorities in Taipei are particularly concerned about security (not only the country's safety, but also the stability of society and the welfare of its people) and because they have not abandoned their anti-communist stand and their support of those struggling for freedom and democracy on the mainland, and because they still hold fast to their objective to unite China under the "Three People's Principles" of Sun Yat-sen, and, finally because they are unwilling to accept Beijing's "one-country, two-systems" formula (lest they be Hong Kongized in the process and downgraded to the authority level of a provincial government), for all these reasons Taipei has limited itself only to non-governmental and indirect activities with the mainland.<sup>5</sup>

While Taipei's policy toward the mainland has improved during the past year, it still falls short of the expectation of the people of Taiwan. They want a policy that is more positive and creative, one that is more open and confident. Instead, the government has been hesitant and procrastinating in its approach. In the past few years, several hundred thousand Taiwan citizens have visited the mainland. They have brought with them a

great deal of news about what is going on in Taiwan and in the rest of the world. Yet, to date the government has not taken steps to legalize trips to the mainland, which places on some the psychological burden of having engaged in an illegal activity. As a Chinese and a Christian, I would like to make the following suggestions to the authorities in Taiwan:

1. The basic underlying principle governing any mainland policy should be love among compatriots. Whatever is beneficial to the material and spiritual well-being of the people on both sides of the Strait should be encouraged and supported by both the government and its citizens. Direct mail links should be reestablished; air and sea ports reopened; and a free flow of commercial trading allowed with the mainland. Visitors from the mainland, including journalists and civil servants--regardless of their Party affiliation--should be encouraged to come to see Taiwan. Cultural, scientific and economic exchanges should be actively promoted, and work opportunities should be given to those living along the mainland coast, organized according to Taiwan's labour requirements, to put an end to the flagrant smuggling trade. Such measures when adopted would serve to unite us and bring us closer together. They would also diminish the threat of the possible use of armed force to resolve the conflicts. With regard to the promotion of mutual exchanges, the National Affairs Conference arrived at the following consensus:

In order to achieve strategic planning that would be harmonious, consistent, effective, and efficient, all speakers

urged the government to set up without delay intermediary organizations that would have policy-making authority. Most felt that the decision-making body of these organizations should include both non-party and unofficial members. A minority felt that the number of members belonging to the ruling party should not exceed half the total. They also thought that the chairperson of the intermediary body should be a native of the Province of Taiwan.<sup>6</sup>

2. Promoting and maintaining mutual exchanges between the two peoples should be a labour of love. Love begets trust. Up to now a justifiable caution has prevented the Taiwan authorities from formulating a more open policy toward the Communist Party. While a prudent caution may be called for, an inordinate fear is not. In fact, the Communist Party itself harbours even greater fears concerning freedom and democracy. Since June 4th the Communist authorities have repeatedly defended their dictatorial rule as necessary to prevent turmoil and civil war in the country. Taipei's *Central Daily News* citing Hong Kong's *Wen Hui Bao* carried the following news account about Deng Xiaoping.

Deng Xiaoping thinks that maintaining stability in China is most important, even at the price of suppressing everything else. "Should China lose its stability," he says, "the stability of the rest of the world will be put in jeopardy. If civil war breaks out on the China mainland, no one will be able to stop it. Nor would anyone be able to stop the flood of refugees into neighbouring countries." Deng gave some

examples of how many: "10 million to Thailand, 100 million to Indonesia, half a million to Hong Kong. How could Hong Kong hope to escape the chaos?" Those fermenting civil war are armed, he warned, as he called upon the people of Hong Kong to help the Chinese government in maintaining stability by their wholehearted support. "Politicians with a sense of responsibility for China and the world," Deng added, "ought to understand our position."<sup>7</sup>

*The Central Daily News* also quoted the following from the Agence France Presse:

June 15, Hong Kong: Shanghai's Major Zhu Rongjhi warned today that instability and unrest in China would lead to a state of turmoil throughout the world. At a press conference here in the Foreign Correspondent's Club, Zhu stated: "Although some questions remain in the minds of the Chinese, I think we all agree that China must remain stable. Instability and unrest in China will lead to turmoil on a worldwide scale. This is the thinking of most Chinese people."<sup>8</sup>

What mutual exchanges with our mainland compatriots would mean for us is the opportunity to reintroduce the essence of Chinese traditional thought and culture, and sound concepts about human rights, freedom and democracy. At present, we are not allowed any direct postal communication with the mainland, because of the fears of some officials that our minds will be corrupted and our spirit weakened by Communist propaganda sent through the mails. But this also prevents

us from sending valuable works on religion, philosophy, law, the arts, politics and economics to them. This indeed is a pity. Similarly, more contact and communication with mainland writers who, since the end of the Cultural Revolution, have gained greater freedom and latitude to express themselves and consequently have been turning out much valuable material in the fields of Chinese culture, religion, philosophy, history and the arts, might help alleviate Taiwan's present cultural and spiritual anemia.

3. Those in authority on both sides should show more respect for the will of the majority by supporting increased contact, communication and dialogue across the Strait. Cultural exchange, when it includes philosophy, the arts and religion, provides valuable opportunities for the conscientization of peoples. It must be recognized that the pulse of both sides beats as one; and no political power can put an end to love among compatriots.

In promoting cultural exchange, religious representatives play an important role. Through their mutual visits, the sharing of research materials on religion and cooperation in social services is made possible. Religion is at the root of Chinese culture. If the spirit of Chinese culture is to be revitalized, there must take place a renewed search for its religious roots. The ancient Chinese faith must also open itself to a serious study of Christianity, for it is the religion which has had the most profound influence on contemporary society.

Seventy years ago intellectuals of the "new cultural movement", out of igno-

rance, misunderstanding and misdirection, sought to eliminate religion from Chinese culture and replace it with modern science and a democratic sociology. The ten year tragedy of the Cultural Revolution only served to show that the roots of Chinese culture are planted very deep. After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese Communists in a move that would indicate an acknowledgment of their failure to uproot religious faith from the hearts of the people by political means, began to see religion as a possible unifying force to serve national goals. One of the results of this change has been the increased interest among a group of Chinese scholars--with ages ranging from 30 to 60--in doing research on religious questions. They are now exploring with much enthusiasm the underlying meaning and social value of religion, and the close relationship that religion has to the evolution of Chinese culture. This reevaluation of the importance of religion is not only significant, it is also a phenomenon not to be found in Taiwan.

4. One of the effects of an increase in cultural exchange is how it can stimulate a national consciousness and provide a framework for a unified consensus and national sentiment, as it moves towards uncovering the sources of culture. This in turn can bring about a renewed unity and communion of spirit which has been lacking now for several decades. If unity of the country is to take place in a milieu of democracy, freedom, justice, peace and the equitable distribution of goods, then Chinese on both sides of the Strait must readjust their spiritual boundaries and renew their spiritual lives. Aspira-

tions for the imminent and the transcendent, the secular and religious, the human and divine must be harmonized into a holistic philosophy of life that can make possible an upright, far-seeing and hope-filled direction for the spiritual life of the Chinese people. Such a vision, rich in optimism, can easily cope with problems in a reasonable and satisfying way. This spiritual change is as needed in Taiwan as it is among the mainland Communists.

#### **IV. Exchanges between Churches**

There is a close link between reunification of China and unity in the Chinese Church. Chinese Catholics must be concerned with Church unity, and promote it. This will deepen their sense of mission and responsibility for the reunification of the country.

1. Several years ago, while addressing the Taiwan Chinese Bishops' Conference, Pope John Paul said that they must make a concerted effort to become a "bridge church". Each year many priests, Sisters and lay Catholics return to China to visit their families. Even a few Bishops have made the trip in recent years, and others are in the process or planning to go. We must use these opportunities to make our position as Catholics known to the Communist authorities there. In all good will, we must call upon them to abandon the policy of the Four Basic Principles, to fall in line with the worldwide movement towards democracy, restore private property rights, and respect the people's right to freedom of thought, speech and public assembly. Moreover, we must make continuous appeals to the Communists in power to

implement China's present constitution, safeguard religious freedom while affirming its objective value, and put an end to the government's unreasonable interference in and control over religious activities. A study of the facts will show that Catholics on the mainland are not now nor have they ever been unpatriotic, nor has the Catholic Church there ever engaged in any organized activities which have as their purpose the violation of the nation's sovereignty or best interests. The Communist authorities on their part can express their good will and their courage by entering into a dialogue with the mainland underground Church in order to promote reconciliation within the Chinese Catholic Church itself.

2. The Taiwan Chinese Bishops' Conference is an important element in coming to terms with the Church on the mainland, and we hope it will reflect and formulate its own policy in exerting a positive influence for Church reunification. While the Gospel has been preached in China for over 400 years, the leadership of the Church has always been, until very recently, in foreign hands. The tragic events of the Rites Controversy, along with Western imperialism's protectorate policy towards the Church in China, has left the indelible impression on the hearts of the Chinese people that the Catholic Church is a Western religion. During these past several decades the communists' promotion of a policy of independence, the self-election and consecration of Chinese bishops, and the prohibition of any foreign influence in local Church affairs has, naturally enough, found some support among



mainland clergy who felt that the Church in China was held back by the foreign presence in the past. Even during the 1980's, the government's "Three-self" and "Church autonomy" policies won support from some of the local clergy and their followers. They felt in all sincerity that the Church in China would now be able to find its own way. But we see clearly that such policies are only a strategy on the part of the United Front to achieve its own non-religious goals. On the other hand, the experience of the Chinese Church in recent years has given us the opportunity to find a more comprehensive way to preach the Gospel in China. In the final analysis, if the Gospel is to sink roots and grow in China, it must be fused with the reality of Chinese culture. The most suitable agents for this kind of evangelization are those Chinese already imbued with the Spirit of the Gospel. For the past few years, the Catholic Church on Taiwan has spent much time developing its own "Three-self" movement. While affirming the primacy of the Pope in communion with the universal Church, it has carried out its own policy of self-support, self-government and self-propagation of the local Church. The work of building a Chinese local church here has met with no serious obstacles, and the church on the mainland is welcome to use our experience for its own reference.

3. At present, non-governmental contacts, dialogues, cultural and economic exchanges are developing at a rapid rate and on an ever widening spectrum. The Taiwan government is following this trend and hopes that through these ex-

changes a consensus among compatriots will soon be reached which will allow for reunification under a democratized system which will also promote a free economy and traditional cultural values. Should not the Church on Taiwan begin now to accelerate its own pace? Should it not take more initiative in stepping up its religious contacts and exchanges with the Church on the mainland? Should we not put more of our efforts into becoming a "bridge church" as suggested by the Holy Father? The ultimate objective of the Holy See's policy is the unity and reconciliation of the Chinese Church in full communion with the universal Church. For this we all pray, but prayer must be accompanied by concrete action. Actually, such religious contacts and exchanges have been on the increase in recent years. Both the Patriotic Association and the underground church are well aware of the movement towards reconciliation and communion. We think the time is now ripe for the Taiwan Chinese Bishops' Conference to continue seriously organizing a delegation to go to the mainland on a visit of a purely religious nature. This would bring to the Patriotic Association the church's hopes for reconciliation, and in dialogue with the bishops there, search together for practical ways to effect it. They would also visit the bishops of the underground church bringing with them the same message. A clearly articulated and sincere expression of the meaning and purpose of such a visit would overcome any doubts or misunderstandings that might arise from either side. The Patriotic Association would not violate any government policy by receiving such a

delegation, for the stated government policy encourages contact between the Association and foreign churches, especially the church in Taiwan.

If and when the Taiwan bishops' delegation visits the mainland, it will probably be given the opportunity to meet with officials of the Religious Affairs Bureau and other religious leaders. They will be able to discuss with them the views of overseas Chinese and foreign Christians regarding China's policy of religious freedom, and the developments taking place in religious circles abroad. When the Buddhist Master, Xing Yun, visited the mainland, it aroused great interest in Taiwan and had a positive influence here. What Master Xing Yung was able to do, cannot we do also?

## V. The Mission of Chinese Christians

More and more signs point to the fact that international conditions are influencing changes in China. Taiwan is also changing. But both sides continue to maintain a One China policy and show willingness to work for reunification. Both are seeking a solid basis for a positive political dialogue. Shortly after assuming office, President Li Denghui inaugurated a new mainland policy to stimulate interaction. He established a separate office and an intermediary organization to handle mainland affairs. He also formulated appropriate guidelines to regulate relations between the mainland and Taiwan. In this way he opened the door for further communication and future negotiations. Moreover, the end of martial law in Taiwan signaled the begin-

ning of a new era. Taiwan no longer considers the Chinese Communist Party its enemy. Of course, it assumes that the Communists will no longer threaten Taiwan with force of arms. The conclusion of the "National Affairs Conference:" contained the following recommendation:

Regarding the guidelines regulating exchanges between the two sides, some noted that the Chinese Communist Party must still be considered an antagonistic, rival, political power. At the same time, we must not forget that the mainland is ruled by a few, while Taiwan is an open society. We must keep forging ahead in a positive way. That is to say, we must continue to consider how to move towards a greater unity with the mainland, Hong Kong and Singapore, whether to offer our services in the development of Hainan Island, and to work towards the establishment of a Chinese Common Market. In these ways, we can diminish differences, increase mutual benefits and lessen the possibility of conflicts between the two sides.<sup>9</sup>

Taiwan no longer requires the communists to abandon Communism as a prerequisite for dialogue. Through culture, scientific and commercial exchanges and mutual cooperation, it desires only to support the Communists as they move in the direction of democracy and freedom. This will require love and patience, but it is the only course of action in harmony with the aspirations of all of the people for greater freedom and democracy. On this, and only this, one solid foundation can the reunification of China have any

meaning.

At this turning point in Chinese history and faced with the signs of the times, Chinese Catholics must ask themselves: what is our mission and how can we best accomplish it?

Obviously the unity of the Chinese church is an issue which is of great concern to us, to the Pope and to the universal church. We Chinese Catholics should make every effort to solve the internal problems of our own church. During the 400 years we depended too much upon Western missionaries to make decisions for us and to solve our problems. History has taught us that many attempts to solve the Chinese church's problems were neither ideal nor intelligent. If the words of Fr. Vincent Lebbe at the turn of the century "China for the Chinese and the Chinese for Christ" had been put into action then, the tragedy of a divided Chinese church could probably have been avoided.

Under the guidance of Vatican Council II, today's Catholic Church manifests a sincere desire to bring people together in a spirit of reconciliation and communion. This healing spirit is to be offered especially to those in conflict situations. It is meant to encourage people to understand and respect one another, to dialogue and to work together for the well-being of all. In these final years of the 20th century, this spirit of reconciliation has met with a universal, positive response. Totalitarian regimes throughout the world have begun to abandon the path of violent struggle and have turned towards the path of justice, equality and peace, so eagerly longed for by their citizens. Our Chinese

Catholics should embrace humbly this same spirit of reconciliation and tolerance. They should throw themselves into the difficult work of China's reunification and, at the same time, do their utmost to help the Chinese Church remove the cloud of division that separates them and return once more to the bosom of Mother Church.

Only Christ's love can enable us to conquer all. In an article in *Kung Kao Po*, the Hong Kong Catholic weekly, Lin Ruiqi wrote:

For Chinese society to undergo real democratic change the most important step is to find a way to break the system of mutual surveillance in a communist society. The best way to oppose surveillance is to be a conscientious, upright person, to show good will towards everyone, to risk being betrayed, to really trust the people around you, to build up trust among people, and rid oneself of the obstacles in one's heart.

The people's revolution in Eastern Europe has begun, but there is still a long way to go. This is clear proof that love conquers all. The communion, which is union in love, professed by the Catholic Church was originally inspired by Christ. It was not established in opposition to communism. Non-Christians might consider this non-violent force in the church to be something weak and without strength. However, it confronts Communism precisely at its weakest point. If all the Catholics in the world were really to manifest love and communion, it would not only bring hope to people living in

the shadow of communism, but even the communists themselves, in this peaceful process, would be able to experience anew the meaning of life.<sup>10</sup>

If we combine Christ's love which we already possess with the love of our nation and love among our compatriots, then we can in good faith encourage our Chinese brothers and sisters to turn to Christ. This is to work for the evangelization of China. And by promoting the return of the Chinese Church to the one flock of Christ, that is, to follow together Jesus Christ, the Good Shepherd, and his representative on earth, the Pope, we will witness the emergence of a bright future. This is our mission and our work; no one can take our place; no one can do it for us.

## Notes

1. *United Daily News*, June 15, 1990.
2. *China Times*, June 26, 1990.
3. Final Report of the "National Affairs Conference", July 1990.
4. Weng Songran, "Taiwan's Mainland Policy after June 4th." *Nineties*, June 1990, p. 57.
5. Ibid.
6. Op. cit.
7. *Central Daily News*, June 17, 1990.
8. Ibid.
9. Op. cit.
10. Lin Ruiqi, "Remembering June 4th - How Christians Can Help China Find a Way Out." *Kung Kao Po*, June 1, 1990.



教友在新開幕的教堂祈禱  
Catholics worshipping in newly opened church.