CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT ON SINO-AMERICAN TALKS

On January 18 a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China made the following statement on the Sino-American ambassadorial talks in Geneva:

The Sino-American ambassadorial talks have been going on for more than four months without any agreement being achieved on the second item of the agenda, ever since agreement was reached on September 10, 1955 on the return of civilians of both sides. The two sides have not yet entered into discussion of the substance of the two subjects proposed by the Chinese side, i.e., abolishment of the embargo and preparations for a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers to discuss the relaxation and elimination of the tension in the Taiwan area. The American side raised the question of so-called renunciation of the use of force, but has been unwilling to enter into an agreement on this question acceptable to both sides. Moreover, the United States has recently stepped up military activities in the Taiwan area to aggravate the tension, and United States Secretary of State Dulles even renewed the clamours for an atomic war against China. In these circumstances, the Chinese Government deems it necessary to make public the course of events in the Sino-American talks so as to set forth the stand of the Chinese side.

(1) As soon as agreement was reached at the Sino-American talks on the return of civilians of both sides, our side put forward under the second item of the agenda two subjects for discussion—the question of embargo and the question of preparations for Sino-American negotiations at a higher level. But the American side refused to proceed to any substantive discussion of these two subjects. It was not until October 8, 1955 that the American side suggested that both China and the United States should first of all make a declaration on the renunciation of the use of force.

If the so-called renunciation of the use of force means that China and the United States should, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, settle neacefully disputes between the two countries without resorting to force, then it is precisely what China has advocated consistently. It was precisely for the purpose of realizing the principle of non-use of force in international relations that China proposed at Bandung that China and the United States should sit down and enter into negotiations. It was for this same purpose that in the Sino-American ambassadorial talks China proposed the holding of Sino-American negotiations at a higher level. However, the question of non-use of force in the international relations between China and the United States should in no way be mixed up with the domestic matters of either China or the United States. So far as the question of Taiwan is concerned, the occupation of China's territory of Taiwan by the United States is an international dispute between China and the United States, while the liberation by the Chinese people of their own territory of Taiwan is China's sovereign right and internal affair. The Chinese Government has repeatedly declared that it would strive for the liberation of Taiwan by peaceful means so far as it is possible. But this internal affair of China's cannot possibly be a subject of the Sino-American talks.

(2) After making clear in the talks its above-mentioned stand, the Chinese side put forward on October 27, 1955 a draft agreed announcement of the Ambassadors of China and the United States on the question of renunciation of the use of force as raised by the American side. The text of the draft announcement reads as follows:

"Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, jointly declare:

"In accordance with Article 2, paragraph 3 of the United Nations Charter, 'All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered';

"And in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 4 of the United Nations Charter, 'All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations';

"The People's Republic of China and the United States of America agree that they should settle disputes between their two countries by peaceful means without resorting to the threat or use of force;

"In order to realize their common desire the Pcople's Republic of China and the United States of America decide to hold a conference of Foreign Ministers to settle through negotiations the question of relaxing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area."

If there is sincerity on both sides, there should not be any difficulty in reaching an agreement on the basis of this draft announcement submitted by the Chinese side. The United States is a member of the United Nations. It should not have any objection to the explicit provisions of the United Nations Charter. The United States has resorted to the use and threat of force against China in the Taiwan area, thus creating tension there. In order that the principle of non-use of force stipulated in the United Nations Charter may be realized in Sino-American relations, it is obvious that only through a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers will it be possible to settle the question of the relaxation and elimination of the tension in the Taiwan area.

(3) However, in the course of the talks, the American side expressed unwillingness to have particular stipulations of the United Nations Charter specifically mentioned in the announcement, or to have the announcement explicitly provide for the holding of a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers. It was not until November 10, 1955, that is, two whole months after both sides reached agreement on the first agenda item, that the American side for the first time put forward in concrete form its own draft announcement concerning the renunciation of the use of force. The substantive part of the draft announcement put forward by the American side reads as follows:

"Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, on behalf of the United States of America, informed Ambassador Wang Ping-nan that:

"In general, and with particular reference to the Taiwan area, the United States of America renounces the use of force, except in individual and collective self-defense.

"Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the People's Republic of China, informed Amhassador U. Alexis Johnson that:

"In general, and with particular reference to the Taiwan area, the People's Republic of China renounces the use of force, except in individual and collective self-defense."

Just as the Chinese side has pointed out in the talks, the draft announcement put forth by the American side is in substance an attempt to confuse the international dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area with the domestic matter between the Chinese Government and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, and a demand that China accept the status quo of the United States occupation of China's territory Taiwan and give up its sovereign right to liberate Taiwan. That is absolutely unacceptable to China. Taiwan is China's territory; there can be no question of defence, so far as the United States is concerned. The United States has already used force and the threat of force against China in the Taiwan area. Therefore, should one speak of defence, it is precisely China which should exercise its right of defence to expel such force and threat. Yet the United States has demanded the right of defence in the Taiwan arca. Is this not precisely a demand that China accept continued United States occupation of Taiwan and that the tension in the Taiwan area be maintained for ever?

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(4) Nevertheless, in order that the talks may progress step by step, the Chinese side made another effort, and on December 1, 1955 put forward the following new draft:

"Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, agree to announce:

"The People's Republic of China and the United States of America are determined that they should settle disputes between their two countries through peaceful negotiations without resorting to the threat or use of force;

"The two Ambassadors should continue their talks to seek practical and feasible means for the realization of this common desire."

The Chinese side holds that the only practical and feasible means for settling disputes between China and the United States, particularly a serious question such as the tension in the Taiwan area, is a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers. However, in order to promote the progress of the talks, the Chinese side has agreed to issue first the above announcement and then the Ambassadors of the two sides will discuss and decide upon the specific question of holding a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers. At the same time, it should be pointed out that since the United States has already used force and threat of force against China in the Taiwan area, it would not be possible to realize that desire expressed in the above announcement if agreement is not reached at the Sino-American ambassadorial talks on the holding of a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers.

It can thus be seen that if the United States Government really has the sincerity to renounce the use or threat of force, it has no reason whatsoever to continue to drag out the talks instead of entering into agreement on our new draft.

(5) However, in three consecutive meetings following our putting forward of this new draft, the American side refused to make any specific comments, expressing neither opposition nor agreement to it. It was not until January 12, 1956 that the American side put forward a counter-proposal. The full text of it reads as follows:

"Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, and Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, agree to announce: "The United States of America and the People's Republic of China are determined that they will settle disputes between them through peaceful means, and that, without prejudice to the inherent right of individual and collective selfdefense, they will not resort to the threat or use of force in the Taiwan area or elsewhere;

"The two Ambassadors should continue their talks to seek practical and feasible means for the realization of this common desire."

It is obvious that in substance there is no difference whatsoever between this counterproposal of the American side and its November 10 draft announcement which the Chinese side has firmly rejected long ago. The American side continues to demand that our side accept that the United States has "the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense" in China's Taiwan area. That is what our side absolutely cannot accept.

(6) Ever since September 10, 1955 the American side has on the one hand dragged out the discussion of the second item of the agenda and refused to enter into an agreement acceptable to both sides on the question of so-called renunciation of the use of force, while on the other hand it has continuously been haggling over the implementation of the agreement on the first agenda item. As a matter of fact, it is precisely the American side which is violating that agreement. According to the agreement, the United States has the obligation to adopt measures so that Chinese in the United States can expeditiously exercise their right to return to China. But the American side has up to now failed to furnish our side with a complete name-list and information concerning the Chinese residents and students in the United States, thus making it difficult for India to carry out the tasks of a third country as specified in the agreement. Recently, the United States Government has issued a regulation that Chinese in the United States must secure entrance permits for Taiwan, openly to deprive them of the right to return to China in future. There are tens of thousands of Chinese in the United States. Owing to the continued obstructions and threats by the American side in violation of the agreement, the great majority of them have up to now not been able or not dared to apply for returning to China. As for the Americans in China, their number was not very large to begin with. During the Sino-American talks, out of the 59 law-abiding Americans in China, all 16 who applied have been permitted to depart. Even among the 40 Americans

who committed offences against the law in China, 27 have been released before the completion of their sentences as a result of the lenient policy of the Chinese Government. In spite of these facts, the American side still kept raising groundless charges in the talks. This can only be interpreted as an attempt to shirk its responsibility for violating the agreement and manufacture a pretext for dragging out the talks.

(7)The tension in the Taiwan area is the key issue between China and the United States and the root of the tension is United States armed occupation of China's territory. Nevertheless. the Chinese side still advocates settlement of this dispute between China and the United States through negotiation, and has been striving constantly in the Sino-American ambassadorial talks for finding a practical and feasible means to achieve this aim. The American side, however, has deliberately dragged out the Sino-American talks and refused to enter into agreement on the means for the relaxation and elimination of the tension in the Taiwan area, and on the contrary demands that China accept the status quo of United States armed occupation of Taiwan. In the meantime, United States Secretary of State Dulles again openly cried out recently that in order to hold on to China's territory and infringe upon China's sovereignty, he would not scruple to start

an atomic war. The United States aggressors imagined that this would frighten the Chinese people into giving up their own sovereign rights. But this attempt will never succeed. In the recent years, the armistice in Korea, the restoration of peace in Indo-China and the withdrawal from the Tachen Islands have successively demonstrated the strength of the world people who fight for peace and uphold justice, and declared the bankruptcy of the policy of positions-ofstrength and atomic intimidation. Should the United States aggressors still want to carry on such a policy of atomic intimidation, they would inevitably encounter greater and more disastrous defeats.

The Chinese Government holds that the Sino-American talks should seek practical and feasible means for the relaxation and elimination of the tension in the Taiwan area. The Chinese side has already put forward a reasonable proposal completely acceptable to both sides. The Sino-American talks should speedily reach an agreement on the basis of this reasonable proposal and proceed to settle the question of abolishment of the embargo and the question of preparations for a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers. To drag out the talks and carry out threats will settle no question.

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