

CHAPTER ONE

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE NATION

FIVE thousand years ago, the Chinese nation established itself on the continent of Asia. Other states established five thousand years ago are now only matters of historical record. China is not merely the only ancient state still in existence, but also, in company with other peace-loving and anti-aggressor states, is fighting an unprecedented war for justice and righteousness, and for the freedom and liberation of mankind. We are now advancing on the broad road to a brilliant victory and everlasting peace.

We know that a nation is formed naturally, while a state is built by the collective strength of the people.¹ During the process of natural formation, the Chinese nation was also established as a state through common resistance against foreign aggression and collective action for survival. Our nation is of one stock, and due to its fertility the population has greatly increased and the nation has become stronger and bigger. Consequently, the domain of the state has expanded. Nevertheless, the Chinese nation has never overstepped the limits required by its natural growth, and at no time has it used military force to expand. Whenever any foreign aggressor has forcibly broken through the defense lines of our state and occupied territory needed for our nation's existence, the Chinese nation, impelled by a sense of humiliation and the need for survival, has had no alternative but to rise and fight until that territory was restored to us.

1. Throughout the book, the author distinguished between "nation" and "state." "Nation" refers to the peo-

ple or peoples within China, while "state" refers to the political and governmental structure of that nation.

According to its historic development, our Chinese nation was formed by the blending of numerous clans.² This blending of various clans continued, dynasty after dynasty, but the motive power was cultural rather than military, and it was accomplished by assimilation rather than by conquest. Three thousand years ago, many clans spread along the valleys of the Yellow, Yangtze, Heilungkiang [Amur], and Pearl rivers. [In the revised edition, the preceding three sentences were expanded to read: "According to its historic development, our Chinese nation was formed by the blending of numerous clans. These clans were originally branches of the same race, spreading to the east of the Pamir plateau, along the valleys of the Yellow, the Huai, the Yangtze, the Heilungkiang, and the Pearl rivers. They maintained different cultures according to the differences in their geographical environment. And cultural differences gave rise to differences among the clans. However, during the past five thousand years, with increasing contacts and migrations, they have been continuously blended into a nation. But the motive power of that blending was cultural rather than military, and the method of blending was by assimilation rather than by conquest."]

After the period of the "Five Emperors,"³ written records were kept in greater detail so that the organization of the different clans can be studied historically. Within the Four Seas, the clans of the various localities were either descend-

2. The Chinese character here translated as "clan" is sometimes translated as "race," "tribe," "people," or even "nation." Its most literal meaning, however, is "clan," and in this particular instance this most accurately conveys the author's romanticized version of Chinese history—namely, that the Chinese, Mongols, Manchus, Tibetans, Mohammedans, etc., derive from a common stock and are really members of the same family. Although this thesis is rejected by all modern historians,

both Chinese and foreign, it is important to study it carefully since it is the basis of much of the author's social philosophy.

3. The period of the "Five Emperors" is known in the Chinese classics as the "Golden Age" when the government of the world was perfect. The last of the "Five Emperors"—Shun—was succeeded by Emperor Yu, who according to orthodox Chinese tradition founded the first dynasty, the Hsia, in 2205 B.C.

ants of a common ancestor or were interrelated through marriage. The *Book of Odes* ⁴ states: "The descendants of Wen Wang extend to hundreds of generations, but all come from the same family tree." This means that the main and branch stocks all belong to the same blood stream. The *Book* also states: "He is not an outsider but a cousin or an uncle." That is to say, among all the clans there were either blood relationships or connections by marriage. This is how the Chinese nation was formed in ancient times. Therefore, all Chinese citizens share the same lofty ethical concept that "within the Four Seas, all are brothers," and possess the same magnificent spirit of kindness and love. These are not just empty words.

During the Ch'in and Han dynasties,⁵ Chinese military exploits figure prominently in the historical records. However, when these exploits are examined, it is found that in the north they were undertaken for the defense and survival of the nation, and in the south for the development of the people's livelihood. Clans from the grasslands of the desert zone in China's northwest often migrated into the agricultural areas in the Central Plains [the western part of Shantung, Honan, the southern part of Hopei and Shansi, and the eastern part of Shensi], and both large and small wars resulted from these migrations. The Government resisted the migratory clans with military force when they came as invaders, but accorded them civilized rule when they pledged obedience.⁶ Thus, at that period, China's domain extended to the desert in the north, to Liaotung in the east, and to

4. A Chinese "classic" consisting of very old poems and songs, allegedly dating from the legendary period of Chinese history.

5. The Ch'in dynasty was founded by Ch'in Shih Hwang who reigned from 221-209 B.C. The name China comes from this dynasty. The Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221) occupies a special place in the traditions of the

Chinese, who call themselves the "Han" race, or "Men of Han."

6. The author neglects to mention the other side of the picture, namely, that the Chinese were constantly encroaching on the territories of the nomadic tribes in search of new agricultural land, and that this Chinese expansion outward was also the cause of "large and small wars."

the Belurtagh Mountains in the west [the mountains that form the western boundary of Sinkiang Province, known in Chinese as the Chungling Mountains]. At the same time, the Government developed the agricultural areas in the southeast, and the high plateau in the southwest was also linked up economically with the Central Plains. Therefore, at this period, China's territory in the south extended to the South Sea [more commonly known on Western maps as the South China Sea], in the east to Wu-Yueh [Kiangsu and Chekiang], and in the southwest to Cochin-China.⁷ Due to economic interdependence and the spread of a common civilization, the numerous clans in various localities had already blended together and formed one great nation.

During the period of the Three Kingdoms [221-265], although the Central Plains were divided and in conflict, the governments of the Three Kingdoms each worked for the survival of the nation. They continued the policies of the two Han dynasties, either strengthening the frontiers or developing waste lands. The Western Tsin dynasty [265-317] suffered from Tartar attacks; the Hans migrated southward; and the clans of Hsiung Nu and Hsien Pei [western and eastern Tartars] occupied the Yellow River Valley. However, these clans gradually acquired the civilization of the Hans. As a result, the Tsin and the Wei [dynasties], though they established themselves along the Yellow River for longer or shorter periods, adopted Chinese dress, methods of government, and culture. The unification accomplished by the Sui [589-618] and T'ang [618-907] dynasties was the fruit of four hundred years of nation-blending during the Wei, Tsin, and the North and South dynasties. During this period, the nation was composed of innumerable main and branch

7. In the revised edition, Cochin-China is given as Yuehnan, or Indo-China, and Burma is mentioned as the western limit of China. In this connection, it may be noted that the map of present-day China appearing in the original edition of *China's Des-*

tiny included Hong Kong, Outer Mongolia, Tannu Tuva, and Tibet. In the revised edition, this map was altered to include also North Burma including the Hukwang Valley, as well as the Liuchiu Islands.

stocks with rich and flourishing cultures. Thus, in the entire domain east of the Belurtagh Mountains, west of the Yellow Sea, south of the Gobi Desert, and north of the South Sea, the many varieties of religion, philosophy, literature, art, astronomy, astrology, law, institutions, and social customs were gathered together and synthesized.

During the Sung dynasty [960-1280], national defense was not adequate to protect the state or assure the survival of the nation. The Ch'i-tan⁸ [Liao] and Nuchen [Chin] Tartars were clans of China's north and northeast which had not been completely assimilated. They took advantage of the Sung dynasty's low morale, political confusion, and military decline to conquer their neighbors and become a strong aggressive power. But though they occupied the Central Plains, they were eventually absorbed by Chinese culture. The rise of the Mongols to power followed a similar pattern. The realms trampled by the hooves of Genghis Khan's horses extended far beyond any domain essential for the survival of the Chinese nation. But after Kublai Khan proclaimed himself emperor, those regions beyond China's original domain were separated away from the state organization of China, and only the main and branch clans under Kublai Khan were assimilated into the Chinese nation. [The revised edition uses the word "blended" instead of "assimilated."] When the Manchus occupied China, they were assimilated in the same way as the Nuchen Tartars [Chin dynasty]. Thus, after the Revolution of 1911, the Manchus and the Chinese were really blended into one body, without the slightest trace of any difference between them.

From the foregoing, one can discern the steadfastness of the national consciousness of China, the stoutness of the nation's strength, and the enduring quality of its culture. This has enabled the Chinese nation to resist external aggression and

8. The Ch'i-tan Tartars are sometimes called "Khitans." They held possession of North China for a considerable period, and it was from early Russian contact with the Khitans that the Russian name *Kitai*, and hence the English name Cathay, for China was derived.

humiliation, and has made it unwilling to encroach upon or humiliate other nations. Because it would not yield to aggression and humiliation, the Chinese nation always rose together and drove out any alien clans⁹ to recover its territory when the Central Plains were invaded. Because it would not encroach upon and humiliate other clans, the Chinese nation, in the process of eliminating the sufferings and misfortunes of internal conflict, was able by virtue of its great and enduring civilization to blend these neighboring clans into the nation. In short, our Chinese nation has resisted the armed might of alien clans, but has not resorted to armed might against others. Instead, it has accepted and absorbed their civilizations while at the same time imparting to them on a wide scale the civilization of China. This has been the outstanding characteristic of the survival and expansion of our Chinese nation.

In regard to the living space essential for the nation's existence, the territory of the Chinese state is determined by the requirements for national survival and by the limits of Chinese cultural bonds. Thus, in the territory of China a hundred years ago, comprising more than ten million square kilometers, there was not a single district that was not essential to the survival of the Chinese nation, and none that was not permeated by our culture. The breaking up of this territory meant the undermining of the nation's security as well as the decline of the nation's culture. Thus, the people as a whole must regard this as a national humiliation, and not until all lost territories have been recovered can we relax our efforts to wipe out this humiliation and save ourselves from destruction.

Within China's territory, the customs of each clan, and

9. If this phrase is intended to refer to the Mongols or Manchus, the use of the word "alien" is confusing, since the author constantly stresses the view that all these clans were actually part of the same "family" or stock. It is also difficult to reconcile the statement

that the Chinese nation always expelled the invaders of the Central Plains, with the previous argument that these invaders were always "assimilated" by the Chinese and blended into the Chinese nation.

the way of life in each locality were different. Yet the customs of each clan were unified to form China's national culture, and the combination of the ways of life in each locality made possible the existence of the Chinese nation. This outstanding fact of China's history is based on her geography, her economic structure, the requirements of national defense, and a common historical destiny, and is not merely the result of political necessity.

With regard to her geographical configuration, China's mountain ranges and river basins form a self-contained unit. Taking a bird's-eye view from west to east, starting from the Pamir plateau on the "roof of Asia," we have in the north the Tien Shan and Altai mountain ranges leading to the Three Northeastern Provinces; in the center, the K'un-lun Mountains extending down to the plains of southeastern China; and in the south the Himalayas extending down to the "Mid-South Peninsula [i.e., the Malay Peninsula, that consists of Indo-China, Siam, Burma, and Malaya]. Within these three great mountain chains lie the Heilungkiang, Yellow, Huai, Yangtze, and Pearl river basins. The Chinese nation has lived and developed within these river basins, and there is no area that can be split up or separated from the rest, and therefore, no areas that can become an independent unit.

As for China's economic structure, each region within the geographical setting described above has its own particular soil and natural resources. The way of life in each region differs accordingly. It may be one of hunting or of a nomadic pastoral type; it may have reached the stage of farming and industry or be adapted to mining; or it may specialize in salt production or fishing. This division of labor among the different areas is largely determined by their physical conditions, while trading among them has developed as the result of the needs of each area for the products of others. Long before the invention and use of railways and steamships, there was a very close commercial

relationship between one area and another. Such a common economic life was and is the basis of political unity and harmonious relations among all the people of the nation.

As regards national defense, if any region within this geographical system is occupied by an alien nation, then the whole nation and state lose the natural bulwark that protects them. There are no natural frontiers in the areas of the Yellow, Huai, Yangtze, and Han rivers where a strong defense line can be prepared. Therefore, Formosa, the Pescadores, the Four Northeastern Provinces [Manchuria], Inner and Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet are each a fortress [or strategic area] essential for the nation's defense and security. [The revised edition adds the Liuchiu Islands.] The separation of any one of these regions from the rest of the country means the disruption of our national defenses. Furthermore, from the point of view of natural resources needed for the support of the state, the coal, iron, and agricultural products of the northeast, the horse hides and wool of the northwest, the copper and iron of the southeast, and the tungsten and tin of the southwest, are all essential for the maintenance of our national security. [The revised edition reads: "the tungsten and lead of the southeast, and the copper and tin of the southwest."] The loss of these resources would mean the destruction of the foundations of the state.

The common historical destiny of the various clans is due to China's ancient virtues that enabled her to bind them in friendship toward her, and also to convert [revised edition: "harmonize"] their original characteristics. In return for the tribute offered by her neighbors, China responded with luxurious gifts and favors, and never harbored designs of economic exploitation. In the conflicts among her neighbors, China always adhered to the principle of "re-establishing interrupted dynasties and reviving dismembered states," and never adopted the policy of taking advantage of the

precarious position of other countries to seize their territory.¹⁰ Thus, the neighboring clans that occupied the Central Plains were assimilated. Those clans that lived in peace with China evolved from the status of tribute bearers to feudatories, and from feudatories to self-governing units; the status of each being determined by its economic needs and its cultural level. In the case of Mongolia, the process began with the Yen-Yung [Hsien-yun]¹¹ in the Chou dynasty and continued with the Hsiung Nu in the Ch'in-Han period. After this, it was continued with the Tu-chueh [Turkis] during the early T'ang dynasty, and with the Ch'i-tan [Liao] at the end of the T'ang and during the two Sung dynasties, and with the Mongols themselves during the Ming [1368-1644] and the Ch'ing [Manchu] dynasties [1644-1911]. As to Sinkiang, the Hsi-yung¹² came under the domination of the state of Ch'in during the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals [722-481 B.C.] and the process was continued during the Han dynasty and by the T'ang dynasty which fixed the Tien Shan as its western frontier. It was finally completed when Sinkiang was opened up and colonized during the Yuan [Mongol] dynasty [1280-

10. Whether ancient China was or was not an aggressor is only of academic interest today. But what is important is this further example of the author's distortion and romanticizing of history to sustain his thesis that ancient China was perfect in all respects. In this connection, it is interesting to quote a few sentences from Dr. Sun Yat-sen, to whom the author so frequently refers to sustain his own conclusions. In the *San Min Chu I*, Dr. Sun writes that before Asia was invaded by European imperialism, "the only power of Asia that deserved to be called imperialistic was China. The weaker and smaller nations were afraid of China and her political domination. . . . Our fore-

fathers constantly employed political force to encroach upon weaker and smaller nations; but economic force in those days was not a serious thing, so we were not guilty of economic oppression of other peoples. . . . China used peaceful means to influence others and what was called the 'royal way' to bring the weaker and smaller states under her rule."

11. The Hsien-yun were a tribe that invaded China during the reign of Hsuan Wang of the Chou dynasty, about 827 B.C.

12. Hsi-yung is a comprehensive term for all the tribes living in the western part of China on the borders of Tibet.

1368] and the Ch'ing dynasty. Thus the assimilation of these two regions [Mongolia and Sinkiang] has been taking place for more than two thousand years.

Following the conversion of the Tufans in Tibet to Buddhism, the orientation of Tibet's development was toward China. Under the Sui and T'ang dynasties, Tibet looked to China for direction.¹³ During the Yuan dynasty, Tibet was under the jurisdiction of the Hsuan Cheng Yuan [the government department responsible for Tibetan and Buddhist affairs], and during the Ch'ing dynasty, it was under the Li Fan Yuan [the government department responsible for Mongolian and Tibetan affairs]. Thus, Tibet's period of assimilation has lasted over thirteen hundred years.

The northeast started its inward orientation [i.e., toward China] even earlier. The affiliation of the Su-Shen¹⁴ began in the Chou dynasty. The development of this area by the Han clan was most extensive in the two Han dynasties. Through the dynasties of Sui, T'ang, Sung, Yuan, and Ming, it was a territory in which the Han clan and the Tung-hu coexisted.¹⁵ By the time of the Ch'ing dynasty, the development of agriculture, industry, and commerce in the region depended almost entirely on the efforts of the Han clan, while the Manchus were assimilated into the Chinese nation.

Formosa and the Pescadores were originally opened up by the Hans. They stand firmly in the southeast and have long been the bulwarks of China. They were invaded and occupied by the Dutch at the end of the Ming dynasty, but were eventually recovered by Cheng Cheng Kung [known to foreigners as Coxinga], whose deeds were epic. China's relations with the clans of the "Mid-South Penin-

13. The characters translated "looked to China for direction" mean literally "toward the inside." The exact degree of political dependence implied is not clear. Some translate it as "owed allegiance to" and others as "affiliated with China."

14. The old name for the region now known as Kirin, also including the district around Vladivostok.

15. A Mongolian tribe known as the Tung-hu in the Ch'in and Han dynasties, and as the Hsien Pei in the Chin dynasty.

sula" were even closer.¹⁶ History continuously records the dispatch of armies "to revive dismembered dynasties," and of battles fought "to help the weak and support the fallen." All in all, China's history during the past five thousand years is the record of the common destiny of all these clans. This common record constitutes the history of how all these various clans were blended into the Chinese nation, and of the building of the Chinese state by the Chinese nation for common defense against foreign aggression and to assure national survival.

[The following paragraph was added in the revised edition.]

Throughout this lengthy historical process, these various clans, on the occasion of the contact and blending of their cultures, often traced their respective genealogies and discovered their common origin. For example, the Mongols are the descendants of the Hsiung Nu, and according to the *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu*, the rulers of Hsia were their distant begetters. The Nuchen of the Northeast and the Tufan of Tibet are the descendants of the Hsien Pei, and according to the *Tsin Shu* and the *Wei Shu*, Huang Ti [first of the "Five Emperors"] was the distant ancestor of both. Again, when we study the *Chou Shu*, the *History of Liao*, and the *Documentary History of Institutions*, it is revealed that he [Huang Ti] was the forefather of both the Manchus and Tibetans of today. As to the so-called Mohammedans in present-day China, they are for the most part actually members of the Han clan who embraced Islam. Therefore, the difference between the Hans and Mohammedans is only in religion and different habits of life. In short, our various clans actually belong to the same nation, as well as to the same racial stock. Therefore, there is an inner factor closely linking the historical destiny of common existence and common sorrow and joy of the whole Chinese

16. In the *San Min Chu I*, Sun Yat-sen writes that "Annam and Burma were both formerly Chinese territory,"

and that "Siam paid tribute to China."

nation. That there are five peoples designated in China [i.e., Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, Mohammedans] is not due to difference in race or blood, but to religion and geographical environment. In short, the differentiation among China's five peoples is due to regional and religious factors, and not to race or blood. This fact must be thoroughly understood by all our fellow countrymen.¹⁷

This long history is based on the inherent moral character of the Chinese, which, in turn, has developed China's exalted culture. We know that the ethical tenets of a Chinese citizen are loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, faithfulness, righteousness, peace, and harmony, and that the basic principles on which the Chinese state is founded are propriety, righteousness, modesty, and honor.¹⁸ Under the influence of these eight virtues and four principles, the Chinese nation conducts itself by fully utilizing its own resources without

17. This paragraph was added to the revised edition, presumably in an effort to counteract the belief, deeply implanted in the minds of the Chinese people, that China is a nation of five peoples, as symbolized by the five-barred flag of the Republic, and to give further emphasis to the author's thesis of common blood ties uniting all the Chinese people. As pointed out previously, this theory completely distorts Chinese history. To cite only one example, it would follow from this theory that the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 was not a nationalist revolution, but merely a civil war. The author himself appears to contradict his own theory in later chapters where he praises the "nationalist revolution" that overthrew the Manchus. All scholars recognize that China is made up of a number of peoples or nationalities. Moreover, this fact has been publicly recognized by Chiang Kai-shek's own party, the Kuomintang. The declaration of the First Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924,

for example, specifically stated that "the right of self-determination of the various nations within China is recognized, and a free, united China, by the free association of these nations, will be organized after the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-warlord revolution."

18. It is difficult to translate these Chinese words accurately. For example, the word "jen," here translated "benevolence" also means "kindness" or "perfect virtue;" the word "hsin," here translated "faithfulness," also includes the idea of sincerity and reliability; "li" or "propriety" is an essentially Chinese concept involving the idea of good manners, good discipline, obedience to law, etc.; "lien," here translated "modesty," is sometimes translated as "integrity" and conveys the idea of an ability to discriminate between right and wrong; "ch'ih" or "honor" means literally a sense of shame, and conveys the idea of an awakened conscience.

excess, and it benefits other people by extending its blessing without demanding concessions. When propriety is required, it yields to no one in practicing benevolence. When its own self-interest is involved, it acts without the slightest selfishness. It neither fears the strong nor takes advantage of the weak.

Through five thousand years of alternate order and confusion and the rise and fall of dynasties, our nation has acquired the virtue of modesty, a sense of honor, and the ability to endure insult and shoulder hardships. Because of its modesty, it is capable of contentment with its lot. Because of its sense of honor, it is capable of developing its own power. Because it is contented with its lot, it does not trespass upon other nations. Because it is capable of developing its own power, it does not tolerate the aggression of other nations. Because it can endure insults, the strength of the nation is accumulated inwardly and not exposed outwardly. Because it can shoulder hardships, the aspirations of the nation are enduring instead of spasmodic. Because of the development of these virtues, the various clans and branches of the Chinese nation are capable of sacrificing their personal interests for the benefit of the whole community. There has thus been produced a spirit that is firm and determined in self-defense, that is peace loving in its relations to the world—a spirit of benevolence that “saves the lost, restores the vanquished, relieves the weak and supports the fallen.” This spirit puts into practice the great principle of loyalty and tolerance, and the principle that “in establishing oneself, one establishes others, and in enlightening oneself, one enlightens others.” Consequently, during the past five thousand years, all the various nations of East Asia, whether they have been affiliated with or assimilated by China, or have joined together for mutual self-protection, or have remained independent, have each in accordance with the aspirations and desires of its people, and following

its own national temperament and social customs, developed the best points in its own culture and thus contributed to the common progress of humanity.

During the last hundred years, China's national position and the morale of the people deteriorated to such an extent that an unprecedented situation developed. Territories required for the survival of the Chinese nation experienced the painful process of partition. The oppression and bondage of the unequal treaties further undermined the vitality of the Chinese state and the nation. A survey of our long history of five thousand years reveals the alternate rise and fall of states and the survival and extinction of nations. Yet the national decay during the last hundred years reached a point unequaled in our history. The state and the nation became weakened and encountered inner crises in the political, economic, social, ethical, and psychological spheres, until the basis of rebirth and recovery was almost destroyed.

If the Father of our Country [Sun Yat-sen]¹⁹ had not promoted the Three People's Principles²⁰ and led our National Revolution, China would have suffered the same fate as Korea, and would have been swallowed up by the Japanese invaders with their methods of "nibbling like a silkworm or swallowing like a whale." Fortunately, Sun Yat-sen, with his prophetic foresight, applied his great courage and wisdom to the task of establishing China's freedom and equality, and of arousing the whole nation. He fought for forty years, directing the common aspirations of all the Chinese people into the right channels. On his deathbed, he designated the abolition of the unequal treaties as the first objective of the Chinese Nationalist Revolution, and

19. Throughout the book, the author uses this title when referring to Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In order to make him a more recognizable figure in the minds of non-Chinese, this translation has for the most part rendered the phrase "the Father of our Country" as Sun Yat-sen.

20. The three principles of Nationalism, Democracy, and the People's Livelihood were expounded by Sun Yat-sen in a series of speeches delivered in Canton between January and August, 1924, and subsequently published under the title, *San Min Chu I*, or *Three Principles of the People*.

left to us, the comrades who survived him, and to the citizens of the entire country, the accomplishment of this great task. We have continued the fight till this day, and have finally succeeded in the first step. Thus the opportunity for the recovery of the nation and the hope of the rebirth of the state are now presented to the citizens of the entire country. I, Chiang Kai-shek, have been identified from the beginning with restarting the Republic of China on the road to independence and freedom. Surveying the present in the light of the past, and planning for the future on the basis of the lessons of history, I am going to describe the experience of our state and nation during the last hundred years and point out the direction to be followed from now on by our state and nation. I especially hope that all citizens of the country will realize that China's destiny rests on their shoulders, and that our destiny will be definitely decided by the war situation as it develops today. There is no room either for hesitation or for an attitude of blind acceptance and reliance on the help of others. I wish all my countrymen to examine thoroughly what I have written, and carry these precepts into practice.