



September 16, 1959 G. Zhukov to the CPSU CC

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Summary:

A PRC memorandum outlines supposed American plots to create "two Chinas."

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Original Language:

Russian

Contents:

- English Translation
- Scan of Original Document

[CPSU CC stamp:

29491

18 SEPTEMBER 1959]

to the CPSU CC

At the end of this July a copy of a conversation between Cde. Krutikov, Counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in the PRC, and Cde. Gong Pusheng, Chief of the PRC MFA Department of International Relations, came to the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. In this conversation Cd. Gong Pusheng gave an explanation about the situation of "two Chinas" which the US and its agent network are trying to create against the PRC in various international organizations.

On 8 August of this year a special conference of representatives of interested Soviet organizations was held in the Committee in connection with the relevance of this problem. The PRC position on the "two Chinas" situation was explained to participants of the conference. In the course of an exchange of opinions the participants expressed desires to get instructions in writing about the substance of this question for practical use.

On 10 August we sent a memo to Cde. Liu Xiao, the PRC Ambassador in the USSR, in which it was reported that a conference had been held on this question and presented a desire to convey written materials about the "two Chinas" situation to Soviet organizations.

On 8 September Ambassador Liu Xiao passed us a memorandum on this question and a translation of it into Russian, saying that we can distribute it as we wish.

In this connection I would think it advisable to send out the Russian-language copy attached to the memorandum in the near future to all Soviet organizations which take part in international organizations or are sending their representatives to conferences or congresses as guidance about the "two Chinas" situation.

Request [your] agreement.

Attachment: the aforementioned on six pages.

[signature]

G. Zhukov

16 September 1958

Nº 198s

[handwritten at the bottom of the title page:

In accordance with an instruction of Cd. M. A. Suslov Cde.

Zhukov sent out the memorandum of Liu Xiao.

(see the attachment to this N 34180)]

[handwritten in the left

MEMORANDUM

I. In a situation of the further growth of the influence of the PRC in the international arena it has become increasingly difficult for the American imperialists to pursue their policy of a hostile attitude toward the Chinese people, non-recognition of the PRC, and the elimination of China from participating in international life; however, this policy of theirs is becoming increasingly unpopular. In order to escape such a difficult position and carry out its plan for the further occupation of PRC territory, Taiwan, they have further increased their conspiratorial activity directed at the creation of "two Chinas". One of the means to which the US resorts to pursue its policy of the creation of "two Chinas" is to gradually create in collusion with its followers a situation of the simultaneous presence of representatives of the PRC and the Nationalist clique in some international organizations and at some international conferences. The PRC has pursued an unswerving struggle against this American plot. In the course of this struggle it has obtained powerful support from the camp of socialism headed by the Soviet Union. In a recently published memorandum "Policy with Respect to Non-Recognition of the Chinese Communist Regime" the US State Department could not fail to recognize those difficulties which it has encountered when carrying out its designs about the creation of "two Chinas", and has attempted to conceal its actual ambitions. However, it has by no means abandoned this conspiracy. After the 19th session of the International Red Cross Conference in 1957 the US increased its activity to create a situation of "two Chinas" at international conferences, inciting the Nationalist clique to issue statements about joining the following international organizations in which the PRC was already represented: the International Table Tennis Federation, the International Volleyball Federation, the International Union of Bicyclists, the International Astronomical Union, the International Conference on Large Electrical Systems, etc. In addition, after the participation of PRC representatives at sessions of the World Energy Conference and the World Federation of United Nations Associations, the US began to incite the Nationalist clique to issue statements about joining these two organizations. Under US pressure the Nationalists issued statements about joining international organizations in which the PRC was represented in the name of "The Republic of China". At the same time they might also act under such names as "the Taiwan government" and even "the Taiwan authorities". In a word they are striving to be on a par with the PRC. The difference in names is only a maneuver with the aid of which the American imperialists are trying to deceive intermediate countries, and actually as before the American imperialists cherish dark designs regarding tearing Taiwan away from China. In order to finally wreck these dark designs of the US the PRC is opposing any assertions and methods which have as their goal the creation or recognition of a situation of "two Chinas" in international organizations and at international conferences, and are also refusing to cooperate with any international organizations or conferences in which the Nationalists are a member or to which they are invited (regardless of under whatever name the Nationalist clique is represented). The PRC prefers not to take part in international organizations and at international conferences in order not to allow the realization of the conspiracy about the creation of "two Chinas". This is the most basic principle and position on the basis of which the PRC constructs its relations with international organizations and conferences.

II. PRC policy with respect to various conspiracies about the creation of "two Chinas".

1. The question of the participation of PRC organizations and the "organizations" of the Nationalist clique in one international organization or another and at one international conference or another. In these cases the PRC vigorously demands the expulsion of the Nationalists. If they do not achieve this, then the PRC decisively refuses to cooperate with this organization or conference and leaves the organization or quits the conference. During the year which has passed since the 19th session of the International Red Cross Conference the PRC has left the International Conference on Large Electrical Systems and the World Football Federation. We recently announced our non-recognition of the International Olympic Committee, ceased any relations with them, and left eight international athletic organizations: the International Swimming Federation; the International Track and Field Federation; the International Basketball Federation; the International Kettlebell Lifting and Physical Culture Federation; the International Shooting Union; the International Wrestling Federation; the International Union of Bicyclists; and the Asian Table Tennis Federation. In the future the PRC will not participate in any international organizations or conferences in which the Nationalists are members or to which they have been invited. If any

international organizations or conferences at which the PRC is represented invite the Nationalists then this can only be considered a violation of sovereignty, interference in the internal affairs of China, and the realization of the dark designs of the creation of “two Chinas”. The PRC will decisively leave such international organizations and quit the conferences.

2. The question of the participation of PRC organizations or individual representatives and individuals of the Nationalist clique in one international organization or another or at one conference or another. Such a situation does not outwardly create a situation of “two Chinas” but in fact it leaves people with the impression of the simultaneous existence of “two Chinas” of which our enemies often make use. Therefore in the future the PRC will not take part in such organizations or conferences. As concerns such international organizations as the Society to Study International Law and others in which the PRC is already represented then it also intends to leave there at an appropriate time.

If some international organization and conference where the PRC is represented personally invite Chinese living abroad to take part in their work, then the political position of the people doing the inviting is mainly taken into account. If they are acting not in the name of the Nationalist clique, but only as members of delegations of other countries, then it cannot be viewed as a question of “two Chinas”. However, when this is done one ought to be vigilant with respect to their possibly being disguised with the goal of conducting conspiratorial activity.

3. The question of PRC representatives taking part in branches or in some sessions of those international organizations of which the Nationalist clique is a member, even on condition that Nationalists are absent in these branches or at such sessions. This would not only create a situation of “two Chinas”, but would give people an incorrect idea, as if the PRC were hastening to take part in these international organizations. Therefore the PRC refuses to take part in such international organizations and conferences.

III. The UN and its specialized institutions under US influence, as long as they grant access to the Nationalists and refuse to grant the PRC its legal place. Therefore the position and main policy of the PRC with respect to the UN and its specialized institutions comes down to the following:

1. The PRC does not send its representatives, including its representatives to international organizations, to take part in any conferences of the UN system and its specialized institutions. PRC citizens also will not deal with or hold discussions with the UN and its specialized institutions as representatives or the officials of any international organizations.

2. The PRC does not furnish any materials to the UN and its specialized institutions, and hopes that the fraternal countries will not place corresponding materials concerning China in the printed media of the UN or of its specialized institutions.

3. The PRC position on the question of relations between those international organizations and conferences where the PRC is represented, on the one hand, and the UN and its specialized institutions, on the other, comes down to the following:

a) The PRC might support those resolutions adopted by those international organizations in which the UN Charter is mentioned in general. As regards the resolutions of these international organizations which concern the UN and its specialized institutions the PRC consequently does not take any obligations on itself. However, if these resolutions serve to strengthen world peace and friendly cooperation then the PRC will not oppose them;

b) Representatives of PRC organizations will not attend sessions at which issues of the UN or its specialized institutions are discussed especially;

c) The People’s Republic of China refuses to attend conferences at which UN

representatives play the leading role or act as the main speakers or other special representatives, and refuse to listen to reports of UN representatives. If UN representatives attend conferences as ordinary representatives or give an ordinary speech at conferences, then representatives of PRC organizations will attend them. If UN representatives make slanderous attacks against the PRC at those conferences where the People's Republic of China is represented then the Chinese representatives will immediately give them a rebuff and then leave the meeting room. If the Nationalists are present at the conferences as UN representatives then this will be considered as an intentional insult to the PRC. Consequently, representatives of PRC organizations will declare their protest and will in no event attend such conferences;

d) The question of the establishment of consultative ties between appropriate international organizations, on the one hand, and the UN or its specialized institutions, on the other. The PRC does not consider it advisable for itself to express its opinion on this question. If such questions are raised for voting, then the PRC will abstain.

IV. The PRC considers that participation in international organizations and at international conferences is one of the forms of maintaining relations and contacts in the international arena. Participation in these organizations and at these conferences might play a certain role in the sense of expanding the influence of the PRC and familiarization with the progress of matters in some field. However, the non-participation of the PRC can by no means restrict its rapid development and keep it from maintaining contacts and ties with the peoples of other countries. Partial participation or non-participation in some international organizations and at some international conferences does not mean that the PRC is taking a passive position with respect to cultural exchange between the peoples of various countries. The PRC can pursue such activity while resorting to other forms. On the contrary, the PRC's non-participation in some international organizations and at some international conferences might cause difficulties in their activity, which would promote the growth of their dissatisfaction with the US, and lead to the dark designs of the creation of "two Chinas" being subjected to even greater condemnation and a blow. The PRC is ready to cooperate with those international organizations and conferences which do not infringe on the sovereignty of the PRC and bring it benefit.

With the powerful support of the fraternal countries headed by the Soviet Union the just struggle of the PRC against the dark designs of the US in the creation of "two Chinas" will certainly end in complete victory.

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29491
13 СЕН 1959
КОНТРОЛЬ
КОМПАСИТ ВОЗВРАТ
ОБЩАЯ ОТДЕЛ ЦК КПС

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В конце июля с.г. в адрес Государственного комитета по культурным связям с зарубежными странами поступила копия беседы советника посольства СССР в КНР тов. Крутикова с заведующей отделом Международных отношений МИД КНР тов. Гун Пу-шэн. В этой беседе тов. Гун Пу-шэн дала разъяснение о ситуации "двух Китаев", которую США и их агентура пытаются создать в различных международных организациях против КНР.

В связи с актуальностью этой проблемы 8 августа с.г. в Комитете было проведено специальное совещание представителей заинтересованных советских организаций. Участникам совещания была разъяснена позиция КНР о ситуации "двух Китаев". В ходе обмена мнениями участниками высказывали пожелания получить в письменном виде инструкцию по существу этого вопроса для практического ее использования.

10 августа с.г. в адрес посла КНР в СССР тов. Лю Сюо нами была направлена памятная записка, в которой сообщалось о проведенном совещании по этому вопросу и излагалось пожелание довести до сведения советских организаций материалы о ситуации "двух Китаев" в письменном виде.

8 сентября с.г. посол Лю Сюо передал нам меморандум по этому вопросу и перевод к нему на русском языке, сказав, что мы можем распоряжаться им по нашему усмотрению.

В этой связи полагал бы целесообразным в ближайшее время разослать прилагаемую при этом копию меморандума на русском языке всем советским организациям, принимающим участие в международных организациях или направляющим своих представителей на конференции или съезды, в качестве руководящего материала о ситуации "двух Китаев".

Прошу согласия.

Приложение: упомянутое на 6 листах.

*от имени
А. Крутикова*

Г. Жуков
Г. Жуков

" 16 " сентября 1958 г.
№ 132

*В соответствии с указанием тов. М.В. Сухова
Г. Жуков разослал меморандум Лю Сюо
(см. приложения к делу № 34180).*

М Е М О Р А Н Д У М

I. В обстановке дальнейшего роста влияния КНР на международной арене американским империалистам становится все труднее проводить свою политику враждебного отношения к китайскому народу, непризнания КНР и отстранения Китая от участия в международной жизни, причем эта их политика становится все более непопулярной. Для того, чтобы выйти из такого затруднительного положения и осуществить свой план дальнейшей оккупации территории КНР - Тайваня, они еще более усилили свою заговорщицкую деятельность, направленную на создание "двух Китаев". Один из приемов, к которым прибегают США при проведении своей политики создания "двух Китаев", состоит в том, чтобы в створе со своими последователями постепенно создавать в некоторых международных организациях и на некоторых международных конференциях положение одновременного присутствия представителей КНР и чанкайшистской клики. КНР проводила неуклонную борьбу против этого заговора США. В ходе этой борьбы она получала мощную поддержку со стороны лагеря социализма во главе с Советским Союзом. Государственный департамент США в недавно опубликованном меморандуме "Политика в отношении непризнания китайского коммунистического режима" не мог не признать те трудности, с которыми он сталкивался при осуществлении своих замыслов о создании "двух Китаев" и попытался прикрыть свои действительные устремления. Однако он отнюдь не отказался от этого заговора. После I9-ой сессии Международной конференции Красного Креста в 1957 году США усилили свою деятельность по созданию на международных конференциях ситуации "двух Китаев", подстрекая чанкайшистскую клику подать заявления о вступлении в следующие международные организации, в которых уже была представлена КНР: Международная федерация настольного тенниса, Международная федерация волейбола, Международный союз велосипедистов, Международный астрономический союз, Международная конференция по большим электрическим системам и др. Кроме того, после участия представителей КНР на сессиях Всемирной энергетической конференции и Всемирной федерации ассоциации содействия ООН, США начали подстрекать чанкайшистскую клику подать заявления о вступлении в

эти две организации. Под давлением США чанкайшисты подавали заявление о вступлении в международные организации, в которых была уже представлена КНР, от имени "Китайской Республики". Вместе с тем они могут также действовать под такими названиями, как "Тайваньское правительство" и даже "Тайваньские власти". Одним словом, они стремятся к тому, чтобы быть наравне с КНР. Различие в названиях является лишь маневром, при помощи которого американские империалисты пытаются обмануть промежуточные страны, фактически же американские империалисты по-прежнему лелеют темные замыслы относительно отторжения Тайваня от Китая. Для того, чтобы окончательно сорвать эти темные замыслы США, КНР выступает против всяких утверждений и приемов, имеющих своей целью создание или признание ситуации "двух Китаев" в международных организациях и на международных конференциях, а также отказывается от сотрудничества с любыми международными организациями или конференциями, в которых состоят или на которые приглашены чанкайшисты (независимо от того, под каким именем представлена чанкайшистская клика). КНР предпочитает не участвовать в международных организациях и на международных конференциях, чтобы не допустить осуществления заговора о создании "двух Китаев". Это самый основной принцип и позиция, на основе которых КНР строит свои отношения с международными организациями и конференциями.

II. Политика КНР в отношении различного рода заговоров о создании "двух Китаев".

I/. Вопрос об участии организаций КНР и "организаций" чанкайшистской клики в одной и той же международной организации и на одной и той же международной конференции. В этих случаях КНР решительно требует изгнания чанкайшистов. Если это не удастся, то КНР отказывается от сотрудничества с данной организацией или конференцией и решительно выходит из организации или покидает конференцию. За год, прошедший после 19-ой сессии Международной конференции Красного Креста, КНР вышла из Международной комиссии по проведению международного геофизического года, Международной конференции по большим электрическим системам и Международной федерации футбола. Недавно мы официально объявили о своем непризнании Международного олимпийского комитета, прекращении с ним

всяких отношений и выходе из восьми международных спортивных организаций: Международных федераций плавания, легкоатлетического спорта, баскетбола, гиревого спорта и физической культуры, стрелкового спорта, борьбы, велосипедистов и Азиатской федерации настольного тенниса. В дальнейшем КНР не будет участвовать в каких-либо международных организациях и международных конференциях, в которых состоят или на которые приглашены чанкайшисты. Если какие-либо международные организации и конференции, в которых уже представлена КНР, принимают чанкайшистов, то это может рассматриваться лишь как нарушение суверенитета, вмешательство во внутренние дела Китая, и осуществление темных замыслов создания "двух Китаев". КНР будет решительно выходить из таких международных организаций и покидать конференции.

2/. Вопрос об участии организаций или отдельных представителей КНР и отдельных лиц чанкайшистской клики в одной и той же международной организации или на одной и той же конференции. Такая обстановка внешне не создает ситуации "двух Китаев", а, на самом деле, она оставляет у людей впечатление об одновременном существовании "двух Китаев", чем часто пользуются наши враги. Поэтому КНР впредь не будет участвовать в подобных международных организациях и конференциях. Что касается таких международных организаций, как Общество по изучению международного права и др., в которых уже представлена КНР, то она также намерена выйти оттуда в надлежащее время.

Если некоторые международные организации и конференции, где представлена КНР, персонально приглашают китайцев, проживающих за границей, для участия в своей работе, то тут принимается во внимание, главным образом, политическая позиция приглашенных лиц. Если они выступают не от имени чанкайшистской клики, а лишь как члены делегаций других стран, то это можно не рассматривать как вопрос о "двух Китаях". Однако при этом следует быть бдительным в отношении их возможной маскировки с целью осуществления заговорщической деятельности.

3/. Вопрос о приглашении представителей КНР для участия в филиалах или на некоторых сессиях тех международных организаций, членом которых является чанкайшистская клика, даже при условии отсутствия в этих филиалах или на таких сессиях чанкайшистов. Это не только создало бы ситуацию "двух Китаев", но и вызвало бы у людей неправильное представление, будто КНР спешит принять участие в этих международных организациях. Поэтому КНР отказывается от участия в подобных международных организациях и конференциях.

Ш. ООН и ее специализированные учреждения, находящиеся под влиянием США, до сих пор предоставляют доступ чанкайшистам и отказываются предоставить КНР ее законное место. Поэтому позиция и основная политика КНР в отношении ООН и ее специализированных учреждений сводятся к следующему:

1/. КНР не направляет своих представителей, в том числе своих представителей в других международных организациях для участия в любых конференциях системы ООН и ее специализированных учреждений. Граждане КНР также не будут иметь дел и вести переговоры с ООН и ее специализированными учреждениями в качестве представителей или сотрудников каких-либо международных организаций.

2/. КНР не предоставляет никаких материалов ООН и ее специализированным учреждениям и надеется, что братские страны не будут помещать в печатных изданиях ООН или ее специализированных учреждений соответствующие материалы, касающиеся Китая.

3/. Позиция КНР в вопросе отношений между теми международными организациями и конференциями, где представлена КНР, с одной стороны, и ООН и ее специализированными учреждениями, с другой стороны, сводится к следующему:

а/ КНР может поддержать те резолюции, принятые этими международными организациями, в которых в общем упоминается Устав ООН. Что касается резолюций этих международных организаций, которые касаются ООН и ее специализированных учреждений, то КНР в связи с этим не берет на себя каких-либо обязательств. Однако, если эти резолюции служат укреплению всеобщего мира и дружественного сотрудничества, то КНР против них выступать не будет;

б/ представители организаций КНР не будут присутствовать на сессиях, на которых специально обсуждаются вопросы ООН или ее специализированных учреждений;

в/ Китайская Народная Республика отказывается от присутствия на конференциях, на которых представители ООН играют ведущую роль, выступают в качестве главных докладчиков или иных особых представителей и отказывается заслушивать доклады представителей ООН. Если представители ООН присутствуют на конференциях в качестве обыкновенных представителей или выступают на них с обыкновенной речью, то на них будут присутствовать представители организаций КНР. Если представители ООН будут выступать с клеветническими нападениями в адрес КНР на тех конференциях, где представлена Китайская Народная Республика, то китайские представители немедленно дадут им отпор и потом покинут зал заседания. Если чанкайшисты будут присутствовать на конференциях в качестве представителей ООН, то это будет рассматриваться как умышленное оскорбление КНР. В связи с этим представители организаций КНР заявят свой протест и ни в коем случае не будут присутствовать на таких конференциях;

г/ вопрос об установлении консультативных связей между соответствующими международными организациями, с одной стороны, и ООН или ее специализированными учреждениями, с другой стороны. КНР не считает для себя целесообразным высказывать своего мнения по этому вопросу. Если такие вопросы будут ставиться на голосование, то КНР будет воздерживаться.

IV. КНР считает, что участие в международных организациях и на международных конференциях является одной из форм поддержания отношений и контактов на международной арене. Участие в этих организациях и на этих конференциях может сыграть известную роль в смысле расширения влияния КНР и ознакомления с ходом развития дел в какой-нибудь области. Однако неучастие КНР отнюдь не может ограничивать ее бурное развитие и препятствовать ей в поддержании контактов и связей с народами других стран. Частичное участие или неучастие в некоторых международных организациях и на некоторых международных конференциях не означает, что КНР занимает пассивную позицию в отношении культурного обмена между народами различных стран. КНР может проводить такую деятельность, прибегая к другим формам. Напротив, неучастие КНР в некоторых международных организациях или на некоторых международных конференциях может вызвать трудности в их деятельности, что будет

содействовать росту их недовольства США, и приведет к тому, что темные замыслы создания "двух Китаев" подвернутся еще большему осуждению и удару. КНР готова сотрудничать с теми международными организациями и конференциями, которые не ущемляют суверенитет Китая и приносят ему пользу.

При мощной поддержке братских стран во главе с Советским Союзом справедливая борьба КНР против темных замыслов США в создании "двух Китаев" непременно завершится полной победой.

4 сентября 1958 года.

Верно: *Ляо Шань*