

## 1964

# The Situation Surrounding the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and France and Related Issues

### Citation:

“The Situation Surrounding the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and France and Related Issues,” 1964, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, PRC FMA 110-01998-01, 27-44. Translated by Fan Chao.

<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/119197>

### Summary:

The Chinese Foreign Ministry reviews the process of the normalization of relations between China and France and speculates how the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France might affect China's status in the United Nations and with the UK, Europe, Africa, and Japan.

### Credits:

This document was made possible with support from the MacArthur Foundation and the Leon Levy Foundation.

### Original Language:

Chinese

### Contents:

- English Translation

## I. The Process of Chinese-French Negotiations for the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations

The former French Prime Minister [Edgar] Faure visited China from 21 October 1963 to 4 November 1963, which was, to the public, nominally a private visit, but he actually paid his visit on behalf of Charles de Gaulle to discuss the issue of establishing diplomatic relations with China. During his visit, Chairman Mao [Zedong] and Chairman Liu [Shaoqi] received him respectively. Premier Zhou [Enlai] and Vice Premier Chen Yi held several talks with him. Finally, both parties reached an agreement regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France.

During the talks, Faure said that France had not recognized the People's Republic of China for fourteen years, and this was a mistake. So, France should take the first step [towards recognition]. If China was willing to accept this, France was prepared to establish diplomatic relations with China and to exchange ambassadors. If France recognized China, then it would be a logical move for France to support the restoration of China's seat in the United Nations. While he repeatedly stressed that the French side hoped China would not embarrass France by setting preconditions for the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, such as [France] breaking off all relations with the Jiang Jieshi clique. France could deal with the relationship with the Jiang Jieshi clique on its own, according to "the result of the legal situation formed out of" the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, and he inquired if France could preserve its consulates in Taiwan. At the same time, Faure stressed that Charles de Gaulle did not support any activities which would create "two Chinas."

In view of Faure's attitude, Chairman Liu, when receiving him, pointed out that China is willing to establish diplomatic relations with France. We have no other requirements as long as "two Chinas" are not created. Premier Zhou also repeatedly stressed that the stance China took against "two Chinas" was firm, and he emphasized that the French side should make two points clear: (1) what we [China] are recognizing is the Republic of France, while what France is recognizing is the People's Republic of China, and France has no intention to create "two Chinas." After China and France establish diplomatic relations, France should treat the representatives of the Jiang Jieshi clique, if they were unwilling to leave France, as ordinary Chinese nationals; (2) Taiwan is Chinese territory, and it is an inalienable part of China.

Faure definitely expressed that recognizing the People's Republic of China surely meant that France would not recognize "two Chinas." As to the status of Taiwan, Charles de Gaulle did not take an interest in it, and he had not expressed his opinion about it. He was now searching for procedures and solutions to break off relations with the Jiang Jieshi clique.

In view of maximizing the strategic guiding principle of isolating and striking the US imperialists, to establish diplomatic relations with France is advantageous to us, and means we are going to make a new and important breach in the second intermediate zone, give a heavy blow to the US imperialists, increase the contradictions among the imperialist countries, and strike at the plot put forward by the Soviet revisionist leadership of solving world problems through Soviet-American cooperation. And the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France will probably lead to a chain reaction, which will be good for us in expanding our international influence, especially our political influence in West Europe and Africa. Out of this consideration, in the meeting we, on the one hand, insisted on the principle against "two Chinas," and on the other hand, we wielded flexible tactics, confirming the French obligations in the form of three tacit agreements (see File III). In this way, we not only gave consideration to the difficulties the French side would face, but also insisted upon our principles and stances. Based on the three tacit agreements, we put forward a scenario for the direct establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, and we finally reached an agreement with the French side.

On 12 December 1963, under the orders of the French government, the chief of the Department of European Affairs of the French Foreign Ministry came to Switzerland to discuss the issue of establishing diplomatic relations between France and China with the Chinese Ambassador

to Switzerland, Li Qingquan. He expressed that the French side believed that the time was right for the two countries to establish diplomatic relations and suggested announcing the establishment of diplomatic relations in the form of a Sino-French joint communiqué. In the spirit of insisting on firm principles in substance but on being flexible in procedures, our side agreed to take the form of joint communiqué, instead of insisting on the exchange of notes, which was agreed upon with Faure. At the same time, our side put forward that the wording of the joint communiqué must include the sentence that "the Government of the People's Republic of China acts as the sole legal Government of China representing the Chinese people." But the French side expressed that it was difficult to accept this wording, stressing that simpler content in the joint communiqué would bring about a much better effect. Therefore, our side expressed that if the French government did not substantially support the stance of creating "two Chinas" and merely had difficulties accepting the above-mentioned wording, then the Chinese government could agree to remove this sentence, but would issue an official statement to the public after the announcement of the communiqué to clarify China's explanation of the communiqué. The French side confirmed this. So, both sides then reached an agreement (see File I) on the terms of the joint communiqué on 9 January 1964, and decided to announce the joint communiqué at the same time respectively in Beijing and Paris at 7:00 p.m., Beijing time. After the announcement, we were to issue the statement (see File II) by the Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman on the next day (28 January).

## II. A Couple of Related Problems after the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and France

### 1. The problem of expelling the diplomatic organs of the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique in France and the stance against "two Chinas"

After the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, if the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique takes the initiative to sever diplomatic relations with France, recalling its embassy in Paris, while France accordingly recalls its embassy in Taiwan, then the problem would be solved satisfactorily and the whole thing would be relatively simple. But France is not willing to take the initiative to officially declare the severing of diplomatic relations with the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique, while the US is pressuring the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique to not take the initiative to sever diplomatic relations with France. Under such circumstances, it is entirely possible that the embassy of the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique in France will continue to stay in Paris. Nevertheless, it is still quite possible to drive away the embassy of the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique. Because (1) the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France caused a great shock and momentum in the whole world, exerting a lot of pressure on the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique. If the embassy of the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique continues to stay in Paris and is willing to admit that it only represents Taiwan, then it would be very unfavorable for the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique to maintain its internal unity and support its endgame; (2) France decided to establish diplomatic relations with us out of its global strategy of maintaining independence from the US and striving for great power status, which is a strategic step; if France breaks its promise and creates a situation of "two Chinas" in Paris, it would end up with the severing of the Sino-French diplomatic relationship, which would be very embarrassing and disadvantageous to France; (3) Faure, on behalf of Charles de Gaulle, repeatedly expressed that France did not support any plot of creating "two Chinas" when he was in China; the first tacit agreement reached by premier Zhou and Faure regulates that France "only recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China representing the Chinese people," which automatically means that this representative capacity does not belong to the so-called Republic of China in Taiwan any more. The statement of our Foreign Ministry Spokesman also emphatically reiterated our stance on this issue. So, if even though the "representatives" of the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique continue to stay in France, the French government would no longer recognize them as the representatives of China, and they would only be regarded as ordinary Chinese nationals living in France. If France intentionally takes an ambiguous attitude on this problem, we will struggle resolutely to force the French government to completely keep its promise.

There could probably be another situation in which the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique keeps

its diplomatic personnel in France as consuls. According to the international law, consuls have no diplomatic status, and do not represent a country, so the conduct of preserving consuls does not lead to the legal problem of admitting two Chinas. If this finally happens, we would take appropriate struggles according to a reasonable, favorable, and restrained principle and the progress of the event.

In brief, the stance that we oppose “two Chinas” and insist that Taiwan is Chinese territory is unwavering. Although there will probably be a sharp struggle on the problem of expelling the Jiang Jieshi clique after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, the situation is favorable to us.

## 2. Estimate of the Influence on the United Nations

After the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, it will be much harder for the US to continue its control over the United Nations and to obstruct the restoration of China’s legitimate rights. Two possibilities can be expected. One possibility is that, if France stikes at the US this year or later on and leads the countries of the French African Community to vote to support restoring China’s legitimate rights in the United Nations; if Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg of the European Common Market also follow France’s measures; and if some countries that established diplomatic relations with China this year vote, then the votes supporting our rights in the General Assembly of the United Nations will probably increase from 42 last year to about 60 [this year], exceeding half of the number of total members of the United Nations, 113. The former obstructive measures of the US in the United Nations will become bankrupt.

Another possibility is that, out of the obstructive measures of US, some countries of French Africa and Western Europe will temporarily not follow the French example of recognizing us. Then the votes in the General Assembly of the United Nations to support the restoration of our legitimate rights will not become an absolute majority.

However, it is inevitable that the situation will favorably change for us, no matter which possibility happens. The time during which the US can continue to control the United Nations and reject our country is becoming shorter and shorter.

In face of the above situation, we should pay attention to researching the situation and counter-measures about restoring our representation in the 19th session of the UN General Assembly. We should continue to carry on the Central Committee’s guideline of not hurrying to join the United Nations; at the same time, we should strike at the anti-Chinese activities by the imperialists and modern revisionists who take advantage of the United Nations, and especially the conspiracies about “two Chinas.”

## 3. Estimate of the Influence on the United Kingdom

The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France shocked the United Kingdom greatly, making it rather jealous. This is because the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France led to the UK losing its unique leading position among the western powers in the field of their relations with China, and the United Kingdom has met a new and strong competitor in taking advantage of Sino-US contradictions in the Far East and in Southeast [Asia], and in maintaining its remaining interests. In developing its trade with China, the United Kingdom is also worried about French competition. But, at the same time, because France has withstood pressure from the United States and has exchanged ambassadors with us, this situation will make the United Kingdom less scrupulous to improve its relations with China in the future. So, the process of our establishing diplomatic relations with France has taken advantage of the Franco-American contradictions, giving the US a direct and heavy blow, and has also taken advantage of Franco-British contradictions, trapping the United Kingdom in a more passive position.

In 1963, the United Kingdom voted to support discussing the restoration of our

representation in the United Nations on one hand, and stated that it believed that Taiwan's status had been unsettled. This was to create two Chinas in a flagrant way. So we could not improve relations with it, which means to promote a semi-diplomatic relationship into a full-fledged diplomatic relationship. Now the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France will probably force the United Kingdom to consider taking a substantial step to improve its relations with China. Of course, the United Kingdom's willingness to take this step is dependent on the progress of British-American relations. Currently, the United Kingdom is preparing for its elections, so we need to wait a while before we make a conclusion. In sum, we believe that, in the view of the general trend, the United Kingdom is sure to improve its relations with China, so that it can catch up with France. But it seems that it will take a wait-and-see attitude temporarily in the current period.

In order to continue to exploit Anglo-American contradictions and isolate the US, and to take further advantage of Franco-British contradictions, we are supposed to do more work on the United Kingdom. If there are some favorable conditions for us, we can also consider exchanging ambassadors with the United Kingdom.

#### 4. Estimate of the Influence on the Countries of the European Common Market

The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France will spur those countries of the European Common Market, such as Italy, Belgium, and Luxembourg, to consider improving their relations with us, even to the point of establishing diplomatic relations with us. But they probably care about their relations with the US, and will take a wait-and-see policy for a while. If they demand to establish diplomatic relations with us, we can agree when the circumstances are favorable to us.

Holland may demand to elevate the bilateral relationship to the ambassadorial level. If it supports the restoration of our legitimate right and the expulsion of the Jiang Jieshi clique from the United Nations, we can agree [to this].

West Germany is more reliable to the US in both foreign and military affairs, and faces the problem of West Germany and East Germany. It is estimated that, in a period after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, West Germany will probably not take more initiatives in its political relations with China. But in the field of trade and exchanges of figures, West Germany is likely to take a more active attitude than before. We still take a cold attitude to West Germany, but should do more business and carry out more exchanges of figures to keep more contacts, in order to exploit its contradictions with the US when the circumstances are favorable to us.

#### 5. Estimate of the Influence on the French African Community

The Premier's visit to Africa and the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France will greatly favor our work with French Africa. Although the thirteen countries of the former French African Community currently retain diplomatic relations with the remnant Jiang Jieshi clique, the influence of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France could possibly prompt some or most of them to improve their relations with us. On the other hand, it must be estimated that France could make those countries slow down their steps to develop relations with us in order to prevent the expansion of our influence. But the people of all these countries have demanded to fight against imperialism and colonialism, so some of them may possibly break away from French restrictions, attempting to establish diplomatic relations with us. As to those who are willing to expel the Jiang Jieshi clique, we are surely willing to establish diplomatic relations with them. Even among those French African countries who have not decided to establish diplomatic relations with us, we should also take advantage of the already-emerging favorable situation to do more work on them in order to develop our relations, which could lead to the establishment of diplomatic relations.

## 6. Estimate of the Influence on Japan

The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France has caused a great impact on the Japanese monopolistic-capitalist clique. France claimed independence from the US, while the latter could do nothing about this. This is an encouragement and stimulant for the independence of the Japanese monopolistic-capitalist clique from the US, and Japanese-American contradictions will develop further. Under the current circumstances in which the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France is widely known, the clamor by both officials and semi-officials that Japan should take an independent policy toward China is increasing. But on the other hand, the Japanese monopolistic-capitalist clique is still heavily reliant on the US, and the US still has a tight control over Japan, so Japanese strength against US control is still far from that of France. Therefore, it is impossible for Japan to follow the French example, but it is entirely possible for Japan to take some steps to develop its relations with China towards the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations, such as opening official trade organizations in the other country, extending the categories of trade by deferred payment, and expanding official and semi-official cultural exchanges and personnel exchanges. We should make a full estimate and prepare for this.

### Conclusion

The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France has proved that China has very high international prestige and no one can ignore China's important and significant role on the stage of international politics. It has become an active demand for all the countries in the world to take a realistic attitude toward China. Even if, temporarily, those countries in the capitalist world who have not yet established diplomatic relations with us cannot follow the French example to establish diplomatic relations with us because of US pressure, they are now sure to take all kinds of steps to develop trade and cultural relations with China as a path toward the normalization of political relations with China. The current international situation is very favorable to us, and China, far from being isolated, is now in a progressive situation. This is the victory of Mao Zedong Thought, and the victory of the united peoples' struggle throughout the country. Let us keep at it, and win more and greater victories in the international struggle!

### Annex I

#### The French Official Response to the Establishment of Sino-French diplomatic relations

##### 1. The Belief that France's Recognition of China is Beneficial to France:

On 8 January [1964], the French Prime Minister [Georges] Pompidou expressed that "China does exist, and it is rising to prominence domestically and internationally, so we have to consider this point." On 20 January, the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the French National Assembly, [Maurice] Schumann said that recognizing China "is advisable and inevitable." On 22 January, the French Defense Minister [Pierre] Messmer, after his visit to Cambodia, said that "it is very impressive that China can not be ignored if a policy is to be actively carried out in Southeast." On the same day, the French Foreign Minister made a similar statement.

2. The French government is conscientious that this is an important step to disrupt the political strategy of the imperialist US, and is a stroke at the heart of the imperialist US through direct opposition against the US policy to China, so it has to take two kinds of measures:

(1) On one hand, France takes a independent policy to China resolutely, regardless of US pressure, but on the other hand, it boasted that the initiatives taken by France is "a great help" to the US. The US government is concerned about the establishment of Sino-French diplomatic relations after Faure returned to France from China, so the US State Department propagated that "the US has got Charles de Gaulle's promise" and "France now has no plans to recognize Communist China," after [Dean] Rusk met Charles de Gaulle on 16 September. But the Agence France-Presse denied this statement the next day, reiterating that France "is keeping its freedom of

action” to recognize China. After Faure divulged the issue of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France when answering a journalist of *Le Figaro* on 9 January after China and France reached an agreement on the joint communiqué, the US State Department spokesman Philip made a public statement on the same day that, “we believe that if France recognizes China, it would be unfavorable to us and other free countries, so the US opposes recognizing Communist China,” believing that France’s recognition of China would “not be a help to the US.” On 20 January, France informed the US that it would recognize us [China]. On 21 January, the US government’s note of protest regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, said that the action of France “was not conducive to the Western interests.” But on the other hand, France did the utmost to express that France’s taking initiatives in Sino-French relations would be “a great help” to the US. France could make the Chinese open the door for the West, making the US policy to Asia escape the “dead-end street.”

(2). France would reiterate the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France has no preconditions, and France would not take initiatives to break off the relationship with the Jiang Jieshi clique; in order to show that it needs no help from us, instead, France conducts propaganda that China reduced conditions, to dignify France. On 8 January, when answering the journalist of *Le Figaro*, Faure said that France established diplomatic relations with us on the premise of full reciprocity and did not accept any prerequisites, and France had no obligations to withdraw its recognition of Jiang Jieshi. (On 22 January, the French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville, in the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the French National Assembly, said France’s establishing diplomatic relations with China is “unconditional.”)

Annex II

## **Responses of Some Countries in the World**

### **France**

French public opinion, especially those pro-government newspapers, coordinated with the government to prepare for the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France. The propaganda said that the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France was beneficial to both France and the West, and the conduct of France was aimed to contain China’s penetration to Southeast [Asia], and was a contribution to détente. Meanwhile, France expressed strong dissatisfaction to the US opposition to the French action, hitting the US back in a tit-for-tat way. Those pro-Charles de Gaulle newspapers attacked the US, saying that (1) this is extremely stupid behavior, with the US attempting to treat France in the way “Louis XIV treated his courtiers,” but there are now no more courtiers (*Nationale*). (2) The US policy in the Far East would lead to the failure of the West, so France should replace the US; France’s entering Asia meant it could “stop the ship of the free world to possibly strike a reef,” and it was believed that what is beneficial to the US could not be good for France and the free world (*Combat*).

### **The United States**

The United States is very furious at the conduct of France and brought pressure on France. US newspapers reported that US felt “outraged,” and was overwhelmed with “great emotion;” this conduct had brought serious political problems to the United States, and disturbed all the US political strategies. The West German newspapers said the wound that the US has on the problem of China always opens during the US elections, and Charles de Gaulle has poked a knife on the wound deeply, causing the US to feel the utmost embarrassment.

Regarding the talks of Faure on 8 January, the US State Department spokesman issued a statement to oppose the conduct of France in recognizing China. Moreover, it is rumored that the US is still pressing the Jiang Jieshi clique not to automatically break off diplomatic relations with France, in order to create a situation of “two Chinas.”

## **The Jiang Jieshi Clique**

The Jiang Jieshi clique felt very anxious, and had been busy with senior meetings of the Guomindang [Nationalist Party] and of the military for days, thinking hard about good countermeasures. On 22 January, the Standing Committee of the Guomindang Party's Central Committee held a meeting to study the problem of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France. The meeting unanimously reiterated that the Guomindang stance against "two Chinas" would change under no circumstances. The Jiang Jieshi clique "foreign ministry" spokesman Sun Biqi, when he met the press on 21 January, also reiterated that Jiang Jieshi's attitude was strongly against the concept of "two Chinas" and would change under no circumstances. But the Jiang Jieshi clique was consulting with the US. The story went that the US was pressing Jiang Jieshi to accept "two Chinas," requiring Jiang to sit tight and to make no room for the Communist Party of China. Some foreign news agencies reported that Sun Biqi expressed his ignorance of the rumor that the US was trying to persuade the Guomindang Party from breaking the diplomatic relationship with France.

## **Japan**

Japan reacted violently and was shocked greatly. There are demands for realistic policies to China. There existed a great wave within the Japanese government, the ruling party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Japanese monopolistic-capitalist clique, and the pressure demanding for similar actions by Japan is increasing. It was said that there were disagreements within the Japanese foreign ministry. One group advocated for the strengthening of relations with China, while the other group advocated that do not want to irritate the Jiang Jieshi clique. On 22 January, the Japanese government held a cabinet meeting to study this problem, but the meeting did not reach a decision about the issue of establishing the diplomatic relationship. [Hayato] Ikeda, [Ohira] Masayoshi, and so on all stressed that China and Japan were separated only by a strip of water; China had a vast territory and a large population; the Chinese problem was an international problem, so Japan should take a realistic policy toward China in a cautious way, and to carry out a careful study on the Franco-Jiang Jieshi relationship and other countries' actions to determine Japan's stance. They also expressed that Japan still needed to keep a "formal diplomatic relationship" with the Jiang Jieshi clique, but meanwhile Japan should keep the contacts with China in a non-government level, such as trade. However, the Japanese media spoke favorably of the French decision to establish diplomatic relations with China, demanding that Japan take actions to decide its relations with the US and the Jiang Jieshi clique, and to make an independent policy on Japan's own. "Now it is the time to meet the trend and to take independent policies." Japan should not be so trapped in the old relations with Jiang Jieshi clique that it would lose a sense of reality, and Japan must make a decision and take actions bravely. The *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* said because France was recognizing China, Japan would take brave steps to gradually expand Sino-Japanese trade and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry would allow the Japan-Chinese Trade Promotion Association to open a trade office in Beijing, and it would allow China to set a trade office in Tokyo, and it planned to abandon the restriction to export only one set of equipment to China by deferred payment every year.

## **The United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom has complicated emotions. It felt unhappy about the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, as it had established diplomatic relations with us, and wanted to improve relations with us, so it was hard to blame France. So the UK government has not expressed any ideas until now.

British newspapers said that this conduct of France was a wise move, and a sound and reasonable behavior, but also mocked that France ought to have followed the UK's example long ago; they also felt worried that France would regain its status in Southeast by recognizing us, disturbing the status quo of maintaining the balance of power in Southeast by the UK and the US. The UK newspapers were making a big fanfare over the conduct of France, saying that the time and



intention of recognizing us was not right, and France was intended to embarrass the US in the hardest period. And the UK sowed discord between France and West Germany, saying that France did not consult with West Germany in spite of their treaty.

### **Asian and African Countries**

**Cambodia, Mali, Tunisia, Algeria** expressed welcome. Sihanouk referred to the France's recognizing us with "heartfelt praise" in Kuala Lumpur on 22 January. The official organ of the Mali government, *L'Essor*, said France's recognizing us was not only the victory of both China and France, but also favorable to the most brilliant victory of mankind; the *Morning News* of Tunisia said the French attitude was brave and realistic, hoping that other countries could follow its example; the *Algeria News Agency* believed that those African countries who still confine China as Taiwan until today would be harder to refuse to establish diplomatic relations with us.

**South Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines and South Korea** all showed anxiety. The foreign reports said that those anti-communist countries in Asia felt depressed regarding France's recognition of China, worried the puppet regimes may collapse. The South Vietnam foreign ministry held an emergency meeting on this on 18 January, claiming its consideration to break off diplomatic relations with France; the premier of South Vietnam called in the French merchants on 21 January and blamed France for "planting a knife in South Vietnam's back." The Philippine foreign ministry spokesman was worried that we could cause a serious crisis in Southeast and in the United Nations. South Korean officials were also worried that this would exert a great impact on the Korean problem.

The **West German** government expressed that its attitude toward China would have no change in spite of French recognition. Several times, its newspapers expressed this would not influence the principles of West Germany in solving the Berlin problem and the German problem. The West German government spokesman, Von Hasse, expressed that France did not consult with West Germany as regulated in the France-West German treaty, when he was answering the reporters. Meanwhile, West Germany had sent its Federal-Minister for Special Tasks, Krone, to France for consultations. West Germany was concerned that the sharp conflicts between US and France would make Western Germany's situation less comfortable, and it would be harder to deal with France; if the French status was improved, attacking that Charles de Gaulle overestimated his own strength and acted independently regardless of the advice of his allies.

The rest of **Western Europe** and Canada began to loosen their stances. On 17 January, the *New York Times* said Portugal was considering establishing diplomatic relations with us, and the Portuguese foreign minister had informed this consideration of the Spanish foreign minister on 16 January. On 20 January, the Italian foreign minister expressed that recognizing us "was unfavorable" to ease the international situation and could "aggravate tensions" instead. But the Italian government would study and consider it at a proper time. The Belgian Foreign Secretary, Spaak, said at a press conference in Tokyo on 22 January, that he disagrees to the time and method of recognition but not the principle of recognition, as he believed that all countries would be forced to recognize China eventually.

The Canadian prime minister said in Paris on 17 January that Canada had recognized us to some extent, because it had extensive trade with us, saying that Canada was considering establishing a more formal relationship with us, but the precondition of establishing the diplomatic relationship was China's abundance of our sovereignty over Taiwan.

### **The Soviet and the Revisionist Bloc**

#### **The Soviet Union**

The Soviet Union kept silent, and treated this issue with a complicated and unspeakable emotion, fearing the expansion of the Chinese influence. According to the foreign reports, Khrushchev said

to the French ambassador in the banquet reception for Castro that he did not oppose the French recognition of us. *Pravda* published the first report about the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France by Tass News Agency regarding the US White House spokesman declaring that France had informed it that France had decided to recognize us.

### **Poland**

The major Polish newspapers published the foreign reports about the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France in prominent positions. *Zycie Warszawy* published its comment on 21 January, that the French recognition of us could exert impact to the whole international situation.

**East German and Hungarian** newspapers also reported this on 21 January. the East German organ's title underlined that the French recognition of us would be a terrible strike to the US.

Czechoslovakia's newspapers all made brief reports on 21 January. Czechoslovakian radio published comments according to the foreign reports, saying that the French realistic step was a knife on the back of the US policy of blockading China, and would exert significant influence to the problem of our legitimate seat in the United Nations.