

**September 23, 1977**

**Notes on Meetings held in the Great Hall of the  
People in Peking, on 3 and 4 August 1977 at 3 PM**

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**Summary:**

Huang Hua, commenting on a number of developments around the world, suggests that China's foreign policy continues to emulate the thinking and concerns of Mao Zedong.

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

NOTES ON MEETINGS HELD IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE  
IN PEKING, ON 3 AND 4 AUGUST 1977 AT 3 PM

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Present : Mr. HUANG Hua, Foreign Minister  
Mr. HO Ying, Vice-Foreign Minister  
Mr. KAO Tsien-chung, Deputy Chief of Protocol  
Mrs. HO Li-liang, Deputy Chief of the International  
Department of the Foreign Office

The Secretary-General

Mr. Tang Ming-chao

Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed

Mr. Albert Rohan

Mr. Rudolf Stajduhar

At the outset, Foreign Minister Huang Hua, welcomed the Secretary-General and his party and wished them an agreeable stay in China.

The Secretary-General expressed his gratitude for Chinese support for his re-election and his work in the United Nations. He also said that he greatly valued the co-operation of Under-Secretary-General Tang Ming-chao and the excellent relations established with the new Permanent Representative of China.

Turning to world problems, the Secretary-General gave his assessment of the situations in the Middle East, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Cyprus. He mentioned the disputes in the Western Sahara and Angola and expressed his views on such issues as Apartheid, Disarmament, the North/South dialogue, the establishment of a New International Economic Order, the Law of the Sea and the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua's reply covered the following topics:

The international situation and the foreign policy of China

The Minister said that the basic principle of China's foreign policy was to put into practice the theories of Chairman Mao. At present, the world was in turmoil. History never advanced in a straight course, but there was a general trend towards progress which no force could stem. The international situation was excellent. The people of the world were being awakened very quickly and were aspiring to independence. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, they were struggling for political as well as economic independence and they were supporting one another in this task. There was a growing trend among the communities of the "Second World" to unite against the super-powers. Japan, for instance, resented the occupation of its northern islands and an alliance was being formed against the hegemony of the two super-powers. The super-powers appeared strong, but in reality they were in a crisis and beset with difficulties. In recent years, the USSR had suffered severe setbacks of which the events in the Middle East, Angola and Siberia were ample proof.

The factors favouring revolution were on the increase, as were those favouring war. Chairman Mao had alerted the people to the danger of war. The USA had vested interests to protect, while the USSR wanted to expand. These policies were unalterable. Both the USA and the USSR were seeking global hegemony and their rivalry was bound to lead to war. Détente was a camouflage for this rivalry, disarmament a cover-up for armament, and peace in reality meant war.

The world's people shared a desire for peace and a peaceful environment. It was only the big powers that wanted war and that were its source. The imperialism of the USSR was the most dangerous factor. The USA had over-extended itself after World War II and it had been weakened by its defeats in Korea and Indochina. The emergence of new independent States had also been a blow to the USA. It was experiencing an economic crisis and its people were dissatisfied. The USA had suffered a decline and was now on the defensive in its struggle with the USSR. The USSR, on the other hand, was on the offensive and was in reality pursuing aggressive and imperialist goals, under the pretext of supporting armed struggle and socialism. Economically, the USSR was not as strong as the USA. It had turned to revisionism and its State monopolism was more monopolistic than the economic system in the USA. The USSR disposed of a great war machine to gain strategic supremacy and was therefore the prime source of war and more dangerous than the USA.

The focal point of the rivalry between the super-powers was in Europe. The West tended towards appeasement and concession to reduce the threat of war. Some wanted to direct Soviet aggression eastwards and to distract it from the West. This was the policy of Munich and in the end the West would have to eat the bitter fruit.

Chairman Mao ~~had said~~ had said that China was opposed to war but was not afraid of it. China would never attack; but if it were attacked, it would counter-attack. The Chinese people were being informed of the danger of war and their preparedness was being increased. Some people were afraid of the super-powers and especially of the USSR; but the super-powers were paper tigers. The USSR had wide ambitions but lacked the means to achieve them. It had a

weak economy and was being shaken by the struggle of the Eastern European countries against their occupation. It had antagonized the people of the world and in so doing, had sown the seeds of its own defeat. As long as the peace-loving countries stood together, exerted vigilance and were prepared for a "tit for tat" struggle, it would be possible to postpone war or at least maintain an advantageous position. In spite of the present turmoil, the Chinese Government had confidence in the people and in the future of the world. The USSR had been born after the First World War, and China and many other countries after the Second. Unity among the latter would lead to the defeat of the imperialists and to the victory for the world's people.

China's foreign policies, as formulated by Chairman Mao, conformed with the interests of the Chinese people and those of all the world's peace-loving people. Although Chairman Mao had died, under the leadership of the Central Committee and Chairman Hua Kua-feng, the people would maintain his revolutionary line of policy.

China was a developing socialist country and belonged to the Third World. It was supporting national liberation movements, both materially and morally, and also the socialist European countries and Japan in their struggle against the super-powers and in their endeavours towards co-operation among themselves and with the developing countries.

Taiwan : Foreign Minister Huang Hua pointed out that Secretary of State Vance would come to China and that the matter would then be discussed. The Chinese policy had always been clear and open. During President Nixon's visit

in 1972 the Shanghai Communiqué had been signed. This should still be considered the basis of Chinese-US relations. It stated both countries' opposition to any sort of hegemony in Eastern Asia and contained the recognition of the principle of "one China". Taiwan was a part of the People's Republic of China. There were three conditions which the USA would have to meet for US-Chinese relations to be normalized:

- 1) discontinuance of the so-called diplomatic relations with the "Chang Gang";
- 2) withdrawal of armed forces and military installations from Taiwan;
- 3) abrogation of the so-called Joint Defense Treaty.

These three conditions were indivisible. The normalization of relations did not depend on China but was the responsibility of the USA. The longer the USA refused to accept this responsibility, the greater would be its debt to the Chinese people.

There were rumours that China would make promises or accept compromises, and that there were proposals that the American Congress might pass a Bill to protect Taiwan. The Chinese policy was clear-cut: Taiwan was a part of China. The Chinese Government intended to liberate Taiwan, but this was not a matter for discussion with the USA. At what time the liberation would be carried out was an internal affair and not a subject for discussion with any other country. However, the USA would be given enough time to take a decision on their withdrawal from Taiwan.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua said that the Soviet leadership had betrayed Marxism-Leninism and turned towards capitalism and imperialism. The Chinese Government was determined to continue its dispute with the USSR over basic principles and was prepared for a "tit for tat" struggle.

The two countries should maintain normal relations based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence, but this really depended on the USSR. If they wanted to improve relations, they should show it through their actions.

The USSR had stationed one million soldiers along its 7,000 kms. long frontier with China; later it had also moved troops to Outer Mongolia. This was meant as a threat against China, but the figure of one million men became insignificant in relation to the 800 million Chinese.

The majority of the people and cadres of the USSR were good and revisionism would therefore not endure. This was the firm conviction of the Chinese Government and also the law of historic development. The Soviet leadership had alienated itself from the people and would meet with defeat. The one million soldiers who were directed primarily against the USA in the Pacific and also against China would not be sufficient. They would be submerged by the masses in the people's war with which China would respond to any aggression.

The United Nations

The Foreign Minister mentioned that 30 years had passed since the founding of the Organization. Great changes had taken place in those years. In the initial period, the USA had had a majority and was able to manipulate the Organization. The UN had done much evil. At the end of the '1950s' and during the '60s', the Africans and other countries obtained independence and the Third World became an important factor. Their fight against imperialism was reflected in decisions of the United Nations. In the '70s' the Third World countries had emerged as the dominating force. In the economic field they were fighting against imperialism, colonialism, zionism and maritime hegemony. The manipulation by the super-powers had begun to break down and the restoration of the legitimate representation of China had been a victory for the Third World. However, there were still weaknesses and incompetence in the United Nations and it was difficult for the Organization to achieve a great deal. It was now at a critical juncture. It should free itself from the hegemony of the super-powers, play a more active role and avoid the danger of embarking on the same course as the League of Nations.



Africa

Turning to African problems, Foreign Minister Huang Hua said that the people there were waging a war for the liberation of their Continent and against the last stronghold of colonialism. In Zimbabwe the armed struggle had started from nothing but had grown stronger. In Namibia, the fight against the illegal occupation was being intensified. In South Africa, too, the people's struggle was developing and the rule of white supremacy was being shaken. All in all, the situation in Africa was excellent.

The two super-powers had intensified their rivalry in Africa because of its important strategic position and its wealth of natural resources. The USSR was the more aggressive and Cuban mercenaries had entered Angola and Zaire. Angola was now an important stronghold for the USSR but it had experienced serious setbacks. The Angolan people's struggle was unfolding and the Zairians had won a victory in their fight against the USSR-instigated invasion by "Katangan gendarmes". This had been a major event since the African people had always considered the USA as an enemy and had not seen through the policy of the USSR. Recent events had made them realize the true nature of the USSR. The OAU Summit had been a success and important resolutions had been passed, one of them dealing with external interference.

In Zimbabwe, Ian Smith was stepping up recruitment and Rhodesian troops had invaded neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. In the Chinese view, there was not much hope for a positive result from negotiations. The solution of the problem would have to be based on fighting, since one could not get at the negotiating table what one failed to get in battle.

In Namibia, too, a solution had to be reached by the Namibian people on the basis of their fight in all its forms, especially the arms struggle. Free elections under the control of the United Nations, or other solutions like the ones proposed by the five Western members of the Security Council, could in no way truly settle the question of Namibia.

#### Middle East

The situation in the Middle East had changed. Unity in the region had been strengthened and the true character of the super-powers was being revealed. Egypt, Sudan and Somalia had risen against the hegemony of the super-powers. The USSR had suffered setbacks in its struggle for hegemony with the USA, but the rivalry would continue. Behind the turmoil on the Horn of Africa lay the instigation of the super-powers, especially the USSR. Many Arab countries wanted the Geneva Conference to be reconvened, in order to put pressure on Israel and expose the super-powers. However, it was difficult to settle the Middle East problem because the "no war, no peace" situation was being maintained by the super-powers. The solution of the Middle East problem depended on the united struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people.

#### Special session on disarmament

Some medium and small countries wanted the session in order to give added impetus to disarmament efforts. However, history had shown that even if resolutions and decisions were passed, the arms drive of the super-powers would not cease. The Chinese Government was therefore sceptical about the usefulness of this session and feared its side effects, which would foster illusions and diminish vigilance.

The Secretary-General inquired whether in the view of the Chinese Government the war which it predicted would break out between the two super-powers or between one of the super-powers and other countries.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua replied that the focus of super-power rivalry was in Europe, but that it could also be seen in other parts of the world. This rivalry could take many forms and would not necessarily lead to immediate war. But in the end, a military conflict was inevitable. It was difficult to predict when this would happen, but it did not seem imminent. However, a "generation of peace" was an illusion.

The Secretary-General asked Mr. Huang Hua about the Chinese attitude towards the Belgrade Conference.

The Foreign Minister said that Helsinki had not been a "security conference" but an "insecurity conference". Belgrade would follow the same course.

The Secretary-General then turned to the problem of Korea and inquired how the Chinese Government saw the situation there.

Mr. Huang Hua replied that the Resolution passed by the Thirtieth Session of the General Assembly had contained three basic principles for the reunification of Korea and had been considered as a positive step by the Chinese Government. Since that time, no substantial progress had been made. The USA was still supporting the South in its provocative policy against the North, and the dialogue between the two parts of the country had been discontinued. President Carter had proposed a withdrawal of ground forces within a period of five years, but the American Government was strengthening its air force in South Korea. The USA had once explored the possibility of a four-sided conference in

which the two Koreas, plus the USA and China, would take part. Such a conference would only serve to maintain American interference in Korea. The Chinese Government favoured a reunification of the country on the basis of direct negotiations.

The Secretary-General explained to the Foreign Minister the role which was envisaged for the United Nations in supervising and controlling elections in Namibia. He said that this had not yet been accepted by South Africa and that SWAPO was not happy with the present proposals of the five Western members of the Security Council.

Turning to the Middle East problem, the Secretary-General expressed his opinion that it was not only the Arab countries, but also Israel who wished to convene the Geneva Conference. The reasons and their views on procedural questions were quite different. However, in view of the present situation, the chances for a convening of the conference were slim.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua said the "no war/no peace" situation in the Middle East would continue, as would the rivalry between the super-powers, who wanted to increase their influence in the area.

The Secretary-General underlined that he appreciated the wish of the Chinese Government for the United Nations to be more effective and play a larger role in the keeping of peace. This, however, depended on the political will of the Member States and especially that of the great powers. He agreed with the Chinese view that the Organization had come to a cross-road. In this regard, the role of the Security Council was of great importance. The Council was often not seized with problems and situations of war, and its Resolutions were not implemented. However, he was

confident that the UN could contribute in a constructive way to a solution of the problems of mankind and he counted on the support of China in this regard.

Mr. Huang Hua said that his Government indeed desired a larger role for the United Nations and that it was ready to continue its co-operation with the Secretary-General. Unfortunately, the Charter of the Organization contained inherent weaknesses and factors favouring control by the super-powers. The veto power was a case in point. If these problems were not completely and fully solved, the super-powers would abuse their power by preventing the passing of resolutions or by not implementing them. The UN could do nothing about it.

The Secretary-General mentioned the work of the Charter Review Committee and expressed the hope that it would make recommendations to the General Assembly.

Mr. Huang Hua interjected that the USA and the USSR were opposed to any substantive change in the Charter.

The Secretary-General pointed to the growing pressure from the Third World countries which might, in time, lead to some success. No doubt the trickiest problem was the veto power. In other areas, progress might be easier to achieve but he, as Secretary-General, had to be realistic about the chances of the whole exercise.

The Foreign Minister said that China did not like the veto. When his country had joined the United Nations the veto had been there and his Government would not give it up. It would use the veto to protect the interests of the Third World.

The Secretary-General informed Mr. Huang Hua that Prime Minister Suarez of Portugal had asked him to convey to the Chinese Government his wish for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The Secretary-General said that he considered it his duty to bring up this matter, since the Portuguese Government attached great importance to a normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China.

The Foreign Minister replied that there were many contacts between China and Portugal and that his Government was now examining the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations with Portugal.

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