

December 18, 1949

Telegram, Mao Zedong to Liu Shaoqi, 18 December 1949

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Summary:

Original Language:

Chinese

Contents:

- English Translation
- Chinese Transcription

Cable, Mao Zedong to Liu Shaoqi, on the First Meeting with Stalin ^[1]

(18 December 1949)

Comrade [Liu] Shaoqi:

The cable sent at 4:00am on 13 December was received.

(1) [We] arrived in Moscow on the 16th at 12 o'clock in the morning and are staying in Stalin's villa. [I] met with Marshal Stalin for two hours at 10 p.m. [Beijing time]. His attitude was really sincere. The questions involved included the possibility of peace, the treaty, loan, Taiwan, and the publication of my selected works. There was only myself on our side. On the Soviet side, Molotov, Malenkov, Bulganin, and Vyshinsky participated. It was a small discussion. Shi Zhe and Fedorenko served as translators.

(2) Stalin said that the Americans are afraid of war. The Americans ask other countries to fight the war [for them], but other countries are also afraid to fight a war. According to him, it is unlikely that a war will break out, and we agree with his opinions.

(3) With regard to the question of the treaty, Stalin said that because of the Yalta Agreement, it is improper for us to overturn the legitimacy of the old Sino-Soviet treaty. If we abolish the old treaty and sign a new one, the status of the Kurile Islands will be changed and the United States will have an excuse to take them away. Therefore, on the question of the Soviet Union's 30 year lease of Lushun [Port Arthur], we should not change it in format; however, in reality, the Soviet Union will withdraw its troops from Lushun and will let Chinese troops occupy it. I expressed that too early a withdrawal [of the Soviet troop from Lushun] will create unfavorable conditions for us. He replied that the Soviet withdrawal of troops [from Lushun] does not mean that the Soviet Union will stand by with folded arms [in a crisis]; rather, it is possible to find ways through which China will not become the first to bear the brunt. His opinion is that we may sign a statement, which will solve the Lushun problem in accordance with the above-mentioned ideas, and that by doing so, China will also gain political capital [*zhengzhi ziben*]. I said that it is necessary for us to maintain the legitimacy of the Yalta agreement. However, public opinion in China believes that since the old treaty was signed by the GMD [Guomindang; Kuomintang, KMT], it has lost its ground with the GMD's downfall. He replied that the old treaty needs to be revised and that the revision is necessarily substantial, but it will not come until two years from now.

(4) Stalin said that it is unnecessary for the Foreign Minister [Zhou Enlai; Chou En-Lai] to fly here just for signing a statement. I told him that I would like to consider whether the loan, aviation, and trade agreements will be signed at the same time, and if so, the Premier [Zhou Enlai] should come [to Moscow].

(5) In order to decide whether or not [Zhou] Enlai should come, [I] ask that you and Zhou Enlai talk over, and convene with the comrades in the Politburo for additional discussions, the possibility and necessity of entering into a simple trade agreement (which would include Xinjiang) that stipulates the quantity and type of goods to be exchanged each year. At the same time, [I] hope you will offer comments on the abovementioned treaty as soon as possible.

Mao Zedong

18 December [1949]

^[1] After leaving Beijing by train on 6 December 1949, Mao Zedong arrived in Moscow on 16 December and stayed in the Soviet Union until 17 February 1950. Liu Shaoqi was put in charge during Mao's absence. When Mao was in Moscow, he maintained daily telegraphic communications with his colleagues in Beijing, and all important affairs were reported to and decided by him.

[源：中 与 系文 (1949 年10 月-1951 年12 月) (北京：世界知 出版社, 2009), 67-68.]

毛 就同斯大林第一次 情 致 少奇的

(1949 年12 月18 日)

少奇同志：

十二月十三日四 - 悉。(一) 我 一行于十六日上午十二 到莫斯科，住斯大林 墅。下午十 渴 斯大林大元，情意切，小。了和平可能性，、借款、台及毛 出版等。我方 我一人。方有莫洛托夫、林科夫、布尔加宁及 辛斯基等四人 加，是一小型。哲、德林科二人 翻。(二) 斯大林，美人很怕打仗，美人叫人打，人也怕打。看他 种法，仗是很打起的，和我的估一。(三) 于，斯大林，因雅尔塔的原故，目前不宜改 原有中 的合法性。如果改 原有的，重新的，就 到千群的，美人就有理由要 拿走千群。因此旅 租借三十年一点，目前在形式上不要改，但在 上 行撤兵，由中。我 撤得太早也不利。他 可想法使 撤兵不成 袖子不管 中同志 其。他的意是，一 明，照上述 容解 旅大，如此即可使中共取得政治 本。我，照 雅尔塔 的合法性是必要的。惟中 社 有一种感想，原 是和 民党的，民党既然倒了，原 就似乎失了存在的意。他，原 是要修改的，大 在 年后可以修改。(四) 于是否要中 外 此的，他 一 明似乎外 不 也可以。我，待我考 一下是否 借款、民航、通商等事一起 同 定，如果 同 定，外 似宜 此。(五) 你和恩 商量并召集政治局 同志加以，目前是否有一 通商定(包括新疆在) 定每年交 物的品种及 量之可能与必要，以便 定恩 是否 此。同 上述 提出意，速告 盼。

毛

十二月十八日

中 中央 案 1949 年1 -1: 672/696