

**The original documents are located in Box 13, folder “People's Republic of China (8)” of the Presidential Country Files for East Asia and the Pacific at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

### **Copyright Notice**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. The Council donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

~~THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN~~

6419

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH THE DELEGATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC  
AND TECHNICAL ASSOCIATION FROM THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Saturday, September 27, 1975

9:30 a. m. (15 minutes)

The Cabinet Room

From: Henry A. Kissinger

30

I. PURPOSE

To underline the importance you attach to our relations with the People's Republic of China, and to lay the groundwork for your own visit to Peking later this year.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

- A. Background: This delegation from China's Scientific and Technical Association is the most senior scientific group from the PRC to visit the U. S. This exchange tour is being hosted by the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC, a 'facilitating organization' which assists the government in the development of scientific exchanges with the Chinese.
- B. Participants: A 14-man scientific delegation led by Dr. Chou Pei-yuan, Vice Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Association and Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Peking University; PRC Liaison Office Chief Huang Chen; Dr. Philip Handler, President of the National Academy of Sciences; Dr. Frank Press and Anne Keatley, respectively Chairman and Staff Director of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC; General Scowcroft. (See Tab A for a complete list of attendees.)
- C. Press Arrangements: Press photo session. Meeting to be announced.



III. TALKING POINTS

1. I am pleased to welcome Dr. Chou P'ei-yuan (pronounced JOE PAY-YWAN) and the other members of the Scientific and Technical Association from the People's Republic of China. You are a distinguished group, and we take some pride in the fact that a number of you studied in the U.S. Dr. Chou, I believe, went to the University of Chicago, Stanford, and Cal Tech. Dr. Tseng (pronounced DZENG) and I are even schoolmates. I understand he was a Rackham Fellow at Michigan between 1939 and 1943.
2. The scientific exchange program between China and the U.S. is an important part of our efforts to build normal and constructive ties. We believe there is much we can contribute to each other on a mutual basis in such exchanges, and that in the process mutual understanding will be increased. At the same time, we know China stresses national development on the basis of self-reliance. We believe a strong, developing, and independent China is in the interest of a more secure world.
3. I note that members of this delegation will be lecturing in the U.S. on such topics as aerodynamics, environmental protection, nuclear physics, astronomy, and oceanology. I believe it is a positive development that our exchange program is moving to greater substantive contact. It would be a good thing if we could promote cooperative research projects and longer-term visits of our scientists.
4. I look forward to visiting your country later this year. As Secretary Kissinger stressed in his U.N. speech earlier this week, we attach the greatest importance to the new relationship between our two countries. This should be a relationship of growing vitality. And I think it is important to advance the ties between us on the basis of strict implementation of the Shanghai Communique.
5. When you return to China I hope you will convey my personal regards to your leaders: to Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai. I look forward to meeting with them later this year.



6. I understand you will be visiting universities and research institutions from Maryland to California during your month in the U.S. I know you will receive a friendly reception from the American people that reflects their warm feelings for the people of China.
  
7. You will be touring the White House shortly. Before you leave, let me express appreciation to your host organization, the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC, and to its leaders Philip Handler, Frank Press, and Anne Keatley, for their hard work on behalf of scientific exchanges between our two countries. You are making an important contribution to normalization of U.S.- PRC relations.



Presidential Meeting, Saturday, September 27, 1975 at 9:45 a.m. with the  
Scientific and Technical Association Delegation from the

People's Republic of China

Scientific and Technical Delegation

Chou Pei-yuan, Leader  
Tseng Cheng-kuei, Deputy Leader  
Chuang Feng-kan  
Ting Hou-chang  
Huang Yung-wei  
Chang Ho-chi  
Cheng Tsung-shuang  
Tsien Hao  
Yen Tun-shih  
Liu Tung-sheng  
Liu Ching-yi  
Chi Ming-hou  
Hsia Kan-yuan  
Chu Yung-hang

U.S. Government Officials

Secretary Henry A. Kissinger  
General Brent Scowcroft  
Deputy Assistant Secretary of  
State William Hitchcock  
Richard H. Solomon (NSC)

PRC Liaison Office Officials who will also accompany

Ambassador Huang Chen  
Tsien Ta-yung  
Shen Jo-yun

National Academy of Science's Committee on Scholarly Communication with  
the People's Republic of China (host organization)

Philip Handler, President, National Academy of Sciences  
Frank Press, Chairman, Committee on Scholarly Communication  
Albert Feuerwerker, Vice Chairman, Committee on Scholarly Communication  
Anne Keatley, Staff Director, Committee on Scholarly Communication  
Alexander DeAngelis, Interpreter

Department of State Security Personnel

Glenn Rankin  
Michael McShane



MEMORANDUM

6419

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

September 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: Richard H. Solomon *RHS*

SUBJECT: Talker for the President's Meeting with the Chinese  
Scientific and Technical Association

The President has agreed to meet with the Scientific and Technical delegation from the People's Republic of China on Saturday, September 27 at 9:45 a.m. Consistent with our handling of the President's recent meeting with the PRC trade group, I will invite PRCLC Chief Huang Chen and one or two aides to attend the session. As well, Dr. Philip Handler, President of the National Academy of Sciences, and Dr. Frank Press and Anne Keatley -- respectively Chairman and Staff Director of the host organization, the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC -- will attend. I plan to take notes at the session.

At Tab I is a talker for the President's meeting with this delegation.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward the talker at Tab I to the President.





S/S 7518892

6419

ADD-on

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Presidential Appointment with a  
Delegation from the China (PRC)  
Scientific and Technical Association

Attached is a briefing memorandum for the President for his upcoming appointment with the delegation from the China Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China. The date and time of the appointment are being arranged by the NSC staff.

*for* *C. Arthur Boyd*  
George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary



MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Your Appointment with a Delegation  
From the China Scientific and  
Technical Association (CSTA)

I. PURPOSE

Your appointment with the Delegation from the China Scientific and Technical Association (CSTA) is intended to signify to the leadership of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the American public the importance which the US Government attaches to the US-PRC Cultural Exchange program. It is also hoped that this high-level gesture will convince the Chinese to expand and enrich the exchanges.

II. BACKGROUND

The Committee on Scholarly Communications with the People's Republic of China (CSC) is a private committee, which has managed the US role in the scientific and scholarly exchanges with the PRC since that program was launched by the Shanghai Communique of February 1972. The CSC's counterpart on the Chinese side has been the CSTA. Capping a three year effort by the American committee, the CSTA this year agreed to send a high-level delegation for a one month visit to the US from September 25 - October 25, 1975. This delegation is the highest level PRC scientific group to visit the US since the reopening of contacts in 1972; it is led by one of China's top intellectuals and vice-Chairman of the CSTA, CHOU Pei-yuan.

Since 1972, the US-PRC exchange program has consisted of short study tours to the respective countries by 36 delegations of American and Chinese scientists and scholars. Although American intellectuals generally praise the program for successfully reopening communications with Chinese counterparts, after 25 years without contact, they wish to expand and enrich





the exchanges beyond what has been described as "scholarly tourism", and we support their wish. American scholars look forward to student exchanges, cooperative research projects, and longer-term stays in each other's countries. The CSC intends to broach these ideas with the CSTA Delegation during the upcoming visit. We are not hopeful, however, that the Chinese will be receptive at this time.

### III. TALKING POINTS

- It is my pleasure to welcome Chairman CHOU Pei-yuan and other members of the delegation and express appreciation for the important role the Scientific and Technical Association has played in the successful scholarly exchanges which have taken place between our two countries in the past four years.
- The United States highly values these exchanges in terms of developing contacts between important segments of our two societies and also in enhancing understanding and mutual respect between our two peoples.
- These exchanges are an important manifestation of the developing relationship between our governments and peoples, which was launched with the Shanghai Communique of 1972. They foster an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of our common objective of normalizing relations.
- I would like to congratulate both the Scientific and Technical Association and its American host, the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China, for developing a fine cooperative relationship which has formed the basis for the success of the exchange program.



- I would hope that we can build upon the achievements of the past in expanding and enriching exchanges in the future, and look forward to seeing increasing numbers of Chinese and American scientists and scholars, not only visiting each other's countries, but doing cooperative study and research.
- I would like to wish you all a successful tour of the United States.



IV. PARTICIPANTS

CSTA Delegation

Chou P'ei-yuan

Chou (pronounced joe) Pei-yuan is leader of the delegation and vice-chairman of the CSTA. He is an American-trained theoretical physicist and one of China's top intellectuals.

Tseng Ch'eng-k'uei

Tseng (pronounced tsung) Ch'eng-kuei is deputy leader of the delegation and a world-renowned expert on the study of algae. He is a top leader in the Institute of Oceanography of the Chinese Academy of Science.

Chu Yung-hang

Deputy Director, Foreign Affairs Bureau, Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China.

Chuang Feng-kan

Council Member, Chinese Society of Aeronautics and Astronautics; Professor, Peking Institute of Aeronautics.

Yen Tun-shih

Deputy Director - Institute of Petroleum and Chemical Engineering;  
- Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries.

Liu Tung-sheng

Division Head - Kweiyang Institute of Geochemistry  
Academia Sinica.



Ting Hou-chang

Division Responsible Member - Institute of Physics  
Academia Sinica.

Liu Ching-yi

Council Member, Chinese Chemical Society  
Division Responsible Member - Institute of Environmental  
Chemistry  
Academia Sinica.

Chi Ming-hou

Division Responsible Member - Institute of Oceanology  
Academia Sinica.

Huang Yung-wei

Division Responsible Member - Peking Observatory  
Academia Sinica.

Chang Ho-chi

Head of Research Group - Nanking Tzu Chin Shan Observatory  
Academia Sinica.

Cheng Tsung-shuang

Scientific Worker - Institute of Physics  
Academia Sinica.

Hsia Kan-yuan

Scientific Worker - South China Sea Institute of Oceanology  
Academia Sinica.

Tsien Hao

Staff Member, Foreign Affairs Bureau  
Scientific and Technical Association of the People's  
Republic of China.



**MEETING WITH THE DELEGATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC  
AND TECHNICAL ASSOCIATION FROM THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

**Saturday, September 27, 1975**

**9:45 a. m. (15 minutes)**

**The Cabinet Room**

**From: Henry A. Kissinger**

**I. PURPOSE**

To underline the importance you attach to our relations with the People's Republic of China, and to lay the groundwork for your own visit to Peking later this year.

**II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS**

- A. Background: This delegation from China's Scientific and Technical Association is the most senior scientific group from the PRC to visit the U. S. This exchange tour is being hosted by the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC, a "facilitating organization" which assists the government in the development of scientific exchanges with the Chinese.**
- B. Participants: A 14-man scientific delegation led by Dr. Chou Pei-yuan, Vice Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Association and Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Peking University; PRC Liaison Office Chief Huang Chen; Dr. Philip Handler, President of the National Academy of Sciences; Dr. Frank Press and Anne Kestley, respectively Chairman and Staff Director of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC; General Scowcroft. (See Tab A for a complete list of attendees.)**
- C. Press Arrangements: Press photo session. Meeting to be announced.**



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH THE DELEGATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC  
AND TECHNICAL ASSOCIATION FROM THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Saturday, September 27, 1975  
9:45 a.m. (15 minutes)  
The Cabinet Room

From: Henry A. Kissinger

I. PURPOSE

To underline the importance you attach to our relations with the People's Republic of China, and to lay the groundwork for your own visit to Peking later this year.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

- A. Background: This delegation from China's Scientific and Technical Association is the most senior scientific group from the PRC to visit the U.S. This exchange tour is being hosted by the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC, a "facilitating organization" which assists the government in the development of scientific exchanges with the Chinese.
- B. Participants: A 14-man scientific delegation led by Dr. Chou Pei-yuan, Vice Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Association and Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Peking University; PRC Liaison Office Chief Huang Chen; 155 ~~Secretary Kissinger; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Hitchcock;~~ Dr. Philip Handler, President of the National Academy of Sciences; Dr. Frank Press and Anne Keatley, respectively Chairman and Staff Director of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC. (See Tab A for a complete list of the attendees.)
- C. Press Arrangements: Press photo session. Meeting to be announced.



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD		LOG NBR		INITIAL ACTION O
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR		
9	25	9	25	14	7506419	

*Salomon*

TO: PRES \_\_\_\_\_  
 KISSINGER F \_\_\_\_\_  
 SCOWCROFT \_\_\_\_\_  
 DAVIS \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: KISSINGER, H \_\_\_\_\_  
 COLBY, W \_\_\_\_\_  
 SCHLESINGER, J \_\_\_\_\_  
 ST EX SEC \_\_\_\_\_

REFERENCE: S/S \_\_\_\_\_  
 OTHER \_\_\_\_\_

CIRCLE AS APPROPRIATE  
 UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT  
 LOU NO FORN NODIS  
 C EYES ONLY EXDIS  
 S CODEWORD  
 TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: *Salomon for Pres mtg w/ Cheneberg  
 Scientific & Technical Assoc Sept  
 27, 1975 9:45 A.M.*

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO.	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT			
STAFF SECRETARY			
FAR EAST <i>Salomon</i>			A
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA			
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA			
EUROPE / CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			
OCEANS POLICY			
INTELLIGENCE			

ACTION REQUIRED

- MEMO FOR HAK (\_\_\_\_\_)
- MEMO FOR PRES (\_\_\_\_\_)
- REPLY FOR (\_\_\_\_\_)
- APPROPRIATE ACTION (\_\_\_\_\_)
- MEMO \_\_\_\_\_ TO \_\_\_\_\_ (\_\_\_\_\_)
- RECOMMENDATIONS (\_\_\_\_\_)
- JOINT MEMO (\_\_\_\_\_)
- REFER TO \_\_\_\_\_ FOR: \_\_\_\_\_ (\_\_\_\_\_)
- ANY ACTION NECESSARY? (\_\_\_\_\_)
- CONCURRENCE (\_\_\_\_\_)
- DUE DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION/REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
9/25		HAK x		Salomon for Pres (9-26)	
9/30	NSC/LS	C		Noted by Pres	
9/25				add for/ rec date memo 7518892	



DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_  
 CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: \_\_\_\_\_  
 NOTIFY \_\_\_\_\_ & DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_  
 SPECIAL DISPOSITION: \_\_\_\_\_  
 CROSS REF W/ 7506207  
 SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: yes FOLDER: \_\_\_\_\_

MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS:  
 \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_  
 OCT 2 SEP 27 1975  
 ART ID: \_\_\_\_\_  
 OPEN 19/18  
 CLOSE 19/18  
 SA SF  
 HP NS  
 EP  
 PA DY

UNCLAS

ZCZCCDS263  
00 WTE3  
DE WTE 5532 2711400  
O 281419Z SEP 75  
FM THE SITUATION ROOM  
TO CAMP DAVID; MILAIDE FOR THE PRESIDENT  
ZEM  
UNCLAS WH51893

TO: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

1. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF SPEECH DELIVERED BY  
PRC FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA TO THE 30TH  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY SEPTEMBER 26, 1975.

QUOTE MR. PRESIDENT,  
PROFOUND CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE INTERNATIONAL  
SITUATION SINCE THE 29TH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY. A SERIOUS CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CRISIS PLAGUES  
MOST PARTS OF THE WORLD. ALL THE BASIC CONTRADICTIONS IN THE  
WORLD ARE FURTHER SHARPENING. THE TREND OF REVOLUTION BY THE  
PEOPLE OF THE WORLD IS ACTIVELY DEVELOPING. THE ASIAN, AFRICAN  
AND LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES HAVE ADVANCED VALIANTLY AND WON A  
SERIES OF SIGNIFICANT VICTORIES IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST  
COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND HEGEMONISM. ON THE OTHER HAND,  
THE CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS FOR WORLD HEGEMONY  
HAS BECOME MORE AND MORE INTENSE. THE WHOLE WORLD IS IN GREATER  
TURBULENCE AND UNREST. RHETORIC ABOUT DETENTE CANNOT COVER  
UP THE STARK REALITY. THE DANGER OF WAR IS VISIBLY GROWING.  
FIRST OF ALL, IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT THAT THE GREAT VICTORY  
OF THE THREE INDOCHINESE PEOPLES HAS SHAKEN THE WORLD. THE  
CAMBODIAN AND VIETNAMESE PEOPLES HAVE THOROUGHLY DEFEATED U.S.  
IMPERIALISM AND ITS LACKEYS, THUS MAKING AN IMPORTANT CONTRI-  
BUTION TO THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE  
WORLD AND GREATLY INSPIRING ALL OPPRESSED NATIONS AND OPPRESS-  
ED PEOPLE. THEIR VICTORY IS A BRILLIANT EXAMPLE SHOWING  
THAT A WEAK NATION CAN DEFEAT A STRONG, AND A SMALL NATION  
CAN DEFEAT A BIG.

THE PEOPLES OF ASIA ARE STRONGLY AGAINST SUPERPOWER  
INTERFERENCE AND CONTROL AND AGAINST THE ATTEMPT OF ANY COUN-  
TRY TO SEEK HEGEMONY IN ANY PART OF ASIA. THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN  
COUNTRIES WANT THEIR REGION TO BECOME A ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM  
AND NEUTRALITY, FREE FROM ANY FORM OR MANNER OF INTERFERENCE  
BY OUTSIDE POWERS. THIS POSITION OF THEIRS HAS WON THE RECOG-  
NITION AND RESPECT OF AN INCREASING NUMBER OF COUNTRIES. THE  
STRUGGLE OF THE SOUTH ASIAN PEOPLES AGAINST EXPANSIONISM AND  
HEGEMONISM HAS MADE NEW PROGRESS. IN WEST ASIA, LONG-STANDING  
DISPUTES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED BY THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WHICH  
EXCLUDED FOREIGN INFLUENCE AND CONDUCTED CONSULTATIONS ON AN

END OF PAGE 01

UNCLAS





UNCLAS

EQUAL FOOTING, THUS CREATING FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR FRIENDLY COOPERATION AMONG THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. THE GULF COUNTRIES ARE GETTING UNITED IN THE COMMON STRUGGLE AGAINST SUPER-POWER INFILTRATION AND CONTROL.

IN AFRICA, MOZAMBIQUE, CAPE VERDE, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE AND THE COMOROS HAVE ACHIEVED INDEPENDENCE ONE AFTER ANOTHER. THIS IS THE RESULT OF THEIR PERSISTENCE IN PROTRACTED STRUGGLES, PARTICULARLY IN PROTRACTED ARMED STRUGGLES. THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA AND AZANIA AGAINST RACISM AND WHITE RULE IS DEVELOPING IN DEPTH. THE SITUATION ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT IS MOST ENCOURAGING.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES TO COMBAT IMPERIALISM AND HEGEMONISM, SAFEGUARD STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND DEFEND THEIR NATIONAL NATURAL RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND INTERESTS HAS CONTINUED TO SURGE FORWARD. THEY HAVE REINFORCED IN VARIOUS WAYS THEIR UNITY IN THE STRUGGLE.

FURTHERMORE, WE ARE PLEASED TO SEE THAT IN OCEANIA PAPUA NEW GUINEA HAS ACHIEVED ITS NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE RECENTLY. IN ORDER TO CHANGE THE OLD INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND OPPOSE THE SHIFTING OF ECONOMIC CRISES, THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES HAVE, IN PURSUANCE OF THE DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION ADOPTED BY THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION, ADVANCED MANY REASONABLE PROPOSALS AND WAGED UNREMITTING STRUGGLES AT VARIOUS CONFERENCES AND ACHIEVED MARKED SUCCESSES.

THE UNITY AND STRUGGLE OF THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, EXTENDING FROM THE POLITICAL TO THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, HAVE USHERED IN A NEW STAGE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD AGAINST COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND HEGEMONISM.

THE COUNTRIES OF THE SECOND WORLD HAVE ALSO HEIGHTENED THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST SUPERPOWER AND PARTICULARLY SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST CONTROL, INTERVENTION, SUBVERSION AND THREAT OF FORCE. THE TREND AMONG THE WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO GET UNITED AGAINST HEGEMONISM HAS CONTINUED TO GROW. THE SECOND WORLD HAS INCREASED ITS DIALOGUE AND CONTACTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD. SUCH COOPERATION WILL DOUBTLESS HAVE GOOD PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPMENT AS LONG AS IT IS BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY AND EQUALITY.

THE CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, EXTENDS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. THEY ARE INTENSIFYING THEIR STRIFE IN EUROPE, THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE MIDDLE EAST, THE PERSIAN GULF, THE INDIAN OCEAN, THE PACIFIC, THE ATLANTIC, ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA. STRATEGICALLY, EUROPE IS THE FOCUS OF THEIR CONTENTION. SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IS MAKING A FEINT TO THE EAST WHILE ATTACKING IN THE WEST. THIS WAS REVEALED, RATHER THAN COVERED UP, BY THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THE TWO SUPERPOWERS DO REACH SOME AGREEMENTS FROM TIME TO TIME, BUT THESE ONLY ERECT A FACADE, BEHIND WHICH THEY ARE ENGAGED IN

UNCLAS



UNCLAS

BIGGER AND FIERCER CONTENTION.

TAKE FOR EXAMPLE THE AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE REACHED AT THE U.S.-SOVIET SUMMIT MEETING LAST NOVEMBER ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THIS AGREEMENT ONLY SETS A NUMERICAL LIMIT ON THE ARMS IN QUESTION, WHICH EXCEEDS THE AMOUNT EACH SIDE POSSESSES AT THE MOMENT, WHILE QUALITATIVELY IT SETS NO LIMIT AT ALL. IT IS EVIDENT, THEREFORE, THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT SHOULD MORE APPROPRIATELY BE CALLED AN AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS EXPANSION RATHER THAN AN AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION. FACTS ARE AT HAND TO PROVE THIS. SINCE THE SIGNING OF THIS AGREEMENT, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BOTH STEPPED UP THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW-TYPE STRATEGIC ARMS, EACH TRYING HARD TO OVERPOWER THE OTHER.

OF LATE, THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE USE OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE TO TURN OUT MUCH PROPAGANDA ALLEGING THAT DETENTE HAS PROGRESSED TO A NEW STAGE. THIS IS SHEER DECEPTIVE TALK. WE ARE AWARE OF THE EAGER DESIRE FOR SECURITY ON THE PART OF THE MANY SMALL AND MEDIUM COUNTRIES WHICH PARTICIPATED IN THAT CONFERENCE. WE ARE ALSO AWARE THAT THEY HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT ITS AGREEMENTS WHICH HAVE NO BINDING FORCE. WHAT SECURITY, LET ALONE DETENTE, IS THERE TO SPEAK OF WHEN EUROPE REMAINS IN THE PROLONGED STATE OF TENSE ARMED CONFRONTATION? WHILE CHANTING "PEACE AND SECURITY" IN THE CONFERENCE HALL, THE SOVIET UNION MADE MOVES TO AGGRAVATE TENSION OUTSIDE. IT NOT ONLY CONCENTRATED MASSIVE MILITARY FORCES AND CARRIED OUT UNBRIDLED PROVOCATIONS IN THE SEAS OF NORTHERN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN, BUT ALSO BRAZENLY STRETCHED ITS TENTACLES TO THE IBERIAN PENINSULA. SUCH DEEDS OF EXPANSION COUPLED WITH WORDS OF DETENTE ARE A HUGE MOCKERY OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. FROM ITS INCEPTION WE CONSIDERED THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE A EUROPEAN INSECURITY CONFERENCE. NOW THAT THIS CONFERENCE HAS ENDED, IS THERE GREATER SECURITY IN EUROPE? IN OUR VIEW, NO. IT HAS NOT ALTERED THE BASIC SITUATION IN EUROPE IN THE LEAST. IF ONE SHOULD BE SO NAIVE AS TO BELIEVE IN THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA, THAT WOULD BE DANGEROUS INDEED.

THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HANKERS AFTER A SO-CALLED "ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM." NOW THAT THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE HAS BEEN A SUCCESS, AS THEY SAY, WE ASIAN COUNTRIES SHOULD LEARN FROM ITS EXAMPLE. WHAT A BRIGHT IDEA! THE SITUATION IN ASIA, HOWEVER, IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT IN EUROPE. IT WAS ONLY A SHORT WHILE AGO THAT A SUPERPOWER WAS DRIVEN OUT OF INDOCHINA. SO THE PURPOSE OF THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT THE PRESERVATION OF ASIAN SECURITY; RATHER IT IS TO "FILL THE VACUUM" AND AT THE SAME TIME DIVERT WORLD ATTENTION TO ASIA TO COVER UP THE FACT THAT EUROPE IS THE FOCUS OF ITS STRATEGY. AS FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INVIOABILITY OF EXISTING FRONTIERS THAT WAS STRESSED AT THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE, WHAT IMPLICATIONS WOULD IT HAVE IN ASIA? IS IT THAT THE SOVIET

END OF PAGE 03

UNCLAS



UNCLAS

UNION WANTS US TO RECOGNIZE AS LEGAL ITS OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORIES OF SOME ASIAN COUNTRIES WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ALLOWING IT TO RESERVE THE RIGHT TO SUPPORT ONE ASIAN COUNTRY IN VIOLATING THE EXISTING FRONTIERS OF ANOTHER, AS IT DID IN 1971? TO PUT IT BLUNTLY, THE IDEA OF A SO-CALLED "ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM" PEDDLED BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS DESIGNED TO FACILITATE ITS CONTENTION WITH THE OTHER SUPER-POWER FOR HEGEMONY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION AND SERVES AS A MEANS BY WHICH IT SEEKS TO DIVIDE AND CONTROL THE ASIAN COUNTRIES. BUT THE ASIAN COUNTRIES, WHICH WON THEIR INDEPENDENCE AFTER PROTRACTED STRUGGLES, KNOW WELL THAT IN ORDER TO BE MASTERS OF THEIR OWN HOUSE THEY MUST NEVER "LET THE TIGER IN THROUGH THE BACK DOOR WHILE REPULSING THE WOLF THROUGH THE FRONT GATE." CHINA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THIS STUFF OF "ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM" IS CLEAR-CUT: FIRST, WE ARE AGAINST IT; SECOND, WE DESPISE IT.

AS LENIN POINTED OUT TIME AND AGAIN, IMPERIALISM MEANS WAR. SO LONG AS IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM EXIST, WAR IS INEVITABLE. THE CONTENT OF IMPERIALIST POLITICS IS WORLD DOMINATION, AND THE CONTINUATION OF THIS POLITICS IS IMPERIALIST WAR. SINCE BOTH SUPERPOWERS ARE AFTER WORLD DOMINATION, THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THEM IS IRRECONCILABLE; ONE EITHER OVERPOWERS THE OTHER, OR IS OVERPOWERED. THE SO-CALLED "BALANCE OF POWER," EVEN IF IT EXISTS, IS ONLY A TRANSIENT AND SUPERFICIAL ONE. IT WILL NOT DO TO DEPEND ON A "BALANCE OF POWER" OR A SO-CALLED "BALANCE OF TERROR" FOR MAINTAINING PEACE. KHRUSHCHOV'S BRAINCHILD THAT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE IN THIS NUCLEAR AGE IS A HYPOCRITICAL LIE. IF THE SOVIET UNION TOOK THIS STUFF SERIOUSLY, WHY SHOULD IT FRANTICALLY DEVELOP CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN ADDITION TO ENERGETICALLY DEVELOPING NUCLEAR ARMS, AND MAINTAIN AN OFFENSIVE POSTURE FAR EXCEEDING ITS DEFENCE NEEDS? WITH THE SUPERPOWERS CONTENDING SO FIERCELY AND EXPANDING THEIR ARMAMENTS SO MADLY, THEY ARE BOUND TO GO TO WAR AGAINST EACH OTHER SOME DAY. THIS IS INDEPENDENT OF MAN'S WILL. THE SUPERPOWERS ARE THE SOURCE OF A NEW WORLD WAR, AND THE DANGER OF WAR COMES MAINLY FROM THE WILDLY AMBITIOUS SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM. THE FREQUENT MEETINGS BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS AND THEIR PROFUSE TALK ABOUT DETENTE PRECISELY PROVE THAT THERE IS NO DETENTE, LET ALONE LASTING PEACE, IN THIS WORLD. WHAT CHARACTERIZES THE CURRENT WORLD SITUATION IS DECIDEDLY NOT AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS OF DETENTE BUT THE APPROACHING DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR.

WE HOPE THAT THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES WILL HEIGHTEN THEIR VIGILANCE AND GET PREPARED AGAINST THE GROWING DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR. IT IS BETTER TO BE PREPARED THAN UNPREPARED. WITHOUT PREPARATIONS ONE WILL SUFFER. THE SUPERPOWERS LOOK STRONG BUT ARE INWARDLY WEAK AND VERY ISOLATED. THE MORE EVILS THEY DO, THE MORE THOROUGHLY THEY WILL REVEAL THEIR TRUE FEATURES, AND THE STRONGER THE RESISTANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE



END OF PAGE 04

UNCLAS

UNCLAS

WORLD WILL BECOME. AT PRESENT, THE FACTORS FOR BOTH REVOLUTION AND WAR ARE INCREASING ON A WORLD SCALE. WHETHER WAR GIVES RISE TO REVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION PREVENTS WAR, IN EITHER CASE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WILL DEVELOP IN A DIRECTION FAVOURABLE TO THE PEOPLE. AND THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD WILL BE BRIGHT.

MR. PRESIDENT,  
NUMEROUS QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED AT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THE CHINESE DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO STATE OUR VIEWS ON SOME OF THEM.

I. THE QUESTION OF OPPOSING COLONIALISM

THE PAST YEAR WAS A YEAR IN WHICH THE AFRICAN PEOPLE CONTINUED TO WIN IMPORTANT VICTORIES IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERATION. WITH THE COLLAPSE OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL SYSTEM AND THE GLORIOUS BIRTH OF A NUMBER OF NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT HAS ADVANCED TO A NEW STAGE, AND THE LAST STRONGHOLDS OF COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE ASSAILED FROM ALL SIDES BY THE MULTITUDE OF AFRICAN PEOPLE AND COUNTRIES PERSISTING IN STRUGGLE.

BUT EVEN BEFORE OLD-LINE COLONIALISM DIES OUT, THE TWO SUPERPOWERS HAVE ALREADY STEPPED IN. THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG SUPPORTED COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN PARTICULAR. THE SOVIET UNION, FLAUNTING THE BANNER OF "SOCIALISM," HAS INFILTRATED INTO THE AFRICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT TO SOW DISCORD AND STIR UP TROUBLE IN AN ATTEMPT TO BRING THE MOVEMENT WITHIN ITS SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST ORBIT. ALL REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE OF THE WORLD ARE SADDENED BY THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA. DIFFERENCES WITHIN A NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT ARE SOMETHING NORMAL. THE CORRECT ATTITUDE IS TO ENCOURAGE UNITY IN THEIR COMMON STRUGGLE TO COMBAT THE ENEMY AND DRIVE OUT THE COLONIALISTS. THAT IS WHY THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY HAS RECOGNIZED AND SUPPORTED ALL THE THREE LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS IN ANGOLA ENGAGED IN ARMED STRUGGLE AND HAS MADE TIRELESS EFFORTS TO PROMOTE UNITY IN THE ANGOLAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT. BUT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WHICH CONSIDERS ITSELF AS THE PATRON OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT DISREGARDS THE AGREEMENT REACHED AMONG THE THREE ANGOLAN ORGANIZATIONS ON UNITY AGAINST THE ENEMY AND HAS, THROUGH ITS PROPAGANDA MEDIA, IDENTIFIED ONE ORGANIZATION AS REVOLUTIONARY AND CENSURED ANOTHER AS REACTIONARY IN A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO CREATE DIVISION. FURTHERMORE, IT HAS SENT LARGE QUANTITIES OF ARMS, INCLUDING HEAVY ARMS, TO ONE OF THE ANGOLAN ORGANIZATIONS. THAT WAS HOW THE CIVIL WAR WAS PROVOKED IN ANGOLA. THE OTHER SUPERPOWER, ON ITS PART, HAS NOT LAGGED BEHIND. THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA IS BECOMING EVER MORE COMPLICATED.

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING CHINA HAS GIVEN HER SUPPORT TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN ANGOLA. WE GAVE MILITARY AID TO ALL THREE ANGOLAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS TO HELP THEM

END OF PAGE 05

UNCLAS



UNCLAS

FIGHT PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM. BEING AWARE OF THEIR DIFFERENCES, WE HAVE ALL ALONG URGED THEM TO UNITE AGAINST THE ENEMY. AFTER THE AGREEMENT ON INDEPENDENCE WAS REACHED BETWEEN THE ANGOLAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND PORTUGAL, WE STOPPED GIVING NEW MILITARY AID TO THE THREE ANGOLAN ORGANIZATIONS. SUCH ARE THE FACTS, AND FACTS ARE MORE ELOQUENT THAN WORDS. THE SOVIET SLANDERS AGAINST CHINA CAN IN NO WAY COVER UP THE TRUTH; INSTEAD, THEY SERVE TO LAY BARE THE TRUE FEATURES OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA INSTIGATED BY THE SOVIET UNION IS A BAD THING, BUT A GOOD THING TOO. IT IS GOOD PRECISELY BECAUSE IT SERVES AS TEACHING MATERIAL BY NEGATIVE EXAMPLE. ALL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS ARE BOUND TO GO THROUGH TWISTS AND TURNS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE BROAD MASSES OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE, AFTER EXPERIENCING SETBACKS AND DETOURS, WILL CERTAINLY UPHOLD UNITY, PERSIST IN STRUGGLE, FRUSTRATE THE SUPERPOWER AND PARTICULARLY SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST SCHEMES AND ACHIEVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERATION. THEIR TEMPORARY DIFFICULTIES AND SACRIFICES WILL NOT ONLY GREATLY ENHANCE THEIR OWN POLITICAL AWARENESS, BUT PROVIDE A PROFOUND LESSON FOR THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

AS EXCELLENT SITUATION PREVAILS IN AFRICA. IT WAS BECAUSE THE RACISTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WERE DRIVEN INTO A CORNER THAT VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA PROPOSED "DIALOGUE" BETWEEN THE MINORITY WHITE REGIME OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS. THIS SIGNIFIES ONLY THE WEAKNESS OF THE RACISTS AND NOT AT ALL THEIR STRENGTH. THROUGH SUCH TACTICS THEY INTEND TO DISINTEGRATE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND TO PRESERVE THE REACTIONARY WHITE RULE. THE RECENT CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY PENETRATINGLY STATED THAT "VORSTER'S DETENTE MANOEUVRES ON RHODESIA ARE A TRANSPARENT TRICK TO FRUSTRATE MAJORITY RULE AND TO DISARM THE FREEDOM-FIGHTERS." THE CONFERENCE STRESSED THE NECESSITY OF ARMED STRUGGLE, CALLED ON THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE TO IMMEDIATELY INTENSIFY THEIR ARMED STRUGGLE AND EXPRESSED THE DETERMINATION TO FIGHT BY EVERY MEANS POSSIBLE THE WHITE RACIST REGIMES UNTIL THEIR COMPLETE ELIMINATION. WE WARMLY SUPPORT THIS CORRECT STAND. WE HAVE ALWAYS ADVOCATED THE USE OF REVOLUTIONARY DUAL TACTICS AGAINST THE REACTIONARIES' COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DUAL TACTICS. ARMED STRUGGLE IS FUNDAMENTAL; THE PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES MUST BE STRENGTHENED AND NOT WEAKENED, NEGOTIATIONS OR NO NEGOTIATIONS. DEVIATIONS AND DETOURS MAY SOMETIMES OCCUR IN THE COMPLICATED STRUGGLE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DUAL TACTICS, BUT THE PEOPLE WILL SUM UP THEIR EXPERIENCE, OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES AND CONTINUE TO ADVANCE. THROUGH LONG AND TORTUOUS STRUGGLES THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL EVENTUALLY WIN THE COMPLETE LIBERATION OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

## II. THE KOREAN QUESTION

THE INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

END OF PAGE 06

UNCLAS



UNCLAS

IS THE COMMON ASPIRATION OF THE ENTIRE KOREAN PEOPLE. OVER THE YEARS THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAS PUT FORWARD MANY REASONABLE PROPOSALS AND PROPOSITIONS FOR THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND. THANKS TO ITS INITIATIVE, AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED WITH THE SOUTH KOREAN AUTHORITIES IN 1972 ON THE THREE PRINCIPLES FOR INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION, WHICH WERE AFFIRMED BY THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1973. HOWEVER, KOREA REMAINS DIVIDED TODAY, BECAUSE THE PAK JUNG HI CLIQUE, SUPPORTED BY THE UNITED STATES, HAS ABANDONED THESE PRINCIPLES AND SABOTAGED THE NORTH-SOUTH TALKS.

UNDER THE IMPACT OF THE GREAT VICTORY OF THE INDO-CHINESE PEOPLES THIS YEAR, U.S. IMPERIALISM BECAME PANICKY. IT ENDLESSLY REPEATED THE MYTH OF A SO-CALLED "THREAT OF A SOUTHWARD INVASION FROM THE NORTH" CONCOCTED BY THE PAK JUNG HI CLIQUE, DELIBERATELY PLAYED UP THE TENSION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND EVEN DECLARED THAT IT WOULD NOT HESITATE TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS THERE. BACKED AND ABETTED BY THE UNITED STATES, THE PAK JUNG HI CLIQUE PURSUED ITS POLICY OF NATIONAL DIVISION WITH GREATER FRENZY, ISSUED A SUCCESSION OF "EMERGENCY LAWS", DECLARED A STATE OF WAR AND INTENSIFIED ITS SUPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN SOUTH KOREA. IT LOOKED AS IF A KOREAN WAR WERE TOUCH AND GO. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THAT WAS MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING. IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE PAK JUNG HI CLIQUE HAVE ACTED IN THIS WAY MERELY TO CREATE A PRETEXT AND DECEIVE THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD SO THAT U.S. TROOPS MAY HANG ON IN SOUTH KOREA AND THE DIVISION OF KOREA MAY BE PERPETUATED. IF THERE IS A DANGER OF WAR ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, IT CAN ONLY ORIGINATE FROM THE SOUTH KOREAN AUTHORITIES THAT CONSTANTLY CLAMOUR FOR "REUNIFICATION BY PREVAILING OVER COMMUNISM," AND ABSOLUTELY NOT FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA WHICH INSISTS ON INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION.

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON KOREA SUBMITTED BY THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES THIS YEAR CLAIMS A "PREPAREDNESS" TO TERMINATE THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND. BUT THERE IS NO MENTION AT ALL OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA. OBVIOUSLY, ITS PURPOSE IS, UNDER THE COVER OF TERMINATING THE U.N. COMMAND, TO LEGALIZE THE PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA AND CREATE "TWO KOREAS." THE U.S. ATTEMPT TO THRUST THE PAK JUNG HI CLIQUE INTO THE UNITED NATIONS IS PART OF THIS SCHEME. CLEARLY, SUCH A DRAFT RESOLUTION CAN BY NO MEANS LEAD TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE KOREAN QUESTION, NO MATTER HOW NICELY IT IS WORDED. IT IS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY HELD THAT THE KOREAN QUESTION SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THE KOREAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES FREE FROM ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON KOREA SUBMITTED BY ALGERIA, CHINA AND OTHER COUNTRIES PROPOSES THAT THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND BE DISSOLVED AND ALL THE FOREIGN



END OF PAGE 07

UNCLAS

UNCLAS

TROOPS STATIONED IN SOUTH KOREA UNDER THE FLAG OF THE UNITED NATIONS BE WITHDRAWN, AND THAT THE KOREAN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT BE REPLACED WITH A PEACE AGREEMENT SIGNED BY THE REAL PARTIES TO THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. IT ALSO PUTS FORWARD A SERIES OF POSITIVE MEASURES TO REMOVE TENSION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA, PREVENT ARMED CONFLICTS AND PROMOTE THE NORMALIZATION OF THE SITUATION. THIS PROPOSAL IS ENTIRELY JUST AND REASONABLE. IT NOT ONLY MEETS THE EAGER DESIRE OF THE ENTIRE KOREAN PEOPLE BUT IS CONDUCIVE TO THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND IN NORTHEAST ASIA.

THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND MUST BE DISSOLVED. FROM THE DAY OF ITS FORMATION IT HAS BEEN ILLEGAL AND A TOOL OF U.S. AGGRESSION. IN FACT, IT HAS BECOME A U.S. COMMAND LONG SINCE.

HOWEVER, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE U.N. COMMAND MUST BE COUPLED WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL THE FOREIGN TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA. FOR WHAT WOULD BE THE POINT OF MERELY CHANGING THE NAME WHILE KEEPING EVERYTHING ELSE INTACT? CONTINUED PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA UNDER WHATEVER NAME CONTRAVENES THE PRINCIPLES OF THE INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA AND WILL ONLY AGGRAVATE THE TENSION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. THE QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL OF ALL THE FOREIGN TROOPS FROM KOREA SHOULD HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED AND SETTLED WITHIN THREE MONTHS AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE KOREAN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. THIS HAS BEEN DEALYED FOR NO LESS THAN TWENTY-TWO YEARS BECAUSE OF OBSTRUCTIONS PLACED BY SUCCESSIVE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS. AND SEVENTEEN YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS WITHDREW ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO FACILITATE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE KOREAN QUESTION. NOW THERE ARE NO FOREIGN TROOPS IN NORTH KOREA, BUT U.S. TROOPS STILL HANG ON IN SOUTH KOREA. FOR HOW MUCH LONGER DOES THE UNITED STATES INTEND TO PROLONG SUCH A STATE OF AFFAIRS? KOREA CANNOT REMAIN FOREVER IN A STATE OF ARMISTICE.

THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE'S IDEA FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOUTH KOREAN AUTHORITIES TO PROPOSE TO THE PARTIES OF THE ARMISTICE THE CONVENING OF A CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS WAYS TO PRESERVE THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IS OF NO AVAIL. THE KOREAN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN IN EXISTENCE FOR 22 YEARS, AND HOW MUCH LONGER WILL IT BE PRESERVED? MOREOVER, AS IS KNOWN TO ALL, THE PARTIES OF THE KOREAN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT HAVE IN FACT CHANGED A GREAT DEAL. THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS WITHDREW FROM KOREA LONG AGO. MOST COMPONENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND HAVE DISPERSED AND EVAPORATED INTO THIN AIR. SO HOW CAN SUCH A CONFERENCE BE CONVENED? AS FOR THE EXPLORATION AT SUCH A CONFERENCE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A LARGER CONFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE A MORE FUNDAMENTAL ARRANGEMENT, IS IT NOT EVEN MORE IMPRACTICAL? AFTER THE ARMISTICE IN 1953, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT A POLITICAL CONFERENCE



UNCLAS

UNCLAS

OF A HIGHER LEVEL SHOULD HAVE BEEN HELD TO SETTLE THE KOREAN QUESTION. HOWEVER, OWING TO SABOTAGE BY THE UNITED STATES, EVEN ITS PRELIMINARY TALKS FAILED TO PRODUCE ANY RESULT. SUBSEQUENTLY IN 1954, THE KOREAN AND CHINESE SIDES MADE TREMENDOUS EFFORTS IN GENEVA TO URGE THE CONVENING OF A POLITICAL CONFERENCE OF A HIGHER LEVEL IN THE HOPE THAT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE KOREAN QUESTION COULD BE REALIZED. AT THE TIME, THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, STUBBORNLY AND ARBITRARILY CLINGING TO HIS OWN COURSE, WENT SO FAR AS TO REFUSE TO REOPEN ANY DISCUSSIONS ON THE KOREAN QUESTION IN THE FUTURE. THUS, THE UNITED STATES SINGLEHANDEDLY SLAMMED THE DOOR TO A POLITICAL CONFERENCE ON THE KOREAN QUESTION. IN THE ACTUAL CIRCUMSTANCES AT PRESENT, THE PRACTICAL WAY IS FOR THE REAL PARTIES TO THE KOREAN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT TO NEGOTIATE AND SIGN A PEACE AGREEMENT TO REPLACE THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. THE FACTS OVER THE PAST TWO DECADES AND MORE PROVE THAT U.S. INTERFERENCE IN KOREA IS THE ROOT CAUSE OF CONSTANT TENSIONS IN KOREA. THEREFORE, THE KEY TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE KOREAN QUESTION LIES IN THE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE AGREEMENT TO REPLACE THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AND IN THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS. THE UNITED STATES ASSERTS THAT AS THERE IS NO NORMAL INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA, THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AND THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE STIPULATED THEREIN ABSOLUTELY MUST NOT BE CHANGED. WE CANNOT ACCEPT THIS VIEW. KOREA IS ONLY IN A STATE OF TEMPORARY DIVISION. BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA THERE CAN BE NO NORMAL INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY BUT ONLY A PROVISIONAL DEMARCATION LINE. SINCE BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA HAVE AGREED ON THE MUTUAL NON-USE OF FORCE AND ON REUNIFICATION BY PEACEFUL MEANS, WHY SHOULD IT BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR SOME NECESSARY MEASURES TO BE AGREED ON TO SETTLE THIS PROBLEM PENDING THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION? IT IS GROUNDLESS TO ASSERT THAT A WAR WILL BREAK OUT IN KOREA IN THE ABSENCE OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. THE CHINESE DELEGATION MAINTAINS THAT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON KOREA SPONSORED BY ALGERIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES IS ONE THAT CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEM. WE HOPE THAT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL SERIOUSLY CONSIDER AND ADOPT THIS DRAFT RESOLUTION.

### III. THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION

SINCE THE OCTOBER WAR, THE MIDDLE EAST HAS REVERTED TO A STATE OF "NO WAR, NO PEACE." THIS IS THE RESULT OF THE FIERCE AND MANY-SIDED CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS CARRIED ON AGAINST THE WILL OF THE ARAB AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES. DURING THIS PERIOD, DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL AND BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. RECENTLY, A SECOND DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN SIGNED BY EGYPT AND ISRAEL. NEVERTHELESS, THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION IS FAR FROM BEING SETTLED.

IT IS MAINLY THE TWO SUPERPOWERS THAT ARE TO BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS. IN THE TWO YEARS SINCE

UNCLAS





UNCLAS

THE OCTOBER WAR, ONE SUPERPOWER PROPOSED A "COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION" AND THE OTHER A "STEP-BY-STEP SOLUTION" OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION, EACH TRYING HARD TO BOOST ITSELF AND DENIGRATE THE OTHER AND MASQUERADE AS A FRIEND OF THE ARAB AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES. IN FACT, WHILE THE UNITED STATES HAS NO INTENTION OF BRINGING ABOUT A THOROUGH SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION, THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL LESS INCLINED TO DO SO. IT MAY BE RECALLED THAT WHEN THE OCTOBER WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST WAS AT ITS MOST CRITICAL JUNCTURE AND THEREAFTER, THE SOVIET UNION WITHHELD THE SHIPMENT OF ARMS ALREADY PROMISED TO EGYPT AND EVEN PRESSED FOR THE REPAYMENT OF DEBTS. HOW CAN ONE EXPECT SUCH A PERFIDIOUS COUNTRY TO SUPPORT IN EARNEST THE ARAB PEOPLE IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE LOST TERRITORIES AND THE RESTORATION OF THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL RIGHTS?

BOTH SUPERPOWERS HAVE THE NEED TO MAINTAIN A STATE OF "NO WAR, NO PEACE" IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- BRIEF FIGHTING FOLLOWED BY A PERIOD OF TRUCE, WITH BOTH WAR AND PEACE KEPT UNDER CONTROL. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS, THEY CONTEND FOR SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, PLACES OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE AND OIL RESOURCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE SAME, THEY SELL MUNITIONS IN ORDER TO REAP FABULOUS PROFITS AND ALLEVIATE THEIR OWN ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. AGAIN TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THIS, THEY TEXT NEW WEAPONS IN PREPARATION FOR A NEW WAR ON A LARGER SCALE. ALL THIS IS DONE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

COUNTLESS AGREEMENTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE BEEN REACHED INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE PAST TWENTY-ODD YEARS. NOW, IN RETROSPECT, IS THERE ANY AGREEMENT THAT HAS BEEN STRICTLY OBSERVED BY THE ISRAELI AGGRESSORS, OR THAT HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A BASIC CHANGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION? NONE, PRACTICALLY NONE. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT IS NOT AGREEMENTS ON PAPER BUT THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE THAT WILL DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST. WHAT CALLS FOR CLOSE ATTENTION AND VIGILANCE NOW IS THAT A SUPERPOWER IS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION TO SOW DISCORD AND ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE ARAB UNITY. THE ARAB AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES MUST NEVER BE TAKEN IN.

THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED THE ARAB AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ISRAELI AGGRESSORS AND HAVE ALL ALONG OPPOSED SUPERPOWER CONTENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE BELIEVE THAT THE PALESTINIAN AND ARAB PEOPLES WILL CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN THEIR UNITY, PERSEVERE IN STRUGGLE AND CARRY THEIR FIGHT AGAINST AGGRESSION AND HEGEMONISM THROUGH TO THE END.

#### IV. THE QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT

DISARMAMENT IS AN OLD QUESTION. AT A TIME WHEN THERE IS A GROWING DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR, IT IS FULLY UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES, AND THOSE OF THE

UNCLAS



UNCLAS

THIRD AND SECOND WORLD COUNTRIES IN PARTICULAR, SHOULD FEEL MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THIS QUESTION. AFTER THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS BECOME PARTICULARLY CLAMOROUS FOR "COMPLEMENTING POLITICAL DETENTE BY MILITARY DETENTE," PREACHING THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK NOW IS GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT. THIS IS MAKING POLITICAL PROFIT OUT OF THE WELL-INTENTIONED DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. IT IS A CALCULATED FRAUD.

ANYONE HAVING RESPECT FOR REALITIES CAN SEE THAT IN EUROPE THERE IS NO POLITICAL DETENTE AT ALL BUT A FIERCE AND ALL-SIDED CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE THE SOVIET UNION VIOLATED NORWAY'S AIRSPACE. IS THIS NOT ANOTHER PROOF THAT THE SO-CALLED DETENTE IS JUST EMPTY TALK? TO ADVOCATE IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE EXPANDING, DEVELOPING IN DEPTH AND SPREADING OF DETENTE CAN ONLY MAKE PEOPLE LAUGH THEIR HEADS OFF. EXPLOITING THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' KEEN DESIRE TO DEVELOP THEIR NATIONAL ECONOMIES, THE SOVIET UNION RECENTLY HAS AGAIN TRUMPETED ITS PROPOSAL FOR A 10 PER CENT REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY BUDGETS OF THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE USE OF PART OF THE FUNDS THUS SAVED TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE SOVIET UNION DEEMS THIS PROPOSAL ITS MASTERSTROKE, AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES HAVE TRIED TO SELL IT TO US HERE FOR NO ONE KNOWS HOW MANY TIMES. BUT SO FAR HE HAS FAILED TO INFORM US JUST HOW BIG THE REAL SOVIET MILITARY BUDGET IS. IT WOULD PROBABLY TAKE SEVERAL YEARS TO GET THIS CLEAR. AND WHO KNOWS HOW MANY MORE BEFORE MILITARY BUDGETS CAN TRULY BE REDUCED AS PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET UNION? THIS MAGNIFICENT SOVIET PLAN, TO USE A CHINESE SAYING, IS "TO DRAW A PIE TO SATISFY HUNGER." IF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WERE MADE TO WAIT FOR SUCH ASSISTANCE, WOULDN'T THEY BE LEFT HELPLESS LIKE "THE STRANDED FISH WHICH IS PROMISED WATER TO BE FETCHED FROM A DISTANT SEA?" CHINA'S VIEWS ON DISARMAMENT ARE KNOWN TO ALL. WE ARE FOR DISARMAMENT. BUT IT MUST BE GENUINE AND NOT PHONEY DISARMAMENT. WE ARE AGAINST PHONEY DISARMAMENT, AND STILL MORE AGAINST THE SOVIET ATTEMPT TO USE A DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AS A VEIL TO COVER UP THE TRUTH OF ITS ARMS EXPANSION AND WAR PREPARATIONS. THE TWO SUPERPOWERS ARE QUICKENING THEIR PACE TOWARDS A NEW WORLD WAR. AT THIS JUNCTURE, A DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE IN WHATEVER FORM WILL ONLY CREATE ILLUSIONS OF PEACE, SERVE TO DECEIVE AND LULL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD AND BIND THE HANDS OF THE NUMEROUS SMALL AND MEDIUM COUNTRIES. THIS IS WHAT WE ARE FIRMLY AGAINST.

AS REGARDS A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, CHINA KEEPS TO HER POSITION SET FORTH LONG AGO, NAMELY, IT MUST HAVE A CLEAR AIM AND THE NECESSARY PRE-CONDITIONS. THE CLEAR AIM IS THE COMPLETE PROHIBITION AND THOROUGH DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND ABSOLUTELY NOT THE SO-CALLED LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS. THE NECESSARY PRE-CONDITIONS ARE: ALL NUCLEAR



UNCLAS

UNCLAS

COUNTRIES, AND PARTICULARLY THE TWO NUCLEAR SUPERPOWERS, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, MUST FIRST OF ALL UNDERTAKE TO UNEQUIVOCAL OBLIGATION THAT THEY WILL NOT BE THE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AT ANY TIME AND IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, AND IN PARTICULAR WILL NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR COUNTRIES AND NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES, AND THAT THEY MUST WITHDRAW FROM ABROAD ALL THEIR ARMED FORCES, INCLUDING NUCLEAR-MISSILE FORCES, AND DISMANTLE ALL THEIR MILITARY BASES, INCLUDING NUCLEAR BASES, ON THE TERRITORIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES. BUT NOW THE SUPERPOWERS EVEN REFUSE TO UNDERTAKE THE MINIMUM OBLIGATION OF NOT USING NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST THE NON-NUCLEAR COUNTRIES. HOW CAN IT BE SAID THAT CONDITIONS ARE RIPE FOR HOLDING A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE?

HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE MERITS ATTENTION. THE MORE THE IMPERIALISTS DIFFUSE A SMOKESCREEN OF DISARMAMENT, THE BIGGER IS THE DANGER OF WAR. BEFORE WORLD WAR II, A LARGE-SCALE INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE LASTING NEARLY THREE YEARS WAS HELD UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AFTER NEARLY SEVEN YEARS OF PREPARATION, AND HUNDREDS OF PROPOSALS AND SUGGESTIONS WERE DISCUSSED. BUT THE RESULTS? ARMS EXPANSION INSTEAD OF DISARMAMENT, AND WAR INSTEAD OF PEACE. THE ONLY EFFECT OF THAT CONFERENCE WAS TO PUT MANY COUNTRIES OFF GUARD AND AS A RESULT, THEY WERE CAUGHT UNPREPARED BY THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND SUFFERED A GREAT DEAL. WE HOLD THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD NOT REPEAT THE MISTAKE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

NEVERTHELESS, AS WAS EXPECTED, THE SOVIET UNION TABLED AT THIS SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY A PROPOSAL FOR THE "COMPLETE AND GENERAL PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS." THIS IS OLD WARE IN NEW WRAPPINGS AND ANOTHER OF ITS TRICKS FOR MAINTAINING NUCLEAR MONOPOLY. CHINA'S STAND ON THIS QUESTION IS CLEAR TO ALL AND WE WILL NOT REPEAT IT. AS REGARDS THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR THE PROHIBITION OF THE MANUFACTURE OF WHAT IT CALLS NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS EVEN MORE FORMIDABLE THAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ITS AIM IS NONE OTHER THAN TO DIVERT PEOPLE'S ATTENTION FROM THE IMMEDIATE ISSUES BY TALKING ABOUT REMOTE THINGS. LET IT BE DISCUSSED BY THOSE WHO ARE PREPARED TO MANUFACTURE SUCH WEAPONS. THERE IS NO NEED TO BRING IT UP HERE TO SCARE PEOPLE.

#### V. THE QUESTION OF DEVELOPMENT

SINCE THE SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES HAVE WAGED EFFECTIVE STRUGGLES AND PUT FORWARD A SERIES OF REASONABLE PROPOSALS AND IDEAS FOR TRANSFORMING THE OLD INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER BASED ON EXPLOITATION. THE OIL-EXPORTING COUNTRIES HAVE BRAVELY STOOD UP TO SUPERPOWER INTIMIDATION AND THREATS, AND KEPT A FIRM HOLD ON THEIR OIL RESOURCES AND THEIR RIGHT TO FIX OIL PRICES. MANY COUNTRIES HAVE ADOPTED MEASURES AGAINST TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS TO REGAIN THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IN VARYING DEGREES. VARIOUS ASSOCIATIONS OF RAW MATERIAL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES HAVE



UNCLAS

UNCLAS

BEEN SET UP ONE AFTER ANOTHER. THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES HAVE PUT FORWARD A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS, SUCH AS THE INTEGRATED PROGRAMME FOR COMMODITIES AND THE INDEXATION OF PRICES, FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PRESENT IRRATIONAL INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER. THE SITUATION OF THE STRUGGLE IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD AGAINST COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND HEGEMONISM IS EXCELLENT.

THERE ARE TWO CONFLICTING POSITIONS ON THE QUESTION OF DEVELOPMENT. THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE THIRD WORLD IS FOR MAINTAINING INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RELIANCE, TRANSFORMING THE OLD ECONOMIC ORDER OF EXPLOITATION OF THE THIRD WORLD BY A FEW BIG POWERS AND ESTABLISHING A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGNTY, EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT. THE OTHER POSITION, TAKEN BY THE SUPERPOWERS, STRESSES "INTERDEPENDENCE" OR "INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR" BETWEEN THE EXPLOITING AND THE EXPLOITED COUNTRIES IN AN ATTEMPT TO PRESERVE THE OLD ECONOMIC ORDER. ARE THE INDUSTRIALLY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND THE RAW MATERIAL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES INTERDEPENDENT? YES, THEY ARE. THIS INTERDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN IN EXISTENCE EVER SINCE THE EMERGENCE OF A SINGLE WORLD MARKET. THE POINT IS WHAT KIND OF INTERDEPENDENCE. IT MAY BE SAID THAT THERE IS AN INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE HORSE AND ITS RIDER. BUT, WE ALL KNOW IT IS THE HORSE THAT TAKES THE BURDEN AND NOT THE RIDER. AS FOR "INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR," IT IS IN ESSENCE ONE AND THE SAME AS "INTERDEPENDENCE." WITH THE EMERGENCE OF COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM, A NEW INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR SPRANG UP IN THE WORLD THAT CONVERTED ONE PART OF THE GLOBE INTO A CHIEFLY AGRICULTURAL FIELD OF PRODUCTION SERVING THE OTHER PART WHICH WAS A CHIEFLY INDUSTRIAL FIELD. BUT TO CALL SUCH COSMOPOLITAN EXPLOITATION INTERNATIONALISM IS AN IDEA THAT COULD ONLY BE ENGENDERED IN THE BRAINS OF THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS. WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS EXPLOITATION IN THE EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND WHETHER OR NOT AN END SHOULD BE PUT TO SUCH EXPLOITATION -- THIS IS A REAL PROBLEM OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TODAY.

TOWARDS THE DEMAND OF THE THIRD WORLD FOR TRANSFORMING THE OLD INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, TWO DIFFERING ATTITUDES ARE ADOPTED BY DIFFERENT INDUSTRIALLY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. ONE IS DIALOGUE, AND THE OTHER CONFRONTATION. SINCE THE USE OF OIL AS A WEAPON BY THE OIL-EXPORTING COUNTRIES, ONE SUPERPOWER HAS KEPT HURLING ABUSES AND WAVING THE BIG STICK AT THEM AND EVEN THREATENED THEM WITH ARMED INTERVENTION IN AN ATTEMPT TO COERCE THEM INTO SUBMISSION. THE OTHER SUPERPOWER HAS CHIMED IN, SAYING THAT OIL PRICES SHOULD NOT BE RAISED UNILATERALLY AND ASSERTING THREATENINGLY THAT THE AGGRAVATION OF THE OIL PROBLEM MAY CAUSE A NEW FLARE-UP OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. BOTH TAKE AN OUT-AND-OUT IMPERIALIST ATTITUDE. WE ARE FIRMLY AGAINST THIS ATTITUDE. FACTS SHOW THAT THIS ATTITUDE, FAR FROM SUBDUING THE OIL-EXPORTING COUNTRIES, ONLY STIMULATED THEM TO CLOSER UNITY AND HARDENED THEIR FIGHTING WILL.



END OF PAGE 13

UNCLAS

UNCLAS

WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF DIALOGUE. IN THE PAST YEAR AND MORE, MANY SECOND WORLD COUNTRIES HAVE FREQUENTLY TRIED DIALOGUE WITH A NUMBER OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, AND SOME OF THESE ATTEMPTS HAVE YIELDED POSITIVE RESULTS. TIES BETWEEN THE SECOND WORLD AND THE THIRD WORLD HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED. THIS IS A GOOD PHENOMENON IN THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC LIFE OF TODAY. IN THE FACE OF THE WORSENING CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE SHIFTING OF CRISES BY INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES HAVE ADVANCED SUCH PROPOSALS AS THE INTEGRATED PROGRAMME FOR COMMODITIES, THE INDEXATION OF PRICES AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THEIR TRADE TERMS AND DEVELOP THEIR NATIONAL ECONOMIES. THESE ARE ENTIRELY JUSTIFIABLE AND ARE MINIMUM DEMANDS. BUT THEY HAVE MET WITH OPPOSITION FROM A FEW MAJOR INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. FOR THEY CONSTITUTE A VIOLATION OF THE SO-CALLED FREE MARKET SYSTEM, WHICH IS ALLEGEDLY SACRED AND INVIOLABLE. INSTEAD, THOSE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES HAVE PUT FORWARD A SERIES OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS ALLEGEDLY DESIGNED TO "PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT." AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE SO-CALLED FREE MARKET OF TODAY HAS NEVER BEEN FREE EVER SINCE THE EMERGENCE OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL. THIS MARKET IS FREE ONLY FOR MONOPOLY CAPITAL AND THE INDUSTRIAL POWERS AND NOT FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN THE SIXTIES, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRICES OF OIL AND MANY OTHER RAW MATERIALS WERE KEPT SO LOW. WAS THAT DETERMINED BY SUPPLY AND DEMAND? NO, IT WAS DETERMINED ARBITRARILY, OR "FREELY", IF YOU LIKE, BY BIG MONOPOLY CAPITAL. TO TRANSFORM THE OLD INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, IT IS IMPERATIVE TO TOUCH THIS FREE MARKET SYSTEM OF GAINING PROFITS AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS. OTHERWISE, NO MATTER HOW MANY CONCRETE PROPOSALS THE SUPERPOWERS MAY SUBMIT OR HOW MUCH MONEY THEY MAY PROMISE, THESE IN ESSENCE ARE NOTHING BUT A KIND OF ALMS AND RELIEF WHICH CAN AT BEST TEMPORARILY MITIGATE A LITTLE THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BUT WILL NOT HELP THEM SHAKE OFF EXPLOITATION AND CONTROL. THE ROOT CAUSE OF THEIR POVERTY WILL STILL BE THERE. THE GAP BETWEEN THE POOR AND RICH COUNTRIES WILL KEEP WIDENING.

THE OIL WEAPON HAS OPENED UP NEW VISTAS FOR THE ANTI-COLONIALIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-HEGEMONIC STRUGGLE IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. THE KEY TO THE VICTORIES OF THE OIL STRUGGLE LIES IN UPHOLDING UNITY AND DARING TO TOUCH WHAT THE INDUSTRIAL POWERS REGARD AS SACRED AND INVIOLABLE. ALL RAW MATERIAL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES SHOULD GET ORGANIZED AND FIGHT IN DEFENCE OF THEIR PROPER INTERESTS. SOME PEOPLE ACCUSE OPEC OF BEING A MONOPOLY ORGANIZATION, A CARTEL. WHY DON'T THEY STOP AND THINK THAT CARTELS, TRUSTS AND TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS WERE INVENTIONS OF THE INDUSTRIAL POWERS AND THAT TO DATE THEY STILL WEIGHT DOWN HEAVILY ON THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ARE WE TO TOLERATE THE INJUSTICE OF THE MAGISTRATES BEING ALLOWED TO BURN DOWN HOUSES WHILE



UNCLAS

UNCLAS

THE COMMON PEOPLE ARE FORBIDDEN TO USE FIRE EVEN TO LIGHT LAMPS? ALL THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD UNITE MORE CLOSELY. IT IS TRUE THAT AMONG THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SOME ARE IN THE GREATEST NEED. OTHER COUNTRIES SHOULD GIVE THEM MORE HELP, AND THEY HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TO DO SO. THE NEEDIEST AND OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHARE COMMON EXPERIENCES AND FACE COMMON TASKS. TO CALL THE NEEDIEST COUNTRIES THE "FOURTH WORLD" IS GROUNDLESS OR ILL-INTENTIONED. THERE ARE NO SAVIOURS IN THE WORLD. TO DEVELOP THAT NATIONAL ECONOMY, A COUNTRY MUST PERSIST IN INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RELIANCE. POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE IS NOT WON EASILY, SO IT IS ESSENTIAL TO GIVE PLAY TO STATE SOVEREIGNTY TO ELIMINATE GRADUALLY BUT FIRMLY THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM AND ALL FORCES OF COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM. THE OLD INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER WAS EVOLVED OVER CENTURIES OF COLONIALIST AND IMPERIALIST PLUNDER AND EXPLOITATION. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO THOROUGHLY CHANGE IT AT ONE STROKE. THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS A CONTINUATION OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITATION WILL BE A LONG ONE. UNITED AS ONE AND PERSISTING IN OUR EFFORTS, WE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WILL SURELY ATTAIN OUR GOAL.

MR. PRESIDENT,  
BEFORE CONCLUDING MY SPEECH, I WOULD LIKE TO STATE BRIEFLY OUR OPINIONS ON THE REVIEW OF THE U.N. CHARTER. WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF REVIEWING THE CHARTER AND MAKING THE NECESSARY AMENDMENTS. NOTHING IN THE WORLD IS IMMUTABLE. THE SITUATION WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS HAS CHANGED, AND IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT THE CHARTER SHOULD BE AMENDED ACCORDINGLY SO AS TO SUIT THE CHANGED SITUATION. THIS IS COMMON SENSE. BASING THEMSELVES ON THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER, MANY COUNTRIES HAVE PUT FORWARD VIEWS IN PRINCIPLE ON THE REVISION OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER, SUCH AS EXPANDING THE POWER OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RESTRICTING THE POWER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, CHANGING THE COMPOSITION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, LIMITING OR ABOLISHING THE VETO RIGHT OF THE STATES PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE THINK THAT THESE VIEWS DESERVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. SINCE THE U.N. CHARTER WAS DRAWN UP BY MAN, WHY CAN'T IT BE REVISED BY MAN? BUT THE SUPERPOWERS ARE GREATLY UPSET BY THE CHANGED SITUATION WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS. ONE SUPER-POWER DESCRIBES THE DEMOCRATIC VOTING IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AS A "TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY." THE OTHER GOES FURTHER; AT THE MERE MENTION OF THE PHASE "REVIEW OF THE U.N. CHARTER," IT FLIES INTO A RAGE AND BREAKS INTO ABUSE, CALLING PEOPLE IN FAVOUR OF REVIEWING THE CHARTER "REACTIONARY FORCES." IT MORTALLY FEARS THAT IT MIGHT BE DEPRIVED OF ITS PRIVILEGE TO ABUSE THE VETO POWER. WE WOULD ADVISE THIS "NATURAL ALLOY OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES" TO CALM DOWN A BIT AND NOT GET SO EXASPERATED. IT YOU ARE SURE THAT YOU



UNCLAS

UNCLAS

HAVE THE TRUTH, WHY ARE YOU SO AFRAID OF DISSENTING VIEWS?  
A REVIEW OF THE U.N. CHARTER IS THE GENERAL TREND AND POPULAR  
DEMAND. WE BELIEVE THAT A RATIONAL SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE  
TO ALL CAN BE FOUND SO LONG AS THE NATIONS, BIG AND SMALL,  
CARRY ON PATIENT CONSULTATIONS AND REPEATED DISCUSSIONS  
ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY FOR ALL.  
IF ANYONE STILL RESORTS TO DELIBERATE OBSTRUCTIONS, THAT  
CAN ONLY HELP PEOPLE SEE MORE CLEARLY WHO ARE CHAMPIONS OF  
THE SPECIAL PRIVILEGES OF THE MINORITY. THEREFORE, WE  
SUBMIT THAT THE WORK OF THE REVIEW OF THE CHARTER  
SHOULD BE CONTINUED.  
THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT.  
KISSINGER  
7513  
5532

UNCLAS



NNNN

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1975

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Henry A. Kissinger *HK*

Subject: PRC Foreign Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua's  
UNGA Speech

Foreign Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua's September 26 speech to the United Nations General Assembly took a tough line against the US. Although as usual the Soviets were the targets for some of his more biting criticism, this time we were more equally attacked than in the past. He pulled no punches when attacking the US generally and specifically, such as Korea and the Middle East. If taken at face value, the speech would suggest more strongly than most PRC statements that the US and the PRC have few if any common interests.

In addition to what he said on particular issues, some expected, some not, what is perturbing is the cumulative effect of his criticism of the US.

-- The two superpowers are blamed for most of the world's problems; because of their contention, "they are bound to go to war against each other some day." Both superpowers "are after world domination." However, he did say that "the danger of war comes mainly from the wildly ambitious social imperialism."

-- "The more evils they (the superpowers) do, the more thoroughly they will reveal their true features ..."

-- The US "has not lagged behind" the Soviets in stimulating civil war in Angola. However, this is all he says about us and the Soviets are attacked at length.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES

BY

*HR*, NARA, DATE *2/3/03*

*State Review*

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

XGDS-3





-- "US interference in Korea is the root cause of constant tensions in Korea." Recent US proposals on the Korea question are designed to legalize the presence of US troops in South Korea and to perpetuate the division of Korea. The US Draft Resolution is completely unacceptable. While not being so explicit in rejecting our conference proposal, he is highly negative on that as well. The call for withdrawal of US forces is more categorical than in the past.

-- In the Middle East, the US proposes a "step-by-step solution" and the Soviets a "comprehensive solution." Both try to "masquerade as a friend of the Arab and Palestinian people." The US has no intention of bringing about a thorough settlement of the Middle East question (the Soviet Union is even less inclined.) Like the Soviet Union, the US prefers a "no war, no peace" situation. There are specific cracks against our negotiating efforts: the "struggle of the people" not "agreements on paper" will determine the future. A "superpower is taking advantage of the present situation to sow discord and attempt to undermine Arab unity."

-- Regarding the world economic order, the US stresses "interdependence" in order to preserve the old order. "Since the use of oil as a weapon by the oil-exporting countries, one superpower has kept hurling abuses and waving the big stick at them and even threatened them with armed intervention ..."  
Ch'iao closely ties China to the Third World struggle.

Even when abbreviated like this it is a formidable litany, beyond the "empty cannons" we have been exposed to in the past.

We can only speculate about why the Chinese leaders decided to take such a hard line against the US. Some possibilities:

-- They may assume, on the basis of past experience, that we will roll with the punch and not let such speeches affect our basic relationship.



-- Peking probably judges (from debates in this country, slippage on SALT and Brezhnev visit, etc.) that we are having troubles with Moscow and that this reduces our leverage on the Chinese.

-- In addition, they calculate generally that we are on the strategic defensive and are less able to conduct a coherent and effective foreign policy.

-- For reasons related to PRC leadership tensions and policy debates, even those Chinese leaders who support the rapprochement with the US feel it is necessary to protect their flanks.

-- They have probably concluded that the President's trip is unlikely to result in a breakthrough on the Taiwan issue and are therefore not particularly worried about the effect of a speech like this on our attitude on that issue.

-- In any event, the speech reflects one aspect of PRC strategy in dealing with US: the PRC is not going to adjust its views to accommodate the US, so the US must do the accommodating.

None of these explanations is fully satisfactory in itself. The PRC motivation is probably an amalgam of all of them.



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD			LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR		
9	29	9	29	19	7506575	Solomon

SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES X FROM: KISSINGER, H X S/S \_\_\_\_\_ UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT \_\_\_\_\_  
 KISSINGER \_\_\_\_\_ COLBY, W \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_ LOU NO FORN NODIS  
 SCOWCROFT X SCHLESINGER, J \_\_\_\_\_ C EYES ONLY EXDIS \_\_\_\_\_  
 DAVIS \_\_\_\_\_ ST EX SEC \_\_\_\_\_ S CODWORD \_\_\_\_\_  
 TS SENSITIVE

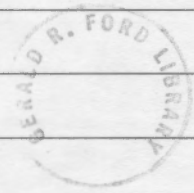
SUBJECT: Summary of speech by PRC formin Ch'iao Kuan-hua at UNGA on Sept 26 re attitudes on US & USSR foreign policy

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION				REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO.			
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK <u>SCOWCROFT</u>		<u>X</u>			MEMO FOR HAK ..... ( <u>X</u> )
STAFF SECRETARY					MEMO FOR PRES ..... ( <u>X</u> )
FAR EAST <u>Solomon</u>	<u>X</u>				REPLY FOR ..... ( )
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA					APPROPRIATE ACTION ..... ( )
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA					MEMO _____ TO _____ ( )
EUROPE / CANADA					RECOMMENDATIONS ..... ( )
LATIN AMERICA					JOINT MEMO ..... ( )
UNITED NATIONS					REFER TO _____ FOR: _____ ( )
ECONOMIC					ANY ACTION NECESSARY? ..... ( )
SCIENTIFIC					CONCURRENCE ..... ( )
PROGRAM ANALYSIS					DUE DATE: <u>10/10</u>
NSC PLANNING					COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL					
OCEANS POLICY					
INTELLIGENCE					

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
10/8	MST	NSC/S		OBE; PER Solomon	



NSC/S DISP INSTR

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_  
 CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: \_\_\_\_\_  
 NOTIFY \_\_\_\_\_ & DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_  
 SPECIAL DISPOSITION: \_\_\_\_\_  
 CRO / REF W/ \_\_\_\_\_  
 SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: X FOLDER: \_\_\_\_\_

MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS:  
 M/F'D OCT 10 1975  
 CRT ID: \_\_\_\_\_ SA SF  
 OPEN MAK HP NS  
 CLOSE MST WH EP  
PA DY